

XXVI ESRS CONGRESS



**18 - 21 AUGUST 2015
ABERDEEN SCOTLAND**

XXVI European Society for Rural Sociology Congress



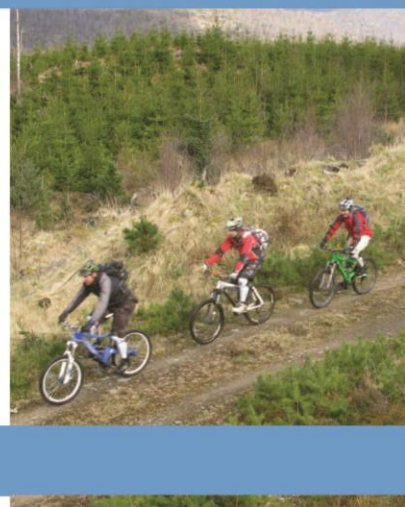
Book of Abstracts

Places of possibility?

Rural Societies in a Neoliberal World

18–21 August 2015

Aberdeen, Scotland



ESRS

European Society For Rural Sociology

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Congress Theme: Places of Possibility? Rural Societies in a Neoliberal World

Mark Shucksmith, University of Newcastle, Scientific Committee Chair

How can people in rural areas thrive during times of rapid, transformational change? Rural Europe is faced with many pressures arising, for example, from globalisation, migration, technological change, deregulation, escalating demands for energy, food and raw materials, and from the uneven and volatile effects of capitalism and neoliberal policies. The economic crisis and related austerity measures have hit many rural people hard. Yet people in rural areas are not passive in the face of these forces of change: exhibiting agency, resistance and a capacity to negotiate and mediate change.

The conference will provide important opportunities for social scientists to explore new evidence and approaches to understanding the relationships between people, society and rural resources under conditions of neoliberalism.

- How are people and social groups in rural areas advantaged and disadvantaged?
- How far should rural development policy and practice conform to the dominant discourses of neoliberalism (such as competition, market failure, ecosystem services, self-help and sustainable intensification) and how might it seek to enable alternative, radical new possibilities, asserting alternative values and ethical principles?
- How have alternative approaches emerged in some rural places, rooting innovation in tradition, local cultures and social movements, so spurring the 'post-neoliberal imagination'?
- What have been the roles of urban dwellers, land-based businesses and multi-scale institutions in constituting rural spaces and land access?
- How might property relations have to change to ensure access to land and natural resources? How can these complex processes interact to ensure social justice, food security, innovation and resilience at local, national and global levels?
- What role should social scientists play, as academics, activists and/or as part of interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary teams?

Precongress Workshop (17th and 18th August)

Innovative Digital Technologies and Visual Methods for Social Research

*Convenors: Petra Lackova, Dominic Duckett, Katrina Brown, Lee-Ann Sutherland
Social, Economic and Geographical Sciences Group of the James Hutton Institute*

Sponsored by the Macaulay Development Trust

Workshop description:

Digital technologies and visual research methods are transforming social research and opening up possibilities for new ways of imagining and engaging with the social world. Innovation in both the collection and analysis of data is enabling the unprecedented exploration of multidimensional forms of social life. Computational advances have led to increases in scale with 'big' and real-time data and making them more available at ever decreasing cost. By crossing the boundaries between disciplines and qualitative and quantitative methodologies, visual methods and digital technologies are contributing to developments in theoretical thinking and practice in social sciences. The deployment of creative methodologies is further shaping new forms of engagement between social scientists and participants, redefining the roles of 'researcher' and 'researched'. Against this backdrop, there is a need for social research perspectives to understand how to ground innovative technologies and computer-aided approaches in robust methodologies and sound social theories.

This interactive event will bring together researchers who use visual methods and digital technologies to capture and engage with social life. The workshop will combine speed presentations with posters and provide a unique opportunity to practice using state-of-the-art technologies through demonstrations and practical sessions.

During the event there will be posters and lightning talks are sought from participants on the following topics:

- The potential and methodological challenges of visual methods and digital technologies for studying contemporary issues and practising critical analysis in social research.
- Deploying visual and digitalised methods (e.g. photo elicitation, eye tracking, touchtables, headcams, participatory video, virtual reality headsets) and their effect on the ways in which the environment is experienced and interpreted.
- The ethics of visual and digital methods (e.g. who consents? whose data?)
- The uses of digital public engagement and collaborative tools (e.g. participatory GIS mapping) in providing shared platforms for local knowledge exchanges or facilitating discussions around cultural values in decision making.
- Human and non-human participants as effective co-constructors of research (e.g. through digital or mobile ethnography; livestock electronic identification (EID)).
- Big data, real-time data, computational content analysis: using new the latest techniques to respond to pressing issues in social research.
- GIS for participatory mapping; GPS; apps; ipads; drones; games based software; mobile or participatory video; mobile physiology and eye-tracking devices; monitoring tools.

The visual approach of reflexive photography to investigate perspectives of landscape by farmers in Central Switzerland

Rike Stotten

University of Innsbruck, Innsbruck, Austria

To guarantee the openness of an explorative research process and to achieve deepened information, a qualitative research method based on a visual approach was chosen to investigate landscape perception among farmers.

Within the realm of visual sociology several approaches to investigate social phenomena are based on photography. The applied approach of reflexive photography, elaborated recently by Peter Dirksmeier (2013, 2012, 2007), aims to visualize spatial experience for scientific research. Single-use cameras have been sent to selected and ex-ante informed farmers, to take pictures of landscape elements on their own farmland. Taking photos already started a process of awareness raising of the research topic among the farmers. Afterwards, those photographs served as a stimulus during the problem-centred interview, which focusses on experiences and reflections on particular topic respectively problem (Collier and Collier, 2004; Pauwels, 2010). At the same time, the photos were evaluated directly by the participant or rather the photographer himself (Dirksmeier, 2013).

Once applied a visual approach, ethical questions and challenges comes along regarding any publication, as the copyright remains with the photograph himself. Also the question of anonymity as a basic value of social research arose. Therefore each visual research project must devise own ethical practices, based on the specifics of its situation (Pink, 2006).

A Photovoice story of the impact of oyster farming in northern Vietnam through the lens of five 'capitals'

Janine Pierce, Guy Robinson

University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia

Photovoice is an emerging visual social research methodology involving photography, in which participants and a facilitator generate their own work either individually or collectively on a topic, using themes anchored through visual images. The Photovoice method was employed in a study in a rural community in the Halong Bay area of northern Vietnam to assess impacts of the new industry of oyster farming on the inhabitants' lives and on their community. The study was conducted collaboratively by the Australian Council for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) and the University of South Australia, to identify community perspectives on impacts of the new oyster industry on the various dimensions of the lives of community members. This study provided a qualitative perspective from local residents to supplement and cross-triangulate with scientific and quantitative data. The photo data were supported by diary comments to provide additional context and to avoid ambiguity in photo interpretation. Photo data were mapped into themes reflective of the 'five capitals' methodology: Environmental, Human, Social, Institutional and Produced. The resultant Photo story through the lens of the five capitals provided community insights and a clear profile of mostly positive issues relating to the impacts of the oyster industry on community members. This combined Photovoice/Five Capitals innovative methodology has applicability for both rural and urban studies, in assessing impacts of development/aid programs in identifying community issues as a catalyst for action, and in building social capital between community members.

The role of 'taste' in the production and consumption of Scottish agricultural landscapes: Introducing the 'parish study' method

Lee-Ann Sutherland

Social Economic and Geographical Sciences Group, James Hutton Institute, Aberdeen, UK

This paper presents the findings of a 'parish study', which combined participatory mapping with photo elicitation. The study drew on Bourdieu's conceptualisations of 'habitus' and 'taste' to assess processes underlying land management decisions, and how these differ between commercial and non-commercial land managers. Local mapping was found to be a useful mechanism for identifying and engaging with participants, leading to high response rates, and providing a respondent pool for photo elicitation. However, the approach is not suited to studies of dispersed groups, and is more resource intensive than a standard qualitative interview-based study. Findings demonstrate a wide range of lifestyles associated with land management. A search for solitude, rather than community, was particularly evident amongst non-commercial farmers, as was a trend towards non-management of land. Both commercial and non-commercial land managers pointed to the multiple functions associated with their land management, for commercial farmers combining productive and consumptive functions, and non-commercial farmers combining varied interests into a single landscape (e.g. combining wildlife preservation with lawn games and native species trees). Habitus based in heritage was evident among both commercial and non-commercial land managers, but more traditionally maintained by commercial farmers. For non-commercial farmers, habitus was actively shaped through reframing of heritage, with specific aspects translated into new forms (e.g. maintenance of traditional stone cottages but upgrading with renewable heat sources). As such, emergent ideologies combining energy and environmental conservation with active outdoor lifestyles were evident, but expressed differently by commercial and non-commercial land managers.

Video minicam and participatory visual techniques for grasslands and grazing management

Petra Lackova, Katrina Brown, Dominic Duckett
The James Hutton Institute, Aberdeen, UK

We introduce our innovative methodological framework that explores the applicability of using digital minicam and participatory visual techniques in facilitating the integration and translation of diverse human and more-than-human forms of knowledge and experience. The framework is used to explore the changing management and conditions of upland grasslands, marked by a retreat from the hill ground and problematic grazing pressure, including under-and-over-grazing. We develop techniques of mobile video ethnography that have been used in social sciences to explore discourses and practices as they unfold in, and relate to, particular environments (Brown and Banks, 2014; Spinney, 2011). As a visual expansion of go along interviews, we walk grasslands with participants using minicam for eliciting, communicating, translating and co-producing various ways of knowing on what human-animal-vegetation dynamics are required to secure a well-functioning grassland and grazing system. Participants record their own stories to capture particular conceptions and practices regarding humans, animals and plants in the system. We will illustrate how the video footage will be used in group elicitation using interactive touchtable technology and GIS to enhance understanding of the spatial context of the grassland and explore the complexity of approaches to its management. We will discuss the relevance of this participatory and visual methods toolkit not only for informing policy and best practice in grassland management but also for other socio-ecological systems.

Exploring everyday globalization with digital and visual methods

Michael Woods, Jesse Heley, Laura Jones, Anthonia Onyeahialam, Marc Welsh
Aberystwyth University, Aberystwyth, UK

This poster and short presentation introduces current research that is examining 'everyday globalization' in the small town of Newtown, mid Wales, as part of a larger ERC project, GLOBAL-RURAL. In this we are interested in the mundane, small scale effects of globalization on everyday life in the time, covering questions about food, shopping, fashion, entertainment, sport, work, travel, online interactions and more. The study adopts a critical topography framework, derived from the work of Cindi Katz, combined with elements of assemblage theory, to trace connections both within and beyond Newton, and to construct narratives of peoples' experiences from the bottom-up. In this poster and presentation we discuss our use of digital and visual methods to facilitate this process, including visual ethnography, participatory GIS, participant-generated photography, and crowd-sourcing through social media, in particular focusing on the methodological and ethical challenges that we have encountered and considered.

Strengths and weaknesses of visual choice experiments

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Visual choice experiments are often applied to investigate preferences of humans for possible landscape change. This offers the opportunity to include people's perceptions, views and preferences in decision making processes to enhance the potential of landscapes to provide cultural and amenity services contributing to aesthetic appreciation, recreation and well-being. In visual choice experiments landscape scenarios, e.g. of different intensities of land use (agricultural practice, tourism etc.) are created and visualized in digitally calibrated images. By using these visualizations in a choice experiment it can be explored which effect the landscape change and hence the changing scenery has on people. But a critical debate on the applicability of this method remained limited so far. With experience from two case studies in the Netherlands and Germany we aim to discuss the strengths, weaknesses and short-comings of the method used and its potential to include cultural values in decision making processes. Using the knowledge gained from the visual choice experiments that were conducted to investigate the preference of tourists and residents for a possible landscape change under changing agricultural practices we consider questions of attribute selection, visualization, subjectivity and data gathering and also examine possibilities of validation, a criterion neglected so far. Additionally we explore the potential to transform the gathered information into spatial representations via mapping methods.

Ethical concerns of doing participatory video with Roma in Hungary

Anna Augustyn

Visiting researcher at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary

In my presentation I would like to focus on ethics of doing a participatory video. This is based on a personal reflection that is a result of confrontation between the PV theory and practice. In 2013 I took part in training for researchers working with this method. An important element of the interactive workshop was a field work with Roma community in a Hungarian town. A group of students, teachers and local activists went there equipped with modern technologies and project objectives. The real-life meeting with Roma quickly verified both research goals and perceptions of the issues they cope with on a daily basis. It was a challenge to follow the research lines as the community was not immediately open to the technology and us as external people met for the first time. Thus the overall undertaking can be viewed as limited in scope. The main lesson learned from this is to consider the voices and needs of local communities when approaching them with such projects, and to build trust between them and researchers.

Working Group 1: Turning possibility into reality? Alternatives to neoliberal rural policy

Convenors: Sophie Wynne-Jones [1], Steven Emery [2], Michael Woods [1], Karl Bruckmeier [3], Imre Kovách [4], Parto Teherani-Krönner [5]

1: Aberystwyth University, UK; 2: Birmingham University, UK; 3: National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation; 4: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Sociology, Budapest, Hungary; 5: Humboldt University Berlin, Germany

Working group description:

The potential of rural societies to survive and prosper in the context of a turbulent and reformulating neoliberal world is dependent, in a large part, upon peoples' ability to organise and act politically. However, the increasing interest in food and growing initiatives in recent years has not yet involved a serious evaluation of their political and socio-economic implications upon circuits of social and economic capital. In this session we invite a focus upon rural and agrarian actors and organisations across various scales, typologies and political orientations - from loose informal groupings through to formalised unions, co-operatives, collectives and social-movements in both the Global North and South – and the innovative practices of production, consumption and ways of life that they promote.

In confronting neoliberal policies, new social movements such as La Via Campesina have taken up the difficult search for alternative futures, trying to reconnect people, land and nature. These movements and projects can be seen as the “seeds of post-neo-liberalism” in the sense of revaluing subsistence economy, aiming at the decommodification of nature and natural resources, and renewing in a market-based rural economy the claim to develop new forms of locally and ecologically rooted rural livelihoods, societies and cultures. As such, the working group is concerned with the spectre of ‘possibility’, which is affecting such organisations, our understandings of them, and their growing diversity. There are also new ways of theorising which place ‘possibility’ centre-stage, with post-structuralist epistemologies offering ways to see beyond (or through) current configurations of order and power, applying more plural, relational, rhizomatic and emergent interpretations.

The working group invites contributions that explore these issues around two key themes. The first theme focuses on the modes of organization and political potency of rural social movements and actors of new governance, addressing questions around the potential for wider mobilisation beyond the ‘militant particularism’ of local struggles; and the tensions present within movement-organising and co-operative working between self-interest and care beyond-the-self. We invite papers that examine any of the following: (a) The particular characteristics of different civil and public organisations, what they look like and do, for who and why (especially vis-a-vis neoliberalism); (b) The place of the political within organisations; (c) The political potency of different organisations (either singularly or comparatively) and how this is mediated by the issues/factors/characteristics discussed in (a); and (d) The political potency of this new diversity of organisations as a whole: whether possibility itself is an illusion of free choice or provides collective dexterity.

The second theme focuses on the projects and initiatives developed by rural social movements and other actors as “seeds” of alternatives to neoliberalism. We invite presentations that give examples of such “seed”-projects. Possible ideas include, but are not limited to, the following themes: new rural forms of production (food and non-food products, social land use); new rural cultures of consumption

(food and meals, slow food, local food and geographically identified food); revitalization of rural culture and rural images, new rural forms of using natural resources (against the commercialisation of nature); rural community life, closing gender gaps, addressing rural poverty and social integration of newcomers and migrants; new relations between rural and urban areas (beyond urban colonisation of the countryside); projects to combat disadvantaging of rural people and groups through dominant policies; new forms of land use (in peri-urban and urban agriculture, social land use).

Working together successfully? Evaluating the co-operative dynamics of the Pontbren Project.

Sophie Wynne-Jones

Aberystwyth University, Aberystwyth, UK

The potential of co-operative working within the farming sector has received increasing interest in recent years, given a range of potential environmental, social and economic benefits. Nonetheless, the number of farming co-operatives within the UK remains low. This is in spite of traditional practices which include a collective approach to animal husbandry, harvesting and machinery ownership. It is suggested, therefore, that the cultural basis for cooperative and collective business enterprise are present, but have been placed under strain by on-going rural economic reforms. This paper explores one instance of a community attempting to challenge such trends, through the initiation of a farming co-operative in rural Mid Wales (UK) named after their local river - Pontbren. The group came together to explore ways to improve the resilience of their farms and acknowledged the benefits of cooperative working from the outset as a means to attract a higher profile and greater scope in their plans. Subsequently, they have been celebrated for their environment achievements, gaining scientific support and political interest, marking them out as a 'best practice' case. This paper reflects on the co-operative dimensions of their working and how this contributed to their overall success. It also considers the social dynamics and learning involved, with careful balances evident between the farmers' desires for autonomy and their care and investment in the group. These behaviours and experiences will be positioned in relation to the specific characteristics and context of the group, and consideration made of their resultant political potency.

Dairy co-ops: stronghold of productivism or "fertile ground" for change?

Jeremie Forney

Bern University of Applied Sciences - HAFL, Zollikofen, Switzerland

Current debates on the role of farmers' cooperative structures in the shaping of the future of agri-food systems present contrasted insights. On one hand co-ops are describe as a paradigmatic locus for the development of alternative economies and sustainable futures. On the other hand, a closer examination of giant and multinational co-ops shows that such organizations might lead the way to neo-productivist food systems. These tensions are clearly related to the ontological hybridity of cooperative structures, which generally results in a combination of both market oriented thinking and democratic and solidarity based values. This paper draws on a research on local food initiatives developed by cooperative structures in the Swiss dairy industry. Results offer a much nuanced image that reflects the same tensions identified in the literature. On one hand the main actors often emphasize the economic oriented nature of these new strategies, based on market instruments of food governance (labeling, branding). The co-ops can be seen as contributing to the development of neoliberal governance of food systems. Still, on the other hand, the whole process that resulted in the implementation of these strategies has been led by values of solidarity and autonomy. This paper draws on Gibson and Graham's (2006) call for research that would "read for difference" rather than desperately look for pure and perfect alternatives to neoliberalism and tries to identify how "impure" and compromised actors such as these dairy cooperatives might in fact promote change toward more sustainable food futures.

Post-Soviet fishing collective farms as idiosyncratic assemblages of personal will, community values and socio-economic circumstance

Maria Nakhshina

University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, UK

Fishing has been the main activity and source of income in rural areas of the White Sea coast in the north-west of Russia. While perestroika and transition period have led to the dissolution of a large number of fishing collective farms, several kolkhozes have managed to survive. They sustained local communities throughout the hard 1990s and early 2000s due to the successful management of their large-scale trawling fleet. High income from the trawling has allowed kolkhozes to maintain a number of unprofitable enterprises in villages, which has provided jobs and therefore supported communities' viability.

Collective farms today perform roles similar to those during the Soviet period, as they remain the centre of economic and social activity in the village. However, what used to be enforced from above as part and parcel of the planned economy system is now to a large extent an initiative from below. Running a fishing kolkhoz can be a highly profitable business. Whether this money goes primarily to the enrichment of the managerial elite, or contributes to a community's welfare depends to a large extent on a kolkhoz chairman's personality and on the history of power relations within a given community.

This paper looks at how tensions between continuity and change, state legislation and informal arrangements, self-interest and concern for communal wellbeing come together to form idiosyncratic assemblages of contemporary Russian collective farms.

The state constitutionalisation of food sovereignty in Latin America: turning possibility into reality?

Mark Tilzey

Coventry University, Warwickshire, UK

This paper draws upon ongoing research in Latin America concerning the experience of new social movements affiliated to La Via Campesina (LVC) in pursuing food sovereignty (FS) as an alternative to neoliberal rural policy. In particular, the paper focuses on research undertaken in Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela in relation to the state constitutionalisation of FS. Most research concerning LVC/FS has tended to focus on either the local level or on the international level - relatively little research, however, has focused on social movement dynamics in relation to the state. This would seem to be a serious lacuna in research since it can be argued with some justification that the state is *the* crucial nexus through which the aims of LVC/FS may be enacted. This is so because many of the aims of LVC/FS depend crucially upon legal/institutional reforms (land reform, governance/democratic structures, etc.) that can only be enacted by, or within the context of, the state as sovereign power. The question remains, however, as to whether the formal constitutionalisation of FS, while representing a considerable achievement for anti-neoliberal social movements, is of itself sufficient to engender the substantive social relational transformations that would seem to be needed to underpin FS. With this in mind, the paper asks:

- how rural social movements promoting FS secure influence at the level of the state;
- how this influence is then translated into reforms that potentially embed FS in national policy;
- whether such preliminary reforms are sufficient to engender social relational transformations necessary for FS.

Social land use and the co-production of community food: a socially innovative approach to public sector food provisioning?

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A rich body of evidence already exists on the contributions that small scale food growing initiatives are able to make to community food security. As yet, however, whilst considerable attention has been given to community-led food growing initiatives, much less is known about the administrative contexts in which such initiatives emerge, or the role of public sector actors in bringing similar types of initiative into fruition. In seeking to address this gap, we take as our focus the governance arrangements and relational spaces of public sector led urban community food growing. Adopting a case study methodology we explore an alternative, seemingly socially innovative, public sector approach to tackling community food security (located in Hajdúnánás, eastern Hungary) which is based upon the co-production of food. Supported by a conceptual lens of social innovation, we review the potential contributions and social impact, but also the challenges and politics of a public sector led model of local food provisioning. In doing so we draw directly on the experience and prospects of public sector actors tasked with 'thinking outside of the box' and the private citizen 'clients' tasked with participating in an alternative form of food poverty programme.

Dynamics in the political potency of an organic farming movement: the case of the Czech Republic

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Among the range of social movements in rural areas, organic farming is one that can look back at a history of starting as a niche movement to becoming more and more politically recognized. In the EU, a policy was developed to legislate organic farming practice; requiring implementation at the national level. As a result, the organic movement has been increasingly drawn into politics; it is therefore interesting to study the political potency of this social movement.

The contribution looks at the dynamics of the organic farming policy network in the Czech Republic. By the time of accession to the EU in 2004, the main organic farming organization managed to become a central player in this network. In 2014, the study was repeated to analyze whether this central position could be maintained, and how the relationship between state and non-state actors had developed. To do this, a comparative formal network analysis was applied. We focused in particular on the distribution of power between actors and how capacities of policy actors have evolved over a period of ten years.

We conclude that the organic farming policy network in the Czech Republic was highly dynamic in the past ten years; it changed from one that was highly influenced by organic sector organizations to a network centralized around the Ministry of Agriculture. However, the organic farming organization managed to maintain its high reputation for organic farming policy; this creates opportunities for the organization to remain active in the policy debate.

Rural research projects as seeds of alternatives to neoliberalism

Pia Heike Johansen

University of Southern Denmark, Danish Centre for Rural Research, Esbjerg, Denmark

The paper presents the methods and results from a Danish research project from 2014 exploring the potential of rural alternative organic small-scale production and alternative urban food initiatives for rural development. The rural researchers use their position as being reflective progressive researchers making use of their critical abilities and their distance to internal conflicts of power and frustrations (Friedland, 2010). The project combines the North American and the European perspective toward to potential rural research on alternative food initiatives. The North American perspective is typically oriented at a 'social movement and radical economic change' perspective whilst the European perspective is oriented at 'institutionalisation and incremental regulations for rural development' (Hooloway et al, 2007, Fonte, 2008, Goodman, 2003). The project is based on an action-research framework, however, rather than aiming at facilitating changes at the organizational level, as is the agenda of action research method, this project aims at changing the participants' scope from a micro and meso-level to a macro level perspective (cf. Tregear, 2011). The researchers in this project initiate the creation of a rural and urban 'food' actor alliance as an alternative to the strong sector based agricultural political agenda in Denmark. The alliance is based in a rural development argument for the organisation of alternative food production, distribution and consumption. The research project seeds alternatives to neoliberalism by moving the awareness of the actors of the role of their initiatives as relevant to rural politics, not only for rural but also for urban actors.

Rural political mobilisation in response to flooding in England?

Steven Emery

University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK

The winter of 2013 in England was the wettest on record. This led to severe flooding of land and property in many parts of the country. The 2013 floods were characterised by their particular impact on rural populations and the farming community. The affected communities argued forcefully that both the response to the flooding and the management in place prior to flooding had been inadequate on account of a neglect for the needs and interests of rural communities vis-à-vis those living in more densely populated urban areas. This raises serious questions about the relationship between procedural and distributional concepts of justice in flood management and the wider implications of a shifting flood policy discourse toward 'natural flood management'. Has the conceptualisation of rural communities as living in 'natural floodplains' rendered their susceptibility to flooding inevitable and acceptable in the eyes of policy makers? Moreover, how have rural populations and the farming community responded to this sense of injustice and how effective have they been? This paper focuses on the role of Flood Action Groups and other organisations set up in response to the flooding. Initial research suggests these organisations began campaigning on issues relating to flooding but have subsequently broadened the scope of their political efforts. The research examines the Somerset Levels Flood Action group and questions its capacity to achieve anything other than short-term political results. In doing so it also questions the pluralisation of organisations campaigning on 'political' issues in rural settings.

By-passing the State: fossil fuel divestment and the Galilee Basin, Australia

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Concerns are mounting that the burning of fossil fuel reserves will result in dangerous levels of climate change. Despite this, resource rich countries like Australia have strong state support for the continued extraction of coal, offering subsidies and regulatory concessions to mining corporations. Upscaling of coal extraction has been controversial in Australia, with civil society groups protesting about impacts on water, farmland, climate, biodiversity and the Great Barrier Reef. These concerns have been largely dismissed by the State, with Prime Minister Tony Abbott stating that, "coal is good for humanity". This paper reports on a case study of the expansion of coal mining in the Galilee Basin, Central Queensland which is serviced by the Abbot Point coal terminal, adjacent to the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park. Building upon New Social Movement theory, we report on the democratization of fossil fuel protest as alliances are formed across multiple scales (local, regional and global) involving a diverse range of actors (eg. farmers, 'greenies', investors, NGOs) deploying various strategies (eg. blockades, 'locking-on' and divestment campaigns). In particular, we focus on the divestment campaigns in terms of global reach, enrolment of powerful actors and the reputational and economic risk for investor organisations. By addressing environmental concerns via mechanisms of finance, the global divestment campaign directly addresses corporate power, bypassing and challenging the neoliberal state as the principal apparatus for social change.

On the possibility of transnational cooperation between local movements challenged by multinational pulp and paper companies in the neoliberal world

Sakari Hänninen

National Institute for Health and Welfare, Helsinki, Finland

There has been a deep-going global transformation in the pulp and paper industry resulting in closing down of industrial plants in Europe and the flight of investments to Latin-America and Asia. I shall especially focus on the connection between Finland and Brazil which has become one of the main regions of operation for the Nordic pulp and paper companies like Stora Enso offering a case to study a multinational company in action in stock-managerial capitalism.

I shall explain how this capital flight has exposed rural communities in northern Finland to severe crisis such as high unemployment, and how the establishment of pulp and paper plants in Brazil has turned upside-down vital connections between people, land and nature. The most drastic hardships are encountered by people who have been driven out of their land.

The possibility of transnational cooperation between rural social movements in countries like Finland and Brazil is the key question. Activists of the *Kemijärvi Mass movement* and the *Landless Workers' Movement* met in Finland discussing the possibility of common action, as this is absolutely necessary for challenging the global strategy of these multinationals. This cooperation did not, this time, take off very well for a number of reasons which I try to analyze more carefully. This paper examines the 'political potency' of these movements in a neoliberal world.

Rural youth vulnerability to populism as a pro-democratic choice? Experiencing inequalities as catalyst or inhibitor of anti-neoliberal civic involvement?

Monika Kwiecinska-Zdrenka

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Polish youth if present in public sphere at all, is more and more attracted by movements perceived as populisms.

Rural youth is detached from the public sphere for different reasons; the nature of democracy itself; the crisis of idea of democracy, the glamour of consumer culture, but also the specific tensions caused by the gap between aspirations and possibilities and inequalities and deprivations experienced by them.

What are the catalysts or inhibitors of rural youth civic involvement? Do they search for alternatives to neoliberal policy? What makes rural youth vulnerable to populisms? Can the support of populist ideas be perceived as a pro-democratic choice or the act of performative democracy (Matynia) based on naming disfunctions and questioning the legitimacy of institutions and practices by local actors?

These and other questions are answered based on empirical data from pseudo-dynamic quantitative study of 16, 19 and 30 year old Poles but also case study of young farmers promoting Community Supported Agriculture.

Enabling diversity: the 'Organic Hay Region'

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The 'Organic Hay Region' in the border area Salzburg - Upper Austria (Austria) is an association that focuses its effort to reconnect people, land, and nature through artfully reframing and revaluing traditional practices to address current concerns. The association strengthens regional identity through organic farming and maintaining the traditional practice of preserving cut grass through making hay (rather than silage) to feed dairy cows. It critically engages with neoliberalism and contests the excesses linked with the international agri-industrial complex. The association does so by innovating on-farm, exploring new market-based openings, promoting a diversity of collaborative initiatives and mobilizing stakeholders beyond the 'citizen farmer'.

Farmers' cooperation and alternatives to neo liberal rural policy: young farmers' initiatives in Italy

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Young farmers are actually the main actors of an innovation process leading to a new model of agriculture and rural development based on social and environmental concerns as well as economic sustainability. Young farmers revitalise the rural sector with initiatives that encounter the need of consumers and society transforming consumers in co-producers. Success factors are the use of new ICT tools in an innovative way, the entrepreneurial capacity to transform environmental friendly practices in competitive advantages, and a new interest and capacity to create synergies through cooperation. Young farmers are nodes of a broader rural web physically based in specific rural areas but connecting people/consumers all over the world. This new entrepreneurial model is based on reciprocity, cooperative attitude, autonomy, and the responsible management of Common-Pool Resources. This model goes beyond the neo-liberal rural model and creates the need of a reconsideration of rural policies. In the paper we will present the results of recent research carried out in Italy on the role of young farmers and the construction of a future of rural areas in a changing society.

Social formation and transformation of alternative food networks and initiatives

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This paper introduces a quantitative investigation of new food-driven urban-rural dynamics. It explores different forms of social and political organising in and across urban and rural settings and discusses whether such organising plant ‘seeds’ of alternatives to neoliberalism.

The paper applies a dissymmetric understanding of power and resistance and looks at new forms of organising as moving *away* from the mechanical everyday rhythms of the global corporate food regime (McMichael, 2009) instead of a resistance *against* it. This understanding draws upon recent rhizomatic interpretations of the work of Elias Canetti and points to a notion of resistance as being creative and transformative, overarchingly human and embodied (Brighenti, 2011). With this approach, the paper contributes to existing literature concerning alternative food initiatives, putting emphasis on emergence, multiplicities and the ephemeral within urban-rural dynamics and encounters.

The starting point is provided by a quantitative telephone survey of 600 people from Copenhagen (August 2014). The touched topics were: Acquisition of food; Information about food; Importance of different qualities of food; Desires about acquiring food and; Politics – to what extent is it a political issue to spread knowledge and information about local food.

The paper elaborates on the applied rhizomatic interpretations of power and resistance by investigating these issues quantitatively. This puts demands on the design of the survey and the wording of the questions. In this way, the paper contributes to a somewhat performative approach to understanding power by analysing the qualitative question on the basis of a quantitative data set.

Bottom-up responses to a post-neo-liberal rural: the case of Ireland

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This paper explores local development agencies in rural Ireland and illustrates that the existing bottom-up framework that has been in place over a number of decades has the potential to deliver to the needs of its community stakeholders. However, as a country, Ireland is enveloped in legacies that dominate political debate, policy and decision making. In particular, post-colonial narratives dictate much of the thinking around landuse, planning and housing. Add to this the neo-liberal approaches embraced by national government, top-down political decision making tends to be ideologically obscure and driven by short-termism. Taking a positive perspective, the collapse of the Irish economy acted as a reminder to citizens and policy-makers that there needs to be a re-focus on 'what we are good at' i.e. harnessing those assets that already exist. A renewed emphasis on high quality and artisan food production is an example of this. On the negative side, the formulation and implementation of policies for rural areas 'struggle' to strike a balance between emotive, links to the fuzzy notion of what it is to be rural in modern Ireland, and the recognition post-collapse, that evidence based policy is central to good governance, government and decision making. In the post-collapse era, national government has sought to 'realign' local development processes in order to increase the responsibilities held by a relatively powerless local government. It is argued that the existing local development networks that have the capacity to provide for this post-neo-liberal rural that national government is struggling to address.

Building a rural future in Valparaíso, Chile, via ‘Participatory Innovation’: methodical governance of complexity as a seed for post-neoliberal policy

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This paper will describe an experience of rural futures building at the regional scale in Valparaíso, Chile, through the ‘strong’ participation of all relevant actors (public, private, citizen, research), which is leading to results that may be significant towards a post-neoliberal world. The experience is led by a research entity and is already four years old. Three initial results will be discussed: (a) the ten-dimensional, content-rich ‘action map’: a consensus vision of future that makes the process’s complexity understandable and manageable; (b) the innovations portfolio, so far involving 111 public-interest initiatives, none of which could be undertaken as a private business; and (c) the specific initiative to build up a regional, multi-actor governance for water resources, which seeks common good objectives within a national context of privatised water rights and growing water conflict.

The experience applies the Participatory Innovation (PI) Model, a new research-based, action-oriented approach for dealing with high-complexity problems, i.e., those involving multiple actors, themes, disciplines and cultures. PI has been developed in Chile by the author since the 1980’s; it is grounded on social systems thinking or complex thinking; its principles, theory, methods and tools have been validated through some 80 projects in many fields; it has led to significant policy impacts, such as saving 10,000 lives from traffic accidents or keeping Santiago’s air clean over two decades. As a key feature, PI does not impose simplifications upon social reality: its concepts and tools allow social complexity to become a rich source of innovations.

When communities must create local development - the neo-endogenous model in practice

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In the neoliberal universe local development has become increasingly dependent on the ability of local communities to create and safeguard local development. Their strategic capacity has become urgent. This paper is about the experience of building local strategic capacity in peripheral rural communities. It is based on a number of theories and especially the neo-endogenous concept. The concept has been elaborated to a model that is in use and tested in an ongoing study in five different peripheral, rural communities in Denmark. The use of the model, results and experiences will be presented. Among the results and the experiences are that three out of the five communities could make use of the model and have strengthened their capacity, while the other two have only done so to a lesser extent. There may be various explanations, although local prerequisites such as widespread recognition of the need and openness towards other players than the usual in development work, e.g. external and economic agents are important.

Living utopian community? Ecovillages contesting.

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The scope of this paper is a new phenomenon of ecovillages. In the European countries ecovillages comes from the broad concept of sustainability and resilience which are their cause as well as their consequence. Ecovillages are the alternative social actors, intentional communities, emerging during past decades, growing from the critiques towards highly consumerist social values and aspiring towards concrete, more sustainable living practices and wider ecological, holistic, integrated ways of living. In the scope of place, they emerge in the rural space, and thus affirm the new rurality by bringing postmodern and postmaterialist worldview to the rural society. These communities represent inovative, reflexive social stratum born as a reaction to current local and global socio-economic conditions. In the case study of five ecovillages in Croatia we explore their late-modern reflexive and intentional character considering different aspects of their praxis and beliefs (decision making, ecological worldview, work, solidarity). Furthermore, we analyse are these communities a thread of a wider environmental social movement and do their practice of (reaffirming) communitarianism, solidarity and consensus as well as ecological thought and behaviour more integrate them with the wider (or local) society or separate them. In the conclusion we will emphasize what ecovillage worldview consists of and what kind of reflects on wider social level could bring.

Ways beyond neoliberal rural policies: the alternatives of new rural movements

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Rural neoliberalism is challenged by a variety of alternatives and ideas from new social movements, many of these connecting to the discourses of sustainable development and conviviality. We analyse and compare projects and movements combatting rural neoliberalism, asking, which ways of building new rural policies, cultures and economies are visible from local initiatives and projects? Such initiatives are rural, as 'La Via Campesina', or they follow broader aims, as the degrowth movement. The projects and initiatives we discuss are mainly from European countries, including new forms of production (food and non-food products, socially wanted land use); new cultures of consumption (food and meals, slow food, local food and geographically identified food); new rural forms of using and managing natural resources in contrast to the commercialisation of nature; new relations between rural and urban areas (beyond urban 'colonialization' of the countryside, peri-urban and urban agriculture). Further examples are projects for changing rural community life through social innovation projects that deal with gender issues, rural poverty, marginalisation, and integration of newcomers and migrants. We conclude from the comparison of the movement projects that they are not sufficient to solve the problems created by rural neoliberalism. But the variety of ideas and their combination can help to create new ways to rural futures that can be integrated in the scenarios are from the global sustainability debate.

Working Group 2: What are the impacts and implications of alternative food practices in a post-neoliberal transition?

Co-conveners: Damian Maye[1], Jessica Duncan[2],
1: *University of Gloucestershire*; 2: *Wageningen University, Netherlands*

Working group description

Resistance to the neoliberal food system is made visible through a multitude of innovative practices that serve to undermine, reinforce or provide alternatives to the status quo. More specifically, new governance arrangements aimed at supporting sustainable and just food systems are being imagined and tested by new and increasingly diverse alliances of actors. Within these new arrangements, actors previously on the margins are claiming a central place in governance debates while simultaneously expanding their scope. Actors engaged in these innovative food practices are dealing with complex and interrelated questions of culture, health, sustainability, trust, ethics, values, and solidarity. To address these shifts there have been attempts to design new models of assessment to better capture changing values and objectives. Novel niche practices related to the production, distribution and consumption of food are similarly being advanced and re-imagined with the potential to support or weaken a post-neoliberal transition. Moreover, consideration of these practices highlights multiple and competing pathways for transition. Working Group 2a brings together a diverse set of concrete cases and proposals for new theoretical frameworks that consider pathways, implications and impacts of practices aimed at shifting the food system towards one that is more just and sustainable.

Alternative food networks in the postcolonial world: indigeneity and struggles for food sovereignty

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Food sovereignty means the project of carving out a separate or at least partially autonomous space - that is, an alternative political, economic, ecological and/or cultural space - for the production, exchange and consumption of food. This means the promotion of food systems based on a diversity of alternatives to market liberal systems of accumulation, appropriation and reproduction, some of which coincide with or indeed enter into neoliberal spaces. This paper is based on the introduction to a forthcoming edited volume of the same title (2016. Routledge), which seeks to open up discussion about whether and how postcolonial and indigenous formations of alternatives to neoliberal food networks differ fundamentally from those that are emerging as post-neoliberal transitions in the global North. It is based on the premise that postcolonial and indigenous peoples have different demands, values, beliefs, reasonings, etc. and different openings for agency due to structural and epistemic violences of colonialism and its aftermath. The growing work on AFNs continues to focus on knowledges, practices and state-market-civil society relations in the minority world to the exclusion of a diversity of alternative-mainstream relations in the majority world. While the need to uncover 'alternatives to the alternatives' has long been recognised in the agri-food literature, as yet there have been no collective efforts to explore AFNs in the postcolonial world. With examples from the volume's chapters, the paper seeks to illustrate particular 'alternative-mainstream' relations and openings for sovereign food spaces, which reflect varied forms of subversion or accommodation to 'mainstream' foodways.

“She can feed a hungry planet”: analysing biopolitics and gender in world food security systems?

Uschi Bay

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Women, specifically African small landholder farmers, have been identified recently as playing a key role in feeding our hungry planet. This claim is based on population statistics that promote that the poorest women on the planet can produce 25% of the world's food. This discourse has been promoted by Non-Government organisations, United States foreign agricultural policy (2012) and billion dollar agribusinesses (2014). In this paper I will explore this kind of problematisation and responsabilisation of specifically African women smallholder farmers by drawing on Foucault's notion of biopolitics in order to elaborate on the encounter between life and politics. The proposition that this sub-population of women can feed a hungry planet and that agribusiness, NGO's and foreign agricultural policy can “help her do it” locates this endeavour within an empowerment discourse. My questions in this paper are: Could this appealing and alluring promoting of food security through small-scale farming and the responsabilisation of women continue supremacist discourse through the introduction of range of biopolitical technologies into post-colonial settings? What can this positive and productive form of power relations enable and constrain, and for whom? What does the promotion women smallholder farmers as responsible for environmental sustainability, increasing profitability and capacity to feed the hungry mean for those involved. Do biopolitical strategies and values intensify the significance of African women smallholder farmers' lives and rather than empowering them are biopolitical investments in their food growing also an excuse for making these women more subjectable while legitimising an increasing interference in their lives?

Acknowledging complexity in 21st-century food systems when assessing their performance

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The last 10 years or so have been epitomised by food price volatility, concerns about food and nutrition security, burgeoning obesity (especially within the Western world), and a growing awareness of the threat posed by climate change. Taken together, this confluence of 'intensifying circumstances' (Hinrichs 2014, 144) is creating a sense of urgency to re-examine the sustainability, equitability and performance of food systems. In response to these pressures, there is a growing literature associated with the notion of 'sustainability transitions' and the creation of a possible paradigm of food system governance that recognises the need to consider making fundamental changes to the ways in which food systems operate in practice. This putative paradigm intrinsically recognises the values of post-normal science (Funtowicz and Ravetz, 1993), wherein complexity, uncertainty, incomplete data and multiple stakeholder perspectives are explicitly acknowledged. Drawing on the findings of an EC-funded project, GLAMUR - *Global and local food chain assessment: a multidimensional performance-based approach*, this paper argues for the need to acknowledge and access the multiple meanings that are attributed to both food and food supply chains. It does this through developing a multi-criteria matrix of food chain performance that encompasses the perceptions of actors across four different spheres of debate and communication (public, market, scientific and policy), as well as across five dimensions of food chain performance (economic, social, environmental, health and ethical). In so doing, this paper provides both empirical evidence and theoretical insights into the relative performance and sustainability of 21st-century food systems.

Sustainability assessment of Swedish agriculture

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Increased populations and wealth leading to more affluent diets, competition for land between different societal interests, biodiversity protection, food, feed, material, and energy production, as well as the impact of climate change on agricultural production, place unprecedented demands on future food production. At the same time, agriculture must reduce the enormous pressures it puts on climate, biodiversity, water and the nutrient cycles. A steady decline in Swedish livestock production together with increased political instability in the East European region has also increased the focus on ensuring national food security. Quantitative and qualitative assessments of what constitutes a sustainable production system now and in the future are indispensable to ensure that farming can tackle these combined challenges. With a focus on Swedish farming contexts, this project aims at studying different strategies for measuring and addressing sustainability in agriculture. With a focus on farm level impact, the project aims both at making an actual evaluation of the comprehensiveness of different available tools in actually dealing with this complex picture, as well as discussing the underlying assumptions and power relations influencing the design and implementation of different tools. Questions that guide the project include:

Who and what sets the agenda for current sustainability assessments of agriculture?

- Can current sustainability assessments deal with this increasing complexity?
- How do tools for assessing sustainability need to be adapted for supporting a more radical change to take place?

Local and global responsibilities in a transforming foodscape - producers' and consumers' views on care and ethics

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Producers and consumers are increasingly seen as responsible for sustainable food practices. In West-Europe scholars have signaled a media and policy discourse positioning the consumer as co-responsible for solving environmental and societal problems through 'ethical consumption'. Likewise producers are encouraged to contribute to public goods through e.g. the EU policies, and bad farming practices (for example animal welfare or bad treatment of foreign born workers) feature high in the media. It is clear that food consumption and production is about more than just nutrients and money.

Though academic literature features both studies on ethical consumerism and (fewer) studies on producers' ethical reflections, such studies have not compared considerations of producers and consumers. Especially interesting is comparing such considerations for local food because local food discourses often include explicit ideas of responsibility for the near-environment, supporting local farmers, avoiding foods from perceived unfair global production chains etc.

Local food products thus form a meeting place for producer and consumer considerations, which raises questions on how ideas of what is local, ethical or responsible is negotiated. Drawing on an in-depth interview study this paper highlights the way care and ethics is negotiated in relation to local and global responsibilities, everyday production and consumption practices and its impact on the social and environmental sustainability in a wider context.

The contribution of home food gardens to alternative food systems - the case of Slovenia

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Self-sufficiency and self-provisioning with quality food via home food gardens (HFGs) play an increasingly important role in the current discussion about industrial food systems and sustainable alternatives. In Slovenia, a country dominated by rural areas, around 40% of the population is involved in home garden-based food production.

The study explores the phenomenon of HFGs in today's Slovenia looking into gardening households' motivations for food self-provisioning (FSP), the gardens' contribution to household food security and ecological relevant characteristics like management practices and produce diversity. The applied mixed methods approach includes an analysis of quantitative data on FSP from a nationwide household budget survey (n=3665) and additional 18 qualitative in-depth interviews. Results show that even after Slovenia's transition into a market-based economy the tradition of FSP with HFGs is persisting, but has an uncertain future. HFGs serve as sources of mostly organically produced food providing a wide informal network with fresh food and are further social places of gathering and knowledge exchange. The management practices and the structure of HFGs anticipate a positive contribution to urban and rural ecosystems. HFGs represent an interesting and widely underestimated, less 'radical' contribution to alternative food systems, which coexists with the current neo-liberal system. Therefore, to secure continuity and to increase sustainability a modernized interpretation of HFGs is needed in the discussion about alternative food systems.

Post-socialist sharing economy: home grown food and informal distribution networks

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In the last quarter-century European post-socialist societies have experienced some of the most profound instances of economic neoliberalisation. While the processes of marketisation and privatisation were initially externally driven by international institutions, domestically the market also enjoyed an elevated symbolic status as part of 'civilising mechanisms' destroyed under socialism. With the focus of post-socialist food scholarship on either the macro-processes of neoliberalisation of the agri-food sector or market-based food relocalisation (farmers' markets, local certification), it has been largely overlooked that Central and East European societies harbour localised informal practices such as household food production and surplus distribution that defy the dominant neo-liberal trends. While not necessarily perceived as sites of resistance to market capitalism, these spaces are viewed by practitioners as constituting valuable domains of culturally motivated human interactions. The paper shows that these spaces nurture - through enjoyment - trust, cooperation, mutual help and efficient use of resources and hence, by extension, greater personal and local resilience. Empirically the paper is based on recent research into extensive networks of informal sharing of surplus food produced by households in Moravia, Czech Republic, and on a case study of a local shop selling home-grown surplus food at non-market prices. The paper raises the question whether there is a possibility for the western 'core' and the increasingly affluent societies of the global South to learn from food transitions in the European 'post-socialist periphery'.

Niche-innovations between breaks and continuities with the regime? A case study into the dairy sector in Belgium.

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Today, the absolute dichotomy between alternative food networks (AFNs) and the conventional agrofood system tends to be obsolete. Indeed, many AFNs are far from being radical and are more likely to maintain relations with the current socio-technical regime between breaks and continuities. This contribution is a complement to the Transition Theory and the Multi-Level Perspective by underlying the fragile borders between the two levels of the niche-innovations and the socio-technical regime: some imperfect projects, full of contradictions, are participating to the transition of the system. This is particularly true in the case of highly locked in systems.

The dairy sector in Western European countries is one of those highly locked in systems. Our case study, the Belgian fair-trade milk 'Fairebel', is a project built by dairy farmers to react to the 2009 dairy crisis and to the increasingly neoliberal dairy sector; and to get a better price (or fair price) for their activity. However, the concretization of this project brought its share of contradictions regarding the common definition of fair trade milk. As a result, the 'Fairebel' project maintains relations between breaks and continuities with the regime. This contribution suggests modes of governance for the stakeholders of these non-radical niches which are precious to engage change in highly locked in system without being picked up by the dominant regime and thus, keep this regime under pressure.

Transformations towards resilience within the food system: scaling up two organic food value chains in Sweden

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The present context of a compounded environmental, climate and socio-economic crisis points to a need for transitions towards a more resilient society. In short, resilience involves the capacity to cope with change through adaptation, continual development and renewal. Transitions to resilience are needed not least within the global food system, which has failed to meet core sustainability challenges in terms of reducing environmental, climate and social destruction.

Organic food value chains are among the emerging alternatives to the hegemonic food system. However, there are few examples of such chains that have expanded substantially beyond their niches, without becoming incorporated into the mainstream food system. This paper discusses two cases of organic food value chains in Sweden: Ekolådan, an organic box-scheme, and Upplandsbondens, a farmer owned cooperative selling organic meat. The study explores the internal and external challenges and opportunities for scaling up these mid-scale organic food chains. While the two case studies have followed different trajectories and have sprung from different contexts, they have both dealt with growth and crisis in more or less resilient ways.

The first analysis shows that cross-scale resilience is crucial for the successful growth of the studied cases. This means there is a need for resilience on multiple scales, in terms of generational/professional regrowth, diversity, food citizenship, political support, and ethical/value shifts, as part of wider transitions towards resilience within the context of a hegemonic food system.

Where the system is creaking. Transitions and alternatives in the rural context

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The deficiencies expressed by the dominant model of agricultural production and the neoliberal policies that drive it, show the need to rethink the role of the rural context in food production. The need to overcome the framework of polarization between producers and consumers, rural and urban, ecology and economy, creates local spaces that are moving towards a new paradigm. Dynamics that recover a socio-cultural perspective linked to relationships, shared values and sustainable management of production, show cases of alternatives and transitions.

The paper aims to introduce experiences on local food production, through the analysis of empiric cases of organic holdings and farms, placed in the natural sub-region of Moianès (Catalonia, Spain).

Identified experiences are articulated in a complex node of elements: sustainable land management, dynamics of cooperation between producers, local community participation, projects promoted by local entities.

Although the Moianès showed common critical elements to many European rural areas (depopulation, land abandonment, unemployment...) along the years and has been affected in a more recent context of crisis by the austerity policies (eg. public cost reduction and cuts), the socioeconomic data and the experiences analysed present a different outcome.

This research refers to a qualitative methodology realized through multiple tools (informal talks, semi-structured interviews and participant observation). Data has been collected between 2010 and beginning of 2015. This paper also represents an extract of a broader reflection and part of a documental research and field work realized for a PhD in Sociology completed in 2012.

Bricolage for self-sufficiency: an analysis of alternative food initiatives' structure

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Agro-food systems dominating in national markets across the world could be described as conventional - extremely global, always searching for the way how to expand the scale of their actions and always expected to be economically competitive. Although we are also witnessing growing support to alternative agro-food system interpretation in recent decades, evidence suggest it is difficult for actors representing alternative chains to structure their actions in a way that would allow long term self-sufficiency without losing the initial characteristics. Furthermore, alternativeness has mainly been interpreted as local and context based, i.e., the idea of alternative agro-food systems allows creating valuable theoretical opposition to conventional however, it may fail when it comes to practical implementation - local activists will still have to find a solution how to adapt local initiatives to functioning in the local context.

In this paper we compare the social and organisational mechanisms of two alternative food initiatives from Riga and Bristol from the perspective of bricolage approach. The concept 'bricolage' refers to free use of any resources at hand accepting that these resources might not be the perfect materials needed yet stressing the corresponding characteristics that would help reaching the original goals. Such use of 'what fits' and 'what's at hand' may lead to unexpected results and new solutions that consequently lead to new forms of alternativeness. Thus in this paper we claim that local nature of alternative food initiatives can be better understood if instead of searching for absolute solutions we analyse adaptation strategies.

Farmstart Manchester-the first organic farm business incubator in the UK

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Farmstart Manchester is the first organic farm business incubator in the UK. It was established in March 2013. It can be seen as an example of a food system transition in a rural-urban context - a niche activity supporting a transition to just and sustainable food practices. The concept is that a group of 'TestCroppers' each rent part of a field and benefit from shared facilities, equipment, training and marketing. People from an urban background can therefore experiment with organic market gardening with a relatively small investment. The concept is well-established in the USA and Canada and achievements there are briefly highlighted: the Manchester Farmstart fields cover a 0.8 hectare site 24 km from Manchester - a 30 minute drive. The fields are a flat fertile site leased from an established organic farm, so the land already has organic certification. Farmstart aims to attract new blood into farming at a time when over half of UK farmers are 55 or older and only 5 per cent were under 35 years old. The papers discusses the detailed arrangements whereby TestCroppers are recruited and the way FarmStart is organized in terms of the support offered to TestCroppers and the work they are expected to do in return. The differing commitment of TestCroppers to Farmstart is discussed. For some growers this is close to a fulltime activity. For others they spend a few hours a week tending their crops.

Exploring the adaptive capacity of growing mid-scale organic value chains in Europe

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It is clear that the industrialised food system is in need of a transformation into something less environmentally and socially destructive and less vulnerable to scarcity of non-renewable resources. While there are alternatives, there are very few examples of alternative/organic/localised/civic food systems that have been able to grow out of their niche and make a substantial difference. The examples that are available can tell us a lot about what it takes to create new models within the hegemonic food system and about what is needed for such food chains to develop and maintain momentum.

Using some key notions in resilience thinking, this paper explores the adaptive capacity of organic food value chains from 10 European countries that have been able to grow trying not to compromise their integrity and values. Adaptive capacity in this context is the ability of food system actors to manage their food value chain as to enhance desired resilience. Key aspects of adaptive capacity that are often mentioned are diversity, trust, social networks and learning.

While all cases have different trajectories and are embedded in different national contexts they have experienced challenges with which they have dealt more or less effectively, drawing on their adaptive capacity. For example, mid-scale organic value chain initiatives that use diversity as a strategy (products, involved actors, knowledge etc.), that work to establish long-term partnerships and that enhance learning potential are more likely to embark on a trajectory that builds resilience.

Countercultural convenience: access to 'alternative' food system quality attributes online

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Despite the growth of Alternative Food System (AFS) manifestations such as farmers' markets and consumer food co-operatives, evidence exists to suggest these provisioning systems remain the preserve of relatively affluent consumers. At the same time, the growing popularity of internet enabled e-commerce is resulting in fundamental changes to many markets, including claims that there is a structural shift by consumers away from mass marketed products towards niche markets, such as those which characterise AFS. This paper explores these issues and offers new insight into how e-commerce, as a transformative innovation, might attract more resource constrained consumers to AFS while also retaining the quality conventions which currently mark AFS as 'alternative'.

To demonstrate this possibility, a new theoretical model is advanced which incorporates both the language of AFS, as well as the neoliberal language of firm level strategy as it relates to e-commerce and niche markets. This capacity stems from a novel integration of Michael Porter's theory of generic strategy, the product lifecycle theory and French conventions theory. The latter is particularly useful as a tool for highlighting differences in production systems based upon different consumer and producer quality conventions.

Empirical data from a survey of 375 consumers who regularly acquired food through either e-commerce or non e-commerce mediated AFS is also presented. This data is useful for testing the validity of the proposed theoretical model.

In conclusion, this paper addresses how e-commerce is altering consumer access to AFS, including in ways which have a neoliberalising influence on 'alternative' quality attributes.

Agrobiodiversity fairs target urban elites: when the ‘food of the poor’ gets trendy

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Agrobiodiversity fairs, held in indigenous villages of the Lake Titicaca region, are events in which indigenous smallholder farmers are given the opportunity to showcase - in front of other farmers, political authorities, and urban dwellers (particularly scientists, chefs, journalists and potential buyers) - the agricultural varieties they own and the traditional dishes they prepare with native ingredients. These initiatives - introduced by external urban-based organisations - aim at revaluing native agricultural varieties, while improving smallholder farmers' living conditions and self-esteem by giving visibility and recognition to their conservation efforts. They also foster the creation of selling opportunities for farmers by building on urban dwellers' renewed interest in traditional foods prepared with locally and organically grown crops. These recently launched but already successful events must be situated in the specific context of the Bolivian Altiplano Norte in which a discourse revolving around food sovereignty, *vivir bien* and anti-imperialism, endorsed and sponsored by the central government and rooted in indigenous values, coexists with a boosting market economy based on trade, private and collective entrepreneurship, and an increasing commodification of agricultural resources and food. By anticipating a post-neoliberal transition, which has not yet occurred at the broader society level, Bolivian urban elites have become the new consumers of native agricultural varieties and traditional foods, once relegated to rural areas and stigmatized as the food of the poor, and now at the core of an exclusive niche market. But are smallholder farmers the real winners?

Investigating cultural sustainability in urban agriculture: the case of Ghent, Belgium

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Current mainstream food systems are increasingly under pressure, and the number of new production and consumption activities that challenge the neoliberal food systems is constantly increasing. These activities (may) contribute to a transition towards more sustainable food systems. Urban agriculture is the umbrella term for a diverse number of activities, ranging from community supported agriculture, balcony gardening and short food supply chains, to high-tech rooftop horticulture. The attractiveness of these lies in their contribution to a myriad development goals, such as localization of food systems, social inclusion and climate mitigation. If and how these contributions are more or less driven by or linked with culture (cultural values, attitudes and practices), remains often hidden in the analysis of food systems.

This paper analyses urban agriculture with the use of a recently developed conceptual framework that combines 'sustainable development' and 'culture'. These concepts have been widely discussed in scientific debates, but until now only rarely combined. The framework introduces three different combinations of culture and sustainable development: culture as 'a fourth pillar' of sustainable development, alongside the ecological, social and economic pillars; 'culture as a catalyst' in sustainable development; and 'sustainable culture' when sustainable development is fully embedded in culture. This framework will be operationalised to explore the cultural aspects/dimensions related to Urban agriculture in Ghent, Belgium. Consequently, the paper will contribute to a more theoretical discussion on food systems in an urbanised context and empirically to the role of urban agriculture in sustainable transitions.

Short food supply chain, long working days. Addressing 'healthy work' and social sustainability in organic market gardening

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Organic farming combined with short food supply chains appears as a promising alternative to liberalism and industrial agriculture. As now strongly admitted, it contributes to redesign relations between production and consumption, between cities and rural spaces. It is also based on more friendly and respectful relations with environment and biodiversity and it allows food quality and diversity. Market gardeners are probably one of the most emblematic farming group that can easily get involved in short food supply chains (such as the AMAP, but not only). We consider that a 'healthy work', to refer to Karasek and Theorell's approach, and a good quality of working life is one of the key, and / but underexplored, dimensions of the social sustainability of these alternative systems, beside environmental and economic justice. This paper is therefore dedicated to analyse 'organic work' at the production and marketing level, in the case of species diversified market gardeners involved in short-food chains supply. It is based on an empirical fieldwork in the south of France, around the city of Avignon, in an area specialized in vegetable production. The analysis is grounded on the following paradox: in these systems, work is generally described as much more important but also much more satisfying. Exploring this paradox, we will pay attention to the way and the conditions under which organic farming and SFSC can redesign farmer's job and work, and contribute to social sustainability.

Horticulture in urban gardens as a way of promoting food citizenship

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This paper investigates horticultural activities in urban gardens in the Czech Republic namely in Prague. The activities are addressed in terms of civic food networks which are newly emerging form of consumer - producer relations where the main activity comes from the consumer side. It is a sort of paradox because it represents collaborative governance that encourages citizen participation and volunteerism on one side but also neglects the role of the state. The research findings demonstrate how this movement contributes to more sustainable consumption although verbally proclaiming 'laissez faire' ideology. Semi-structured interviews focused mainly on dietary patterns of urban gardeners showed that they are actively participating in new food citizenship. They are growing their own food thus they are directly involved in food production activities. By eating locally, seasonally and often environment-friendly grown food urban gardeners are contributing to more sustainable diet. It was also noticed that once they eat 'grow-it-yourself' food they do not buy conventionally grown food anymore because they seek for the new specific quality which often result in joining also other forms of alternative food networks. Paradoxically, some ideas of neoliberalism (which they tacitly echo) drive them out of main-stream economics forming 'islands of positive deviation' in the 'sea of neoliberalism'. This paradox will be considered in details.

Working Group 3: Public goods in agriculture and rural areas: Negotiating the shared social and environmental dimensions

Convenors: Catherine Darrot[1,2], Philippe Boudes[1,2], Diana Feliciano[3], Diane Giorgis[4], Paul Swagemakers[5]

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Working group description

The issues suggested for this XXVIth congress about changes and property relations in a neoliberal world are closely related to public and common goods thinking, both as justification and channel of social and public action in rural development.

The concept of public good has been developed by economists and answers a strict neo-classical economic definition, based on non-rivality and non-excludability which excludes it from market rules. This would justify the necessity of public support and of public policies and regulations.

Social sciences have more recently underlined the increasing success of the notions of public and common goods, understood as both useful to the community and needing to be managed by that community in order to insure their optimal use, production or preservation. This necessitates a public agreement, based on social processes, on the definition of their usefulness and desirability. Common goods are overlapping public goods when coming to the understanding of their publicisation process (Kaul and Mendoza, 2003).

The provision, use and management of agriculture-based common and public goods are objects of negotiations between all the stakeholders involved: farmers, citizens, decision makers, land managers are involved in the negotiation of the public and/or private usefulness of those goods, of the public and/or private rights to use them, of their best conditions of production or preservation, and of the type of public action and public policies to be designed to support them. There is a deliberation about what is common, what is desirable concerning those goods, and why and how they should be publicised. There are a large number of stakeholders involved in those debates and actions.

Though being also carried at the global level, such negotiations become strongly illustrated and concrete at the territorial level, where the effects of both production/destruction dynamics and of negotiations for use and management are directly connected to the days-to-day life of the actors in their common landscape.

Globalised influences and material flows interrelate with the negotiation of the local provision of food and connected ecosystem services. These are coming along with farming: farmers and farming enterprises can play an active role in the provision of public goods and services of importance to them.

We welcome theoretical and empirical contributions on

- The (distinguishing) interrelations between 'public' and 'common' based on the analysis of social processes linked to rural, forestry and agricultural issues
- The interrelations between empirical dynamics and new vocabulary in public policies, of which recent CAP negotiations
- The different interpretations and perceptions of citizens, farmers and / or entrepreneurs on the inclusion of public goods in their action; How to position family farmers in these dynamics.
- Case studies centred on public and common goods in rural areas and agriculture, analysed as objects of negotiations about their public value, definition, production, use and management. We will particularly welcome analysis dedicated to the case of forests of which their role in climate change mitigation and adaptation ; to edible landscapes and/or forests ;to interactions dynamics between citizens, farmers, landowners, forest keepers as public/common goods managers and protectors

Contributors accepted to this working group would have to write an extended abstract (max 2 page A4) that they should share before the congress, and present in a short introduction at the congress. Some of the sessions will be organised by means of the fishbowl method.

Farmers production of public goods. Sociological approach of an economic construction.

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This communication is part of the ANR research program BipPop that addresses the issue of public goods through agriculture. We will mainly develop here the theoretical background needed to study the farmers' production of public goods, through a non-economic approach addressing their social construction. The first part presents the basic definitions of public goods and describes their labelisation and re-appropriation process (Kuhn, 1968) by the neoclassical theory.

The second part shows this labelisation's main difficulties, limiting the public goods' reading to the sole individual rationality, considering those goods as de-moralized and, from a practical point of view, preventing fully legitimate denomination of public goods.

The third part deals with the social construction of public goods. We will mobilize and expand the process of publicizing goods proposed by Kaul and Mendoza (2003), then we will associate a conceptual and economic reality of public goods with a normative dimension and another ontological.

We show that these distinctions are recurrent in several analyses of public goods, reflecting the diversity of frameworks for defining public goods. These frameworks must be differentiated, as sociological works invite us to do, because they designate a reality by nature, by ultimate purpose or by ontology. It is the inclusion of these frameworks which permits to embrace the process of publicizing and recall the need to take in account the social dynamics in the construction of public goods.

Finally, we explain how these reflections have opened the research program on the production of public goods by farmers themselves.

Technical practices as a negotiation basis for farms public goods provisions

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This paper presents the results of a sociological research project carried between 2011 and 2013 and dedicated to public policies supporting the provision of public goods in agriculture. We addressed four Fields: French regions of Haut-Var and of Marne, The British Exmoor National Park, the Polish region of Pieniny (Malopolska). Our research questions were: What are the objects identified by the farmers themselves as public goods? How are these objects supported by public policy? How to confront the objectives of these two frameworks and which are the results in terms of protection / destruction pathways for these objects?

We analyse public goods as objects of negotiations between farmers and public action. Beyond the negotiation stage itself, we focus on technical practices of the farmer as the result of this negotiation, and eventually as a practical framework for renegotiation of the agreement.

We will first present the context of this research as well as elements of the definitions of public goods that we selected, and methodological aspects. We will then present our main results and comments. Our work allowed us to identify two categories of agricultural public goods: public goods spontaneously produced by farmers and supported politically only in a second time; and public goods produced under public pressure with coercive means. We will show that depending on the initial position of the farmers and of the public sphere, and on the terms of the negotiation of the publicizing of these goods, their protection / destruction pathways are different

Collective action and biodiversity conservation in dairy farming: innovative forms of organizing the provision of private, public and common goods

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In the last decades, nature and landscape qualities have been declined mainly as a result of the successful provision of food and nutrition security through scale enlargement and intensification of agricultural food production. This paper starts from the necessity of public support and of public policies and regulations for the provision, use and management of agricultural-based private, public and common goods. It explores how farmers, citizens, decision makers and land managers negotiate the best conditions for the production and preservation of private, public and common goods, understood as both useful to the community and needing to be managed by that community in order to insure their optimal use, production or preservation. Comparative research on collective action and biodiversity conservation in the dairy sector has a twofold objective: on the one hand to analyse how farmers respond to societal demand so as expressed in scenarios on EU rules and regulations for the period 2014-2020, on the other hand to understand how innovative organizational forms enhance the strengthening of innovative practice that includes farmers' contribution to the conservation of the natural resource base and, hence, the reproductive capacity and resilience of their farm practices. Research results on sustaining dairy farming and the interrelations between public (biodiversity conservation in Frisia, the Netherlands) and private payments (quality cheese production in Emilia Romagna, Italy) show how territorial agri-food initiatives comply with sustainable, social inclusive rural development and help farmers to improve multi-functionality performance of their farms. Lesson learnt are applied to the Galician dairy sector.

Reinventing the Commons. Linking sustainability and revitalization of community

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Within natural resource research, the idea of 'the commons' has gained a revival in recent years. The idea of 'the commons' presents a range of philosophies and practices that embody the relation between sustainability and self-governance, horizontalism, localism, communality, resistance and outright refusal of neo-liberalism and the commercialization of nature. Within this spectrum of approaches, there are recognizable commons projects on natural resource preservation, rural regeneration, urban gardens, climate, renewable energy and space reclamation across the globe.

This paper will describe the emergence of this actuality and what the idea of the 'commons' is assumed to contribute with in terms of sustainability and the revitalization of communities. In the paper the overview of various theoretical approaches to 'the commons' will be compared with approaches and results from three Danish cases in natural resource management; landscape planning, climate change and sustainable energy. Thus, practical experience from the cases will be discussed with focus on the link between sustainability, self-governance and the re-invention of local culture as a potential alternative to existing management systems. In this respect, the paper also points to different challenges; Issues of localism vs. big society, scale and power are examples of that, and different solutions are suggested in terms of how to approach them.

Collective actions and institutions as main drivers to provide public goods: some cases in Italian agriculture

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Socio-political, economic and institutional settings play a central role in the variables which influence the quality/quantity of public goods (PGs)/environmental services (EES) produced in different situations. The provision of PGs/ESS, as a general condition for success in all rural areas, needs some form of collective action and stakeholders' proactive organisation and engagement.

The analysis of main drivers must encompass:

- 1) the existence of regional/local public institutions managing natural and environmental resources (such as basin authorities, parks, associations of municipalities, local development agencies, etc.);
- 2) the diffusion of various forms of associations and local partnerships (either private or public-private) involving farmers and forestry producers and also the civil society in rural areas. In the private sector a specific attention must be given to forms of collective actions within food chains, even as a result of new market demand/needs;
- 3) the implementation of a set of policies (at national, regional, and local level) providing a regulatory framework and/or financial support that can stimulate collective actions by farmers/forestry producers. In this case environmental, agricultural, rural and regional policies will be most relevant.

This paper wish to provide some empirical basis to discuss the role of these factors, on the basis of three study areas in Italian agriculture. This analysis will be finalised to define a typology of main drivers, which will be based on the role of public policy, on one side, and on forms of collective actions (cooperatives, associations, consortia, specific actors operating across the food chains, etc.), on the other side.

From sole and despotic dominion to property as a tie of belonging

Michael Hoffman

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Planning as we know it has evolved to bring order to a commodified landscape, one where the exact use of each parcel is determined unilaterally by a private owner in response to price signals determined by supply and demand. The most valuable contribution of each parcel, however - in terms of ecological function, perhaps, or scenic beauty or community need - is not necessarily its highest market value. Because many of the land use outcomes that communities either desire or seek to avoid are the cumulative result of many land owners' decisions over time, they cannot be managed via contract or litigation. And because they lie at the intersection of many stakeholders interests, they cannot be objectively determined by state planners. A deliberative process is required, one that requires us to rethink both the nature of property and of planning. This paper elaborates these ideas using the examples of Scottish land reform, natural resource management in Norway, and rural land use planning in the northeastern United States.

Landscape as a common good: the agrarian view

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With the modernisation of agriculture, an appreciated landscape is no longer the by-product of farming. Landscape as a common good has a value but no price. With the agricultural policy in Switzerland this market failure is compensated. The task of maintaining the landscape is anchored in the federal constitution.

In the perspective of constructivism, landscape evolves out of human perception. It is an output of the individually negotiated reflexion of the environment, which is evaluated in terms different criteria. Thus, landscape is perceived in a different way by different people, depending on their personal knowledge and experience. According to Kühne, the basics to read and understand landscape are learned during the landscape socialisation.

The perception of an aesthetically appealing landscape among farmers is highly connected to the way of farming. This study investigates how landscape is constituted among farmers in Central Switzerland. Therefore the approach of reflexive photography has been applied. Participating farmers took photos of their landscape with single-use cameras and the resulting pictures have been used as an introduction into semi-structured interviews with each farmer.

Nowadays the perception of landscape among farmers is not just constituted out of a perspective of cultivation, but also influenced by the meaning of landscape as a living and working space for the rural population as well as the importance for recreation and tourism. Further also ecologically aspects are in the realm of landscape perception, especially in areas of nature and landscape conservation.

Motivations for implementation of ecological compensation areas on Swiss lowland farms

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Swiss farmers receive subsidies for reserving ecological compensation areas on their farms with the aim of encouraging biodiversity, but recent studies have found that the existing system of incentives is insufficient to halt biodiversity loss in the Swiss agricultural landscape. An effective targeting of incentives is needed to motivate farmers to implement conservation measures on farmland. The primary aim of this study is to identify the motivations that contribute to the intention of Swiss farmers to engage in conservation on their farms. Fifteen Swiss lowland farmers were interviewed using qualitative interviews and their responses to questions about their attitudes toward nature conservation were categorised and classified according to Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behaviour. It was found that the farmers' identities and their experiences with past nature conservation measures combine with their expectations of direct benefits, such as financial incentives, and their trust that the measures will produce the desired outcomes, to form a behavioural attitude. The sampled Swiss farmers display a strong sense of fairness, which drives them to comply with subjective norms, although they feel torn between a societal expectation to conserve nature and a wish to appear productive to their peers. We conclude by recommending that any changes to the policy framework should be undertaken in a consultative process and that Swiss lowland farmers be allowed the flexibility to implement measures that will produce the best conservation outcomes on their farms.

A future for Camargue flamingos: mapping contesting values

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Flamingos are flagship species in the Camargue, depending on the unique environment for their feeding and breeding, and, the conservation ethic of the people who share the delta landscape. The iconic status earned by these birds symbolises the environment across the socio-cultural domain in conjunction with the symbolism of utilitarian agricultural species such as cattle (the Camarguese Black Bulls), and cultural symbols capturing social memory over significant cultural time frames. The habitats essential for flamingo breeding and feeding are undergoing drastic change due to significant changes in land-use and management. Identifying the values that impact on the survival of these diverse landscape systems of interconnected socio-ecological values is critical to mediate a resilient future. Changes in social expectations and in the global environment have implications for social, environmental and economic values within these landscapes. This research maps values held by environmental experts and land managers, showing the consequences of contesting value frames in spatial context. We expose the range of social values that contribute to planning, use and management. The implications of socially-defined landscape values demonstrate the importance of incorporating a more comprehensive approach to successful conservation engagement through integrating social perspectives in land-use planning.

Working Group 4: Mapping agri-food

Convenors: Gareth Enticott[1], Vaughan Higgins[2]

1: Cardiff University, UK; 2: Charles Sturt University, Australia

Working group description

The purpose of this working group is to explore the use of maps and mapping in agri-food. In agriculture, farm maps are vital tools in the organization of the Common Agricultural Policy, implementing agri-environmental schemes and managing biodiversity. In food, maps are used to create terroir, promote alternative food futures, and trace consumption habits. Agri-food maps may contain perceptual, experiential and/or objective information; they may be created by hand, collectively and/or enacted by technologies such as Geographic Information Systems, GPS, drones or social media.

Recent critical studies of cartography have challenged the objective nature of maps. Whereas once maps were seen as objective representations whose purpose was to communicate effectively, maps are now seen as expressions of power, used to create knowledge and legitimize certain forms of expertise and practice over others. In this view, maps are seen as constantly in the making: the focus of study are those mapping practices required to stabilize the meanings of maps against competing interpretations and manage ongoing technological and embodied challenges in the creation of maps.

The purpose of this session is to reinvigorate studies of maps and mapping practices across all aspects of agri-food studies. The centrality of maps to agri-food provides fertile terrain for more critical studies of mapping. In particular, this working group will seek to analyse:

- How maps are used as symbols of power in agri-food governance
- Farmers' use of new mapping technologies to manage farms, fields and flocks.
- The role of participatory mapping in agri-food
- The use of technologies such as GIS, GPS, radio tracking and other spatial technologies in agri-food
- The role of maps in managing plant and animal diseases
- Creating maps to promote alternative food futures
- Forms of counter-mapping and resistance to 'official' agri-food maps
- The use/role of social media in mapping practices

Mixed methods mapping for agri-environment decision-making

Beth Brockett

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British upland farms store a large amount of carbon in their soils. Quantifying and mapping these stocks without extensive field data collection is now scientifically possible and could provide one way of ensuring the economic and environmental sustainability of agriculture in marginal locations; through payment for 'desirable' management of these stocks.

However, past experience has shown that prescribing environmental management on farms can be fraught with conflict and mistrust. Through this project I examine how 'grounded visualization', "integrating the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data through grounded theory and visualization", can be employed to produce farm maps which consider and include various different forms of knowledge as a basis for decision-making. Using Geographical Information Systems as a tool within a feminist, post-structural framework enables me to consider and include issues of knowledge hierarchy, multiple versions of the agri-environment and marginalisation.

[1] L. D. Knigge and M. Cope, 'Grounded Visualization: Integrating the Analysis of Qualitative and Quantitative Data through Grounded Theory and Visualization', *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 11 (2006): 2021.

Maps as a tool of agricultural planning and policy – the case of Poland

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The dynamic changes occurring in agriculture require diagnosis and assessment from a spatial perspective, and the results obtained as well as conclusions we draw from them are a foundation for planning development and strategic action in the food production sector. Cartographic solutions often turn out to be the solution to these problems. Maps are usually graphical reflections of statistical material that has been reconfigured into a diverse set of social and economic indicators. Thanks to this, an initially unreadable set of statistical values is organized and re-imagined from a spatial perspective. Such an approach is of major importance, both scientifically and practically, as it effectively broadens and deepens our knowledge about socio-economic processes and phenomena that take place within the agricultural economy, but also finds much use in diagnosing the current state and development at different levels of planning – from the local up to the national. The aim of the study is to assess the use and role of cartographic presentations in planning and managing agricultural sector in Poland. The study included a variety of strategic and planning documents developed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development at national level and development strategies by the regional authorities. Maps of these documents are usually the basis for deeper analysis but also used for synthetic and conceptual approach. Abstract was prepared under the research projects of the National Science Centre No. DEC-2012/05/B/HS4/03719-Rural Atlas of Poland.

Maps, mapping and agri-food production: reinforcing or contesting the bio-economy?

Vaughan Higgins¹, Gareth Enticott²

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Maps and practices of mapping have long been vital tools in the organisation of food production. Yet to date there has been little critical analysis of the role of maps and mapping in contesting dominant 'bio-economic' frames that prioritise increased production intensity as the solution to future agri-food security. With a few exceptions, agri-food scholars have largely accepted maps as value-neutral instruments, the purpose of which is to communicate effectively the complex dynamics that make-up agri-food production. However, recent critical studies of cartography have challenged the supposed objectivity of maps, which are now seen increasingly as expressions of power used to create knowledge and legitimise certain forms of expertise and practice over others. This paper engages with post-realist theories of mapping to investigate how maps and practices of mapping might question dimensions of the bio-economy and provide the basis for more sustainable eco-economic agri-food processes and practices. First, we examine the ways that maps and mapping are critical to the constitution of the bio-economy, as well as the challenges and limitations of maps in agri-food production and policy. Second, we focus on two case studies - electronic mapping in Australian rice production, and the use of maps to manage bovine tuberculosis in the UK - to assess how the application of maps and mapping 'on-the-ground' might reinforce as well as undermine aspects of the bio-economy.

The politics of mapping and regional branding: mobilising new spheres of rural contestation.

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The rise of regional branding in Western Australian agri-food marketing mobilises new forms of socioeconomic identity, segregation and contestation. Who belongs and who does not belong to the regional brand is supposed to be demarcated by regional geospatial boundaries defined by the state government. Regional brand management boards made up of agri-food producers, government officials and marketing professionals produce maps and associated romantically-evocative imagery to define and to represent the agri-food identity of the region in the marketing domain. But in practice, the management of regional brands is politically and economically loaded. Membership of and rights to use regional brands, and therefore to be included on the accompanying agri-food maps, are managed by a select few. If a particular producer does not fall in with the body politic of the board memberships, they will almost certainly be excluded from inclusion on the institutionally-endorsed regional food map. Western Australia's 'Southern Forests Food' brand is a case in point. The state's lucrative black truffle industry plays a significant management role in the brand and, therefore, in deciding who is included and excluded on the accompanying regional agri-food map. The truffle industry brings high status but a politically-charged history to the brand; and it is the politics of the truffle industry that has considerable influence over demographic representation in cartographic form. The result is far from ideal with fewer producers represented than really exist; and with those producers who are included profiting from an almost oligopolistic privilege of representation.

Mapping rural landscapes and livelihoods

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Maps are powerful visualization tools. They allow the researcher and reader to conceptualize where activities are located in space and time. Using GIS mapping techniques it is possible to layer geographical features of the landscape with social practices. Understanding how nature and natural habits can both enable food and limit food production is insightful for building local food systems. This paper uses GIS mapping to document the interplay between geography, politics and natural resource development in New Brunswick, Canada where farming, fishing, forestry, and mining remain prominent features of the provincial economy. The paper discusses the politics of map making and the challenges of capturing the changing relationship between the physical landscape and food production practices.

Mapping consumption groups in the city of Barcelona

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'Consumption groups' is one of the formats of the short circuits of food consumption. They are organized to create an alternative to the dominant model, the agro food big chain. Breaking the barriers between consumers and producers, this model of organization stimulates social and economic local development.

In this article, we are going to show how consumption groups are organized in the city of Barcelona, creating networks between their members and the producers who supply them. This model of organization takes advantage of the traditional cooperative movement, which started in the second half of nineteenth century, and the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT).

Thorough network analysis tools we determine how consumers, organized on the Net, connect with food producers using technology. We are able to show, through the visualization of the network and further parameter analysis, the common characteristics of this type of organization: social, economic and political values, criteria, decision making process, ICT use, gender sensibility which connects with some global movements, like transition network, in a local form.

Even though consumption groups approach to a sensible point of view towards common goods, they are not represented in the definition of public policies. This article wants to draw a different point of view in the promotion of alternative food futures and the public policies which should help it, and on how a better use of network strategies could lead to an improvement on its resilience and effectiveness.

The map and the terroir - adapting geographical boundaries for geographical indications in Norway

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In July 2002, the regulation and labelling scheme for Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) was set up in Norway modelled on corresponding systems for Geographical indications (GIs) in the EU. My aim in this paper is to describe and understand how the 'local' and the notion of 'place' is socially and culturally constructed and relocated through the use of the scheme for Protected designations in Norway.

An important task and requirement when producers apply for registration of PDO or PGI, is to adapt a concise definition of the geographical area of the product. The product should be characterized by a specific geographical origin developed over a long period of interaction with the local traditions, local natural environment, and *savoir faire* - often known as *terroir*.

As of January 2015 twenty-three Norwegian products have been granted PDO or PGI. In this paper I categorize the kind of boundaries that are used to define the geographical area for each product and analyse how the notion of place is constructed for these products through the application process. Further, I argue that the notion of place must be understood as constituted through different adaptation practices, which vary according to the characteristics of each product. Understanding the construction of place as adaptation practices makes it possible to identify, understand and describe how the adaptations take place, who carries them out and what characterizes them. In the final discussion, I will point at some consequences and implications of this adaptation work.

Mapping local food clusters of small producers in Northern Finland

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In the paper transport accessibility methods are applied to explore opportunities for establishing 'local food clusters' integrating small producers to effective and competitive network. Geographic Information System (GIS) related accessibility analyses are exploited for analysing potential for networking of local food producers and transport companies. Increasing interest towards local food has been a trend during the past decade or so in Europe and North America, and is strongly evident also in the case area of this study, the province of Northern Ostrobothnia, Finland. Ease of access of local food via short, transparent and traceable supply chain is highly important for consumers and crucial for institutional kitchens, in addition to the social and quality aspects and price. However, poor accessibility is one of the key issues decreasing the growth of local food markets in Finland. Due to the scale economics, food transports are organised mainly by centralised large scale logistics directed through hubs serving millions of consumers. Accordingly, production volumes to reach markets are often unattainable for small scale local food producers and products. Spatial data in this study consists of register records of farm specific cultivation areas and average yields, spatial structure of population in grid cells and accurate model of road network including speed limits for travel time and route estimation. The study shows that in certain parts of the case area local food consumption of urban fringe and active local food suppliers of rural areas may well be clustered via local hubs.

Working Group 5: Diversity of ageing in rural communities

Convenors: David L. Brown[1], Marit Haugen[2], Nina Glasgow[1], Thomas Scharf[3]

1: Cornell University, USA; 2: Centre for Rural Research, Norway, 3: National University of Ireland-Galway, Ireland

Working group description

The world's population is ageing, and in many societies rural populations are ageing faster than their urban counterparts. This working group will focus on the diversity of ageing in rural communities. Such diversity may be evident in relation to age/cohort, gender, socio-economic and health status, social integration, and migration experience. We will focus at both the individual and household levels, as well as at the community level, reflecting variation in the characteristics of rural communities in which people age. Research papers exploring, for example, life course transitions in rural communities, poverty and social exclusion among older rural persons, social roles and social integration, the perceived challenges and opportunities older people face in rural communities, community structures facilitating and constraining social, economic and civic participation among older persons, and many other issues are welcome. We welcome contributions that provide new insights into appropriate theories and methodologies for exploring rural ageing, as well as papers that reflect contrasting national contexts. Our goal is to assemble a set of papers that critically explore the diversity of ageing in rural environments as well as emerging theories and methodologies useful for examining the determinants and consequences of rural ageing at the micro, meso and macro levels. Papers exploring public policy responses to an ageing rural population are also encouraged.

Retirement as a biographic life course transition among Swiss farm families? Challenges linked to changed social roles

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Retirement generally marks the parting from working life and the entering in the life stage of 'ageing'. This stage provides a huge potential for new contents and opportunities as time resources beforehand invested in work life are freed. In retirement research a shift takes place from a normative understanding of aging towards an understanding of aging as a life stage which provides different options for a life after retirement. It is assumed that a successful transition from working to pension life is bound to a successful adaptation of roles and contents of life.

The changes that the transfer of the farming business to a successor implies for the role patterns and self-image of farming men and women are not well researched in Europe. Our paper contributes to fill this research gap for Switzerland and presents first results of a qualitative work in progress on how farming men and women shape their life after retirement.

The organisation of farm work structures the social relations and roles of farming families. We assume that changes in this organisation provide the framework in which new intra-familial and individual role perceptions can emerge. In our paper we analyse the changes of role conception after the transition to retirement; we scrutinize whether the self-image of retired farming men and women is linked to their (previous) position on the farm; finally we explore how they perceive ageing.

Old people's experiences of ageing in rural and urban communities

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Many factors might influence the well-being of old people, and place of residence is one of them. In this paper, we will explore old people's experiences with their local communities. Old people spend much time at home and around their own neighborhood. Many have lived in the same neighborhood for many decades, having memories and a sense of belonging to the place. Being gradually less mobile, the supply and diversity of services locally might become more important. We ask whether there are differences in old people's subjective sense of belonging and inclusion in urban and rural communities, and whether this has an effect on their well-being. Studies have shown that a common opinion among Norwegians is that it is best to grow up and raise children in rural areas, but we know less about later stages of life. To feel safe and trust people is important for most people. An important characteristic of small and transparent societies is that there is more cohesion and cooperation between people, and less criminality. Do old people in rural areas experience higher confidence and security than those living in urban communities? Based on data from a community survey we want to explore whether there are differences in experiences of loneliness, community engagement, social contact and participation in different local communities. We look at people aged 70 or more and examine the importance of the place of living, controlling for gender, health and economy.

Toward a multi-dimensional model of at-oneness: constructing home over the life course in rural Ireland

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This paper contributes to the spatio-temporal understanding of home from a life-course perspective. We explore (1) how older adults construct the experience of being at home in a rural context; (2) the role of personal history in evolving constructions of home over the life course; and (3) the role of a changing rural environmental context in shaping and modifying constructions of home as people age. Empirical data derive from in-depth interviews with ten older residents of a dispersed rural community in South West Ireland, and are complemented by field-notes and contextual information. Data analysis, drawing on principles of Constructivist Grounded Theory, suggests that home was manifest in a taken-for-granted and implicit sense of at-oneness with the local environmental context. This involved the interwoven dimensions of: place of origin; inherited meaning; relational harmony; rhythm and routine; aesthetic functional landscape; and invested effort. The relative importance of dimensions of at-oneness was derived from individual life-course experiences, within and external to the community. The paper presents a dynamic life-course model of home as a sense of at-oneness. In the context of recent concern with ageing in place and creating age-friendly communities, we argue that such a model provides a target outcome for all concerned with improving individual wellbeing and enhancing the places where people age - whether these are rural or other types of socio-spatial setting.

Natural decrease in the countries of Europe and its rural and urban counties in the context of the 2nd Demographic Transition

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We analyze natural decrease, i.e., the excess of deaths over births, among the rural and urban areas of Europe in the 2000-2010 period, within the context of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT). The major explanation of fertility change in the Western world is Demographic Transition Theory (DTT) in which societies transition from population stability based on high birth and death rates to one based on low birth and death rates. But Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa have shown that there is more to the transition than this final stage of demographic equilibrium. A 'second demographic transition' (SDT) is underway in many European countries owing to new living arrangements and an increasingly older society. In a sentence, people are living longer and are having fewer children, resulting in increased levels of natural decrease.

In Europe today there is virtually no population growth. Only two of its 45 countries have rates of natural increase (RNIs) above 1.0, Kosovo and Ireland. Sixteen have negative RNIs, including the three countries with the largest populations, Russia, Germany, and Italy.

Most demographic analyses of natural decrease have been conducted in the United States, with very few undertaken in Europe. Yet there is a far greater amount of natural decrease in Europe. It is in the European countries, particularly its rural areas, where natural decrease is the most prevalent and where the SDT is at its greatest. Our analysis of natural decrease in the European countries is especially enhanced by considering it within the context of the SDT.

The vanishing home on the range: natural decrease in rural Kansas

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Population aging has entered the demographic discourse in the United States as the Baby Boom cohort transitions to retirement. Public concerns about this age transition have been increasing, although it is often neglected that many rural communities have already been experiencing these dynamics at the local level. Local population ageing has been triggered by persistent out-migration from rural communities since the late 1960s, resulting in local natural decrease once fertility rates fell to levels parallel with national trends.

It is well established in the literature that farming communities have been at the forefront of this transition, and the American Great Plains is often seen as a poster child of these dynamics. This paper focuses on Kansas, a predominantly agricultural state where two-thirds of the counties are experiencing depopulation and ageing in place. However, the lived experiences show a contradictory picture. While increasing farm production and profits hide these counties on poverty maps, this economic structure cannot prevent population decline and the continuous loss of social services, jeopardizing community sustainability.

We use historical statistical data for Kansas in two steps. First, we employ a cluster analysis to reveal typical patterns of natural decrease and changes in age composition in Kansas counties. In the second step, we select one rural county for an extended case study using secondary data on demographic trends, economic patterns and social indicators. The goal is to investigate the links between natural decrease and the socioeconomic environment as a backdrop for the lived experiences of the residents.

Migration and ageing processes in non-metropolitan Australia: an analysis of thirty years of change

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While a substantial literature on the multi-faceted topic of migration trends and processes within rural Australia now exists, less attention has been devoted to other related and crucial aspects of demographic change, such as falling fertility and differential ageing. Built on a Census-based analysis of demographic change at the rural community scale from 1981 to 2011 and taking the lower Murray/Murrumbidgee catchments as a case study, this chapter provides a longitudinal examination of migration, fertility changes and associated demographic structural change. In doing so, the chapter employs two measures of ageing in the study area relative to that of Australia as a whole: a relative ageing index (RAI), and a related comparative age profile measure (CAP). The impact of structural and numerical ageing processes across and within the case study area over thirty years is summarised. Initially treating community populations as undifferentiated wholes, in analysing the ageing process the chapter takes account of internal changes that greatly impact on future settlement viability, distinguishing particularly between trends in the central towns and their surrounding dispersed rural population. Finally it draws out the relevance of the findings for regional economic and social planning and policy.

Causes and effects of demographic ageing process. Case study: rural settlements of Buzau County (Romania)

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The demographic ageing process represents a major issue of the rural area in Romania, with consequences that can hardly be estimated on the middle and long term. In this context, the present paper introduces a deep analysis of this phenomenon at the level of Buzau county (localized in the South-Eastern part of Romania), by registering its dynamics starting with 1977 until present days.

The methodology that has been used is complex, implying: the analysis of the population dynamics and of the demographic ageing process index, based on the census data, within the period 1977-2011; the analysis of cartographic materials; (demographic and socio-economic) indicators analysis; drawing up thematic maps; field analyses in villages chosen as case studies. The first stage of this paper consists in identifying the villages affected by the demographic ageing process. The second stage consists in establishing the causes which led to decrease in population number and setting the demographic ageing process. The main motivation is the intensive emigration, previous to 1989, within the industrialization and urbanization processes, which characterized the communist era. But after 1990, within the multiple economic and social transformations, the departure rate remained high. Subsequently, several case studies will be selected, along which there will be studied the (demographic, economic, social) effects of the decrease in population number and of the demographic ageing process. Meanwhile, there will also be approached the revigoration and development perspectives for these villages, on the middle and long term.

Community care of the elderly in rural settings: two case studies from Slovenia

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This paper discusses the organisation of community care for older people in two rural municipalities in Slovenia. The two case studies were a part of a wider research project on community care in the country which aimed to explain the differences and similarities in organisation and quality of care for the elderly. The case studies were a follow-up to the research of a previously established typology of community care in the country, which was formed by a cluster analysis. Two cases in rural settings were selected to 'assess' this typology directly in 'the field' and to contribute to a neglected field of 'rural ageing' in domestic studies. The fieldwork was conducted in two contrasting rural municipalities as to the level of attained 'well-being'. The various actors involved in all forms of care activities were selected by snow-ball sampling and interviewed about the 'traditional' and 'present' forms of caring for the elderly in each community. Contrary to the typology, the fieldwork results show that institutional forms of care at home and at homes for the elderly exist in both municipalities. Considering particular regional contexts the results also show that both communities differ in the field of cooperation among various formal and informal care-practitioners. Finally, care for the elderly within a family, which is prevalent in both communities hides the financial inability of the locals to use some of the forms of service available in the residential community.

The caring countryside: a variety of caregivers

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The Swedish public care sector has seen cutbacks and restructurings, with assumed consequences for other caregivers. Above all family members have been seen as forced to increase their caregiving as the public sector has undergone changes, but this is the case even for the voluntary and private sector.

Interviews carried out with elderly care receivers and different caregivers in a rural municipality in Sweden, can contribute to this debate. In this study care is given a broad definition, and includes a wide range of activities in the daily living. Although affected by the transformations in the public sector, neither the elderly nor the care receivers understand other care givers as only responding to the public care sector's changes. The study shows that there are connections between different caregivers and the public sector, but that they also have their own motives for providing care. Care can be seen as a consequence of spatial proximity, as an integrated part of social interaction as well as a way of engaging in work with a local infrastructure. Different care sectors can be dependent on each other, they can complement and even exclude each other.

Ageing well and the village community

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With an increasing number of elderly ageing in place, the role local environments play in providing quality of life for older residents is of growing concern. Whereas increased resident mobility and government spending cuts diminish the provision of local facilities and formal care, the well-being of residents facing physical or mental limitations becomes more dependent on the informal domain. Especially in rural areas much is expected of the local community, as a source of social support and as an arena for active participation.

That social connectedness enhances well-being has been solidly demonstrated, but questions remain concerning the relevance of local communities. Many present-day elderly may not be as locally integrated as often thought. Instead, the category of older rural residents is highly diverse, varying greatly in (among other things) what the village means to them. To improve understanding of the link between local communities and the well-being of rural elderly, this paper will integrate a perspective on people-environment fit with the concept of local attachment.

Using recent survey data provided by over two thousand older rural residents (65 years and older) in the Netherlands, this paper will first describe the patterns of local attachment of different groups of older villagers. In addition, it will explore the revenues of the local community for both practical and socio-emotional aspects of well-being, distinguishing between elderly with different patterns of local attachment.

Old people in rural communities: burden or driving-force?

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Latvia as many other European countries experience population ageing especially in rural areas therefore idea of successful ageing recently has been included in political agenda. How to treat old people: as a burden or the people still having active and productive lifestyle? This paper aims to discuss issues related to social integration of elderly people in rural communities having different historical experience, socio-economic situation, and ethnical structure in different regions of Latvia. Empirical data are based on the PhD research, which primarily focused on analysis of capability of rural communities and community involvement in rural development. In the case studies, representatives of local governments, community initiative groups and local NGOs were interviewed. The research results revealed that old people (and especially old women) formed very active senior organizations and informal senior groups with strong cultural and social capability all across the country. Thus they became a local driving-force maintaining local community spirit, organizing social and cultural initiatives, supporting each other and even provoking local changes. However, this is not always the case as social integration of elderly people often is affected by a number of historically enrooted reasons, ethnical differences, health problems, lack of resources and support, apathy, etc. The paper highlights different cases and factors affecting social integration of old people.

Municipality debates around introduction of LOV (the law of free choice) in elderly care in rural Sweden

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Following the introduction of LOU (Law of public procurement) in 2007 and LOV (Law of Free choice) 2008 the autonomy of municipalities in Sweden increased to invite private actors to carry out public service, including elderly care. If a municipality decides to introduce Law of Free choice it implies that any actor interested to open a service should be given the opportunity to perform the service and clients (elderly) should be given the opportunity to choose them to perform the service. The aim with the reforms was on the one hand to brake the municipal monopoly on performing the service and on the other hand to 'empower' clients to be able to choose between different providers. Meanwhile, the motivation for the engagement of private providers is the procurement of profit while elderly care receivers as a group of clients have limited possibilities to acquire necessary information to make informed choices between providers. This paper explores the debates that introduction of Law of Free choice system created in a rural municipality in Sweden, Östhammar. The paper explores how the interests of those residing in the sparsely populated areas of the municipality were taken into consideration in the discourses preceding and following the introduction of the system.

Tackling isolation: health-related social exclusion amongst elderly people in rural Poland

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Rural population in many European regions ages rapidly. Visible sign of this process is the growing number of elderly individuals and couples living in the countryside. Due to isolation, disability or low income, they are often vulnerable to various forms of social exclusion. Elderly rural dwellers are particularly at greater risk of worsening their health status. This paper focuses on the access to health care system amongst single and double households of elderly people in the rural areas in Poland. The study shows that the health status of respondents was closely related to the extent their health care needs were met. Analysis at the community level revealed that health-related social exclusion of elderly people in rural areas results from certain type of local and state public policy. According to the interviewed local leaders, in many villages access to specialists was very limited and the quality of basic medical advices was described as low. Poor development of public or private transportation in rural areas along with the considerable distance of settlements from the health centres constituted serious barriers to fair participation in public health services. The data underpinning the analysis reported in the paper is drawn from quantitative and qualitative research carried out in 76 villages in Poland which covered all families living there.

Working Group 6: The future of rural and environmental expertise: transdisciplinary knowledge(s), extension, and co-production for sustainability

Convenors: Kirsty Blackstock[7], Jeremy Phillipson[1], Alex Koutsouris[2], Philip Lowe[1], Sally Shortall[3], Gianluca Brunori[4], Artur Cristóvão[5], Audrey Verma[6], Anke Fischer[7]

1: Newcastle University, UK; 2: Agricultural University of Athens, Greece; 3: Queen's University Belfast, UK; 4: Università di Pisa, Italy, 5: University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, Portugal, 6: University of Aberdeen, UK; 7: James Hutton Institute, UK

Working group description

Papers are invited to this Working Group that explore the nature and future of rural and environmental expertise. We are experiencing an enormous growth in knowledge and in access to knowledge. This challenges prevailing models of how knowledge is produced, circulated and used. Functions of knowledge production and consumption are becoming more distributed and intermingled. This is breaking down traditional hierarchies which were founded a scarcity of formal knowledge and which reinforced a sharp divide between knowledge producers and users. Thus there is a new emphasis on socially distributed expertise as being key to living and intervening in the world. i.e. the skilful deployment of knowledge, skills, experience and other technical capabilities. Expertise counters the ideological claim of science as being the only source of objective information, evidence and discovery on which sound decisions and technological developments should be based. But if we reject that claim, what are the implications for the way rural and environmental actors learn, organise and transmit knowledge or resolve problems?

We propose to host three sessions taking three different perspectives on expertise: extension processes; networks of expertise; technologies and modes of knowledge production and to have a final session that explore the emerging themes around the future of rural and environmental expertise. Please note which of the four sessions you think would be the most suitable home for your short paper upon submission.

Extension for Sustainability(Sub convenors: Koutsouris and Cristóvão)

'Conventional' extension/advisory services, still largely dominated by the transfer of technology model, are instrumental within a productivist paradigm and promote innovations which, although appear to be reliable, avoid the changes and contribute to agricultural system's 'drift into failure'. Nevertheless, at the same time, the call for alternative models emerges with extension/advisory services are called upon in new roles, as for example promoting forms of sustainable agriculture, the generation of appropriate knowledge (transdisciplinarity) and innovations (in niches), empowering family farms to overcome a certain 'lock-in' with regards to change, etc., taking a holistic/systemic approach.

Therefore, the generation (top-down technological fix vs. co-production) and the aims/meaning of innovations (for whom and for what), as well as extension methodology (top-down vs. participatory), are questioned. Moreover, the implementation of 'participation' (and its repercussions) is challenged. We invites papers at both theoretical and practical level focusing on issues such as: approaches and practices relating to animation, capacity building, empowerment, facilitation, networking, brokering and training; methods and tools relating to systemic and multi-stakeholder (participatory) approaches; building (and constraints) of appropriate/innovative mechanisms/ structures/ platforms to support

sustainable development processes ; and training of the animators, change agents, facilitators, catalysts, brokers - or simply development-extension workers.

Networked rural expertise (Sub convenors: Phillipson, Lowe, Shorthall and Brunori)

How do science and expertise come together in the rural: that place where practical expertise has always been highly valued? Networked models of rural development are now taking precedence, the premise is that the development of rural areas should seek to realise locally-generated knowledge and skills, and enrich them through interaction with external ones. So while the resourcefulness and resilience of local businesses, households, community groups and voluntary organisations are crucial, other actors with national and global connections also have a vital role to play in linking rural localities into broader circuits of capital, power and expertise. The shift to a networked model of rural development therefore changes the way we think about how expertise is generated and transmitted, as well as our rationale for knowledge generation. Our aspiration isn't just for more science, but for better informed and skilled rural citizens, communities, businesses and professionals. So that through their expertise they can tackle their own problems and more efficiently learn from elsewhere. Such is the appropriate response to the global instability that rural areas face both environmentally and socio-economically that makes every single community, enterprise and region a site of experimental adaptation. Illustrative questions include: How is the expertise of rural actors (professionals, farmers, fishers, businesses, residents etc.) constituted and how can it be better recognised and validated? How can we improve the functioning of expertise exchange to strengthen the expertise of rural actors in addressing rural challenges and to stimulate social learning? How are knowledge and expertise exchanged and mobilised within networks for rural development? Who are the critical intermediary agents in exchange of rural expertise and how are their roles performed? How are theories of rural development linked to theories of knowledge and expertise? And What are the implications of expertise exchange for the conduct of rural studies?

Technologies of knowledge production(Sub convenors: Verma, Fischer and Blackstock)

We see papers that explore how different processes of knowledge production work to subvert or uphold the neoliberal agenda. Discourses around ecosystem services, natural resource extraction and sustainable intensification are areas where scientific knowledge claims co-exist with alternative ways of understanding the natural world. For example, new technologies (such as remotely controlled cameras) and processes of knowledge production (such as citizen science) can be used to enhance deliberative democracy or disrupt discourses by policy elites. However, they are often also used to 'discipline' human-nature relationships for neoliberal ends such as providing evidence to allow commodity production to continue. Access to such evidence-making processes is arguably still restricted to scientific elites, making it difficult to scrutinise how knowledge is mediated by technologies in such practices. The increased interest in how research and 'scientific' knowledge can influence how decisions are made is therefore both a symptom of the neoliberal world and an opportunity for a reimagining of the way that expertise is framed, developed and implemented. This challenge puts academics and their co-researchers at the heart of struggles over environmental and rural governance. We would welcome papers that provide empirical examples of transdisciplinary research engagement with technologies (e.g. models, GIS maps, visual methods etc), particularly where these papers share critical perspectives on how knowledge production is co-opted into the neoliberal project.

'Critical' extension: against the treadmill(?)

Alex Koutsouris

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Agricultural systems are still driven by economic motives with technological fixes being the track to mitigate environmental and social impediments, taken as boundary conditions. This productionist model leads however to numerous systemic contradictions (notably the degradation of biophysical and/or socio-cultural environments) 'Conventional' extension/advisory services largely dominated by the transfer of technology model are instrumental within such a trajectory and promote unquestionably innovations which although appear to be reliable, avoid the necessary fundamental changes and contribute to the system's 'drift into failure'.

Nevertheless, at the same time, the call for alternative models (multifunctionality/post-productivism) emerges stronger. In this respect, extension/advisory services are called upon in new roles, as for example promoting forms of sustainable agriculture and systems' resilience, the co-generation of appropriate knowledge (transdisciplinarity) and innovations (in niches), empowering family farms against the treadmill (and ecological modernization), etc. taking a holistic/systemic approach (vs. reductionism). Therefore the generation (top-down technological fix vs. co-production) and the aims/meaning of innovations (for whom and for what) as well as extension methodology (top-down vs. participatory) are questioned.

Recently, the European Rural Development Policy (RDP) 2014-2020 drew new pathways to generate knowledge and innovation (European Innovation Partnership - EIP), through a social process involving different actors and mobilizing multiple resources. In this respect, extension services should extend their activities beyond the transfer of technology/knowledge, aiming at facilitating co-generation. This, in turn, put forward theoretical, policy and practical issues pertaining innovation co-generation, communication-extension methodology, new roles (facilitation and brokerage), and participatory processes.

Achieving practice change through facilitated group learning

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This paper investigates the relative strengths and weaknesses of two forms of group learning for knowledge exchange and innovation among farmers. We studied Irish discussion groups within the Beef Technology Adoption Programme (BTAP) and monitor farms in Scotland, through qualitative interviews, participant observation and document analysis. Both approaches have similar aims around increased technology adoption, and enhanced profitability and productivity of farms. However, the approaches diverge in their structures and organisational processes. For example, a key difference was observed in terms of the dynamics of the two groups: attendance and project work is mandatory for discussion group members (in return for a small grant) whilst monitor farm meetings are optional and project work is not involved. The research highlighted that both models had strengths in terms of building and reinforcing relationships between members, and the subsequent spread of 'informal knowledge', as well as in their provision of free formal advice. However, in addition, the discussion groups emphasised new regulatory and legislative procedures and played a role in increasing farm profits (of the majority of members rather than simply the monitor farmer themselves). There were limits to comparing the effectiveness of both approaches due to the different evaluation strategies employed by funders of the two programmes. Nevertheless, our analysis allowed insights on the potential and limits of both approaches in contributing to the profitability and sustainability of farming in the future.

The competent farmer - a conceptual approach to study farmers' competence as interaction between farmer, advisory services and research

Egil Petter Stræte

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To achieve a political objective like increase the food production and to meet the challenge of climate change, challenges related both knowledge and innovation in agriculture are formidable. In order to transfer this ambition and the accumulated scientific knowledge produced into farmers' practice, there is a need for better knowledge and competence on how transfer and adoption of knowledge works. There is a great need for relevant and accessible knowledge for the farmer, as the basis for informed practice in agriculture. There is also a need to know how knowledge is selected, adapted and turned into practical knowing in an interaction between knowledge operators like advisory or extension services. There is a challenge to make use of formal academic knowledge in relation to the farmers' experience based knowledge. Farmers' competence rests not only with the farmers and their practice, but comprises the whole knowledge and innovation system in agriculture. This system may be described as stable actor networks which support agricultural innovation and learning, comprising, for example, researchers and advisory services and progressive farmers. The aim of this paper is to present a conceptual framework for a study of the farmers' interaction with supporting actors in the agricultural knowledge and innovation system. This approach brings new challenges for the advisory services. The ambition is to integrate various research perspectives to create new knowledge on the relations between farmers, advisors and researchers. This includes perspectives from innovation, knowledge creation, change in practice and community of practice.

From crisis to possibility: a case study of potato growers in rural Greece

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In Notia, a small village in Northern Greece the long history of CAP subsidies in corn and maize in the area and a general protectionism during previous decades has worked as a drawback for any change and prosperity. Now, that incomes are not safe, farmers came face to face with a situation where they are imperatively obliged, under the influence also of the intense economic crisis, to adapt to a globalized economy and volatile market conditions. However, it seems that they were left “bowling alone” (using Putnam’s term) with limited access to knowledge and support. Under these terms they can only marginally benefit from opportunities, while they remain exposed to threats (thus exposed to an overall family poverty). The area of Notia seeks today a new model for sustainable farm livelihoods for which social innovation is the key-word. This study aims at elaborating on a recent initiative of a group of young farmers in the area that have been working towards new forms of cooperation; hoping to adapt to volatile conditions in agriculture and poverty risk through a “collective learning process in which new skills, knowledge and practices apart from attitudes, values, behaviours and governance mechanisms emerge”. We will articulate on the building of trust through the building of a community of practice, highlighting also the role of facilitators within this process of changing Notia from a declining rural area to an area of possibility.

Inclusive innovation, knowledge co-production, and human rights-based triple bottom line for rural development.

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Grounded Innovation Platforms or GRIPS deliver innovation that is both based on knowledge co-production and the need for Human Rights Based Triple Bottom Line (HRB-TBL) criteria. This idea is based on a critique of innovation's normally accepted purpose and related processes. Contrasting with the traditional view that innovation is a science-driven process aimed mainly at the economic bottom line, there is a growing view that innovation needs to respond to much broader social challenges, such as poverty alleviation, unemployment reduction, improved governance, and the environment. This view is reflected in the 'New Manifesto' (SPRU_STEPS, 2010) and in recent speeches of SPRU's new director. This new innovation discourse emphasises both the concepts of inclusiveness and Elkington's (1997) concept of the "triple bottom line" of economic, social, and environmental impacts.

GRIPs (Bryden et al. 2013; Bryden and Gezelius 2014) build on this discourse by adding an ethical dimension. The GRIP is a tool for empowering and mobilising people in rural areas to generate innovations for the so-called 'human rights based triple bottom line' (HRB-TBL). Essentially, HRB-TBL emphasises improvement of triple bottom line outcomes for those groups who most need it, and the GRIP is a tool for achieving this through empowerment of those groups within local innovation platforms and a culture of co-learning, and is thus explicitly including an ethical dimension. NILFs grounded innovation research group currently studies GRIP-like innovation systems in rural bio-energy development in Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Italy (in TRIBORN, funded by the Norwegian Research Council until 2016).

Knowledge, networks and resilience: exerting power by reterritorialisation and recoding of the rural community assemblage

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Adaptive capacities, social capital and community resources are widely considered as key ingredients to community resilience. What forms of decision-making strategies and power mechanisms lie behind these concepts is not clear however. This paper aims to explore how knowledge is deployed as a source of power during the formation of community actions on the example of two agricultural communities from Hungary and Wales. In this paper community resilience is investigated through assemblage theory and so recognises the heterogeneity of communities and those shaping its development pathways. Lay farmers, field experts, local decision-makers, policymakers and others taking part in food chain all have different rationales, knowledge and aims. These are coded in their language and territorialized by the networks the take part in. In many cases when community actors establish community wide action the expertise of external policymakers is invited, as the knowledge of those who are not located in nodal points of networks is considered insufficient to implement effective strategies. Especially underrated remains the expertise of lay farmers in this process. However, by reterritorialising their role and translating their local stories, knowledge of sustainable land-use practices etc. to match the wider policy discourses, their expertise becomes valuable part of larger networks and so source of power. At the same time on a larger scale of this rural knowledge-network the highly normative application of social capital and resilience applied by policymakers does not resonate with the academic scholarship's understanding of what we might consider networks and community assemblages.

Mapping the platform of glocal digital knowledge in rural businesses

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The digital transformation will reform the fields of local actors, making an unstable and dynamic platform of multiple stakeholders with different goals. In our study we have identified two fields of transformation where digitization plays a crucial role: the interactive field of business activities and networks based on reciprocal trust and the field of social networks based on the mutual trust of farmers and open knowledge sharing between their members.

Rural entrepreneurs are part of glocal networks, which are connected to technological innovations, intelligent machines and the use of applications. For example, automatic milking parlours produce online data about the quality of the milk and the welfare of the animals. Individual farmers may not have the resources to control or fully benefit from the data gathered on these processes, but this intelligent farming technology links farmers to extensive global datanets and businesses.

Digital transformation will decentralize agridata production similarly to how food production is globally decentralized to farms. However, the most knowledge intensive parts, such as GMO, are highly centralized globally. This trend works against open data ideas also in future digital transformation.

More open cooperation would create opportunities for various kinds of new partnerships. New technology offers possibilities to provide data for the development of local sustainability. Entrepreneurs' networks based on voluntary sharing of data and know-how can be seen as a reaction against the centralization of rural businesses. The ultimate outcome of these networks may be greater diversity in local economies and potentially more sustainable practices.

The future of rural expertise

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We are experiencing an enormous growth in knowledge and in access to knowledge. This challenges prevailing models of how knowledge is produced, circulated and used. Functions of knowledge production and consumption are becoming more distributed and intermingled. This is breaking down traditional hierarchies which were founded a scarcity of formal knowledge and which reinforced a sharp divide between knowledge producers and users. Thus there is a new emphasis on socially distributed *expertise* as being key to living and intervening in the world. Expertise counters the ideological claim of science as being the only source of objective information, evidence and discovery on which sound decisions and technological developments should be based. But if we reject that claim, what are the implications for the way rural actors learn? In this paper we consider the functioning of expertise exchange to validate and strengthen the expertise of rural actors. First, we examine the case for reworking the relationship between science and non-scientific expertise on the basis of expertise exchange rather than knowledge transfer, to enhance the responsiveness of scientific programmes to local stakeholders' knowledge needs. We examine the expertise of rural advisory professionals and introduce the concept of 'vernacular expertise' and ask how it may be better recognised and validated. Finally, we focus on what can be done to enhance the capacity for vernacular expertise through creating new circuits for expertise exchange, drawing on evidence from the Rural Economy and Land Use Programme.

Transdisciplinary process design and knowledge integration - challenges for developing sustainable water and land management options

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Close cooperation between science and practice throughout the research process goes along with several challenges for researchers and practitioners. This paper draws on insights on the integrated assessment of sustainable land management options and tools, demonstrating how scientific findings have been generated in close interaction with practitioners. The results are based on experiences in the project ELaN dealing with the use of treated wastewater for the renaturation of wetlands or the irrigation of agricultural land for energy crops production in Germany.

We present two of the project's main outcomes: a computer-based decision-support system and a manual dealing with the risks of using treated wastewater regarding soil and ground water quality. While the decision-support system addresses farmers, the manual is directed at administration and policy makers. Depending on the target groups and end products different methods have been applied throughout the process. These methods differ in the way how practitioners were approached, how practitioners' knowledge has been taken into account for product development and how the usability of end-products has been assured.

We analyse the transdisciplinary processes with categories that show the differences and commonalities between expectations of the two end-user groups on the one side, and the type of knowledge produced and methods for its integration into the research process on the other. The additional values as well as challenges for mode 2 process design and knowledge production are highlighted respectively. Ideally, these insights feed back into the design of future research projects leading to more practice-relevant methods and tools.

Understanding ecosystems: going beyond maps and models?

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This paper reflects on how approaches to environmental management are shaped by existing knowledge claims, mediated via research technologies. We focus on the Scottish Government's Regional Land Use Pilot project in Aberdeenshire, which aimed to create a new integrated and holistic approach to land management: reflecting a discourse about new participatory and systemic environmental governance. The project created new maps based on models of provisioning and regulating 'ecosystem services' and these were used in policy appraisals with local stakeholders. Whilst the models and maps were new, they were conditioned by existing datasets based on land cover, thus their structure and outputs told a particular story about ecosystem services. Local stakeholders argued that benefits arising from land-use were often intangible and not always directly mappable or measurable. Observing that different knowledge claims and knowledge styles can be incommensurate is not new. However, it helps to explain how such ecosystem service assessment tools can pose difficulties for more participatory approaches. For example, the privileging of certain knowledge claims in models reinforced discourses of conflict between 'food security' and 'conservation', whereas stakeholders often sought to manage for both outcomes on the same land parcel. The models implied certain managerial logics of how to manage the region through a focus on land use change, rather than land management. The latter might better accommodate the multi-directional and polycentric nature of local knowledge processes and draw attention to the management practices that co-construct these ecosystem services; in keeping with the new environmental governance paradigm.

New roles for extension/advisory services: theoretical interpretations of an alternative model in the Frisian Woodlands, the Netherlands

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As analytic concept, boundary objects are in use of for translating objectives among social worlds. Limited empirical research has been applied to study the use of boundary objects in more complex institutional situations in which environmental performance and the improvement of nature result from farm practices, which challenges new institutional structures to incorporate extremely diverse groups of actors to develop a methodological approach towards a more sustainable agro-food system. In the case study on the territorial cooperative Northern Frisian Woodlands (the Netherlands) both heterogeneity and cooperation are central issues for participants. In the case study area, farmers, 'frontline' government personnel and researchers use socially distributed expertise to optimize productivity in terms of agriculture (milk production) and nature (field bird reproduction). The objective in this paper is interpreting the complex institutional setting of the integration of dairy production and field bird protection. The brokerage functions of the territorial cooperative between farmers and state programs represents an alternative model for extension/advisory services that promotes sustainable agriculture, generates appropriate knowledge and innovation and empowers family farms to change and adapt to new societal and environmental needs. This paper explores the application of the use of boundary concepts on methodology, learning and social interaction enhancing the sustainment of the agro-food system in a territorial grounded model. The latter requires the inclusion of the local natural environment, its relevant performance indicators (by means of boundary objects: manure, grassland, feed, cows, field birds) specific in time and space, and its related actor worlds.

Data producing NGOs confronted with the demand to professionalise

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In France as in other countries, the management of biodiversity has brought about technical schemes and public policy tools that increasingly draw their inspiration from neoliberalism. Moreover, this management has resulted in an order to professionalise given to the naturalist NGOs playing a significant role in biodiversity conservation. Our proposal focuses on the NGOs involved in the production of field data and the way they deal with this demand that has come from the French government. We will first present the elements that compose the notion of professionalisation in the context of data collection (rationalisation, standardisation and commoditisation). This neo-liberal definition has been applied in the name of State modernisation. We will then show how this process comes into conflict with the values that the commitment of NGO volunteers is founded upon: enthusiasm, attachment to long-familiar places and interest in contributing to the common good. Lastly, building upon field investigations carried out in several French regions, we will elaborate ideal types describing the positions taken by NGOs toward this demand, ranging from acceptance to resistance.

Can policy be risk-based? The cultural theory of risk and the case of livestock disease containment

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Neoliberal governance has led to the free movement of live animals and animal products on a global scale. Controversies over related socio-technical hazards have become commonplace exemplified by Mad Cow Disease (BSE). In the face of unprecedented livestock disease threats, calls for more 'risk-based' policy as opposed to politically muddled, event driven policy are often promoted by actors working with livestock disease risks,. Against this, when pressed, the same actors often acknowledge both inevitability and significant value in the prevailing political basis of policy development. Looking at three current disease threats, namely Cryptosporidiosis, Foot and Mouth Disease and Avian Influenza, this paper highlights examples of this tension through qualitative interviews with actors working closely with these specific hazards, and offers an explanation drawing on The Cultural Theory of Risk (CT). Cultural Theory defends highly politicised hazard management policy development because it demonstrates a healthy, free debate on values (Douglas 1992). Furthermore, quests for depoliticised, pseudo-objective footings on which to found risk policy, are dismissed as the product of 'methodological individualism' that neglect culture by bracketing off contested realities, in favour of seemingly less troublesome, probabilistic approaches aligned with a positivist epistemological. Through a CT lens, proposed escape routes to objectivity, mask a subversive scientism that acts to make other socially useful understandings invisible. From this perspective, calls for risk-based policy in debates about livestock disease control policy are rhetorical symbols acting as rallying points in battles for resources, drawing peripheral political support from interests concerned about an institutional void.

Talking across scales about scales? Uncertainty, expertise and trust in fisheries governance after the Fukushima nuclear accident.

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This submission considers governance of coastal fisheries in Iwaki District, Fukushima, Japan post-2011 nuclear disaster. Using empirical data collected in Iwaki, particular attention is paid to how lines between 'science' and 'practical expertise' can become blurred in complex situations, and to lessons that may be learned for governance of Europe's rural areas under rapid environmental change and high uncertainty.

Coastal fishing in Fukushima - a largely rural prefecture - has been embargoed since 2011 due to concerns over radioactivity and health implications of consuming contaminated produce. Knowledge of the extent and nature of marine contamination is however improving, and small-scale trial fisheries commenced in 2014 with the aim of putting Fukushima marine produce back on sale at a limited level.

We suggest actors at the local level - here the prefectural government in Fukushima and the prefecture's fisheries cooperative administrators - play a vital role in engaging with fishers (and also consumers) on complex and uncertain issues of radiation. Fisheries researchers working for the prefecture (as opposed to national government or Tokyo Electric Power Company, who also communicate data to fishers) engender particular trust due to a long history of face-to-face contact since before the disaster, and the perception that they have a personal stake in the outcomes of radiation monitoring as they too are citizens of Fukushima as well as scientists. Prefectural fisheries researchers also play a role linking fishers with wider scientific knowledge, particularly through relationships established with physically proximate universities.

New technological interventions and knowledge production in the conservation of maerl in Falmouth, Cornwall

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In this paper, we investigated the production and interpretation of data generated by new technologies in the case of maerl conservation in the Fal estuary. In doing so, we observed the contestation of evidence and expertise in conservation-based disputes. Maerl is a rare red algae that is a key protected feature of the Fal estuary, a body of water closely tied to the economic fortunes of Falmouth. Due to heavy use of these waters, there have been several disputes involving multiple stakeholders revolving around the maerl beds. We examined two conflicts: over scallop dredging practices, and over ongoing plans to widen the channel as part of docks development. Visual technological interventions (photography, videography and sonar imaging) were used to survey and surveil the Fal's maerl in both cases. These modern imaging instruments played an evidentiary role, provided persuasion for mediating a complex environmental situation, and generated evidence that has in part determined certain practical outcomes. However, the evidence produced had predictably not alleviated many economic, political and environmental concerns held by key actors. In contrast to similar cases though, the usual oppositions between indigenous and scientific knowledge did not play out as expected. We found that neither 'local' nor 'expert' actors fit ideal types, instead occupying multiple and shifting positions of knowledge and power. Evidence generated by new technologies was therefore contested on grounds of credibility and integrity in the knowledge production process, over what constituted 'objective scientific evidence', and over which arguments were 'evidence-based' rather than 'emotive'.

Implementing locality specific agricultural practices - knowledge exchange and stakeholder involvement

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The environmental impact of agriculture is not evenly distributed across the landscape and increasingly awareness about this arises. The unevenly distributed environmental impact is due to multiple factors, including different management practices, different physical conditions and different vulnerability of the ecosystems interacting with agricultural production. This challenges the management of agro-ecosystems. The top-down regulation strategy which has been adopted so far is inappropriate, because it is impossible and impractical to devise a code of conduct for all localities, instances and events. Rather there is a need to enhance actors' capability and motivation to adopt a sustainable interaction with local resources. Regulatory bodies are therefore compelled to develop policies that tailor agricultural practices to local conditions and scientists to outline and facilitate the development of such practices. For rural studies an important question becomes how stakeholders can be involved in the development of agricultural practices adaptable to locality specific factors? This paper discuss the results from a facilitation project where stakeholders at various levels (farmers, NGO's, scientists and regulatory bodies) collaborate about adopting agricultural practices that ensures minimal soil compaction and erosion. I will explore barriers and opportunities related to the development of locality specific farming practices from a sociological perspective in relation to stakeholder involvement and knowledge exchange.

The French government's agroecological transition: attempts to produce co-constructed knowledge?

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This communication proposes an understanding of how “agroecology” became the main orientation of French agricultural development to foster potential changes in knowledge production systems. Agroecology is theorized as a radical transformation of agricultural practices in order to ensure resilience of food systems (Gliessman, 2004). A key characteristic of agroecology is to promote transformation of knowledge production processes as a condition to tackle environmental, social and economic challenges, in order to develop adaptive capacities in changing environments. In theory, the elaboration of agroecological knowledge relies on participative processes, ascendant innovations and co-construction. The ambition of agroecology is thus not limited to interdisciplinary between ecology and agronomy or to the reorientation of research’s objectives toward environmental protection. It is supposed to integrate new actors and to challenge the experimental methods leading to agricultural knowledge (Wezel *et al.*, 2011). The French government is currently elaborating new policy instruments supporting groups of farmers experimenting innovative agricultural practices to progress toward an agroecological transition. Our study tries to identify what is changing or not, and what is or blocking or not in this field of collective experimentations that stand under the ‘agroecological umbrella’. The objective is to analyze the implications of this ambitious aspiration for knowledge creation process in agriculture, and the way it transforms actors’ roles and interactions (Muller, 2000). One of the hypotheses is that, depending on the definition and the representation of what should be an agroecological transition for them, various degrees of transformations of knowledge creation and diffusion processes could occur.

Fostering reflexivity in sustainable agricultural research and practice

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The following paper aims at presenting some results of the evidence-based research on reflexivity in transdisciplinary research undertakings. It builds upon an action research and a series of participative workshops involving researchers, policy and grass-roots practitioners dealing with sustainable agriculture in the context of EU policies. In addition, literature survey provided insights into the topic. The inquiry revealed various issues that actors face while generating knowledge in a transdisciplinary way. Among them, a crucial difficulty arose in bringing actors together onto a single spot, so as to foster reflexivity about their collaborative process and using a common language to inform each other about it. While there are already lots of good practice examples of collaborative transdisciplinary platforms available, and action-reflection is visible in their undertakings, the reflexivity is still difficult to observe. We argue that this comes from an inherent divide between the knowledge repertoires that actors operate, and their embeddedness in certain communities of practice. In other words: different languages, values and ways of operating are guiding their engagement and communication. Moreover, the challenge of reflexivity in collaborative platforms arises from short-termism and 'project state'. Albeit, possible means to overcome these issues were indicated by participants of this inquiry, such as for instance facilitation by innovation brokers, more strategic approach and changes needed in the academic tenure process.

Embracing social network complexity in CEE countries' landscape planning: cases from Latvia and Estonia

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Landscape planning includes participatory processes, where identification of the relevant stakeholders is necessary. Stakeholders, however, are rarely discrete groups, but are individuals set within networks with varying degrees of attachment to the physical environment and the community, also varying degrees of intensity of association. This web of connectedness presents a complex picture but offers multiple pathways for multi-directional information flows and knowledge inputs for decision-making.

Complexity should be embraced as it provides multiple points for planners to interact with communities, where lay-knowledge can be incorporated into plans and deliberation can occur regarding possible outcomes. Network governance is an emerging feature for countries, which have recently undergone intense social transformations, such as Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. Social networks environmental/landscape governance contexts, have not yet received much academic interest, but networks potentially can increase information flows. Maintaining multiple pathways for knowledge transfer, therefore can increase community resilience; they also present possible resistance to change where power relationships come into play or trust is low (Newig, Günther and Pahl-Wostl, 2010). This study addresses the role of networks for successful information exchange in landscape planning. Case studies in Latvia and Estonia show supportive families, cultural groups and interest groups are important in maintaining the connectedness of individuals to a particular area and therefore potential entry points for landscape planners to connect with local communities. The cases also highlight problems where connections are weak and trust is low.

Working Group 7: Visions of the Rural: a new subordination?

Convenors: Elisabete Figueiredo[1], László Kulcsár[2], Pavel Pospěch[3], Jen Cleary[4], Jane Atterton [5], Sarah Skerratt[5]

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Working group description

This working group invites contributions dealing with representations and imageries of rural areas and rurality. It addresses a broad field which includes cultural, social, policy and political representations, visual images and ways of rural marketing and self-marketing. The common theme is the conceptual position of rural in the discourse dominated by urban perspectives in the context of rural politics, policy-making power and legitimacy. The four specific topics highlighting this conceptual position are the following:

1. The politics of defence

Rural areas have traditionally been viewed as disadvantaged. The nature of this position has changed from looking at rural as backward to looking at rural as something to be preserved, but the relative inferiority of rural has remained unchanged, as well as the impetus for policy intervention in favour of the rural, albeit developing it from an urban perspective. This approach has been described by Bell (2007) as a Politics of defence towards the rural.

2. Rural tourism and its consequences

Despite its generally faint economic contributions, rural tourism is often seen as the engine of rural development. The expectations tourists place on rural areas and on rural populations in their search for 'authentic' experiences often result in the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2002). The tourist gaze is reinforced through tourism promotion mechanisms, tourism operators, mass media, local governments, among others and this process induces changes in local communities which reflect the gaze back to become more attractive for tourists, reinforcing development stereotypes about rural places.

3. Urban views of the rural

The cultural images, representations and discourses on the rural are increasingly produced by urban dwellers and institutions. Many rural areas around Europe are open to a diverse set of urban consumptions which are strongly based on stereotypes of rurality. These aspects have a growing influence on the ways rural areas are presenting themselves as attractive spaces for urban consumptions and making their rural 'brands' commercially attractive. Over time this has led to a hegemony of urban views and discourses on contemporary rural development, displacing the local actors from the process.

4. 'Speaking of rural' and understanding policy

In developed countries, rural is often equated with agriculture; at the same time, within countries, there are often considerable differences in what constitutes the rural imaginary. We need to examine the 'rural lexicon' in order to understand differing policy responses to rural development and thereby create a new rural imaginary. Different meanings within the rural lexicon are implicitly enacted in policy with consequences for the direction, resilience and sustainability of rural. The aim is to

understand what is meant when we are all speaking of rural, and how this translates into (policy) actions for rural sustainability.

The papers will address, among others, the following topics:

- the politics of defence and the government policies to address inequalities
- the outcomes of the politics of defence for the rural actors and their attitude towards it
- the institutional reorganization of the politics of rural development and its legitimacy
- the consequences of rural tourism activities for local development
- the promotion of rural areas and its institutional background
- the interactions between rural tourism and other local activities
- the demands, expectations and 'gazes' of rural tourism
- the urban views of rurality in various discourses (expert knowledge, politics, art etc.)
- the values imposed on the rural by diverse actors and the conflicts in values
- comparative rural policy approaches in different countries

Think locally and act globally: understanding human development in the era of globalization

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For over two decades the phrase ‘think global, act local’ shaped the rhetoric used by many actors critical of globalization of the neo-liberal narrative. The intention was to get ideas from various parts of the world. This could be beneficial in terms of diffusion of good environmental practices or spreading civil society ideas. However, when global ideas reach local ground, they are still global ideas, which may take over or eclipse local concepts in unintended ways. Occasionally, this could even lead to overpowering what is local instead of empowering it. Therefore, having the empowerment of local communities in mind, we propose that those who really contest globalization of the neoliberal narrative should turn the tables and work to ‘think locally, act globally’.

Thinking locally and acting globally helps to ensure that adequate attention to local needs and local ideas will be provided. The nature of bonds on the local level changes in the globalized world, as local communities become more goal-oriented, utilizing the functional proximity of people and other assets of the community. These new types of communities emerge in places previously recognized as shaped by local traditions. This can be seen in several cases containing rural and urban-rural communities as well as in the nation-wide study of rural communities in Poland. Their potential can be recognized as matching with neo-endogenous and sustainable development concepts.

Urban views revisited?: 'Rural populations' in the era of mobilities

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As suggested in a number of recent papers, studies of rural populations need to engage with and grasp more fully the implications of any proposed 'era of mobilities', with its heightened emphasis on flow, movement and porosity, for how such populations are to be understood and delineated. This issue is approached in this paper in relation to the contested 'legitimacy' of the urban view of the rural as expressed in debates about where the boundaries around the 'rural population' can be drawn. Conventionally, 'urban' consumers of the rural, such as tourists or second home owners, are constructed as rural outsiders, requiring 'permanent' residential relocation to a rural location before they are even considered 'apprentice' rural people. Place of residence defines them. This is reiterated by recent political concerns to give the supposed interests of the 'rural population' greater consideration in policy formulation and outcomes, exemplified by the Countryside Alliance's campaigns in the UK. Yet, humanistic insights tell us that emplacement of residence is also a pertinent issue, focusing on the ties that bind people to specific places. Building on the latter, any neatly defined and essentialist spatial identity construct is rejected in the paper, which instead proposes a more fluid but potentially more encompassing model of contextualised spatial identification related to complex entanglements with place. Just how novel are the presence of such multiple emplacings is certainly debatable of course, but the mobilities turn nonetheless enables them to be foregrounded.

Re-imagining the countryside: from Rural Idyll to Good Countryside. A provocation.

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Rural studies have highlighted a 'rural idyll' as something to which many aspire, perhaps as a vision of a good place to live or as a repository of values. But harking back to an imagined past is recognised as normative and power-infused, often serving the interests of the powerful. How far should this nostalgia for an imagined 'golden age' of indeterminate date inform a vision for a desired future? This paper seeks to begin, and indeed to provoke, discussion of what might constitute visions for rural futures, or our collective imaginaries of rural places into the twenty-first century, of a 'Good Countryside' to work towards. What values might underpin such imaginaries? And how might we approach such a task? One approach might be to employ Utopian thinking as a means of identifying and imagining desired alternative futures, drawing upon Levitas' argument for utopia as a form of anticipatory consciousness - the *not yet* - in contrast to the essentially nostalgic, backward looking 'rural idyll'. Urban studies are then taken as a point of departure for deliberation on what values might underpin a 'good countryside', and whether these might differ between urban and rural contexts. The paper ends with a discussion of how to proceed in practice, both in eliminating 'evils' and in pursuing collective forward dreaming and anticipatory consciousness, for example through place-shaping or networked rural development. The discussion also reflects on what roles sociologists might play in these processes.

Rurality – ‘the neverending story’

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‘Rurality’ - one of the most troubling terms in social sciences, concept that brings the legitimacy of rural sociology as scientific (sub)discipline into question since years. What does ‘rurality’ actually mean? Are we still able to study "rurality" as existing phenomena (or it is already part of history)? The situation seems to be more complicated if we took into account some important discussions/facts, for example: (1) wrong definitions of basic terms (2) sociology as the practical or theoretical science (3) different ways of institutionalization of rural sociology (rural sciences) e.g. in countries of *Eastern Europe* (more connected with anthropology, ethnology), *USA* (more economical background).

According to ‘logical approach’ we are interested only in what a sentence means, we *depersonalize action of defining*. *Definition in sociology is a social fact and semantic convention (...) are not neutral with reference to content-related problems (Ossowski 1986)*. Mistakes in definitions (e.g. idem per idem), misunderstanding in using classic terms and typologies (e.g. Gemeinschaft - Gesellschaft) were/are partly responsible for perceiving ‘rural’ as something worse (than ‘urban’) and disadvantaged. In the face of difficulties with definitions of basic terms, rural sociologists guard boundaries of their discipline jealously, often isolate rural sociology from other sciences. Solution? Instead of separation, alliance with other scientific disciplines even such surprising like neuroscience (Abbott, Nature 2011).

In my paper I will concentrate on problems/consequences of building (wrong) definitions in rural sociology and repercussion of the institutionalization of rural sciences looking for the new/fresh solutions for rural sociology.

Forest well-being tourism - a new possibility for remote rural areas in Finland

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Forest has become for many Finns as a source of recreation and wealth. The recreational use of the forest has been recognized in tourist business also. The forest well-being tourism is today one of Finland's key tourism development areas. Forest well-being tourism is goal-orientation tourism, so it is different than normal nature tourism. The forest is applied for the mental and physical well-being, not necessarily extreme or thrilling experiences of nature itself. This means that tourism can be directed to the so-called normal household use and timber use forests. Wellness tourism is hoped the new and in remote rural residents especially.

In Ilomantsi, Finland easternmost municipality, there was a pilot project in forest well-being tourism 2011-2013. There were built a service network for the construction of 20 representatives of local tourism companies. The aim was to build a tourism package to attract Japanese tourist to seek refreshment from forests in Ilomantsi.

It became out that in same time forests are used in many different ways, Different uses of the forest are partly overlapping, partly mutually exclusive and often contradict each other. Other forms of forest use are difficult to reconcile with the forest well-being of tourism that requires peace and quiet. How to share the benefits and drawbacks to forest owners, local residents and tourists operators, and local business life. Wood and timber sales brings money directly to the forest owner, but how tourism revenues can be channeled to forest owners and local communities

Collective action for joint agrifood and tourism marketing in Chefchaouen, Morocco.

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Increasingly, attention is given to linking agrifood and tourism activities as a way to enhance rural development. For making this work, cross-sector and integrative territorial approaches are considered essential, which involve joint marketing and branding efforts. In the region of Chefchaouen, Morocco, both public and private actors endeavour to valorise and promote place-specific assets and present unique territorial identities in strategies targeting public policy or commercial domains. Although the Chefchaouen region has potential for creating cross-sector synergies, due to its gastronomic, cultural and natural assets, it seems difficult to reach scale and a strong competitive position on the basis of such a territorial proposition.

The paper presents a selection of small-scale eco-tourism and agro-ecological joint marketing initiatives in Chefchaouen, supported by international NGOs and public policy, with the aim to discuss whether and how these agrifood and tourism marketing strategies are embedded in existing territorial as well as national policy logics. In addition, it explores whether and how local agricultural producers and tourism entrepreneurs are inclined to act collectively in a marketing strategy. The paper exposes the interplay between national top-down approaches, public-private agrifood and tourism strategies based on collective action, and the commercial activities appropriated by private actors cleverly using existing structures.

"Urban, be my guest", the Rural said: community agro-tourism, an Andean case study

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Since 2006 community agro-tourism has characterised life in Santiago de Okola, an Aymara village on the shores of Lake Titicaca. This successful initiative was launched by 20 indigenous families, under the guidance of a group of Bolivian and international NGOs, research organisations and tour operators. A crucial component of Okola's agro-tourism initiative, currently advertised in Lonely Planet tourist books, is agrobiodiversity. Conservation of native varieties of tubers and grains is a millenary practice, still maintained today. Recently, however, deagrarianisation, rural-urban migration, and the influence of urban customs have put smallholders' conservation activities to the test. Okola's agro-tourism initiative aims at offering tourists a genuine rural experience, in close contact with nature, Aymara lifestyle, traditions and food, while re-valuing agrobiodiversity and promoting its conservation. It has indeed raised farmers' awareness of the agronomic and now increasingly economic value of local crop varieties. However, it embeds some challenges for indigenous farmers that concern the commodification of agrobiodiversity and its spiritual and identity-making value; the gradual disappearance of minor varieties from indigenous people's plots and diet, as mainstream varieties, available in markets and prepared for tourists in new appealing dishes, are enough to fulfil guests' expectations; the loss of interest in subsistence agriculture, as new sources of income emerge. There is a risk that agrobiodiversity is reduced to the urban-biased version of it that is presented to tourists and the question arises whether rural and urban can still be considered as entirely separate dimensions.

The structural relationships among tourism motivation, satisfaction, and loyalty for ecotourism in rural communities in Korea

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Tourism motivation is one of the most important variables explaining tourist behavior. The study examined the relationships among tourism motivation, satisfaction and destination loyalty in the ecotourism in rural community sector. In order to achieve the proposed objectives, data collected in a survey designed for visitors to a community based ecotourism destination in South Korea has been used. Data were collected from 254 visitors by means of a questionnaire at six community-based ecotourism villages located in South Korea. CFA analysis identified four dimensions of perceived value from 13 variables: relaxation, adventure, and natural experience. The SEM model in LISREL was used to examine the relationships among tourism motivation, satisfaction, and loyalty for ecotourism in rural communities. The empirical results of the SEM model indicate that all of the underlying dimensions of tourism motivation for ecotourism have a significant effect on tourist satisfaction. The influence of tourist satisfaction on the destination loyalty of ecotourism was also found to be statistically significant. Community-based ecotourism village managers should establish a higher tourist satisfaction level to create destination loyalty.

‘A good village’: an analysis of the images from the Czech competition Village of the year

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This paper presents an analysis of the image of a ‘good village’, produced in the annual Czech competition Village of the year. The competition, organised by the Ministry of regional development, encourages rural municipalities to submit an application form together with a selection of images, presenting their village. These images were analysed with respect to their iconographic content in order to uncover what elements and topics are used to present the image of a ‘good village’. The research methodology uses a focus group design and it is conceptually rooted in Panofsky's typology of the three strata of meaning. The results of the analysis suggest that a specific kind of rural idyll is co-produced in the competition, which emphasises activity and vivid social life as key elements of a ‘good village’. Further emphasis is placed on community, especially in terms of the inclusion of children. The prominence of children stands in contrast to the relative absence of images of the topics of seniority and inclusion of the elderly. There are also no visual references to agriculture and agriculture-related activities. In conclusion, these findings are discussed in terms of the contemporary theories of rural idyll and the visual representations of rurality.

Transformation or subordination? The potential of artistic and creative endeavours for sustainable rural futures

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This paper investigates rural-based artists' and craft workers' strategies to achieve sustainable livelihoods in contemporary rural localities, and the subordinating impacts of rural development policy and programme frameworks.

The role of the arts and creativity in development has emphasised its economic contribution, particularly through the creative industries concept - a predominantly urban-based phenomenon. Commentators have expressed concern at continued narrow and rigid insights into the dynamics of rural sustainability where artistic and creative endeavours are concerned. Markusen (2007) critiques conventional export based theory used to assess the value of artistic and creative activities, and illustrates how investments in local rural cultural infrastructure and programmes can serve as local growth drivers. However, a main challenge continues to be the inconsistent and inflexible forms of policy and programme support for such endeavours.

This paper interprets accounts from artists, craft workers and others involved in production of the arts and crafts from Ireland and Wales to illustrate the complex and challenging environment for rural artistic and creative endeavours: The importance of appropriate supports; the precarious nature of rural livelihoods based on arts and craft work; the vulnerability of the sector to economic trends and the wider implications for rural localities and communities that benefit from their activities and presence in diverse ways. It examines the subordinating impact of policy and institutional strategies which on the one hand indicate development potential for the sector, but on the other offer supports constrained by technocratic structures and limited funding, leaving a significant rural resource underutilised.

Challenging the macho forester ideal: change and production of gender equality in Swedish forestry sector

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The forestry sector in Sweden is highly segregated, dominated by men and associated to specific forms of masculinities. In an attempt to stabilise their position on the global market, the sector has, influenced by diversity managerial ideals, started to challenge their cultural emphasis on homogeneity. In contrast to previous, the connection between gender equality, competitiveness and sustainability has become more vivid in the political debate of Sweden. This has brought on a shift in the articulation of gender equality work, moving from a concept of justice, inclusion and legitimacy, to a more business oriented approach, partly driven by diversity managerial ideals and specific notions of knowledge and professionalism. Based on assumption that gender equality isn't fixated but are constructed through policies and practices, we analyze and discuss the processes and articulation of national gender equality strategy in forestry to focus on the relation of governance and gender mainstreaming and to draw attention to the effect of changing forms of government on the production of gender equality, the rural and gender in the context of de-politicalisation.

Farming selfies, agriphotos and other genres. Picturing farmers' lives in social media as a mean of empowerment and taking control over rural imaginarium

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Western visual repository is full of rural images produced from urban perspective. There is little historical representations of rural life by embedded inhabitants of rural areas which would be echoed in the 'central' culture. The introduction of social media significantly changes this situation by enabling various actors of expressing their marginalization or of developing new collaborative communities. Web 2.0 distorted also the centre/periphery dualism. The following presentation aims at discussing the trend of posting photos picturing life and work on farms on two social platforms as a mean of empowerment and taking control of rural imaginarium by farmers. Photos posted on Twitter by English-speaking farmers are dedicated to a broader audience. They are political in that their authors' claim to look for a common farmers' identity, show hidden realm of food production and underline a farmer's importance in food chains. Photos posted on agrophoto.pl, a big social platform for Polish-speaking farmers, are characterized by peer-to-peer exchange and a specialized group language. Here posting aims at generating knowledge-exchange rather than 'publicity'. What is common for these pictures is that they provoke new forms of sociality (Postill, Pink in press 2012: 3): a dialogue and new connections between different parties (producers, consumers, animal rights activists, other farmers, organizations.) What is more, they allow their authors to speak (or show) for themselves and to suggest to others their epistemology, aesthetics and ethics. They are also a spot to study human-animals entanglements, because of the ambiguity of picturing livestock (pets, family members or meat?).

Rural development in Portugal: between willfulness and reality

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In Europe, from the mid-1960s until the beginning of the 1990s, rural areas have been closely associated with agricultural production and driven by the CAP's sectoral policy. Since then, the main role assigned to rural areas by the European political agenda has been progressively changing from places of production to multifunctional spaces in which consumption oriented activities and conservation of natural resources assume particular relevance.

Despite the historical importance of rural spaces and agricultural activity in Portugal they have been progressively abandoned during the last five decade due to the continuous agricultural and rural exodus. Currently, while agriculture is no longer the leading economic activity of rural areas and, in spite of the implementation of rural development programmes, there is still a long way to achieve the necessary multifunctionality in order to revive rural economies.

This paper analyses the content of the latest Portuguese Rural Development Programme (PRODER - 2007-2013) and the narratives, of some political actors responsible for its design and/or implementation, based on semi-structured interviews. Those are then confronted with the financial resources allocated to the measures in PRODER. Empirical evidence shows that while the Programme and narratives strain to consider and support a rural development agenda, financial resources are mostly allocated to support agricultural productivity and modernization. This might be explained by both the willingness to "catch-up" with northern European modernized agricultures and the lack of political and institutional culture and "know-how" to deal with and implement regional and local strategies.

Visions of the rural impeding development? Discourses on a 'problematic' region in Estonia

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Representations of the rural play a central role in discussing the impact of regional identity on local development, which is increasingly related to the notion of competitiveness (Paasi 2013). The neoliberal debate on growth potentials, the creative class and endogenous resources inherently privileges the urban over the rural (Shearmur 2012). As a contested discourse with consequences in practice, regional identity simultaneously functions as a 'form of identification of people with their region' and 'constructed image of a region', constantly becoming through processes of institutionalization (Paasi 2003). On the one hand, it is seen as development tool in rural areas, locally enhancing social capital or offering possibilities for place marketing/branding (Semian/Chromý 2014). On the other hand, images of rurality and remoteness can lead to a stigmatizing peripheralization discourse, being incorporated into and/or resisted by local identity discourses (Lang 2011, Miggelbrink/Meyer 2013).

As discursive representations are bound into power relations, they allow for certain depictions and limit others (Foucault 1999, Spivak 1988). The question if images of the rural demonstrate a new form of subordination or can - under certain circumstances - be employed for local empowerment (e.g. strategic essentialism), should therefore take the agency of different actors into account. Hence, focusing on representations in print media and policy documents, my analysis of regional identity discourses on/in rural Estonia should not only reveal differing visions of the rural on national and local level, but also ask the question which images are mobilized by whom, for what purposes and with which consequences?

Understandings of rural and rural policy in Scotland

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Rural areas make up 94% of the Scottish land mass, and one fifth of Scotland's population, a proportion that is growing. Rural Scotland is usually rated as a very good place to live, with a pleasant environment and a strong sense of community. Service sector activities have grown in importance, as have levels of home working and self-employment, alongside investment in broadband. However, while incomes are generally higher in (accessible) rural areas than in urban Scotland, poverty remains an ongoing challenge (Scottish Government 2012: Skerratt et al. 2014).

These are peoples' every day experiences of living and working in rural Scotland, but how far are these experiences accurately reflected in the dominant policy responses to rural Scotland?

The paper reviews how well 'matched' the rural policy discourse is in Scotland with everyday life in rural Scotland, through a review of recent rural policy documents and strategies and relevant literature. Conclusions will be drawn as to the ways in which policy understandings lead to particular policy outcomes and implications for those in rural Scotland. Where appropriate, comparisons will be drawn with other parts of the UK.

Drawing on the example of Scotland therefore, the paper will add to our knowledge and understanding of how rural is understood in different places and the implications of this for future rural development.

The rural municipality as a democratic actor expressing the legitimate common will: How to adjust administrative borders in accordance with the multifaceted life of late modern people?

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In Norway, the government has taken the initiative to reform municipal boundaries, which have passed relatively unchanged since the mid-1960s. This reform is partly motivated by the fact that patterns of communication has changed thanks to the construction of bridges, tunnels and new roads as well as the emergence of larger labour regions. Those opposed to the reform, are accused of retrospective conservatism and drawing populist sentiment into the debate, while proponents are accused of implementing a reform that will lead to further centralization and weakening of local democracy. Today's rightist government has also motivated the administrative restructuring of the municipalities with the fact that local governments will have greater responsibilities in the future. It means that the state must decentralize responsibilities and authority to municipalities. It is also claims that many municipalities have difficulties obtaining qualified personnel with high expertise. In the process so far it is evident that this reform will be contested both around the big cities and in the countryside. On the basis of data from surveys and interviews on of how management and citizens from ten island municipalities react to the reform proposals, we analyse the municipality restructuring process from perspectives of local identity and belonging, security for performance of vital welfare services and local democracy.

Who is consuming countryside's amenities? An overview of portuguese tourists' motivations and consumptions of the rural

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As a result of a long-term set of transformations, rural areas in many European countries are increasingly being perceived as places for tourism and leisure consumption related activities, mainly by urban dwellers. In Portugal, the urban consumption of the countryside is mainly oriented to remote rural areas, i.e., those neglected by the socioeconomic strategies during the last 60 years, in which production activities (namely agriculture) are no longer relevant. Nowadays these are post-productivist areas seemingly devoted to fulfil urban tourists' needs, demands and quests for authentic experiences. In fact, many remote Portuguese rural areas are nowadays places in which almost every element of the remaining (sometimes untouched) rurality seems to may be commodified and constituted as an amenity. The progressive commodification of the Portuguese countryside is based (as in other parts of Europe) on very positive and idyllic imaginaries on rurality. Rural areas are frequently perceived as authentic, genuine, offering a vast set of activities and rewarding experiences to the urban visitors.

Based on the data analysis from a survey applied to a sample of the Portuguese society (N=1853) this paper aims at understanding the demands and consumptions of the countryside, highlighting the main characteristics, consumption motivations and practices of rural visitors. The evidence gathered demonstrates the positive images of the countryside, often materialized in its perception as a 'green and pleasant' environment to rest, to be immersed in nature, to contemplate the landscape and to be in touch with the 'authentic' soul of Portuguese culture and traditions.

Hicks, hi-techs and hippies: how images in public media and pop-culture influence the perceptions of farmers.

Valentin Fiala, Milena Klimek, Rebecca Paxton

University of Natural Resources and Life Science, Vienna, Austria

Direct experiences with farmers and farming are rare in today's urbanised society. Given this dissociation, media and pop-culture likely play important roles in constructing peoples' images of farmers. Such second hand sources, include newspapers, advertisements, and film. These media are themselves set within particular discursive traditions, which help shape the development of food and farming futures. In this research we ask what discourses about farmers are transported via the visual images in these media in Austria and Minnesota, USA. We focus on visual images, because in modern society these media are becoming more and more important, but are still underrepresented as a topic of scientific analysis. While large, modern, urbanized areas can be found in both regions, the regions differ in important aspects of our analysis (e.g. urban-rural relation or the historical image of farmers).

Using mainstream semiotics we identify a system of signs that construct meanings and farmer identities through images. These systems of signs are condensed to farmer typologies. A public online archive of these images and typologies will be used to promote public discussions and provide material for further research aimed at reflection upon and mirroring of social representations of farmers and farming. Further projects building upon this research include participatory photography with urban and rural non-farming residents to capture their perceptions of farmers, and an action research project encouraging young peoples' interest in farming.

The countryside is worth a thousand words - Portuguese discourses on rural areas

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Along with the well-documented transformations of rural areas in the last few decades, the social views, representations and ways of describing rurality had also changed in western societies. A threefold narrative on the rural seemed to emerge from such transformations: a pre-modernity or rural crisis discourse; a productivist perspective and a rural renaissance vision. In the first, rural areas are generally portrayed as less developed and in need of change. The second is connected with the association of the rural with agricultural modernization. Finally, the countryside is increasingly understood as a repository of traditional cultural values and natural resources needing to be preserved. Despite the growing hegemonic idyllic views on the rural in Portugal, following the tendency of the 'global north', there is a diversity of rural social representations, mainly related to historical and cultural specificities.

This paper aims to unveil the heterogeneity of Portuguese society's narratives about the countryside based on the results of a survey directed to a sample of the Portuguese population (N=1839). Using a hierarchical cluster analysis of some variables related to the social representations of the rural, five distinct clusters representing diverse narratives were identified. A first narrative presents an anti-idyllic rural, mainly portrayed as physical and inhabited space. A second describes the rural as abandoned and disadvantaged. A third narrative portrays the rural as idyllic, as a place of well-being. Finally, a fifth discourse presents rural areas as spaces for economic activity, mainly related to tourism activities and the exploitation of natural resources.

Rural household entrepreneurship and the image of rural life

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The image of rural life, among both intellectuals and the public at large, often contains seeming contradictions between the countryside as a place that contains a basic purer form of human nature versus the view that rural residents are backward and in need of 'enlightenment'. The former view, expressed in the writings of Thoreau, Tolstoy and Ghandi proclaims the higher level of rural life in terms of spiritual values – i.e., a simpler but truer understanding of the transcendent landscape of nature and God – and the superior sustainability of rural social organization in which the household combines both socialization and production functions for the larger society. The latter view that rural regions are less developed has been reinforced in Europe and North America by the demographic decline in rural regions and in Africa and parts of Asia by the association between rural migration and poverty. An alternative view, based on research findings in rural regions of Russia, the American Midwest, East Africa and India suggests a way to project a more positive image of rural life by focusing on rural household entrepreneurship, and the creativity generated by uniquely rural social institutions and social networks. These findings provide important templates for entrepreneurial activities by struggling urban households. Most important, empirical examples from both cross-national as well as intra-national studies illustrate the critical role of government policies in providing formal institutional support (or obstacles) to rural household entrepreneurship.

Rural imaginations in an urban world: Examples from Turkey

Basak Tanulku

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The 'rural' has had different and contradictory meanings, shaped by its ultimate contrast, the 'urban', particularly since the advent of industrial capitalism leading to the well-known dichotomy between the two realms. At the moment, there are debates about its actual and symbolic meaning due to various changes in everyday practices and technologies such as food production in cities through allotment gardens and transformation of rural areas through gated communities, second homes, and conversion of old farms into permanent homes for urbanites. These lead to blurring boundaries between the urban and the rural, former regarded to be ruralised and the latter regarded to be urbanised.

Following recent debates on the importance of peoples' perceptions and imaginations of landscape (Taylor, 2011), this paper aims at exploring how the rural is perceived and constructed in Turkey, a developing country facing great and rapid transformation in urban and rural realms. For this purpose, it will discuss various historic and current manifestations of rural in Turkey. In the end, the paper will argue that the rural is positioned against the urban realm and still retains its importance due to its 'symbolic value', reflecting its relative exemption from urban values and space.

Working Group 8: Migration and rural social change

Convenors: Ruth McAreavey[1], Thomas Dax[2], Teresia Odel-Wieser[3], Ingrid Machold[3], Neil Argent[4]

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Working group description

This WG aims to examine the interrelationships between demographic change and political/social change in rural areas. Particularly, it seeks to explore migration patterns and experiences, the impacts on communities of destination and the shifting politics and development narratives associated with mobility of certain groups to rural areas. We invite papers that explore contemporary demographic change, internal and international migration patterns and processes in varied rural contexts.

Rural areas are dynamic places being continuously reconfigured and reconnected with other areas (both rural and urban). Additionally rural residents change across time and space due to a range of factors including migration processes, fertility behavior, family and household structures and living arrangements. Also for internal migration processes certain aspects are widely debated among scholars, particularly those regarding the relocation of an urban middle class to the countryside in search of better quality of life (rural gentrification, amenity migration). But recent global financial crises have resulted in spatial re-valuation and new patterns of mobility.

The recent uptick in international migration has meant that migrants across the globe are no longer confined to traditional migrant gateways. Unlike the past, new immigrant groups are increasingly settling in so-called 'new' destinations, many of these are peripheral or predominantly rural in nature. These phenomena imply substantial socio-economic and cultural changes in these areas that also have implications for the interrelation between areas and spatial structures more generally. For instance population losses caused by low birth rate and a negative internal migration balance have for a long time characterized many rural communities. However the positive inflow of people with foreign citizenships can significantly mitigate, if not compensate, the emigration numbers in some areas.

Paper proposals are invited to deal with the following focus areas:

- Amidst the growing complexity and intensity of population movements and associated population structural change, many rural areas are struggling to meet the challenges of catering for, inter alia, ageing and socio-economically disadvantaged populations. Papers that present informed, current perspectives on the changing demographic face of rural areas in these troubled contexts are welcome.
- Demographic changes accentuate the tendencies towards an increase in social diversity in rural communities. The focus on a potential-oriented perspective may provide incentives for new ideas and innovative activities for regional policies. Papers regarding the performance of a fruitful living together (good and bad practice) and the relevance of institutional actor networks and

governance structures (oriented at an environment of “welcoming communities”) are particularly welcome.

- Contributions are welcome that touch upon theoretical, socio-historical and/or research issues associated with the quality of life in rural areas which experience the settlement of immigrant groups and ethnic groups.
- We welcome contributions that examine how new socio-economic transformations arising from contemporary demographic change including migration processes provide opportunities and/or challenge rural communities. Papers may address the role of crisis phenomena within cities in providing new (and perhaps conflicting) constructions of the countryside across (new and established) residents and policy makers. Submissions are welcomed that explore the complexity of factors that influence migration and these rural transformations, inter-group relationships, and social incorporation or integration.

We welcome critical explorations of the limitations of existing theories and proposals that provide new ways of framing modern migration and demographic behaviour. Contributions providing empirical evidence are also welcomed as are papers examining the implications for rural communities and connections to society and public policy.

The effects of road infrastructure on migration and migration intentions: the case of North Iceland

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The migration from rural to urban areas is in part driven by the economic necessities and socio-cultural preferences related to the economy of scale. Small, peripheral communities at distance from major urban centres tend to be at a disadvantage in the market economy and are less able to provide modern amenities to inhabitants. The improvement of road infrastructure has been proposed as an alternative to mass migration, in essence increasing the economy of scale by moving people in different communities closer together and reducing distances between periphery and centre. However, some have argued that major road construction projects will not reverse the tide of rural outmigration and that such infrastructure improvements will even make outmigration easier. This paper explores the impact of large-scale tunnel construction project in Northern Iceland on migration trends. The tunnels connected two declining fishing villages and expanded the micropolitan area of the regional centre. The mixed-methods approach is based on official registration data, a census of actual residents, surveys among residents and out-migrants and interview data.

International migration flows to Australia and rural cosmopolitanism

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The concept of cosmopolitanism includes openness to and valuing of difference, mobilities, belonging to the world, multiple identities, negotiation of cultures and self-transformation. While cosmopolitanism is often associated with urban settings, recent work has acknowledged that cosmopolitanisms are also produced in rural places (Werbner 2008). Cosmopolitanism takes different forms in different places. We believe it is worth exploring how cosmopolitanism can be conceptualised in rural settings which are impacted by processes of change and globalisation (Woods, 2007) and what a rural cosmopolitanism might look like at communities across developed nations.

Rural cosmopolitan in Australia is emerging as a result of an increased focus on resettling immigrants on into non-metropolitan areas, and attracting new, globally mobile, and highly skilled immigrants. We are interested in exploring how, despite the openness that is there and opportunities, it involves risk on the part of these globally mobile immigrants so in a sense what appears cosmopolitan in terms of openness and so on, is often partial because qualifications, while recognised, may not hold the same power in a different context. The other side of this is how new immigrants remake themselves despite these inequities to reveal how they are renegotiating their understanding of new places and cultures. More specifically how they are doing it by comprehending, comparing and contrasting and interpreting, or what Papastergiadis (2012) refers to as cultural translation. We explored it by analysing the data gathered from five regional and rural community studies located across New South Wales and Western Australia.

Rural local schools - welfare and symbolic in local community development

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The paper explores experiences and mobilizing processes in rural communities fighting for their local school. We see how schools on the one side are experienced as arenas for social life, socialization and comprehensiveness, identity and self-respect. This is intertwined with rural and regional policy and welfare policy. In Norway, state policy for decades has claimed to keep settlement in rural areas and districts at the present level, and the last years out-migration from rural areas has declined. As for rural schools we see that Norway and Sweden with Denmark has a unique history in educational settings, more known as the 'Nordic model', where the welfare state and equality ideal has been strong: 1) Free education to prevent social exclusion of people between school and work, 2) comprehensive school / public school with the goal that all go to the same school as long as possible. 3) The importance of the community as a contribution to equality, 4) comprehensive school/schools should be locally situated. After the restructuring of the school system in the Scandinavian countries during the 1990s, there has been a shift from a regulative school management to a decentralized system, so-called decentralized centralization. These centralization processes, by people and institutions, are explored in the paper. We investigate the school in the local community -and the local community in the school, through seven group interviews conducted in 2013 and 2014 in four local communities, representing respectively teachers and local population in two rural communities in Northern- and Mid-Norway.

The rural home as a container of mobile family history

Maarit Sireni

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After the Second World War, the population of the region annexed to the Soviet Union was evacuated and resettled within the borders of the newly defined Finnish territory. Most of these people were small-holders who received land in rural areas where they set up their new farms. This paper explores the current uses of these rural homes, using empirical material from the village of Rasimäki, which is an archetypical rural settlement established in a formerly uninhabited fringe area in Eastern Finland. Reporting a study based on qualitative interviews and visual material, the paper concludes that many homes in this community have either remained or been reconstructed into important sites of memory and nostalgia for the descendants of the displaced Karelian people. Typically, they are owned by the children or grandchildren of the original settlers, and used as second homes where family members gather together. Although the village has experienced a drastic loss of jobs, outmigration and the reduction of services, these homes seem to have been maintained, much as they were in the past. Material objects in their domestic interiors such as icons and photographs representing the homes that were lost in ceded Karelia, give material support to the collective identity of the new generations of these people. It is concluded that an attachment to imagined places of the past, as experienced by the current part/full-time residents of Rasimäki, actively defines this rural place and also conditions its future restructurings.

Empowerment strategies among migrant women in a mountainous border area

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The paper is focused on adaptive preferences among migrant women from different ethnicities in the mountain area of Catalonia located in the Pyrenees and bordering France and Andorra. The area has experienced constant outmigration flows during 20th century, significant among women. Since beginning of 21th century great in-migration flows occurred, basically related with tourist and services expansion providing demographic and economic growth. However, after 2008 financial the migration rate is negative again. Consequently, the development path has to be reformulated. Research explores which factors are facilitating in the crisis scenario migrant women's settlement and women's livelihood strategies looking at their capacity to establish associational ties using in-depth interviews. The main research concern is to examine which inclusive processes are interacting with the different migrant cultural backgrounds and the local culture, this deeply influenced by the mountainous and border condition. The research findings reveal the importance of ties among women for their access to job opportunities and welfare facilities resulting in an empowerment process which is identified in all cases interviewed. The existing blurred border and the abundance of ecological capital are two key elements in this process providing new economic opportunities. However, the absence of gender policies integrated with local development policies neglects the possibility to enhance women's livelihood strategies. An integrated local policy include place and culture identity as well as gender differences as overlapping spheres of analyses that can rework and improve the gender regime of the area.

Location, migration and the labour market: longitudinal analysis of rural/urban youth earnings in Britain

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This paper discusses the longitudinal effect of rural/urban migration on labour market outcomes for young people in Britain. It assesses how rural/urban origin and location affect career prospects by tracking earnings from youth into adulthood, using data from British Household Panel Survey waves 1-18. Earnings in rural areas are higher overall, although young people in rural areas are paid less than urban counterparts, and have been since 1993. Linear mixed models show that while earnings increase at a quicker rate for those in rural locations, being from rural origin leads to slower wage growth. Respondents who 'stay rural' throughout the full observation period report lower earnings than all other groups, including young people of rural origin who migrate to urban areas, those who return, and urban youth who move to rural locations. This supports the notion of a residual rural labour market, as posited by Hodge et al (2002), with low-pay a defining characteristic. These findings raise questions over the broader implications of expecting that young people must relocate in order to pursue better career options, and whether more should be done to create opportunities for young people who remain in rural areas (Jones 1999, 2001).

Determining factors behind the population development in small rural communities

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Using a Danish rural sample, the paper examines how much parish-level population growth during 2012-2014 can be explained by endogenous factors (initial stocks of capital) and exogenous factors (proxied by the population development during 2010-2012 and initial parish size). The following stocks of capital were included: nature capital, physical capital, economic capital, human capital, social capital and symbolic capital. The evidence shows that the population development in small rural communities is mostly determined by exogenous factors. Among the less important endogenous factors, only economic capital and human capital (having a young population) showed a statistically significant relation with population growth, both with positive signs.

Shades of belonging: understanding the nature and impact of attachments to the 'home place' on migrated Irish farm offspring

Anne Cassidy

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The concept of belonging is of crucial importance to understanding migration patterns among Irish farm youth particularly with regard to the process of attachment and detachment from the 'home place'. Yet belonging is rarely disaggregated and examined as a concept in itself. This paper is based on research carried out with a cohort of Irish university students between the ages of 18-33 who grew up on farms but who have migrated away. An analytical framework is provided within which the concept of belonging is broken down into distinct but interlinked dimensions centred on working relationships developed with the farm, emotional attachments to it, succession and embeddedness in the local and/or farming community. Together these dimensions form a complex, often conflicted yet coherent sense of belonging and underpin future relationships with the farm and the surrounding milieu. Through this the paper argues for a re-examination of the ways in which young people are currently recognised as belonging or not to a particular place often according to the likelihood of them becoming a farmer. Instead, migrated farm youth continue to be profoundly impacted by a continued sense of belonging to where they grew up, whether this is welcomed or not. Equally, they continue to have an impact on their home place through the role they play in the succession process through contesting or supporting the family's inheritance strategy and in the relationship they maintain with their family who remain behind.

Migrants' strategies for and experiences of negotiating rural contexts in Angus and Aberdeenshire

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This paper draws on early findings from research involving interviews with migrants and service providers in rural settings in Angus and Aberdeenshire, undertaken as part of a wider project exploring experiences of social support and longer-term settlement amongst migrants from Central and Eastern Europe to Scotland. Connections between rural and urban (small town) settings within predominantly rural regions have emerged as a key feature of migrants' living and working arrangements and their strategies for accessing services and support. Furthermore, advantages and disadvantages of living and/or working in rural or peripheral locations have been highlighted. Whilst social housing is often more readily available in peripheral and small town settings than in larger urban sites, employment is often precarious, low skilled and poorly paid, with few opportunities for progression into higher skilled and more permanent jobs. Language classes which play a key role in facilitating access to social networks (primarily other migrants), as well as providing information about local communities and wider forms of service provision, are less regularly available and are subject to cuts in the current climate of austerity. The paper will suggest that the disadvantages of rural living which migrants experience, highlight broader challenges for service provision which are of relevance to both migrants and local populations. It will also ask how this impacts on migrants' desire to settle longer term in rural places, thus mitigating demographic decline, or whether those staying longer term seek to move into more urban settings.

‘Welcoming communities’ as incentives for rural development. Recognizing the potential of immigrants in two remote regions of Austria

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Rural areas are confronted increasingly with significant demographic changes. While depopulation of these regions were addressed as the main characteristics in the past, a shift in the migratory balance of rural regions in Western Europe took place over the last decades leading to a situation where international immigration exceeds outmigration in most rural contexts. This has a clear impact on the previously prevailing discourse on problem features (e.g. focusing on outmigration, ageing, a lack of skilled labour and problems of securing public services).

So far the resulting higher levels of social diversity in (remote) rural regions have hardly been recognized at all and mainly been assessed as a threat to traditional pathways and regional identities. Case studies in Austria (and other international literature) suggest that the societal changes associated with immigration also include opportunities for rural locations. Local and regional development policy has only recently begun to take account of this potential, appreciating the skills and qualifications of immigrants, their role in addressing the above-mentioned problems and tackle migration and integration issues in a more systematic way (e.g. by acknowledging social and cultural diversity as an important element of regional development). This perspective is subsumed in the concept of ‘welcoming communities’.

The paper will provide an overview of the spatial incidence of migration processes in Austria’s rural areas and its consequences for integration aspects. On the basis of qualitative interviews opportunities and obstacles for elaborating “welcome societies” will be explored and good practice from emerging development action will be highlighted.

Migrant identities in the workplace

Ruth McAreavey

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Migrants labour is relied on to support the food processing sector and in many places it has transformed local economies helping to reverse long term decline. Migrant identities in the workplace have received considerable attention particularly regarding gender. Less attention has been focused on the construction of migrant as a marker of identification, and this is especially in the context of the rural economy. This article examines what it means to be a migrant in the workplace. It follows from Goffman's overarching concern with social interactions and his promotion of face-to-face interactions and microanalysis as analytical lenses. The paper is structured as follows: it begins by consideration of identity literature to show what it means to be a 'migrant' in the workplace, both individual constructions and assignment by others. It then examines how a migrant status affects individuals, not only in terms of economic mobility and assimilation, but also in relation to perception and self-esteem among migrants, the practices or 'rituals' of the workplace and the outcomes for migrants. The article will use empirical evidence to show the performance of migrant identity (This encompasses the presentation of self, meanings assigned by others and social interactions and also relates to existing profiles of individual migrants; social control - dissonance/congruence) before moving on to consider the structures of the workplace in constructing the migrant identity. Conclusions will reveal the implications for migrants and evaluate the extent to which the workplace presents a space for social change, positive or negative.

The role of social engagement in the integration of the newcomers in the rural communities

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In the Czech Republic little attention has been given to the research of civil society in rural areas. One of the fundamental preconditions for the development of the countryside is the engagement of its citizens. The objective of this paper is to describe the role of social engagement, an important part of civic engagement, in the process of the social relations-building between the old residents and the newcomers in the rural communities. The paper builds on the research conducted in two Czech villages, located in the area of the former Sudetenland, where the societal relations develop against the history of the massive migratory flows, starting with the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia, followed by the resettlement under the Communist regime.

The villages lie not far from each other, have similar numbers of inhabitants, and they both experienced significant increase in the number of newcomers in recent years. However, while in the first village the level of social engagement activities has shown to be high, then in the second one it has shown to be much lower. In-depth interviews with the representatives of local NGOs and community leaders revealed an important role of social engagement activities in integrating the new residents in the existing rural communities and in preventing fragmentation and animosities within the communities. Most importantly, it has shown that the activities of civic engagement provided space for formation of interconnections between the individuals, learning of practical cooperation and they also served as an arena for conflict resolution.

Underemployment among rural immigrants: insights from a family labor utilization framework

Leif Jensen

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The employment circumstances of immigrants have long been a focal point of concern to immigration scholars and policy analysts alike. Attachment to the labor force and returns to work are critical markers of successful economic integration, and negative labor market outcomes have disturbing implications for immigrants themselves and prevailing immigration policy. These concerns are heightened in contexts - such as many rural areas of the United States - where labor market opportunities are constrained. Underemployment is a useful measure of employment hardship among workers. Based on the Labor Utilization Framework, underemployment goes beyond the official (U.S.) definition of unemployment (being out of a job, but actively looking for work), to include discouraged workers (those who have given up looking for a job even though they want to work), involuntary part-time workers (those working part-time only because they cannot find full-time work), and the working poor (those working full-time for not much more than poverty-level wages). Underemployment has typically been measured for individual adults. But clearly, since families constitute income-sharing units that greatly shape individual well-being, the overall employment hardship at the family level is consequential. This paper will develop and employ a family-level measure of underemployment that takes into consideration the employment circumstances of all working-aged adults within families. Analyzing data from the March 2014 Current Population Survey (a large and representative survey of the U.S. population), the paper will describe the prevalence of family-level underemployment and disparities in this regard with emphasis on immigrant status and rural versus urban residence.

Population change and industrial composition of employment in U.S. counties

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U.S. counties are increasingly diverse in their demographic trajectories, including with respect to overall population change, natural increase, and migration. Rural areas are often uniquely disadvantaged. For instance, rural counties are disproportionately affected by natural decrease. In 2012, deaths exceeded births in 46% of nonmetropolitan counties; compared to only 17% of metropolitan counties (Johnson 2013). However, there are also significant differences between rural counties. For example, among the nearly half of rural counties that experienced natural decrease, many experienced overall population decline, but some drew a large-enough population of in-migrants to maintain overall population growth. Similar differences can be found in many other dimensions of county-level demography.

The components of such population dynamics are well researched, but the same cannot be said for the social and economic consequences. Here, we contribute to knowledge on the consequences of population change and components therein for local economies and labor forces. In particular, we ask whether the incidence of population decline overall, and natural population decrease in particular, in one decade was associated with significant changes in counties' industrial composition of employment in subsequent decades. Using spatial regression techniques, we estimate a series of models of change in industrial composition of employment at the county level as a function of previous periods' population change, natural decrease and other social and economic controls associated with industrial change. Our analysis draws upon U.S. Census Bureau data, datasets on county natural population change and net migration, and employment data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Immigration, natural increase, and population change in new Hispanic destinations in the United States, 1990-2010

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The 1990-to-2010 period spans a turbulent era of U.S. demographic history, one characterized by unprecedented population growth and a new spatial diversity of America's minority populations. We use U.S. Census Bureau estimates and race/ethnic specific birth and death data from the National Center for Health Statistics for 1990-2010 to highlight the accelerating role of Hispanic natural increase (i.e., births in excess of deaths) as an engine of rural population growth and diversity. Specifically, we track changes in Hispanic and non-Hispanic net migration and natural increase in both established gateways and new destinations. Our findings document that recent Hispanic population gains have been fueled increasingly by natural increase, which is a large second-order effect of recent Hispanic immigration. Natural increase accounted for roughly twice as much of recent Hispanic population in new destinations increase as it did in the 1990s. Importantly, these demographic implications of Hispanic growth have been exacerbated by persistently low and declining fertility and increasing mortality among America's aging non-Hispanic native-born population. These findings show that diversity is occurring from the 'bottom up', fueled by higher fertility and a large proportion of Hispanic women in their prime child-bearing years. But the results also show that diversity is reflecting demographic processes at "the top" of the age distribution. That is, a large, aging, and mostly white population is now being replaced by new minority populations, especially Hispanics, which are overrepresented among America's immigrant and youngest populations. The new growth and racial diversity of the U.S. population has taken on a demographic momentum of its own.

Rural cosmopolitanism then and now? Chinese farmers in colonial Queensland and lessons for understanding contemporary international migration to rural areas

Michael Woods

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The flow of international migrants to and through rural region is a driver of change in rural communities, with researchers identifying the emergence of 'rural cosmopolitanism', referring to both the cosmopolitan mobilities of individual migrants and the adoption of cosmopolitan practices in host rural communities. These changes tend to be presented as relatively new developments, impacting on a perceived settled and culturally homogenous rural population. However, this paper takes a longer-term historical perspective to identify parallels in the experience of Chinese settlers in the Cairns district of Queensland, Australia, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In contrast to other parts of Australia, where Chinese immigration was associated with mining and with racial tensions and segregation, Chinese settlers around Cairns tended to be farmers and store-keepers, and contemporary accounts hint at a degree of tolerance and cross-community interaction that suggests an early form of rural cosmopolitanism. Moreover, the mobilities and aspirations of the Chinese migrants pre-figure those of present-day 'cosmopolitan' migrant, whilst the discourses of anti-Chinese agitators echo the concerns, fears and prejudices of current anti-immigration sentiments. Drawing on in-depth archival research, the paper documents the dynamics, experiences and relationships of Chinese settlers and debates concerning their presence, from the 1880s to the depletion of the community in the 1910s under pressure from anti-Chinese legislation. In so doing, the paper seeks to draw lessons from this historical perspective for our understanding of international migration to rural areas, and for the possibilities for rural cosmopolitanism in the twenty-first century.

“I live here: they just work here”: labour migration and the embodiment of rural social change.

Robyn Mayes

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This paper explores the interrelations between labour in-migration and the transformation of a host rural community, not least in terms of (re)configurations of rural space, social diversity, and bodily belonging. It does so by examining the substantial, but largely transient, internal and international labour in-migration to the small town of Boddington, in rural Western Australia. This influx follows the reopening of the Newmont Boddington Gold mine which has since become one of the largest gold mines in Australia. Mining labour mobility is a significant (and contested) factor in rural transformation, if not development, in Australia.

The analysis draws on a substantial ethnographic data set, including thirty semi-structured interviews with a wide range of local and migrant participants. In particular, labour migration to Boddington is approached as a "moment[s] through which the global is constituted, invented, coordinated, produced" (Massey 2004). Accordingly, this in-migration can be understood as manifestation-and embodiment-of a broader global geography of resource extraction in which 'the local' and 'the global' are constituted and challenged by a range of local and non-local actors.

The unseen rural space: a new migration hot spot into European Union

Rike Stotten

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Exchange and migration between the Comorian Islands have always been intense. Since the 1970's Mayotte is politically separated from her sister islands. Since the 1990s a Visa is officially demanded for Comorian citizens to come to Mayotte. With the departmentalisation in 2011 and integration into the EU in 2014, this small French island situated in the Canal of Mozambique became a new destination of in migration into the European Union.

Half of the population is under 18, which represents Mayotte as the youngest French department. Immigration from the surrounding Comorian islands and other less developed countries is encouraged by the possibility of education for 'sans papiers', but also the Jus soli (Birthplace Principle) attracts pregnant women, especially from the Comorian islands, to give birth in Mayotte.

Mayotte is a peripheral rural space, but population is highly increasing and becomes more and denser. As space is limited, this causes infrastructural problems. What does it mean for an already socio-economically disadvantages population? Solutions are highly demanded, but what does France or the European Union propose?

Since summer 2014 I am working as a teacher for geography and history at a public high school in a village in the south of Mayotte. I haven't done an official research of the island, but I am holding a PhD in Sociology and a Master in Geography, so those questions arose and I would be happy to share my knowledge of this unseen European place.

Migration, space and planning in two diversifying rural districts of the UK

Carey Doyle

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This paper will use results from ongoing fieldwork to explore the experiences of governance and policy in two rural areas which experienced pronounced in-ward demographic change after 2001. Using a spatial lens, the governance and policy responses to demographic change in Dungannon, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland and Boston, Lincolnshire, England will be explored. Analysis of the 2001 Census shows that in-ward migration documented in the 2011 Censuses had a number of spatial patterns, including that it is rural, variable between different migrant groups, and spatially concentrated. The oft-quoted statistics of migration, such as 13% of usual residents of England and Wales born outside the UK, are belied by the spatial concentrations of inward migrants up to 30% or higher in both Boston and Dungannon across a number of indicators, from approximately 98% in both locations born in the UK and/or Ireland in 2001.

Experiences in these two areas are being considered through qualitative interviews, using visual methods. Emerging results from this ongoing fieldwork will be presented. These will be set within the context of the neoliberal restructuring of rural areas, and consider governance and policy responses to these instances of demographic change. Experiences in these areas, both good and bad, will be documented. Epistemologies of policy vis a vis 'migrants', 'social cohesion', and other normative concepts, the role of peripherality and urban/rural divisions, and the means by which political conflicts are played out in governance and policy responses will be explored.

Dissecting the mix of mobilities in rural communities in view of local development goals: A socioeconomic study of two island communities in the Aegean (Greece)

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Rural areas should not be any more considered as isolated locales but they should be rather approached as dynamic places which are continuously reconfigured and reconnected with other areas (both rural and urban). Rural residents are not a stable category containing only a permanent population of farmers and/or groups that are traditionally associated with the local economy and society. Increasingly non-permanent population groups end up living in rural areas while, at the same time, they pose a number of challenges for the particular places of their settlement.

Moreover, while rural areas are mostly considered as ethnically homogenous; they often contain various ethnic groups some of which having historical origins in those areas or they are moving between different places (e.g. migrant groups, religious minorities, newcomers). Issues of social cohesion and/or social exclusion have been raised in many such areas in the context of the European multicultural society and the neo-liberal globalization.

The quality of life of the people living and/or working in rural areas has been a major objective in contemporary Europe and in the developed countries. In a number of domains such as employment opportunities, housing, education, health, etc. the interactions between the permanent population and the migrant or other groups are particularly challenging for the future conditions in rural areas. Particularly for the marginal/remote rural areas, migrants and other groups may contribute significantly to the availability of a better quality of life for the aged permanent population; while they may guarantee the continuation of economic activities and the provision of services in those areas. However, in many cases the local economic development goals are redirected on the basis of the various mobilities/ social groups enacting in each area.

Our paper, will analyze the 'mix of mobilities' in two island communities of the Aegean Sea in view of the local economic development goals set in each of them. The mix of mobilities in the rural communities include: international migrants, internal migrants (originating from other areas of the country) and religious minorities (in one of the two islands). The analysis will be based on statistical data from the last population census of 2011 and field work data collected in 2014 in the rural communities. More particularly, 200 questionnaires were distributed in the two communities while a number of qualitative interviews were carried out. The aim of the paper is to illustrate the role of various social groups, which result from a 'mix of mobilities', for the setting up and the realization of local development goals in each of the two island rural communities.

Working Group 9: The changing concept of territorial rural development

Michael Kull [1], Jeppe Høst [2], Thomas Dax [3], Andrew Copus [4], Philomena de Lima[5]

1: Natural Resources Institute Finland LUKE, 2: University of Copenhagen, Denmark, 3: Federal Institute for Less-Favoured and Mountainous Areas, Austria, 4: The James Hutton Institute, UK, 5: Centre for Rural and Remote Studies, University of the Highlands and Islands, UK

Working group description

The rural - as a site for development and governance - has undergone several transformations throughout the last 50 years in response to changes in production, urbanization and shifts in welfare state strategies. Indeed in response to the recent economic crisis, the rural seems to be changing again. The underlying aims, ideas, measures and paradigms applied to rural development and governance are changing and compete with each other, influencing municipal reforms, plan laws, infrastructure and not the least rural livelihoods.

In addition the economic crisis has also affected rural areas across Europe unevenly and the responses to the crisis have been just as diverse. In many countries neoliberal policy tools have been applied to 'solve' (socio)-economic problems, mostly neglecting the development needs of the diverse rural populations and addressing their socio-economic and -ecological problems. However, we also see alternative approaches emerging, rooted in the ideas of community development and radical democracy. These various approaches seem to be able to tailor development methods sensitive to geographical, issue-based and identity-based diversity. Both neoliberal and alternative approaches have led to new transformations of rural areas and a rethinking of their relationships to urban areas; manifesting in amalgamation of municipalities, decrease in agricultural employment, increasing recreational use, branding and marketing of regions and the so-called new rural paradigm.

Over the last two decades rural research has increasingly addressed the host of drivers that affect the development in rural regions. While at the start of a 'genuine' rural development policy at the beginning of the 1990s it was more or less synonymous with agricultural development measures, this perception changed substantially in the past two decades. Rural research and rural policy discourse has highlighted again and again that 'rural' is not synonymous with agricultural development. This perspective is nowadays widespread within the research community (see e.g. the conceptual framework of the ERA-Net RURAGRI) and rural policy assessment (see ESPON project EDORA). Recent studies have therefore focused on the need for a 'Rural Cohesion Policy' as the appropriate response to current rural trends.

This working group would also like to explore the changing nature of territorial rural development policy. In particular we are interested in the implications of increasing inter-regional linkages, the changing role of space, proximity and interaction. Sometimes this is manifest in terms of urban-rural cooperation, sometimes as 'relocalisation' strategies, and sometimes in terms of network brokerage to support globalised linkages. We would like to explore to what extent the policy environment has accommodated this changing environment, not only rhetorically but also in its strategic and operational programmes.

Drawing on these various trends, this work group would like to invite papers that specifically reflect and discuss some of the following issues.

- Reflections on historical, current and future changes in rural governance. We wish to draw attention to the underlying and shifting theoretical foundations that shape both the policy work as well as research in relation to the so called 'rural problem'.
- What is the relation between the policy changes synthesized by OECD in the concept of the 'New Rural Paradigm' (2006), developments in the EU such as the in Local Action Groups, community-led local development, the various non-governmental development approaches and the broader institutionalized rural development?
- Since rural development under the CAP regime's rural development pillar continues to be focused on agriculture and not on other economic activities, how well does this chosen development path reflect the current economic transitions and how is it constructed by decision-makers and 'sold' to the public? In relation to this, how can we study power imbalances and the manifestation of power of well-organized groups / elites and their impact on the design of policy?
- In terms of the changing concept of 'territorial development' and the role of proximity and space, issues for consideration would include the importance of both micro- and macro-scale socio-economic differentiation and change; the challenges arising from urban-rural relationships and cooperation; and the increasing importance of non-geographical proximity in many rural economic activities. For example we imagine that these questions could be discussed specifically with regard to the consequences for the way in which local development, as implemented through CLLD or urban-rural cooperation is conceptualised and managed.

Changing rural problems - the history of the rural development problem in Denmark

Jeppe Høst

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This paper discusses the foundations and interplay of different rural development paradigms. Often the 'New Rural Paradigm' is presented as a break with an 'old' rural development paradigm, which centered narrowly on sectors, production and was propelled by subsidies. Instead the new rural paradigm has its focus on innovation, networks and on so-called place-bound qualities. However, this dichotomy hides a more complex picture of rural development. The paper therefore tracks the evolution and origin of different development paradigms, methods and objectives. Beginning in the 1950s is an 'industrial' paradigm promoting countrywide industrial development and linked closely to the Danish welfare state. Also linked to state politics were agricultural policies and reforms aiming at large-scale production and 'competitive' units. While the first rural development policies in Denmark were centered on national equality in and between regions and by redistribution and subsidies, this overarching aim and methodology was abandoned somewhere in the 1980s in order to improve the competitive power of Danish rural areas one for one. What is new then, is the international, or perhaps post-national, reasoning of rural policies, a tendency influencing not only the 'new' rural paradigm, but also the still-going "old" agricultural and industrial development policies, the latter now reoriented and reformed in regional clusters and focusing on the major challenges for future 'sustainable' industries.

The role of regional policy in reimagining the rural: comparing contexts in Sardinia, Italy, and Appalachian Kentucky, USA

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This analysis compares the role of regional governance and policy -strong in the case of Sardinia and nearly absent in the case of Appalachian Kentucky - in reimagining rural livelihoods after deindustrialization and neoliberal national policies that have increased the social and economic marginalization of these mountain regions. Both regions share a long history of contributing resources and labor to the global economy while ironically being represented as 'isolated' and 'backward' within modernization discourse shaping national development policy. In Appalachia, fifty years of War on Poverty policies have focused on infrastructure connecting communities to global extractive industries but not to one another within the region. The rural itself has been commodified in representing land and labor forces to transnational capital, and only the younger generation - using social media - is working to reimagine the rural linking local production, distribution, and consumption across county lines without state support. In Sardinia, in the past, CAP supported agricultural modernization. Now, CAP and regional policies, along with local urban-rural collaboration, have led to a reimagining of the rural, with attention to reestablishing local varieties of grapes and cheese as the center of an experience economy that emphasizes regional identity and valorizes the rural. This change is supported through regional governance; however, some problems and ambiguities persist. There have been movements within both of these mountain regions to recognize social and historical capital in reimagining the rural for a sustainable future, but the presence or absence of regional governance has made a strong difference.

Territorial rural development in Iceland

Thoroddur Bjarnason

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In the 20th century, Iceland was transformed from a predominantly rural society to one of the most urbanized countries in Europe. While the growth of the Reykjavík capital region is the most impressive feature of this development, urbanization has profoundly changed all regions of the country. This transformation was sparked by the industrialization of fisheries after 1904, offering year-round occupation in fishing and fish processing in an overpopulated farming society. Icelandic fishing villages grew rapidly with technological advances and heavy investments in fishing vessels and processing plants. This growth was however not sustainable and led to the collapse of the herring stock and overfishing of cod and other important species. The introduction of individual transferrable fishing quotas (ITQs) in the eighties and nineties seriously undermined the smaller fishing villages as private fishing companies could buy and sell fishing rights in a capital-intensive market. In agriculture, beef and dairy production has become increasingly concentrated, mechanized and profitable, while traditional sheep farms have become economically less viable. Regional policies in Iceland have emphasized increased territorial cohesion through transportation improvements, municipal mergers, the growth of regional centres, financial support mechanisms and a greater role of regional associations in public services. These policies appear to have been most successful in stronger, more densely populated regions of the country. In weaker farming and fishing communities, attempts have been made to replace political clientelism with targeted interventions emphasizing the collaboration of local residents, municipalities, regional organizations and governmental institutions.

Neo-liberalism, the new rural paradigm, and transformations in northwestern Ontario, Canada

Thomas Dunk

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Government policies and practice towards small towns and rural regions in Canada have undergone significant change over the last 20 years. Both federal and provincial governments have moved from a focus on direct financial support of individuals, communities, and industrial sectors, towards market-oriented efforts to strengthen a region's or a place's economic competitiveness. Although the stated justification for many policy initiatives is enhanced accountability, local control, and economic diversification, the policies themselves often involve greater intrusion in individual lives and local practices and increased centralization of social services. For northwestern Ontario, these changes have taken place at the same time the region's forest-based economy has experienced a fundamental transformation in the face of technological change, global competition, and the emergence of regulations perceived locally as the reflection of metropolitan domination. This presentation will discuss the contradictions of neo-liberal changes to government policy and how these relate to contradictions in local populism and regional culture in northwestern Ontario.

The interdependence between local institutional settings and governance arrangements in LEADER

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LEADER seeks to improve the effectiveness of rural development policies by placing decision-making as close as possible to local stakeholders. As part of the Ruragri project TRUSTEE we ask how local societies try to transform the LEADER approach into sustainable local development. More specifically, we analyse agents' strategies and routines in handling learning processes and external disturbances like changes in the policy framework. As a conceptual frame, we developed a model of multi-level governance, which allows for an integrated perspective on governance arrangements at local levels and regulations at European and German Federal State Level. In this model, several interacting governance systems relevant for the implementation of LEADER can be identified:

1. The funding context with the European Commission setting the global frame while the Rural Development Programmes are supposed to serve adaption to the local conditions.
2. The public administration context with the local government, which performs tasks and competences attributed to it by the federal or national government system.
3. The specific institutional context of the local organisations from civil society and economy involved in LEADER.

The paper approaches the question of how the second level of local administration affects the third level, i.e., the local organisation of LEADER. Therefore, we explore possible implications of differences in local public administration between Germany, France and Italy. The research is based on a literature review and on first results of case studies conducted as part of the TRUSTEE Project (Task 3.3 Governance of policy at a local level).

The role of the Common Agricultural Policy and the Cohesion Policy in strengthening the sectoral standard of governance of rural development in Poland.

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The aim of this presentation is to provide the explanation how the Common Agricultural Policy and the Cohesion Policy implemented from 2014 have strengthened sectoral model of governance of rural development in Poland. The aims and instruments of these two policies will be examined, in the context of *Europe 2020* strategy as well as how they have affected the institutional system of governance of rural development in Poland. This analysis will be based on investigating the content of 16 regional operational programmes co-financed under the structural funds 2014-2020 implemented in 16 Polish regions and *The Rural Development Programme* 2014-2020 co-financed under the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development implemented at national level.

These two EU policies have different impact on governance of rural areas. The possible CAP measures (economic, environmental and social) and division of financial resources for their implementation are the solid evidence for maintaining the agricultural orientation in the governance of Polish rural development. On the other hand, the current reformed cohesion policy based on 11 thematic priorities, with strong urban dimension and an obligation to prepare the strategies of smart specialisations seems to be more suitable for agglomerated or urbanised rather than rural areas.

The impact of the above mentioned policies has been sustained to the end of 2020 because according to *The National Strategy of Regional Development 2010-2020: Regions, Cities, Rural Areas* and *The Strategy of Sustainable Development of Rural Areas, Agriculture and Fishery 2012-2020* their financial instruments are the main sources of financing rural development.

Creating space for rural self-governance

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Local self-governmental and collaborative initiatives have proven to provide new opportunities for rural development such as the creation of new recreational projects and more attractive landscapes locally, including the ecological function of the landscape. Especially self-governance formally arranged by the government in e.g. a local land owners and users' association might be a means to motivate local resources and force them to take responsibility for the future of their area. To be able to establish such a self-governmental association, the government in question as well as the land owners and users have to negotiate a contract and define the institutional room in which the association can act, a difficult task in a heavily regulated policy field such as rural areas. To understand how this is done, a case study, The Odderbæk Stream Association in Jutland in Denmark, is examined and interpreted applying Hägerstrands concepts of spatial and territorial competence to describe and understand the consequences and implications for the government and the land owners and users of the rural area. The association studied has existed since 2000 and has initiated numerous spatial and managerial landscape changes within their local area, such as the recreation of wetlands, maintenance and restoration of local streams and a new network of walking trails - all managed on a voluntary basis by members of the association. The study draws on a qualitative focus group interview with the board of the association and the municipality as well as individual interviews of land owners in the area.

Localism and rural development

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The policy and practice of rural development has embraced ideas of localism for many years, with policy being given practical expression through the OECD's 'New Rural Paradigm', the EU LEADER programme, the EU's community-led local development (CLLD) initiative, and numerous national policy initiatives across Europe and beyond. These developments speak implicitly to agendas of social and economic sustainability, though these dimensions are generally absent from the predominantly environmental discourses which characterise reference to 'sustainability' in agricultural and rural policies. This paper introduces the main conceptualisations, policies and practices of rural development in the UK that resonate with a 'localism' agenda, including not only those initiated by the state but also those of local people working collectively to address local needs and challenges. It goes on to discuss, in particular, how these depart from many mainstream themes in the localism literature. Finally it outlines how rural localism is being damaged by austerity measures, and how even fully-resourced localism is not sufficient to address all rural problems: some can only be addressed by larger scale structural measures at national or supranational scales.

Rural cohesion policy: the appropriate response to current rural trends

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The history of European rural and regional development, recent thinking about intervention rationales, and many on-going social and economic changes, point to the necessity to take stock, and to reformulate the guiding principles for rural policy. Rural Cohesion Policy (RCP) is a set of principles which derive from our understanding of the various aspects of rural change; including rural business networks, increasing labour mobility, migration patterns and demographic trends, agricultural restructuring, patterns of poverty and social exclusion, and the rise of multi-level governance. RCP is further informed by the recent discussion of the concept of Territorial Cohesion.

RCP incorporates some pre-existing ideas, such as integrated and territorial development, "place-based" and neo endogenous approaches, the concept of territorial capital and asset-based local development. It also has much in common with the OECD's New Rural Paradigm. However RCP has two distinctive features, which underpin the need for policy changes;

1. An orientation towards 'inclusive growth' with the objective to distribute benefits as widely as possible among all rural residents and activities, rather than primarily towards the competitiveness or sustainability of land-based industries.
2. A strong emphasis upon interaction and relational processes, in different contexts and at a variety of levels.

In presenting the requirement for RCP we will argue for a shift away from 'defensive' approaches, which assume that all rural areas require protection from a hostile economic environment, towards a recognition that rural regions have a valuable and distinctive role to play in the European spatial economy, alongside their urban neighbours.

Rural development – empirical nuances and analytical challenges

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Having as a starting point an initiative in the south of Portugal that presented itself as an alternative approach to rural development policies, we have tried to disentangle the different narratives regarding the policy arena, academic discussions and concrete cases in this field. In Portugal, rural development policies are criticised for not solving rural depopulation. In recent years, there have been some non governmental initiatives willing to tackle it by attracting unemployed (urban) population. Such initiatives advocate entrepreneurship in rural space as a means of autonomisation of society from state dependency assuming that market forces are the drivers of rural development. Yet, we have noticed that these initiatives arose from connections stimulated in spheres like local actions groups and benefit directly or indirectly from past public interventions. Plus, non-governmental initiatives and national and European policies share a semantics field. The narratives of territorial rural development talk about entrepreneurship, specialisation; based on endogenous resources and innovative uses; multi-funds strategies and territorial partnerships. Territory based rural development seems to be grounded on webs of hybrid actors, relations and resources. What brings about analytical and theoretical challenges. Theories like rural webs have tried to provide some of these tools. Its use though raised further dilemmas: how to deal with hybrid actors when actors differentiate themselves in the dispute for the 'right' conception of rural development? What stands for endogeneity in such hybrid scenario? How to analyse crosscutting issues mobilised by such conceptions like labour?

New concepts for territorial rural development in Europe: the case of most remote rural areas in Italy

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A new reflection on the effectiveness of policy for rural areas has been developed in Italy during the 2014-2020 preparation phase. This reflection brought about the design of a territorial policy for the most remote areas ('inner' areas), including both Cohesion and Rural development policies. The policy for inner areas can be identified as a new form of rural policy, because they are generally rural areas with special problems deriving from the distance from main essential services (school, healthcare and transport networks). this is a territorial priority for Italian Partnership Agreement European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) and related programmes.

Main novelties are in several aspects: a) the scale; b) the multifund and experimental logic; c) the governance. First, inner areas are of small-medium size, generally located in mountain or hill places, whose scale is influenced by the distance from development poles and services providers. Second, policy design is conceived as a mix of national, regional and local schemes, well integrated within pilot local plans. Third, interventions are delivered through new forms of governance, strongly based on co-decisions in all policy delivery phases.

This new territorial policy is an interesting starting point to reflect on some theoretical questions:

a) what is the changing concept of territorial development driving national and EU policies towards the most remote areas? Which are the main challenges arising from this new policy experiment in rural areas?

b) Why the so-called bottom-up approach, theoretically developed in the past years, is going to be substituted for a sort of new rural co-governance?

The transformation of rural areas in providing local welfare in Finland. Case study: new experiments in producing municipal services in cultural sector.

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Finnish rural municipalities have had great difficulties in providing the basic welfare services since the 1990s depression. Mainly driven by financial difficulties, municipality mergers, other cooperation organizations and different kind of partnerships between public, private and third sector have been implemented to improve the efficiency in providing welfare services in rural areas. New models, partnerships and community-development projects in providing services in rural areas are not just local solutions for local problems, but a part of larger structural change where the relationship between different sectors is renegotiated in providing welfare for citizens.

A demand to find new solutions in producing services in rural areas is inevitable. In this paper, we analyze how Finnish rural communities have been searching for new practices to produce local cultural services, and how they try to ensure the accessibility to the services also outside urban areas. The national development project of cultural services in municipalities (KUULTO-project) was established in 2012 to increase the availability of cultural services with different kind of experiments in producing cultural activities in Finnish municipalities. In the action research project, the main objective is to generate new practices and to increase access and participation in cultural services. Most of the experiments were implemented in rural areas. The results of the local projects yield important information how the cooperation of municipalities and third sector actors improves the quality and the availability of services in rural areas. They also show the problems and the challenges in developing welfare services.

The transition of Nordic agriculture from a rural development perspective: territorial governance, social innovation and the bio-economy.

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The relationship between agriculture as a sector of economic production and as a scope for social practices has evolved over the last decades. The transition of the agricultural sector from a rural development perspective will necessitate exploring the role that its actors play in multiple streams of cooperation, especially from an inter-sectoral, multi-actor and multi-level perspective. The recent literature on rural development has stressed the potential for social innovations and the bioeconomy to act as new organizing principles that can lead to a restructuration of both the agricultural sector and rural societies. Social innovation reflects the idea that the shift of agriculture to a post-productivist approach cannot be effective without significant evolution of social practices among actors in the sector. Social dynamics in the primary sector have been posited in terms of multifunctionality implying that future developments in agriculture should feed into other sectors and benefit society at large. In this paper, we propose to discuss the new forms of territorial governance, based on a strengthened partnership principle implemented through CLLD initiatives, which may emerge in order to operationalize such a profound systemic change. We will especially address the need for rural actors to position themselves into new patterns of knowledge exchanges leading to new applications in agriculture and enhanced organizational learning.

The upsurge of the 'new' duality in rural Sweden - differing preconditions, processes and outcomes

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Most of the Swedish towns are in a European context either small towns or minor regional centres in rural areas. Sweden consists of 290 towns and municipalities (LAU2) and less than 80 LAU1 regions (functional local labour markets). The LAU1-regions are dependent of the links and commuting patterns between towns and municipalities and the trend has been that increased commuting during recent decades has resulted in fewer but larger LAU1-regions. There are signs that the result of these 'regional enlargement' processes during the past decades, has been to loosen up the division between urban and rural areas. While these processes of rural gentrification and the emergence of the new intra-regional duality have been particularly prevalent in transforming rural areas in the neighbourhood of big cities and metropolitan centres, remote rural areas have experienced contrasting development paths. The development of the 'new' duality thus appears to have different impacts on social structure, both at the interregional and intraregional levels.

The preconditions for the development of functional local labour markets in the southern part are quite different from the preconditions in the rural sparsely northern part and consequently also the outcome of the migration and commuting processes. One result of this is the impact on matching on the functional labour market but also the increased possibilities to separate residence and work in various parts of Sweden. These processes will be illustrated by commuting flows and links between and within various types of municipalities in Sweden and their development during the past decades.

Territorial rural development and the role of culture

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The rural has undergone several transformations, and still changes as a response to sustainability challenges, globalisation, crises, and competition. In the presentation we introduce the notion of 'territorialisation' to describe the dynamics and processes in regional rural development, as the outcome of the interaction of multi-scale structuring processes and agency/social relations, expressed in practices. The interaction between humans and environment can be considered as co-production rooted in human intentionality and expressed in emplaced practices. 'Territorialisation' analyses the time-space dimension of the use of resources, thus providing more insight in sustainability issues in the context of territorial rural development. The presentation addresses the characteristics of territorialisation and its dimensions. We will further emphasize the role of culture which mediates senses, practices, and norms and rules in different contexts. Culture is the fertile ground in which the symbolic, reification and institutionalisation dimension of territorialisation can flourish. Culture in territorialisation is for example expressed in cultural landscapes, place identities, creative practices, cultural meanings attached to places, and in the way organisations are shaped. Cultural values also influence people's motivations, worldviews, and sense making. We refer to the introduction of a book - edited by the authors - which will be published by Routledge in July 2015: "Cultural Sustainability and Regional Development: Theories and practices of territorialisation".

The production of 'evidence' for territorial distinctiveness and the effect of reinforcing a binary between nature and culture: The case of Turkey

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Boundary setting of place-based labels has become a battleground that foster intra-regional competition in Turkey. Science has been invoked both to resolve the intra-regional competition over imagined local boundaries, and to govern the path forward. In cases of conflict, competing parties (regions, cities, towns) must fulfill the patent institute's request for scientific evidence—the result of some methodology that can identify and differentiate a distinctive quality for local products; perhaps a chemical or sensory analysis that shows the product possesses special characteristics that others lack. By presenting a fieldwork in Western Turkey, this study aims to analyze how production of evidence for territorial distinctiveness enforces the nature/culture duality, and the bias for non-human factors in designing local boundaries in two ways—1) by claiming a territorial distinctive quality, and 2) by proving this claim through measurable methods. It will be argued that local actors institutionalize the bias for non-human factors (such as soil, landscape, climate, and winds), basically due to their perpetual search for monopoly rents that seek uniqueness disarticulated from the strategies of agro-industry. That is to say that agro-business' limitations in controlling natural processes is one of the basic approaches in understanding the possibilities that rent-generating policies offer in terms of natural resources at the local level.

Working Group 10: Southern and Eastern rural Europe under neoliberal restructuring: Challenges, resistances and emancipations

Convenors: Renato Do Carmo [1], Katalin Kovács [2], María Jesús Rivera [3], and Nigel Swain [4]

1: University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal; 2: Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, HAS, Hungary; 3: University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU), Spain; 4: University of Liverpool, UK
Authors [1] and [3]: On behalf of the RSG Southern and Mediterranean Europe: Social Change, Challenges and Opportunities

Working group description

The current crisis and the response adopted by countries under a neoliberal paradigm are having a great impact on European countries. The impact is notably greater in southern and Mediterranean countries of Europe due to diverse factors. First, the development level of many of these countries when the crisis arrived was smaller than that of other European countries. Thus, the welfare system that could help people to face the crisis was considerably weaker. Second, the financial crisis was deeper in southern countries, leaving these countries in a worse position within the European and international power relations. Finally, many of these countries have become a space of experimentation for measures dictated by the Troika and uncritically adopted by governments along with the acceptance of bailout. Central and Eastern Europe shares many of the South's problems and experiences a particular mismatch between huge CAP payments going to a very few beneficiaries for their enormous farms and the larger share of the rural population who do not benefit from agricultural support at all but have few other work opportunities.

An increasing number of rural territories are experiencing a deterioration of life conditions that may put sustainability at risk: impoverishment of population, loss of employment, reduction of welfare services, poor public transport, etc. In addition, in many rural areas a new centrally imposed model of rural governance may pave the way to future depatrimonialization of territory and to an increasing gap between rural communities and the design of public policies. Furthermore, although the neo-liberal discourse is not identical throughout southern and eastern Europe, most of these policies are designed considering neo-liberal solutions to the development issue only and deliberately leave out of analysis other alternatives.

Nevertheless, rural territories may also become an alternative, a space where people aim to try new ways of facing the current crisis: lower cost of living, vegetable gardens for family consumption, a more human atmosphere, new social relations and consumption patterns, new forms of communitarian organization, and so on.

Hence, this working group will look at the impact of crisis on rural areas of Southern and Eastern European Countries, as well as at the strategies developed by rural populations in order to overcome its negative effects and to boost new forms of resistance, resilience or emancipation. Some of topics that will be covered by the WG will be the following:

The emergence of new social inequalities

- State and local government initiatives as market substitutes: social economy and workfare

- Processes of empowerment and disempowerment of and between rural communities
- Transformation of rural governance
- Rural welfare and livelihoods
- Migrations and mobilities: labour migration, pro-rural migration and out-migration
- The potentially emancipatory character of rural space.
- Conflicts over natural resources, community life and central governmental policy initiatives.

Czech rural peripheries in the process of spatial polarization and the impact of the economic crisis

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Apart from the vertical dimension, social inequalities have a horizontal dimension, manifested by spatial polarization and the emergence of areas with high concentration of poverty, difficult living conditions and social exclusion. The development of rural areas of the Czech Republic in the last 25 years, since the fall of the communist regime, has been marked by an increasing spatial polarization. Low levels of spatial inequalities inherited from the communist regime increased rapidly in the process of post-communist transformation. A territorial differentiation of living conditions and economic opportunities became apparent, both in urban and rural areas. One manifestation of the polarization is the increasing gap between peripheral rural areas with an underdeveloped labour market and negative demographic trends, experiencing a slow deterioration of living conditions and other rural territories, particularly with territories that benefit from delayed suburbanisation trends and experience rapid development.

Economic crisis which emerged in the Czech Republic at the end of the last decade impacted the whole territory and affected a broad range of enterprises. Due to high levels of industrialization in the Czech rural areas, the effects of crisis became markedly apparent in rural regions and complicated further the situation in rural peripheries.

In the presentation, the processes of spatial polarization of rural areas as an outcome of the post-communist transformation will be demonstrated and the impact of economic crisis on the vulnerable population of rural peripheries will be analysed.

The restructuring of peri-urban territories: urban sprawl and interstitial ruralities in Pamplona-Iruñea, Spain

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Over the past two decades, urban development has given rise to a deep restructuring of rural territories in Spain. Villages close to many large urban centres experienced an important growth. Similarly new building states were built within commuting distance from the city. This has been the case of the peri-urban area of Pamplona, the capital city of a region in north Spain. This area represents a clear example of how urban sprawl has led to the emergence of differentiated interstitial ruralities. The paper looks at the different types of new residents that have arrived to these peri-urban ruralities in the outskirts of Pamplona. The research that supports this paper has been funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (CSO2011-27981) within the national scheme for R&D.

The rural in the metropolis: between the impact of the crisis and the local practices

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In the context of the research project entitled 'Ways of local sustainability (localways): mobility, social capital and inequalities', we conducted a questionnaire to 1500 residents of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), through a representative sample that was stratified according to different territorial typologies. This project aims to deconstruct the idea that the metropolitan space is homogeneous and uniformly urbanized. In fact, there is a pronounced sociospatial differentiation in the LMA, where it is possible to distinguish the city of Lisbon from other qualified urban areas, the suburban areas and the rural and peripheral spaces. This presentation seeks, firstly, to understand in what extent the territorial dimension has implications in the perception of social regression caused by the continued impact of the current economic and financial crisis. Is the perception of the impact of crisis invariable regarding the composition of the metropolitan territories or, on the contrary, it varies according to distinct urban and rural contexts? Secondly, we intend to understand if people act differently in terms of collective action practices, forms of sociability and local trust levels. Are the rural areas more favorable to these forms of social engagement comparing with the remaining areas of the LMA? These issues will be addressed through the presentation of different statistical analyzes.

Social diversity and changing mobilities in peri-urban rural areas. the case of Gran Vega region in Sevilla (Spain)

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The peri-urban rural areas face an increasing social diversification as result of urban sprawl, international migration patterns and secondary homes. The economic downturn resulting from the housing crash has an obvious impact in many of these economies strongly linked to residential development and accessibility to metropolitan labour markets. Some of them undergo today not only the tensions between the productive and post-productive activities or different lifestyles of their residents but also the uncertainties derived from the crisis. Our research addresses these changes in the Gran Vega region, adjacent to the metropolitan area of Seville (Spain). From the results of the three-years' research project funded by Spanish National Plan for R&D, we explore the impact of the crisis in different sociological profiles of rural residents. Our conclusion is that while some residential strategies appear to have collapsed along with the property bubble crisis, the lower cost of rural living, accessibility to local and metropolitan employment and family networks make possible new forms of resilience for other

Labour contractors and migrant labour in Italy's neoliberal agriculture

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As in many other countries in the world, the neoliberal restructuring of the Italian agricultural sector has witnessed the rise of production chains in line with the neoliberal doctrine emphasising integration into the world market as the mean and the end of development, putting an increasing premium on competitiveness, that is on the need for more liberalisation, deregulation of markets and above all flexibilisation of labour force.

This article argues that this new way of producing food, coupled with country-specific conditions, such as the structure of Italian capital, has created the room for new forms of exploitation, such as those based on seasonal migrant labour through labour contracting. These new forms of exploitation are far from being exceptional. Although often associated with the territory control of *Mafia* organizations, this article argues that migrant labour exploitation through the labour contracting system is an integral feature of the contemporary agricultural production in Italy. And with the current crisis, this new labour and production paradigm, rather than being questioned, has witnessed a process of further deepening.

This is shown through the case study of the fruit and vegetable production in the south area of Lazio region where firms can rely, through the role of labour contractors, on cheap and disposable migrant labour, especially Indian workers.

The need for and absence of flexible migrant work in the Hungarian fruit and vegetable growing sectors.

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In the last decades fundamental structural changes have been taking place with regard to farming structures in Hungarian agriculture. Labour-intensive fruit and vegetable growing sectors have been amongst the most affected, capitalising on the collapse of large scale farms and the relatively quick appearance of national and EU funding for renewing (enlarging) or generating orchards as well as extending or establishing new vegetable plantations. Farm size increased, as did the need for labour at a time when agricultural employment was shrinking dramatically. The demand for cheap, nevertheless reliable and flexible seasonal labour has grown considerably and continuously until recently, especially where new orchards grew productive. Responding to this demand, a historically unique though quickly changing and multi-faceted supply of labour entered the labour market, ranging from the revival of pre WWII gangs of distant seasonal workers (*summások*) via illegal domestic daily labourers to foreign migrant labourers recruited primarily by gang-masters (entrepreneurs) from Ukraine and Romania where a Hungarian-speaking minority population (of Roma and non-Roma ethnicity) lives in large numbers. During the turbulent era of accession and post-accession period, the supply of domestic and foreign seasonal labour peaked then - because of the attraction from better offers of more lucrative off-farm activities in the advanced countries - changed in ethnic composition and decreased. The paper presents the impact of reshaping labour supply on Hungarian fruit and vegetable growing farms and the pressure towards further mechanisation. Evidence is provided by qualitative and quantitative research outputs from an ongoing research project.

International immigrants in rural areas: the effect of the crisis in settlement patterns and family strategies.

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The arrival of foreign born immigrants in rural areas has been considered like an opportunity to stop or even reverse depopulation and other severe demographic imbalances, especially in less dynamic regions in Southern Europe. A lot of questions arise about the effects of economic crisis on these new residents. Research on this topic suggests that the potential of rural areas to retain this new population depends on both the characteristics of newcomers and rural settlements.

The aim of this paper is to explore the social and territorial factors linked to the permanence of foreign born immigrants in rural areas after the crisis, paying special attention to family migration strategies of different national groups of immigrants. Different types of rural settlements, diverse family migration patterns and the relation with rural and urban labour markets are taken into account. In the context of an inner, very rural and depopulated region of Spain, data suggest that certain family migration strategies -those linked to transnational families and those enhancing marriage with Spaniards-, and certain labour models -those promoting non-agricultural employment and a high level of labour rural commuting- favour the stay of foreign born population in rural areas.

Counterurbanisation, pro-rural migration and rural sustainability. The impact of crisis of Spanish remote rurality

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Many Spanish rural areas are still experiencing a process of increasing depopulation. Most of these areas are remote rural settlements that had found in pro-rural lifestyle migration a way to revert the secular trend of rural exodus. In so happening, pro-rural migration became a key element to ensure the social sustainability of many Spanish rural communities and, consequently, the rural sustainability itself of the country. Nevertheless, this sustainability is at a large extent very fragile and uneven.

It has been argued that the crisis has force many people to move from urban to rural areas in search of a cheapest life. However, it is also true that the emergence of the crisis has involved a series of threats for rural sustainability, specially in the case of remote rurality: loss of employments in rural areas, closure of services such as schools and health centers, increase of rural poverty, deterioration of public transport, and so on.

This paper aims to discuss the impact of the crisis on a remote rural area of Salamanca, in Spain, by analysing its effects on pro-rural migrants. The empirical work is based on qualitative fieldwork undertook in the region of Sierra de Francia in Salamanca. The discussion will be based on the analysis of a series of in-depth interviews conducted to pro-rural migrants in August 2014. This work is part of a larger project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, within its National Plan scheme (CSO2011-27981).

Agency and development in Second Russia: using opportunities in a local context.

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This paper studies different types of action in Second Russia, which aim at reaching better livelihood and living conditions in general. The study is based on empirical research, using qualitative interviews in four Russian oblasts, in small towns and villages. Actions by local inhabitants, organisations and local administrations are studied. Action types are divided in the two main categories. Coping with everyday problems is aiming to survive from one day to another, while strategic agency is attempting to change the situation in qualitative sense. Both types can be found, and they are based on individual initiatives and capacity as well as on different political programs. These types of action are analysed in the analytical framework of Amartya Sen's capability theory. The relation between agency and local development is discussed. Interpretations of development are connected on qualities like emancipation and empowerment of individuals, generalized trust and social capital, as well as equity and democracy. The writers are studying the effects of agency in relation to institutional structure in Russia.

Rural communities in the Baltic states: strategies of survival during post-Soviet transformation

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Baltic countryside, which still covers about a third of the total population, experienced a severe post-Soviet transition as they underwent radical rural reforms. The hardship and uncertainty of decollectivization faced by rural people required specific solutions and adaptation abilities which have had different outcomes. We examined these challenges of transition through a multiple case study targeting former collective farm workers in the Baltic countries in three selected kolkhozes. In total, sixty-eight qualitative semi-structured 'problem-centered' interviews with former collective farm members were conducted from 2000 to 2010.

The research revealed that former kolkhoz members perceive rural transition and decollectivization as unfair processes strongly associated with lack of possibilities and control, challenges which have led to self-destructive behavior and increasing idleness. Interviewees reported a decrease in agricultural production and land use, low rural infrastructure, intense poverty, high levels of long-term unemployment, as well as isolation of the individual and anomic relationships at the community level.

The presentation is going to be an account of the socio-economic means of coping people in the rural areas employed to survive the post-Soviet transformation and their perceptions of the livelihood opportunities they have had. Strategies of survival in the post-Soviet period include farming (even in small scale), and income diversification (additional income sources besides agriculture). As agricultural activities have decreased over the years, other economic possibilities and income sources are becoming more important and should, therefore, be further developed in future Baltic countryside.

Rural poverty and social exclusion: a case of Ukraine

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Presently, rural poverty has become a distinctive phenomenon in the Ukrainian society, being twice higher than poverty in urban area. Many of rural households are settled into stagnant and "inherited" poverty; the urban-rural divide is getting larger from year to year. Moreover, the gap often has a multidimensional character resulting in social exclusion of rural population in terms of access to infrastructure, labour market opportunities, adequate and timely healthcare, education, housing, administrative and social services. The proposed paper is devoted to empirical analysis of the phenomenon of rural poverty and social exclusion in Ukraine based on administrative statistics, data of regular household surveys and special sociological polls. Some general proposals and recommendations on regional policy and poverty alleviation strategies will be provided in the final part of the paper.

From vulnerability to resilience. A resource-based model of community learning

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The importance of education in community development process is undisputable. However, in the time of crisis, community development is severely limited especially at the rural areas . Some communities show resilience, others show difficulties in dealing with the effects of the crisis - deprivation, poverty, marginalization, isolation and so on. Out of many possible solutions, one of the promising ones involves the development of rural resilience in community learning. That raises a question about possible sources of community resilience and stimulants of its growth. Resilience may be developed and stimulated in many different ways. It may also manifest itself in many different forms. The way of rural communities adjust to disturbances depends not only on the abilities to learn from their own experience and experience of the others but also on their abilities to adjust to the changing political, economic, social and cultural environment. The paper claims that strengthening of rural communities through empowerment supports resilience. Both resiliency and empowerment may be learned just as helplessness and hopelessness. The author argues that only adaptive and flexible rural communities can succeed, and be resilient in the ever-changing world.

How to create agricultural policy without farmers: development of organic farming policy in Bulgaria

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The aim of the paper is to analyze the development of organic farming (OF) in Bulgaria in terms of policy networks. The establishment of this new type of agriculture will be presents through the analysis of relationships among actors, structures they created and the context in which they operate. In comparison with other post-socialist countries, like Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, OF appears in Bulgaria quite late– at the end of 90s. By this time there are less than 10 organic farms. Unlike most European countries the OF in Bulgaria developed under the pressure of consultancy and academic type of organization (foreign and local ones), and was not triggered by social movements of farmers and consumers. Contrary to other post-socialist countries, like Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, OF in Bulgaria have never received national financial support. The question who develop OF policies in Bulgaria is crucial because the establishment of this sector in the country started without the participation of farmers. Leading hypothesis in the paper is that the type of actors engaged in the policy process and their persistence over time can explain the current state of OF development as alternative type of agriculture as well as the main problems organic farmers face. To develop this hypothesis I will use the concept of policy networks (Marsh & Smith 2000). The analysis is based on qualitative and quantitative data collected through 22 in-depth and 16 networks interviews with representatives of key organizations involved in policy process.

New models to conserve traditional practices: changes of farm-structure and land-use in Hungary, a qualitative analysis.

Boldizsár Megyesi

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The paper describes the farm-structure in a Hungarian micro-region and proposes an analytical framework to understand the differences between the farms, and their farming practices. The analysis helps us to better understand how the changes in the last decades in land-use structure are related to the emergence of new forms of farming: social cooperatives, social land programmes.

The paper is based on the following theories: food self-provisioning in Central-Europe (Smith-Jehlicka 2011), relevance of semi-subsistence farming in Hungary (Márkus 1982, Juhász) and agricultural restructuring in Central-Europe (Kovách 2012, Swain 2013). There are four types of farms in the study area: agricultural companies, medium-size farms, subsistence farms and social land programmes. In the case of subsistence farms free labour-force and local knowledge are the most important resources, while for large scale farming financial resources and managerial knowledge. The agricultural methods of large-scale farms are defined by economic factors and market networks; those are mostly influenced by agricultural and rural policies and subsidies. The activity of social land programs is defined by policy measures and available free labour force. Medium-size farms can be characterized by family networks and a mixed knowledge set. The difference of the specific networks, in knowledge use, and in the relevance of the different resources used in agricultural activity is characteristic to the different farm types. The paper claims that policy measures enforce these differences which lead to the conservation of social inequalities at rural areas.

Farm succession and the different reasons to overtake farm. A case study from the Czech Republic

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Paper deals with the situation of farm succession in the Czech republic as a one of post-socialistic countries. In European Union, there is strongly discussed topic of decreasing number of young farmers and new entrants in the sector. The number of young farmers in the EU 27 is declining and older farmers do not pass on their farms to new generation in sufficient rate. There are plenty of reasons that lead people to begin with farming, or discourage them from entering their (family) business. The main goal of this paper is to show various reasons that lead younger farmers to taking over the farm and show how the intergenerational succession of the business is carried out within a family. The succession process is conceptualized as a socially constructed endogenous cycle. Research results are obtained on the basis of semi-structured interviews conducted simultaneously with representatives of two generations in each family. The article shows several case studies in the Czech Republic in the Pilsen Region representing different conditions and motives of younger farmers taking over the farms.

Current role of local agriculture on well-being of inhabitants. Case study from Southern Portugal

Diana Surova

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Well-being is nowadays recognized as an increasingly important development policy goal. However, due to its multi-dimensional nature it is broadly discussed how to measure it. In rural areas, the agriculture, even if changing over time, is still an important part of life, influencing social, cultural, environmental as well as economic issues.

The present study intends to qualitatively explore current role of local agriculture on well-being of local inhabitants. In focus are the positive and negative impacts of different agricultural types on well-being. The social, cultural, economic, and environmental well-being topics were explored.

The semi-structured interviews were completed and the themes addressed during the interviews were related to the impacts of each agricultural type on well-being of local inhabitants. The sample included national researchers from sociology, economy, psychology and history. Moreover, members of the rural authorities as well as members of rural communities, were interviewed. The exact number of interviews was not decided before interviewing process, but the questioning was concluded when information provided from the interviewers started to be repetitive. All in all, twenty one interviews were performed, recorded and transcribed. Subsequently, the framework analysis was applied to the gathered data.

The four agricultural types, representing current major trends in Southern Portugal, were selected. Results will be conceptualized and discussed at different scales, from individual until society. The elicited information gained from qualitative data, together with the knowledge from relevant literature, is intended to serve in a quantitative survey assessing well-being of inhabitants in areas with different agricultural realities.

Geographies of transition: the political and geographical factors of agrarian change in Tajikistan

Irna Hofman, Oane Visser

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After more than two decades of agrarian change in Tajikistan, farming structures remain dynamic. The first signs towards farm individualisation were observed only around 2000, which were the result of significant pressure from outside, when the post-conflict state was highly susceptible to pressure from multilateral institutions. Up till the present, the international donor community has continued to dictate agrarian reforms. Yet despite an externally imposed reform agenda, striking differences in agrarian structures have been emerging nation-wide; from highly fragmented, autonomous farms, to elite-controlled large-scale cotton farming.

In this paper we analyse and describe the Tajik path of reform, and locate the Tajik case amongst the other reformers in the CIS. We use a political economy and geographical approach to understand the way in which different geographies of transition have emerged in the aftermath of the Soviet collapse. Particular pathways of reform are conditioned by geographical factors, in which in turn, a local political economy comes into play that further shapes the emergence of particular farm models over time.

Juggler farmers in Turkey: is there any room for collective action?

Fatmanil Doner

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Since the beginning of the 1980s, neoliberal policies intending to free prices from government intervention in terms of subsidy and regulation, the reduction of state expenditures and budget deficit, the acceleration of the privatization, and the elimination of barriers to free trade such as tariffs and quotas have been implemented in order to facilitate the transition to market-led economy in Turkey. However, the evidence indicates that the outcome seems to be catastrophic. These policies under the auspices of the international financial institutions annihilate small producers, threaten existing survival strategies, aggravate social differentiation, and precipitate migration.

These changes are expected to have an impact on rural politics. However, compared to rising rural political struggles in developing countries, collective action for the political implications and possibilities often remains limited in Turkey. This study intends to show that rural politics can be defined by highly individualistic and formal and informal norms and activities of *juggler farmers* from production to exchange as everyday forms of struggle. Here, the focal point will be why everyday politics of *juggler farmers* cannot be mobilized into organized collective action to confront challenges they face, to develop alliances, to rise their political demands, and to alter terms and conditions governing agricultural sector. In other words, it will investigate why different forms of rural political expression and the articulation of common interests among farmers to confront rural transformation have not emerged in Turkey after the alteration of production, capital accumulation, and circulation processes and dramatic shifts in livelihood strategies.

Workfare schemes as market substitute offers for the rural poor

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The small and open economies of post socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe were particularly hit by the global crisis. In Hungary, recession was intensified by high level of indebtedness and enforced drastic austerity measures. One of the traits of neoliberal patterns of austerity is the shift from normative state benefits to conditional forms of social assistance based on greater individual responsibility and the 'bureaucratic recommodification' of labour by the state. In rural areas, it is local governments that play an active role in organising public works schemes and they are also the ones being in charge of attracting state funding to cover the implementation of such schemes. In the almost entire absence of other active labour market instruments, long-term unemployed in rural areas, especially in the lagging peripheries, are restricted to these extremely low paid, rarely durable, often part-time precarious public works schemes.

Based on qualitative and quantitative sets of evidence, this paper presents the Hungarian case of workfare as a peculiar mix of neoliberal and statist models of labour market intervention. It also highlights the dual pressure on local governments caused by the absence of local market forces and the partial withdrawal of the state (as a donor of workfare schemes). This is the scene where local governments have to juggle simultaneously with bureaucratic and market mechanisms, keep balance and prevent conflicts between them in order to manage local socio-economic development and stop further impoverishment of their residents.

Are they talking about multifunctionality of rural areas or multifunctionality of people living in rural areas?

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Since the last 80s, rural development politics and programs have been promoting the multifunctionality of rural areas and the diversification of agriculture to overcome the constraints of low competitiveness of traditional agriculture on global market. In the last few years since the financial and economic crisis started, we are observing how people, mostly women, have had to be multifunctional to resist living in rural areas. In some cases the situation leads women to question their personal and professional identities. To understand the situation in depth we carry out a case study of two women entrepreneurs living in little villages at Palencia Mountains in the north of Spain. Data were gathered through deep interviews and participant observation. The results show how multifunctionality become an emerging need within the rural context as well as a personal strategy to keep living in a little village in the Mountains. Professional identities are weaker since the beginning of economic crisis and it leads to the construction of fragmented identities. Women reported feelings about increasing vulnerability and defenselessness and how their professional activities are strongly limited by closed labour opportunities, requirements of daily life in rural environment and family demands.

Government within governance? Polish rural development partnerships through the lens of functional representation

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Functional interest representation, which relates specifically to the representation of particular professional or sectoral interests, is a fundamental concept underpinning the organisational methodology of programmes such as the European Union's governance and rural development programme, LEADER. The policy rationalisation of LEADER, as well as a plethora of policy initiatives under the recently launched EU European Innovation Partnership (EIP), is fundamentally hinged on creating conditions for innovation by encouraging the creation of alliances between diverse functional interests. However, the analytical vantage point of the governance and rural development literature heretofore has been dominated by theories of territorial interest representation with comparatively less focus on the importance of functional interest representation *sui generis*. It is timely, therefore, to widen the analytical focus beyond territorial aspects of how governance and rural development programmes operate to take an express focus on functional interest representation. Our article, presenting empirical research undertaken in post-socialist Poland, presents an analysis of the membership of LEADER LAGs decision-making councils, exploring the extent to which the membership thresholds stipulated by EU rules in order to promote representation of public, private and third sector interests are actually achieved. We find that while many LEADER partnerships appear to adhere to balanced tri-partite membership, the partnerships are in reality prone to domination by traditionally powerful statutory actors. Our article evaluates the extent of and identifies the possible causes of lack of diversity in functional representation. We highlight tensions between territorial and functional interest representation, problematising how embedded structures within territories can, through relational dynamics such as professional dependency, tokenism and clientelism, impede the realisation of governance processes.

LEADER in the Czech Republic: neoliberal reality of inspiring fiction?

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LEADER approach is considered as a success story which is now manifested in its metamorphosis into community led local development. However, how is this European success story presented in the public? It is the question beyond this paper which reflects the Czech situation. To get the answer (which might also suggest what the public can know about LEADER) we opted for content analysis of the Czech media in the first half of 2013. The preliminary analysis suggests LEADER is presented in media as a channel of money transfer for rural areas to built technical infrastructure. Media do not highlight improvement of community social life, social inclusion and enhancing social capital due to LEADER. The building principles of LEADER such as cooperation, social networks, bottom up decision making or innovations (moreover social innovations) are neglected. A discourse in the Czech media which was formed after 1989 in neoliberal fashion criticises LEADER for being too harnessed in bureaucratic regulations. The post-modern and anarchist inspiration of LEADER is shadowed by neoliberal mantra of individualism requiring minimizing any state regulation, mixed with an emphasis of material factors for social development. LEADER is therefore portrayed as one of many EU programmes in the Czech Republic which are notorious for bureaucratic obstacles and corruption (it was a case of Regional Operational Programmes). The positive and inspiring features of LEADER do not address large public (apart those who work with LEADER) because the Czech media are "silent" about them.

The restructuring of peri-urban territories: urban sprawl and interstitial ruralities in Pamplona-Iruñea, Spain

Elvira Sanz¹, María Jesús Rivera²

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Over the past two decades, urban development has given rise to a deep restructuring of rural territories in Spain. Villages close to many large urban centres experienced an important growth. Similarly new building states were built within commuting distance from the city. This has been the case of the peri-urban area of Pamplona, the capital city of a region in north Spain. This area represents a clear example of how urban sprawl has led to the emergence of differentiated interstitial ruralities. The paper looks at the different types of new residents that have arrived to these peri-urban ruralities in the outskirts of Pamplona.

The research that supports this paper has been funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (CSO2011-27981) within the national scheme for R&D.

Rural governance, austerity and sustainability. Rural-urban hybridizations as resilience strategies in Spanish mountain areas

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The new communication and information technologies, the proliferation of transport options and the rural mobilities (new residents, commuters, returnees, international migratory flows, secondary homes, tourism) favour and increasing rural-urban and local-global hybridization. On the other hand, the austerity measures arising from the economic recession pose a challenge to many rural areas and have a strong impact on rural welfare in Southern Europe. We explore in this work how the combination of different rural-urban hybridizations and familiar strategies give rise to new ways of adaptation and resilience in rural mountain areas. We analyse these issues from the results of fieldwork developed in the Navarra Pyrenees mountains in the framework of a three-year research project funded by Spanish National Plan for R&D. Our conclusion is that if the lack of services, problems of accessibility and demographic imbalances usually challenge the future of these regions, the flexibility gained in certain social strategies combining ICTs, private automobility and family homes favour new ways of resilience and rural sustainability

The limited role of Spanish local governments in addressing social exclusion in rural areas. A qualitative study in Comunidad Valenciana.

Diana E Valero López, José Vicente Pérez Cosín
Universidad de Valencia, Valencia, Spain

There is a growing interest in studying how the current crisis is affecting rural societies not only through negative economic impacts, such as unemployment, but also via institutional changes as a consequence of the neoliberal policies forced by central governments. This is the situation of Spain where rural areas have been affected by the general austerity reforms forced by the National Reform Programmes (NPR) and the resulting cutbacks and reforms implemented by regional governments, particularly in the provision of welfare.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the changes that have been produced in this sense in Spanish rural areas by focusing on the role of municipal governments in addressing the development of social exclusion processes in their communities. The research was carried out in the region of Comunidad Valenciana in the east coast of Spain with a qualitative comparative approach, and data were gathered from personal interviews conducted with thirty mayors of rural municipalities.

The results of this study show that economic factors and political decisions have reduced the already narrow margin of action that rural councils have in order to protect the social development of their population. However, despite this limited role, the findings also reveal important differences between councils which are related to the structure of resources of each municipality as well as to ideological and other political factors (political parties, for instance) which take part in drawing the public policies implemented in each municipality.

Rural cooperatives in Poland: old or new social movement?

Piotr Nowak, Krzysztof Gorlach
Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

The paper is an attempt to present contemporary Polish farmers' attitudes towards the idea of cooperatives. The authors claim that such attitudes have resulted from some historical experience of Polish rural and agricultural population as well as from the current context of contemporary neo-liberal capitalist economy. The article has been divided into four parts. In the first one the synthetic history of cooperative movement has been presented. The authors stress that the beginning of cooperative movements among Polish population has to be located in the partition period (before the World War I). In the interwar (1918 – 1939) period cooperative organizations became an example of the dynamic development of social and economic initiatives in Poland including rural areas. After the World War II, i.e. during the communism period, cooperative movement has been used by political and administrative authorities as a tool for domination and control of various economic and social initiatives from below. In the second part of the article the short history of evolution of cooperative movement in the contemporary world has been analyzed with the stress of its growing similarities to various organizational forms of socio-economic activities in neo-liberal global capitalist economy. In the third part of the article the authors present results of the research program "Cooperatives in opinions of farmers and extension advisers and the role of cooperatives in the development of entrepreneurship in rural areas". In the last part of the article a few conclusions have been presented.

Local food production - vegetable gardens as resistance strategies? An exploratory study in Montemor-o-Novo (Portugal)

Cecília Fonseca, Teresa Pinto Correia

Instituto de Ciências Agrárias e Ambientais Mediterrânicas, Évora, Portugal

In the framework of a collaboration between the University of Évora and the municipality of Montemor-o-Novo (Alentejo region) an exploratory study on local food production was carried out. Its main goal was to partially assess the local food autonomy level and to unravel the role of small scale agriculture in food production. Given its exploratory nature, the study focused on the quantification of vegetable and fruit production, in vegetable gardens and backyards, in five parishes of the municipality.

The quantitative component of the study provided substantial data on the amount of vegetables and fruits produced by the population of such parishes. Besides quantitative data, the population was also asked about the use of grown products and if they usually sell it. Findings revealed that keeping a vegetable garden ('horta' in Portuguese) has different meanings and dimensions related to the household economy; the human-nature co-production relations and identity, which ultimately constitute forms of resistance of the lifeworld to the instrumental rationality brought by State regulation and formal market relations, two spheres from which apparently vegetable garden' holders try to keep some degree of autonomy. Our tentative hypothesis is that 'hortas' are one strategy related to the pluri-activity and pluri-income nature of the Mediterranean rural space. An 'unnoticed' form of resistance to different "crisis" along time that today bring together different generations in a similar positioning towards historical processes of the industrialisation of agriculture and food production and consumption.

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The political economy of alternative agriculture in Italy: reflections on the specificity of resistance and transitions in Southern Europe

Maria Fonte, Ivan Cucco

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In this paper we focus on a set of actors that represent a range of experiences and organizational forms emerged at different stages between the 1970s and the 1990s in Italy: the organic movement, the “Campagna Amica” foundation promoted by Coldiretti (the largest farmers’ union in the country), Slow Food and the loose but growing network of Solidarity Purchasing Groups (*Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale*, GAS). In order to elucidate the actual or potential implications of the different strategies for the political economy of Italian alternative agriculture, we take an eclectic stance and combine insights from different approaches. The political economy of food regimes, socio-technical transition paradigms, actor-network-theory and the theory of social practice all present some useful variables and suggest dimensions with a potential for guiding our investigation of the history and strategies of the selected organizations.

The appeal to the ‘integral territorial identity’ may be considered the quality mark of alternative agriculture, but also the link to the traditional Mediterranean model of food production and consumption.

Working Group 11: Neoliberalism, the ‘good farmer’ and well-being: The effect of neoliberal policy reforms on the culture of family farming

Convenors: Rob Burton[1], Paul Stock [2], Jérémie Forney[3], Christine Jurt [4], Ruth Rossier[4], Theresia Oedl-Wieser[5]

1:Bygdeforskning, Norway, 2:University of Kansas, USA, 3:School of Agricultural, Forest and Food Sciences, Switzerland, 4:Agroscope, Switzerland, 5:Federal Institute for Less-Favoured and Mountainous Areas, Austria

Working group description

Agriculture in Europe has been supported for decades by subsidy regimes that have enabled small farmers to largely avoid the growing pressures of ‘market forces’. Consequently, for family farming at least, much of the motivation for farming is based around intrinsic values such as the quality of life or generating social or cultural capital – rather than economic reward. In the many areas of Europe where farming is barely (or not at all) commercially viable, lifestyle or socio-cultural factors are almost the sole motivator for continuing in agriculture. However, the introduction of neoliberal policies promoting market forces could change all this by forcing agriculture in these regions on to a purely commercial footing. Long established concepts of “good farming” that have persisted over the last decades could diminish or change, while the quality of life and well-being that are key motivators for many in small-scale agriculture could equally decline as profitability becomes the dominant driver.

In this working group we aim to explore this issue. We focus specifically on (a) changes to the concept of the ‘good farmer’ and the farmer identity, (b) changes to ‘quality of life’ and (c) changes to ‘well-being’ on family farms. What will happen in a neoliberal world and how will the structure and production of agriculture be affected? We are interested in papers on a range of topics based around these themes. For example, with changing roles in agriculture, does a culturally defined ‘good farmer’ identity (an idealised farmer who embodies the practices that constitute wise and skilled farming) have any relevance for tomorrow's market driven agriculture – or even for today's agriculture? How is the ‘good farmer’ identity changing and how might it change in the future? In terms of ‘well-being’ and ‘quality of life’, what do farmers perceive as critical for these concepts and, importantly, how are they likely to be affected by neoliberal policy reforms? How will change effect the desirability of family farming (e.g. gender issues), will it influence the way family farms are managed (e.g. environmental management) and will changes to farming cultures contribute to land use change such as abandonment or intensification?

Conceptualising the ‘good farmer’ in the context of exotic disease management: exploring the drivers of good practice

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In the neoliberal political context of increased cost and responsibility sharing between government and industry, this paper explores the role of compensation in influencing animal keepers' biosecurity practices and the management of exotic livestock disease (e.g. Foot and Mouth, Avian Influenza). Based on a large qualitative research project involving 9 focus groups and 80 face-to-face interviews across 5 livestock sectors, animal keepers' own perceptions of the ‘good farmer’ concept are explored. The paper assesses the influence of interventions (specifically, the reduction of compensation payments for culled animals) on the behaviour of animal keepers in relation to the way they identify, manage and report exotic disease risk. This is compared to the influence of more intrinsic factors relating to farming cultures, including peer pressure, responsibility and understandings of good practice. The analysis shows how neoliberal styles of animal disease governance are likely to be contested in practice as they fail to account for farmer subjectivities.

Reshaping the notion of 'good farming' in agri-ecological terms. The Flowering Meadows programme in France

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Environmental payments have been the cornerstone of European policies aimed at conciliating farming methods with the conservation of natural resources. Such public support should have mainly benefited to family farms and less favoured areas. However, the low commitment of target farmers to current action-based schemes has raised growing criticism. It has been argued that linking public support to performance in providing environmental goods would better fit with farmers' culture. Interest is thus increasing in result-based payments schemes (RBPS).

The presentation examines the French Flowering Meadows competition, which rewards the best agri-ecological balance found in semi-natural grasslands managed by livestock farmers. This contest of professional excellence promotes a new style of agri-environmental scheme: a premium is granted to farmers achieving a specific ecological outcome (indicator plants of species richness). The feed-back from entrant farmers shows the positive meaning of RBPS that fully recognize their professional skills in managing biodiversity. Moreover, participants in the contest are proud to be presented as model farmers to their neighbours and the wider public. However, a closer examination brings a different meaning to the word positive. The ecological qualities of grasslands have been recoupled with the production of quality food to which most family farmers are committed (organic and origin labelled products). In their opinion, being a provider of environmental goods is a totally different job (Flower grower). Lastly, the public recognition of extensive and alternative agricultures as "good farming" may be more decisive than market solutions, such as provider-gets environmental payments.

Looking at the heart of ‘good farming’: obstacle or corner stone for building food futures?

Jeremie Forney

Bern University of applied sciences - HAFL, Zollikofen, Switzerland

‘Good farming’ has been used in the literature as a concept to describe and analyses enduring socio-cultural definitions of farmers’ professional identities. While a few authors looked at redefinition of ‘good farming’ in developing alternative farming cultures (i.e. organic) (Stock 200; Sutherland 2013), the concept was often mobilized to understand the reluctance of western European farmers to engage in developing agri-environmental schemes (Burton 2004). Most of the times, a dominant definition of good farming has been considered as an obstacle to the development of new farming practices. This way of framing the problem results in the strong belief that ‘good farming’ definitions should be changed in order to allow progress in agriculture, be it from a technocratic, neoliberal or environmentalist perspective. This paper wants to consider ‘good farming’ in a slightly different way, as the foundation on which new forms of agricultures will have to build inevitably. To do so, it draws on the French socio-psychologists’ theory of social representations. More particularly it integrates the differentiation between core and margin elements of representations (Abric, 1994; Jodelet, 1989). Building on a long term ethnography of Swiss dairy farming, it offers a first attempt of identifying central elements of the definition of ‘good farming’ in western European agriculture that might serve as a corner stone to build more sustainable futures.

Did post-war productivist policies change the notion of 'good farming'?

Rob Burton

Centre for Rural Research, Trondheim, Norway

Many studies over the last two decades have suggested that the production oriented nature of today's European farming communities are attributable to 'productivist policies' that glorified increased production and mechanisation in the post-war period. These policies were largely abandoned in the early 1990s with policy reforms that focused on the social and environmental values of agriculture, after which notions of 'post-productivism' and 'multifunctionality' became the dominant discourses. Some researchers in the 1990s suggested that this would lead to a change in farming attitudes or even culture. However, research throughout the 2000s has suggested that concepts and symbols of 'good farming' remained firmly aligned with production. This raises the question of how changeable notions of good farming are. To address this issue, this paper uses a number of British farmers' diaries (observations and reflections on agriculture) published prior to the 'productivist' period to try to assess what practices and symbols were considered 'good farming' at the time and how they align with today's conventional farmer identity. The preliminary conclusion is that many values going back to over a century ago are still shared by farmers today. It is possible therefore to suggest that the post-war productivist policies are unlikely to have been responsible for the 'productivist' orientation of today's farmers. Likewise, contemporary policies associated with more environmentally friendly agriculture may struggle to change conventional farming identities or notions of good farming practices.

Picturing good farming: performing food utopias with new, sustainable farmers

Paul Stock

University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, USA

Drawing on the food utopias framework (Stock et al, in press) of critique, experimentation and process, the presentation describes the inspiration and themes involved in documenting and interviewing new, beginning and first generation sustainable farmers in the Midwest, USA. With inspiration from previous work (particularly Dorothea Lange and Paul Taylor) that documented the erosion and disappearance of American farmers, this new project aims to document and support the emergence of new (that does not necessarily imply young) and first generation farmers. These farmers enter farming despite the economic and environmental hurdles for many reasons, but whose stories often get ignored because of scale (often small) and economic impact (often negligible). This project explores the hurdles and optimism of new and beginning farmers that draws on rural geography, rural sociology, the tools of visual sociology and the history of documentary photography in agriculture. Food utopias, in one aspect, aim to enlarge the dialogue around possible food futures and this project serves to include the visual into that dialogue. These stories remain vital wellsprings though of the ongoing experimentation in sustainable agriculture, while also illustrating the importance of process in getting form here (a damaged and damaging global agri-food system) to there (an agri-food system focused on human and planetary well being).

Changing forms of capital in Irish family farming: a narrative analysis

Áine Macken-Walsh¹, Anne Byrne²

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This paper draws from an extensive narrative dataset collected in Ireland over the past five years and focuses specifically on evidence that significant change in social and cultural forms of capital is under way on Irish family farms. A conceptualisation of family farming is presented that reflects the interdependencies of social, cultural and economic forms of capital in family farm decision-making. Such interdependencies are manifest not only in farmers' individual subjectivities but in relationships within the family farm household, relationships between farm families, and human ecological relationships involving farm animals and land. Across these subjective and relational aspects of agricultural life patterns emerge that allow insights to notions of the 'good farmer'. There is evidence of significant change in social and cultural capital, characterised by a weakening of patriarchy accompanied by a strengthening of the influence of traditionally subjugated family members such as youth and women. Social and cultural forms of capital are amassing around the interchange between on and off-farm life, particularly in fields such as leisure and education, with implications arising for how farms are managed. Rather than posing a threat to the future of family farming, we discuss how the pursuit of educational and career endeavours off-farm can lead to a pressure for enhanced resources from the farm business and, consequently, its development. In this context, we present narrative data evidencing that changing notions of the 'good farmer' are representative of a resilience strategy that responds to the serious agricultural sustainability threat of patriarchy. We argue that the strong interdependencies between economic, social and cultural forms of capital to which family farming decision-making is sensitive are supportive of the responsiveness to and adeptness at change that is required for resilience. Ultimately, this has transformative implications for notions of who the 'good farmer' is within the agricultural community.

Motives and values of young farm successors: evidence from the Czech Republic

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The conference proceeding is based on large research project conducted in the Czech Republic with the aim to describe the problem of ageing population of farmers with respect to farm succession processes. The relative proportion of farms managed by young farmers (11.7%) and older farmers (12.8%) seems favourable in comparison to other EU member states. Statistical figures suggest that there was started a generational turnover on family enterprises managed by the first-generation of holders that had started their business after socialist transformation in early 1990s. We have conducted a large research project focused on young farmers and new entrants to find out about their motives for entering agriculture. In the first stage of the project, we used a qualitative approach for understanding how the succession process is exerted on family farms. In the second stage, we organized a large quantitative survey in order to construct a predictive statistical model. Decisions of the new entrants and young farmers were conceptualized with the use of the theory of planned behaviour that enabled us to verify the role of basic behavioural constructs (attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control) as well as key informational foundations of their decisions.

Emerging landscape businesses: towards new rural practices

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Emerging new rural business forms implementing landscape resources in a broad sense - defined as *landscape businesses* - are entering the rural scene. Drawing on an empirical study in the Danish region Funen, this paper unfolds new categories of rural business forms and discusses the potential for an altered progressive perception of small scale farmers and landscape businesses contributing to public services and goods such as rehabilitation, organic food supplements, agricultural research as well as creating new landscapes. The new rural activities are characterized by exhibiting a high degree of innovation power by engaging, utilizing and implementing research, urban dwellers, funds and especially by taking advantage of a rural location by activating landscape amenities and rural representations. The landscape businesses demonstrate a reconfiguration between rural materiality, public accessibility, ethical food production and new alliances between stakeholders thus performing a dynamic rural-urban exchange. The findings are, that although these forms of production are small in scale, they are contributing to a new understanding of the identity of farming and challenging the societal view on intensive agribusiness. By the introduction of a new rural typology 'landscape businesses' the author suggests a renewed focus on the relation between economic activity and landscape values thus identifying derived 'externalities' seen as *more* than public goods, but as incentives for the use in landuse management in promoting a new rural paradigm. This implies the integration of societal landscape values in future economical models as means of sustainable development.

Autonomy, tyranny of the markets and CAP regulation: changes of the Polish farmers' identity

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Farmer identity has been rooted in the peasant culture which is now fading away. Global market economy and CAP liberalisation have brought new challenges for farmers as well as new social expectations. Farmers are employing various adaptation strategies in response to these challenges, which contributes towards construction of their new identity. Poland is a country with a large number of farmers, every fifth farmer in the EU is a Pole. Therefore, it will be interesting to analyse the changes in the patterns of a 'good farmer' in Poland, where a dual farming model has been shaped. Thomas' and Znaniecki's family economy model and van der Ploeg's 'farming styles' has been used as the theoretical framework. The paper will try to answer the question how the 'good farmer' pattern has been changing in Poland. What are the social expectations formulated towards a 'good farmer' and the model of a 'good farm'? To what extent the new identity of the farmers is a continuation of the peasant identity, and to what extent does it contain new elements, which are the elements of an entrepreneur's identity and of a professional identity? What factors differentiate the pattern of a 'good farmer'? The quality analysis of the materials from the Polish Farmer of the Year competition will be used.

Variation and change in 'good farming' practices at Finnish farms

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Twenty years has passed since Finland joined the European Union in 1995. Agriculture was one of the key areas in which significant changes were both anticipated and realized. Besides the European-wide structural change towards larger production units and steeply decreasing number of farms, the EU's agricultural policy has brought about significant changes in the ways farming is practiced in Finland. These changes involve environmental considerations related to fertilization or tilling practices, for example, but they are also reflected in wider meaning-making related to what farming fundamentally is about.

Using the concept of good farming as the key, this paper explores: 1) What is the influence of the EU agricultural policies on farming practices from the farmers' perspective? 2) How do these alterations come about? and, 3) Have the changes in farming practices also had cultural influences related to alterations in the ways good farming practices are understood and constituted among different farmers?

The analysis is based on three different sets of interviews, in which farmers describe their farming practices, purposes and the influence of policies. The interviews were conducted in four different locations. The results indicate changes in the ideal of good farming but also experiences of policies forcing farmers to act against their good farming ideals. In the paper the reasons for changes and differing perceptions are discussed further.

Input self-sufficiency in livestock farming: a renegotiation between the farmer and its practices?

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Livestock farming is practiced in complex and uncertain context. Farmers have to explore flexible and multifunctional system's designs to adapt to prices volatility, changing policies and strong citizens' concerns about food production. Such an exploration is largely realized without the support of a consistent reference model. Increasing self-input sufficiency is one option that is developed by farmers testing and constituting frameworks in the margin of the conventional modernization. This option is discussed by several fields of research. Studies on livestock farming systems tend to objectivize that self-input sufficiency represent a relevant alternative towards environmental and economic sustainability. Furthermore, studies on farming trajectories insist on the importance of the transition process while studies on autonomy analyze the influence of farming cultures on the transition. Understanding farming redesign is then an issue notably by investigating farmers' learning pathways and reconstruction of identity. We contribute to this reflection by questioning how livestock farmers interpret their trajectories of change. We conducted semi-directed interviews in family farms from west Belgium with collectively organized farmers who experiment input self-sufficiency. First, we describe individual trajectories with a focus on the process of change using the 'triggering change cycle' conceptualization proposed by Sutherland et al. (2012). Second, we analyze the mechanisms of attachment to and detachment from sociotechnical entities according to the 'innovation through withdrawal' framework from Goulet & Vinck (2012). The combination of these methods allows us to discuss pragmatically how these farmers redefine their relation with the environment, their professional responsibilities and the notion of performance.

'Good' farming and the emergence of a New Zealand sheep dairy industry

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Despite exhortations by industry and state officials about the need for New Zealand agribusiness to reduce reliance on bulk commodities and develop value-added products, and declining farm incomes, the bulk of the country's sheep farmers have maintained their position as low cost producers of relatively low value meat and wool commodities. New Zealand's neoliberal reforms of the 1980s removed all State subsidies and supports which exposed farmers directly to the vagaries of market forces, reshaping farmer subjectivities as key elements of the materialities that produced them (e.g. institutional relationships between farmers and the State) were removed. However, in the sheep industry at least, the emergence of the ideal neoliberal farmer subject (entrepreneurial and innovative) was limited.

The purpose of this paper is why one particular form of innovation, namely sheep dairying, has struggled to become established. We ask why, despite regular efforts from the 1970s aimed at creating a sheep dairy industry, such efforts have largely failed to live up to hopes of growth, development and expansion. We suggest that such efforts to innovate confront deeply entrenched continuities as to what is involved in being a 'good farmer', and such discourses and practices work to limit the desire and ability of farmers to change what they do with their farms.

As we are currently engaged in performative action research which aims to provoke and support the expansion of the current fledgling sheep dairy industry, we reflect on the implications of enduring notions of 'good farming' for our work.

'Cattle in the blood' – a cultural response to neo-liberalism?

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This paper investigates factors which might contribute to sustaining or strengthening small-scale agriculture i.e good farming, as a part of resilient rural communities in west coast Scotland and Norway. It considers two case-study areas: Trotternish in Skye, which is mainly under crofting tenure, and Askvoll, in Sogn og Fjordane on the west coast of Norway where owner-occupied farms are of a similar size to the Trotternish crofts.

By examining statistics and interviews with farmers and crofters, I will consider what role land tenure systems, agricultural policy, and traditional and communal practices, play in the encouragement of good farming practices. As part of this consideration I will examine the role of social and cultural capital within good farming communities in supporting and maintaining good farmers.

The effects of neo-liberal pressures were observed which suggested that good farmers in Trotternish and Askvoll had developed markedly different responses to market forces. These ranged from innovation, diversification and alternative business models to using modern agricultural techniques and support mechanisms to allow the continuation of traditional and culturally significant forms of good farming.

The paper concludes that an indigenous understanding of good community practice could provide a sound footing for the future of good farming in peripheral rural communities. There is a need for agricultural policy to be developed in consultation with good farming communities to ensure their social and cultural resilience in the face of neo-liberal forces.

Health perceptions of Austrian organic farmers as a way to understand family farming in a new competitive market

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Traditional, small-scale family farming occupies a central position in Austria's cultural landscape. However, many organic farmers in particular now find such farming hard to maintain. One reason for this is that 70% of Austrian organic products are marketed through large supermarket chains. This puts pressure on organic family farmers to compete with international and conventional producers.

In this paper I draw upon initial findings from my 2013-2014 study of Austrian organic farmers' health perceptions and practices. These findings suggest that the pressures to produce greater quantities at lower costs are negatively affecting family health, which includes family structures, relationships, and the health of individual family members. The consequences are often changes to farm practices such as switching production type; investing less in maintenance of farm machinery, buildings, and land; or engaging in off-farm employment. These factors are associated with negative overall farm health, which is described as the long-term development and improvement of the farm.

My research shows the interconnectedness of family and farm health. This can also be seen in positive examples where farmers choose to reinvest in the culture of family farming by improving farm and family health. For many farmers, this includes reducing their reliance upon supermarket sales. Health, therefore, provides a useful entry-point to understand how neoliberal policies, quality of life, well-being, and the culture of family farming are intertwined.

Depression in context of family farming

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Neoliberal politics come along with an increase of economic risks for the family farms. However, these economic risks stand not for themselves but have to be considered within the context of further political, environmental but also cultural and social risks that the farming families face.

In 2014, we carried out a risk perception study among farming families in Switzerland. It was a time that was characterized by uncertainty as the agricultural policies of 2014-17 were about to be politically settled. First results of the study showed that apart of economic and political risks, the risk of depression and burnout was considered as a considerably high risk among a rather big group of the participants. This results are in line with empirical studies and national statistics which identify a growing number of depression diagnoses in agriculture.

In our paper, we take these perceptions of the risk of burnout and depression as a starting point and contextualize them with further risks that represent neoliberal tendencies on the one hand (as e.g. in terms of opening of the borders), as well as further social, cultural, ecological and political risks on the other hand. Taking into account psychological theories, we will address the question on the consequences for farming yielding from depression and burnout and we may find those at the personal level of one family farm member as well as on the level of the family and even at the level of the farm.

Conceptualising and measuring the social impacts of animal disease: the case of Bovine Tuberculosis.

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Despite the best efforts of neoliberalism, one consequence of global trade in livestock has been the movement of animal disease. With these movements, so have farmers become affected by the social and economic impacts of animal disease. The outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease in the United Kingdom in 2001 highlighted some of these impacts. However, whilst we might expect such dramatic and emergency events to produce social and emotional responses to an exotic animal disease outbreak, there has been less consideration of the social impacts of endemic animal disease. For diseases like bovine Tuberculosis in England and Wales, agricultural institutions have used social impacts as a framing device to demand and justify particular Government actions. However, there is little research that seeks to either conceptualise or measure any of these social impacts to endemic animal disease. This paper responds to these gaps. Firstly, it considers how the social impacts of animal disease can be measured. Two concepts are explored: the role of subjective well-being, and the concept of presenteeism. Secondly, drawing on a survey of farmers in Wales, the paper presents data exploring farmers' understandings of well-being, and the impact of animal disease – specifically bovine tuberculosis – upon levels of well-being and presenteeism. Policy implications are considered in conclusion.

Changes in farm work and its relation to occupational health among Norwegian farmers 1982-2012

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In Norway during the last 30 years, both the structures within agriculture and the framework that constitutes the agricultural business and work environment have changed. In this study, we will present the results from two comparative surveys carried out in two samples of the Norwegian agricultural population, 1982 and 2012 respectively. In light of changes that might govern more 'market forces' thinking and neoliberalism, we compare how farmers in 1982 and 2012 at the individual level experience their life as farmers. At the national level, there are structural changes in agriculture such as decrease in the number of registered self-employed farmers and an increase in the mean number of hectares operated on by the farms. At the individual level we found surprisingly small differences between 1982 and 2012 concerning how they assess their working environment and the amount of workload on and off the farm. However, we found some differences between 1982 and 2012 in aspects such as the self-reported level of work-related stressors, indicating that farmers in 2012 to some degree might experience a reduction in their occupational wellbeing within farming. In this study, we are able to add some knowledge about how farmers at the individual levels run their farm business, and how they have responded to the structural changes the last 30 years.

Which aspects influence the job satisfaction of agricultural employees?

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Since decades people move from rural to urban areas due to the fact that there seems to be a lack of attractive jobs in rural areas. Furthermore, there are a lot of attractive living conditions near cities. Changes in agricultural policy and ongoing structural changes made family-run farms develop into extended farms (Möller 2002; Schaper et al.2011). These expanding farms more and more employ non-family labour. Especially job satisfaction plays an important role for the motivation of the entry, the work, and the work continuance of farm labour (March&Simon 1993; Porter&Lawler 1968).

In this study an explorative model regarding job satisfaction of farm labour was developed on the basis of a model of Neuberger and Allerbeck (1978). The results of a questionnaire survey of farm labour (n=348) from regions of Germany were processed in multivariate analysis with the program IBM SPSS Statistics.

The results show strong and highly significant influences of four farm-associated aspects (dimension of work, dimension of organisation, dimension of social setting, dimension of financial setting) and of both correlates (living satisfaction, health satisfaction) of total job satisfaction on the total job satisfaction of farm labour.

The higher the satisfaction of farm labour with one of the dimensions or correlates, the higher the total job satisfaction of farm labour. From this follows that farm employer now are able to affect farm-associated aspects positively to reach a high total job satisfaction of farm labour. This can lead to social sustainability and more attractiveness of farm jobs and rural areas.

Rethinking rural prosperity: a discussion of empirical data derived in six countries with the 'Working with People' approach

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Changes at farm-level cannot be considered independently from the organisation of (global) food chains or from the prosperity of rural areas in which they are embedded. Rather they are inherently linked to the underlying logic of agro-economic and food systems. Technical 'solutions' often only alleviate the symptoms and ignore wider ramifications. In this paper we argue that decisions in both, the private and public sector need to go further and pay attention to the dynamics of processes and interactions.

Different understandings of rural prosperity, related parameters and strategies are discussed. The discussion incorporates key elements of participatory planning and social learning as well as a range of rural development models. In the analysis we will examine different farming systems, with their management and development strategies and how they relate to rural prosperity. The methodological approach applied is the 'Working with People' model that aims at connecting knowledge (formal and informal) with actions (strategies and entrepreneurial projects). The basis are major case studies from six countries (Spain, Italy, Lithuania, Latvia, Israel, Germany) with data from interviews with key actors and stakeholders, focus groups and data on indicators of rural prosperity and well-being. One key question is how the links between the different dimensions of prosperity are conceptualized in the different case studies and how this expresses different ideas and strategies about 'development'. The methodological process integrates and synthesizes information and knowledge around three components - ethical-social, technical and political-business context.

Working Group 12: Environmental justice and social dynamics: A new 'balance on proximity'

Convenors: Sam Staddon[1], Giorgio Osti[2], Jelte Harnmeijer[1,3, 5], Jayne Glass[4], Rosalind Bryce[4]

1: University of Edinburgh, UK; 2: University of Trieste, Italy; 3: Scene Consulting, UK; 4: University of the Highlands and Islands, UK; 5: The James Hutton Institute, UK

Working group description

The countryside is a source of natural resources and ecosystem services, including the provision of clean water, renewable energy, food, biodiversity, and protection from flooding. For instance, there exists huge potential for renewable energy generation in rural areas, however these can be used as sites from which globalised energy generators derive huge amounts of value whilst leaving only modest benefits to the locale. Scalar dimensions arise in the potential benefits and costs arising from all natural resources, such as the upstream-downstream injustices involved in the sacrificing of rural areas to submersion in order to prevent flooding in urban areas; invoking notions of hydro-justice. Distributional elements of environmental justice thus occur along axes of local to distal, urban to rural, and collective to private.

In order to address distributional environmental injustices, attention to their procedural elements is also needed. Policies, institutional arrangements and legal tools may be used, for example bringing water monitoring and management to hydrographic basin level, creating an internal room of compensation for upstream-downstream injustices. Other possibilities exist through innovative ownership models and new models (or rhetoric) of civic engagement (e.g. 'community assets', 'decentralisation', 'Big Society') that may provide spaces in which community action can flourish, for example around a local renewable energy source. A focus on local networks is clearly important here, particularly in relation to broader governance issues. This suggests a need to consider the possibilities afforded by creating a 'balance on proximity', in terms of paying attention to the scalar dimensions of environmental justice – where proximity has geographical variability from the single site to the municipality, county, region and further.

As a conceptual lens, this session seeks to explore what a focus on social dynamics can offer our understanding of the importance of proximity and scale in environmental justice. We are thus interested in the social structures that shape institutional arrangements and ownership models, suggesting that they may create spaces for deliberative governance which can reduce injustice and lead to more equitable outcomes. We conceive of social dynamics as the interactions between individuals, groups and institutions involved in access to water, renewables and other ecosystem services; including farmers, land owners, charities, researchers and statutory bodies. We are interested in how social dynamics shape daily resource management decisions and wider policy processes; including thinking through what opportunities are available to individuals in different roles to build social relations, and the ways in which institutional affiliations, historical relations, reputations, personal career trajectories and non-professional identities affect these relationships. Through this, we seek to understand the impact of social dynamics on knowledge building and exchange, development of shared values, and situations of environmental conflict i.e. what characterises social interactions that are effective in addressing environmental injustices. We seek to understand how these social dynamics operate along local to distal axes, across urban to rural relations, and within collective and private contexts. Promoting this 'balance on proximity', we hope, will allow for the identification of new and productive ways forward in addressing environmental justice.

We welcome papers that address any elements of the ideas outlined above, particularly (though not exclusively) through case-studies involving renewable energy, water resources, and ecosystem services.

Partnerships in water management -- how contexting matters?

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Local communities are increasingly called upon to take more responsibility for their water resources and participate in the execution and funding of management actions. In this paper I call for more critical understanding of the limits of such a community-based approach whilst, at the same time, acknowledging the vital role of communities and civic society in water management. I investigate what it actually takes to contextualise collective action for such a matter as local water resources. What are the practical means for doing that and how they co-constitute the conditions for community-based management and its continuity? I base my empirical research on the experiences gained from the Paimionjoki, a river in south-west Finland. In the case of the Paimionjoki, the urge to act collectively arose from the bottom up, but in order to raise funding for the protection efforts, the troubled situation of the river had to be made calculable in relation to priorities expressed in water management policies and rural development funding. The case offers an opportunity to examine how such calculabilities eventually started to give form to collective management efforts, but also how they came to be contested in the meantime. In my analysis I examine how these routines and contestations put the role of partnership under critical scrutiny. The outcomes contest the conditions for commitment and continuity in community-based water management. I end the paper by discussing the significance of politics in developing community-based water management further.

Getting low carbon governance right: learning from actors involved in Community Benefits

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Interest in Community Benefits has increased over the past decade mainly due to the growing number of wind farms and criticisms around them. As Community Benefits are a voluntarily 'gesture' by the developer, there are no 'standard' practices or an institutionalised approach for a good governance and every community have a different approach, tailored to the local needs and depending on the multiple stakeholders involved. Also because Community Benefits are a fast and emerging practice, little is known about their governance, what actors are involved and how communities participate in decision making over renewable projects in their immediate locations. By using evidence from the Farr wind farm case study in Scotland, one of the first to introduce Community Benefits, the paper sheds light on the governance structures surrounding the set up, the management and the allocation of the funds. It also contributes to the emerging body of work regarding the transparency and community participation in Community Benefits and to what extent these might facilitate a transition to a low carbon future.

Social finance: radical alternative or civil society bankrupted? Community shares in community energy

Ellie Brodie

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The need for a more ethical and sustainable financial system was highlighted by the 2008 financial crisis and has been underlined by the ongoing effects of unemployment, and downward economic and social mobility. Alongside the financial crisis sit two other sustainability challenges: those of climate change and energy security (Seyfang et al 2013).

Social finance is one potential mechanism that can support a more sustainable financial system. Its proponents suggest that social finance can sit alongside and reap the economic benefits of capitalism, and generate social outcomes (Benedikter, 2012). Critics of social finance suggest that it corrupts civil society as a protected space for development and dissent that is independent from both the market and the state (DeFilippis et al, 2010).

Community energy is one mechanism through which communities can address both climate change and energy security (Bomberg and McEwen, 2012) and meet other rural development needs through mobilizing and empowering local actors (Shucksmith, 2010). When combined with a social model of finance, such as community shares, community energy may also contribute to sustainable model of finance.

Through presenting case study evidence from a community hydro project in rural Scotland, this paper explores ways in which community shares in community energy address key sustainability and development challenges. Issues such as the psychological, financial and political challenges to mobilizing resources for community energy projects are discussed (Bomberg and McEwen, 2012). The paper also questions whether such a model of development represents a co-option of civil society into the dominant neoliberal discourse.

Imposition or 'the will of the people'? Procedural justice in the implementation of community wind energy projects

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'Community' wind projects have emerged in the UK as a particular model for implementing and managing wind energy technology, distinct from the dominant form of private-developer ownership. Although what exactly constitutes a 'community' wind project is somewhat hazy, one common proposition is that they provide more participatory and democratic decision-making processes during a project's design and planning, allowing genuine involvement and input from a wide range of local actors (DECC, 2014; FOE Scotland 2014; Hicks and Ison, 2011; Hinshelwood, 2001). Viewed through the lens of environmental justice, community-led wind projects are thus framed as offering a more 'procedurally just' method of implementing wind energy.

However, the empirical validity of such assertions has rarely been examined, with the local politics of community wind energy relatively unexplored in the academic literature. Using an empirical case study of a proposed community wind project on the Isle of Skye, this paper will examine local stakeholder interpretations of, and conflicts around, procedural justice in the design and siting of this scheme. In explaining this conflict, the paper demonstrates that understandings of what constituted 'procedural justice' in the wind project were multidimensional and embedded within, and shaped by, the particular context, history, and landscape of the area. Wider implications are drawn out for the 'just' implementation of community wind projects more broadly.

Payment for Environmental Services and the transformation of social system: a case study of water PES scheme in West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

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Negative externalities is one of the characteristics of the common property resources. An unclear property right in forested area, for example, has led to environmental degradation and disruption of environmental services such as clean water to downstream communities. A market based mechanism, commonly known as Payment for Environmental Services (PES), has been widely adopted as a Coasian prescription for such a problem. PES scheme provides incentives or rewards to those who provide beneficial environmental services by means of market transaction. Nevertheless, in the context of developing countries, market based alone is not guarantee to work due to complex institutional dimension in the form of rules and regulation, including social norms which have been built within society. Such social norms play a critical role in solving common property problems. Incentives based in the context of resource and environmental services, to some extent, have created moral hazard and 'hostage effect' due to complexity of the nature of ecosystems and institutional dimensions. This paper discusses Indonesian experiences with such a market based incentive derived from a water resource PES scheme in West Nusa Tenggara province, Indonesia. It shows how this instrument transforms non-market incentives which had been practiced in the society and how it changes the structure of norms and built-in institution in the communities. The paper also examines some critical thoughts on whether the market based instruments are appropriate compared with other communities built-in instruments when dealing with externalities.

Justice, scale frames, and the water-energy nexus in the American Southwest

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Questions of justice frequently arise around issues related to the nexus of water and energy. One significant challenge for operationalizing justice in this context arises from the many dynamic scales involved. In this paper we explore the scalar dimension of justice in water governance through insights derived from empirical research on the water-energy nexus in the American Southwest. Our empirical data are about conflicts over a coal-fired power plant that is located in an Indian reservation and was built to transport Colorado River water to the Phoenix Metropolitan Area (Arizona).

We investigate how different actors frame the justice problem, what scales they invoke, and which actors are consequently included in or excluded from their justice assessments. In doing so, we adopt Fraser's trivalent concept of justice, taking into account issues of distribution, recognition, and participation. Moreover, we analyze outcomes of a negotiation process aimed at finding a solution to the existing conflict.

Water justice: is flood prevention only a matter of rural areas?

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Floods are frequent in Europe; they come from big as small rivers and affect cities and countryside. The floods capacity to create damages has increased either for the high urbanization as because the disastrous events seem less predictable. Spatial-temporal concentration of rain creates unpredictable spot crisis. In other words, high and diffuse risk. It is a matter of climate change and ways to drain waters. The floods depend on terrain sealing and on tough channelling of watercourses.

The answers to this situation are detention basins construction and planned flooding areas. They respond to different patterns. They call for different social abilities: respectively, governance and subsidiarity, classified also as the top-down/bottom-up approach. Farmers' actions can be inserted in this dualism, too. Two Italian minor hydrographical basins are analysed: high part of Vicenza province (Veneto region) and Ronco-Bidente basin in the Forlì-Cesena province (Emilia-Romagna region).

Both areas struggle for preventing floods with a variety of instruments, but some distinct tendencies are recognizable according to two patterns. Specifically, in the Emilia-Romagna area public agencies of middle level seem more able to impose some limited interventions to stakeholders; in the Veneto area the solutions are more based on voluntary public private partnership (PPP). The former milieu creates more rapid and centralized solutions, the latter one is slower and offers more dispersed and less rigid flood prevention solutions, that are appropriate also for urban settings. However, both patterns do not touch the matter of territorial fiscal redistribution of flood prevention costs.

"Conservation is all about having a blether, and getting people on board": roles and opportunities for embodied social interactions in Scottish conservation

Sam Staddon

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Conservationists speak about the need to manage not nature, but people, and that conservation is all about "having a blether, and getting people on board". Whilst all land managers must act in line with policies and according to legislation and the law, many everyday land management decisions are open to interpretation and may not fit with what conservationists have tried to persuade land managers to do. To avoid this, good working relationships with land managers are clearly critical, which conservationists suggest can be built over time either through frequent visits to their farms or land, by having done the same job as them in the past, by moving beyond their organisational affiliation to be trusted as an individual, or over a dram of whisky in the pub. Importance is placed by many conservationists in this regard on the personal, the informal, the 'irrational', tacit knowledge and embodied interactions. Such things are not frequently discussed in official conservation policy however, whilst opportunities for personal and embodied social interactions are changing due to shifting management agendas and working practices - sometimes opening up but at other times shutting down spaces of interaction.

Through qualitative and ethnographic methods, this research explores the roles and opportunities for embodied social interactions between conservationists and land managers in Scotland. It seeks answers to the question of whether increased and explicit attention should be paid to such interactions by policy makers and managers in conservation, in order to conserve biodiversity and enhance landscapes.

Working Group 13: Visioning future European farming: Heritage protection, sustainable intensification and beyond

Convenors: Camilla Eriksson [1], Maja Farstad [2], Rasmus Blædel Larsen [3]

1: Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden; 2: Centre for Rural Research, Norway; 3: University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Working group description

The nature of the rural economy is changing. Increasing fears of food shortages, climatic change and the depletion of non-renewable resources suggest a need for rethinking agricultural production. European policy aims to address these issues through sustainable intensification, with the development of a bioeconomy in Europe – a bioeconomy based on technologies and industrial processes that transform biomass as a feedstock into a variety of products.

However, contemporary European farming is full of paradoxes. During the last decades a number of policy changes have met consumers' demand for shifting the role of agriculture towards maintaining natural and cultural heritage rather than producing more agricultural goods. Meanwhile, the deregulation of agricultural markets within the EU has made farmers increasingly subjected to compete on the world market where a low price is the main competitive factor. On a global level issues of food scarcity and land shortage are continuing to be raised as the global population size is expected to reach 9 billion people in 2050. This paradox raises questions of whether the current restructuring of European agricultural land use poses a logical response to global challenges? Another paradox is that farming is imagined as a rural lifestyle with strong social values and cultural traditions and farms resembling that notion are sought-after by consumers. On the other hand the majority of farmers are adopting high-tech precision farming tools and robots to further increase the ongoing rationalisation of agriculture that converts family farms into agribusinesses, based on large investments in land and capital.

In this working group we wish to look at the process of transformation and what it means for farmers and rural communities in Europe and beyond. For example: How do European farmers think about these challenges, what drivers do they act on and what will be the outcome for farmer's livelihoods, farm successions and future landscapes? What are the spatial issues involved? How do we promote environmental sustainability at the same time as promoting intensification of agricultural production?

We will facilitate a discussion on the paradoxical nature of the agricultural realities in Europe; contextualised through the investments and decisions on future land use farmers make as well as through presentation of the empirical examples. Key themes will include but are not limited to: structural development and alternatives, land-acquisition at home and abroad, adoption of new technology, property-relations, the production of natural and cultural heritage at farms, the emerging bioeconomy and sustainability aspects of farming.

Governance, policies and the spatial development of agriculture - a comparative study

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Agricultural production patterns are a result of spatial qualities. These qualities vary between countries, not only due to different topographic and climatic conditions, but also due to different societal perceptions of the role of agriculture. This study compares spatial configuration of agriculture in three countries according to their agricultural policy and the underlying social values: Austria, New Zealand and Norway. The study analyses how the issue is expressed in political documents, through goals and policy instruments aimed at influencing spatial localization of agriculture. The main finding is that policy on agricultural space is affected by the role the actual country (regime) ascribes to agriculture, that is, the societal basis. In New Zealand agriculture is expected to focus on efficient production of food for a world market ('productivism'), while an explicit policy on spatial distribution of agriculture is absent. However, we can observe more indirect ways of governance influencing spatial development. In Norway and Austria the "societal mission" of agriculture is multifunctional: contributing to domestic food security *and* simultaneously to other ends such as rural settlement, farm income, environmental qualities and preservation of cultural landscapes. As a consequence, these two countries have explicit policies on spatial development and support specific measures impacting on the spatial dimension of agriculture. A difference though, is that in Norway, the policy is national, while in Austria the spatial dimension is strongly linked to a supra-national agricultural policy (CAP).

Structural transformation of grain farms: effects on farm management and the need for societal environmental solutions

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The structural transformation of farms is a rapidly on-going process in Sweden; farms enlarge their holdings of arable land and animals, a process resulting in a smaller number of farmers managing an increasingly specialised production. Through interviews with large-scale grain farmers in central Sweden we explore how farmers experience this change, focusing on issues of farm management and how farmers' conceptualise ecosystem services on their farms, as well as how they respond to changing agricultural policies and environmental policies. Our results show that grain production is increasingly arranged around the logistic of efficient machinery use, whereas less consideration is taken to maintaining diverse crop rotation schemes. As most grain growers have no animal production and sell not only the grain but also straw; there is a general situation with less organic input to the soil than previously on these large farms. The ecological effects on humus content, soil structure and soil biodiversity in a long time perspective is clear to the farmers and in some cases already noticeable. Some farmers try to deal with this by changing land preparation techniques but also argue that societal systems for nutrient and energy management e.g. sludge as manure, growing grass for biogas etc. is necessary. We conclude that land use plans on a landscape level, planning for a more inter-connected designed flow of nutrients and energy between farms and towns will be necessary to sustain soil quality and thereby up-keep production and tackle the negative environmental effects of large-scale grain farms.

Why farmers farm the way they farm

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Applied models of agriculture differ, between countries and from time to time, among other things due to different understandings of the role of agriculture and rural areas in society, and to different approaches to agricultural support. In Norway, after a longer period with focus on the multifunctionality of agriculture, there is currently a political quest for increased growth and intensification in the sector, which also implies an inherent challenge of securing a sustainable development. Notwithstanding what policies that are dominating, the farmers are evidently a critical factor in realizing prioritized goals for agriculture. How do farmers relate to current, prevailing demands, and why? Empirically, the paper examines farmers' choices and decisions - as well as lack thereof - when it comes to the way they farm. The analysis in the paper is based on 29 in-depth interviews with dairy/beef farmers in two different but important agricultural regions of Norway; Namdalen in Nord-Trøndelag county and Jæren in Rogaland county. The focus of the analysis is to reveal and understand farmers' decisions regarding their farms, by focusing mainly on their perceptions of opportunities and constraints, but also on practices and values for their farming style and farm future. What kinds of lock-ins steer the way farmers farm? What conditions do they take into regard, and, more importantly, what considerations do they have to take? Based on the analysis, the paper discusses whether agriculture's adjustment to current politics should be encouraged at the farm level or if political moves should be directed elsewhere.

Differences in perception of income strategies by dairy farmers in areas with high natural and cultural heritage value

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A farmer in his role as entrepreneur needs to (re)assess his income strategy as costs of production increase and farm income is under pressure. The predominant strategy of intensification of production in Dutch dairy farming is increasingly affected by the local situation. Nearby nature protection areas and urban areas create both limitations and opportunities for income strategies in farm development. This empirical study looks for differences between farmers in their perceived room for manoeuvre (pRfM). In the analytical framework the concept pRfM for farm development is placed as an early stage for strategy development. The case study area is part of a National Landscape with nearby nature protection areas and a city. The farmers have a common socio-cultural background and operate in the same markets and biophysical circumstances. In an earlier study three dimensions of the pRfM were found leading to four distinct clusters of farmers. This paper studies the perception of the entrepreneur on seven aspects in relation to the pRfM, five are farm-internal and two are farm-external. For all three dimensions significant regression models were found. The effects of individual aspects were studied using stepwise regression and the effect of underlying factors using standardized Beta's. The results show a clear difference between the factors of importance for the cluster maximizing production and for diversifying production. Personal views and preferences were most important for all three dimensions and farm-external aspects were found to be of lesser importance.

The political economy of sustainable intensification - the role of land, labour and capital

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Since 2000, food production on agricultural land in Norway has decreased. In the recent White Paper on agriculture and food (2011) a target was set to increase domestic food production at the pace of increase in population (1% annually). The new policy aims are anchored in global shortages of food supply, population growth, altered consumption patterns in developing countries and climate changes. Clearly though, it is a fundamental discrepancy between current production developments and policy goals, and it is questionable if and how the target can be reached. One can expect that behavioural and structural factors both have impact. Farmers' decisions on their individual farms are an obvious factor. However, since the target is political and concerns national food production, political instruments are also vital. In this study, we analyse the significance of basic factor endowments in agriculture - land, labour and capital. We combine different data sources, such as statistics on development in food production and subsidies, a survey among a representative sample of Norwegian farmers, and interviews with farmers and informants in the extension services. Findings indicate that the lack of labour, and in some areas, access to farmland, are most limiting for food production. In addition, lack of labour may lead to underutilisation of land. Access to capital (technology, financing) is less of a limitation. In the paper, we discuss policy implications and how policy can contribute through judicial, economic and informative (e.g. R&D) instruments.

Family farm or family matter? Changing practices and rationalities among Swedish farmers

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There are many examples of how agricultural policies in Europe strives to maintain family farms for various reasons, such as keeping rural inhabitants in rural areas, contributing to a more egalitarian way of owning land, protecting private land ownership, ensuring food security or up-keeping traditional foods or natural and cultural heritage values. Meanwhile, European farming has generally undergone restructuring in ways that have done away with many of the typical notions of what a family farm represents - a small-scale farm based on family labour producing a variety of products for their own consumption as well as for sale. Today, most Swedish farms are specialised and mechanised to an extent that has changed what it means to be a (family) farmer. In this paper based on interviews with farmers in Uppsala county, I discuss how farmers make sense of their farms today. Do they consider themselves family farmers, if not, what are they and how do they relate to their farms? I also look into the practice of family farming. What does it take to run a farm today? What skills do farmers need today, what opportunities do they envision? To what degree are emotional attachments to farms guiding farm practices?

Adapting new technologies and rationalising everyday worlds: Shifting temporalities and relations in Swedish dairy farming

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Swedish agricultural sector has been reshaped by economic change and restructuring of the labour market in recent decades, but is still dominated by family farms dependent on family labour.

Therefore, the farm labour process is temporally and spatially interlinked with the household and its social relations. During recent decades, new developments in milking technology and livestock housing have reshaped production on dairy farms. With the help of in-depth interviews with couples on dairy farms in Sweden, this case study explored the spatial and temporal impact on the introduction of new technologies and how these shape the gendered and social relations of the farm and the sector.

The result show that the development of new milking technologies has altered the relations of the labour process, rationalising work in time and space by introducing a different spatial and temporal organisation of labour on the farm. Through the imposed flexibility, it has extended or blurred the spatio-temporal boundaries of the working day - impacting the social life. By bring new tasks and skillsets, allocated to a specific kind of people, shaping the social relations and temporalities of the family farm. The new technologies open for external actors to penetrate the control of the farm labour process and to, through these systems, impose a form of impersonal control of the production.

Sustainable Intensification in the UK: the view from the farm

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The concept of *Sustainable Intensification* (SI) - a means of increasing food production without increasing (or ideally reducing) the environmental footprint of agriculture - has emerged as a powerful policy response in the UK to the challenges facing the agricultural industry and the science community. Indeed, the science community has already responded with initial analyses, for example, of the extent to which farmers may already have adopted business and technical innovations that amount to SI. Others have sought to demonstrate how SI might be achieved through a better understanding of agro-ecology, coining the term 'ecological intensification' to capture such possibilities. Nevertheless, relatively little is known about the nature and extent of farmer engagement with the concept of SI including the ways in which it is being contested. This paper emerges out of research currently being conducted for DEFRA's 'Sustainable Intensification Platform' (SIP), a multi-disciplinary, multi-institutional initiative that seeks to develop SI activities at the farm and landscape scale. That SIP is committed to developing collaborative approaches amongst land managers (as well as those targeted at individual farm businesses) to addressing food production and agri-environmental management challenges may be indicative of a policy shift akin to the emergence of post-productivist policy discourses in the 1980s and 1990s. Drawing on the findings of farmer interviews conducted in SIP case study areas across England and Wales, the paper presents an insight into how farmers themselves are making sense of SI and the drive to deliver this through a collaborative, landscape scale approach.

"Either you have to be very big, or small and carve out a niche". Young future farmers view on how to achieve a successful business

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This paper emphasises the future generation of farmers and how they relate to ongoing processes of change within the agricultural sector. Based on focus group interviews, it highlights Swedish agricultural students' gendered strategies to create a successful farm business in the future. Moreover it is discussed how the future farmers intend to deal with opportunities and obstacles as well as the goals and values that guide them. The interviews are analysed within the framework of resilience theory, focusing on adaption and renewal. The study highlight how processes of change and resistance linked to generational succession and gender are important in achieving future resilience on an individual level. Profit is not the sole driver for getting young people into the farming business. Interest and motivation are key drivers for investments and development. Students highlight the importance of balancing emotional bonds to family and traditions with business goals. The solitary farmer is replaced by a networking farmer that gathers knowledge in local and international settings. Important assets are a capacity for new thinking and reorganisation, using knowledge and networks of a local and global nature. Gender roles are partly expressed in the traditional manner but involve boys caring about relationships and girls about monetary interests. The view of how a partner contributes is, on the one hand, traditional while also showing signs of gender role transformation.

Changing paradigms in agricultural innovation: Time for a new business model for community action

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Agricultural communities often share resources and knowledge as an assurance for mutual prosperity. However, this social and economic structure has traditionally relied on a relatively homogeneous crop distribution in a given region, and a stable business model over time. In today's globalized agricultural supply chain - farmers and residents of rural areas are much more exposed to shocks in prices and increasing competition. They are required to adapt their technology, crop selection and even their business model at an accelerating rate.

In this research we would like to discuss a model for a shared common commercial entity for agricultural communities, that has the potential to overcome the challenge of fragmentation of regions to individual farms with a high variance in economic activities. Such a model could catalyze the prosperity and resilience of farmers and the community by bundling individual product research and development efforts into a unified package enabling competition on a national and global scale. It can provide a platform for new resources from commercial companies by creating an accessible beta site, and channeling more resources to local innovation. It can also translate local innovation into practice through allocating more resources for local R&D efforts, and offering a branding umbrella. We will discuss the need for such a commercial entity for innovation in agricultural communities and propose a model based on the experience of the Arava region in Israel.

Sustainable value chains for wool - alternative development paths in the bioeconomy

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The bioeconomy is often understood as a shift from traditional utilization of raw materials to find new application areas such as in energy production, feed, cosmetics etc. From an economic perspective, this shift promotes greater value creation through innovation and development of new technology. By discussing the possibilities to increase the use and valuation of Norwegian wool we will in this paper argue for a broader bioeconomic perspective by including a consumption perspective. Revaluation of wool is not primarily a technological challenge, but political and cultural, where it comes to utilizing the potential that lies in both a renewal and rediscovery of the traditional and cultural values that wool represents.

In Norway the sheep has traditionally been held for wool production, but with the industrialization of agriculture more emphasis was placed on the sheep's importance for meat production. In other words the value of wool fell and to a certain extent was perceived as a problem. Through analysis of historical and political documents and sources we will discuss the historical, political and market conditions for why meat and wool have evolved along different pathways. The aim is to provide a basis for how we can rethink wool as a raw material for utilization in production and consumption of textiles where local and national value chains are established, inspired by developments of other types of local food and agricultural products. An improved utilization of wool will provide synergies favorable for sustainable development of agriculture, cultural landscape and local heritage.

Slow development of a Hungarian wine region

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Wine regions have been following different development paths in the last two decades in Hungary. This study will present Mátra wine region as an illustrative example of struggling efforts to leave the socialist heritage behind and work for a prosperous future. The study has a focus on various determinants as major causes of the disadvantageous position of this region comparing to mainstream wine regions in Hungary.

The research has revealed both external and internal forces at play: dubious effects of the recent reform of the EU wine sector, the negative public perception of local wine products and the constant generational conflicts. Especially the latter one seems to be a central finding, since the contribution of the new generation of winemakers to the development of local viniculture is still waiting for a friendly welcome from senior wine makers. Beyond these points, important implications have arisen from the evaluation of the typology of local viticulturists and viniculturists providing further explanation about the slow development of this wine producing region. This study has come to the conclusion that producers' history, behaviour and motivations all have an essential influence on the development of a food production system.

The key message of this presentation will be to highlight the main circumstances that significantly affect the opportunities of a wine region to recreate itself from its disreputable past and impose constraints to catch up with the flagship regions.

This study was carried out within the framework of a project entitled 'Living from their land: agricultural actors, rural development trajectories and rural policies in Hungary', and supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund.

Revitalization of traditional olive groves in Portugal: methodology and strategy

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The Portuguese olive oil production has been recovering from a long decline, via the plantation of new irrigated olive orchards (producing olive oil very competitive in the world market). However, the traditional systems, with a low productivity and a high risk of dropping out, still occupy a vast utilized agricultural area and are important for the natural and cultural heritage (traditional varieties, natural biodiversity, landscape, others services of the ecosystem, old mills, POD olive oils) and for social and territorial cohesion in the less favored regions with a low population density.

This paper aims to explain the methodology to build a new strategy for these traditional olive systems, in order to increasing the growers' income and the local development. The case study methodology used was based on a research by survey (olive growers of the Vila Verde Ficalho parish), technical visits between Portugal and Spain, technical workshops around specific themes and a focal group evolving the olive growers, researchers and the local action group. The Ficalho parish comprises a diversity of olive production systems with a large weight in local agriculture. We present some results from the survey and the final strategy for this traditional system.

The view from Brussels - an outline of the current agricultural situation.

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This abstract will present and discuss the current situation in European agriculture, in view of the new commission and the challenges that the EU faces. Using Danish conditions as a point of departure, I will outline the arguments and contextualise them in relation to fieldwork done in Brussels

A new EU-commissioner has been appointed and tasked with finding solutions as to how the administration can provide a new lean legislative structure that supports a sustainable foodproduction. How to define sustainability in this context is a fierce battle between, to simplify, on the one hand the proponents of intensive cost-effective foodproduction as means to increase economic growth and on the other a more social and environmental-sensitive approach.

The primary sector across Europe is barely able to make ends meet and employment is decreasing due to structural changes. In addition the low productioncosts in the new memberstates combined with the financial crisis have altered the balance of the internal market and many local and national legislators are trying to save their own constituents. There is a significant discrepancy between the European political visions and the local implementations.

The CAP is characterized by this marriage between two ideologies: an economic free-market logic, in which both the individual farm and the sector as a whole, is viewed as a highly competitive economic-growth producing export-business and at the same time a heavily subsidised and protected cultural institution.

Observing these contradictions, the presentation will attempt to outline the current situation as seen from Brussels.

Neo-productivism and political parties in the European Parliament

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In current agricultural discourses global conditions, such as climate and food crisis, are seen to be causing a neo-productivist turn in international agricultural policy. It is not clear if, and how, this shift translate into actual agricultural policies. The objective of this paper is to investigate to what degree neo-productivist currents affect EUs common agricultural policy (CAP).

Previous research in the field of agricultural policies has tended to focus on interest groups for explaining policy, neglecting the role of political parties. It is important to move beyond the attitude of agricultural exceptionalism in studies of CAP. This is further actualised since the European Parliament has strengthened its position concerning CAP after the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. The process towards the recently approved CAP reform (2013) made an opportunity to examine the role of the parliament. Hence, in this paper we aim at contributing to the field by examining how party groups in the parliament relates to and are influenced by neo-productivism.

We present an analysis of a key debate in the European Parliament during the process towards the CAP reform, supplemented by other public documents that provide an overview of the role of parliament in the process and the CAP 2014-2020. The paper concludes that we still find clear multifunctional aspect in EU policy, but also that we can see elements of productivism. Consequently, we describe a repositioned productivism, which can be denoted as a form of neo-productivism.

The policy paradox in Europe's high-value agri-cultural landscapes

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High-value agri-cultural landscapes across Europe are important as drivers of the local economy (through tourism), maintainers of biodiversity, and for their role as part of the cultural heritage of the nation. However, they are also increasingly under threat due to a lack of young farmers to take over the business (e.g. the Pyrenees, the Burren, the Massif Central, the Lake District). The question is: why? This paper presents a case study of the Lake District in Cumbria. It suggests a range of factors associated with building culture into the landscape (developing identity and a sense of place) that have been part of standard farming practices in the past, but have since been lost as agriculture/society has modernised. These practices, it is argued, are critical for the development of young farmers who are willing to farm in hostile and difficult conditions. However, current policies focus on preserving structural characteristics such as fences, ecology, stone walls, or traditional buildings rather than preserving the cultures that are critical for the maintenance of a 'living landscape'. It is argued that the problem (collapse of farming populations) is not recognised because of a 'traditionalising policy paradox' - the fact that as traditional cultural activities are more favoured by older farmers, policies to preserve cultural landscapes can appear most successful in areas where the culture is in terminal decline.

Sinks, trails and festivals - stakeholder debates on the nature of the neo-liberal countryside.

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This paper investigates the changing devolved policy context for Wales' countryside between two poles of liberalism. Current policy context of Welsh and central UK Government regulating the rural is focussed on environmental outcomes leading to further rationalisation of a farming community through regimes of stringent cross-compliance and increasing administrative burdens especially in upland farming systems. Traditional farming practices and cultural heritage is challenged by requirements of Carbon and water management. Alongside this is a freeing up of development opportunities with the challenge of reducing planning control. This paper explores a range of case studies, using stakeholder methodology, both insider and outsider views on possible outcomes. It concludes with discussing the future scenarios for the state of the Welsh rural that remains.

The multifunctional models of European agriculture - how do they respond to the increased focus on food security, sustainable intensification and farmland conservation?

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Pluriactivity, multifunctionality and diversification are key concepts to describe the character of a large share of small and medium sized farm holdings in Europe, both within and outside the European Union. Historically, pluriactivity has been crucial for rural livelihoods many places, but was seen as an obstacle to agricultural modernization and to economic modernization in general. During a time period of over 15 years, 'multifunctionality' with its various interpretations have conceptualized how agricultural policies, subsidies and rhetoric have been geared away from productivism linked to increased production and volume towards WTO-compatible payments, in which 'post-productivism' represented a notion of turning rural and agricultural areas and resources into an arena for what has partly been regarded as (upper/educated) middleclass lifestyle consumption, partly as a more sustainable alternative, along with environmental and cultural landscape preservation and management.

Some of the most notable responses to the emerging issues of climate change and food security have been a neo-productivist turn, with a renewed focus on production and increased legitimacy for intensification, in which 'sustainable intensification' has become an important concept, and in which many of the aspects linked to the growing 'multifunctionality sector' with its many positive outcomes, albeit also criticized, are being challenged. This paper addresses the partly contradictory responses and development trends within various European contexts, using non-EU member Norway and EU's various models of multifunctionality to analyse development trajectories and some of their effects upon land use and farm land preservation.

Future of farming and rural areas in Poland: three scenario and vision

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The purpose of study is to submit a theoretical and methodological basis for generating development scenarios for farming and preparation of a picture of Polish agriculture in perspective 2050. The author calls upon researchers specializing in rural and agricultural issues to conduct expert scenario-based studies grounded in the one of the scenario method. The study focuses primarily on the formulation of possible development trends in the future as well as the identification of factors playing an important role in this development. The results were used to develop a vision of farming and countryside.

The most suitable for examining the future socio-economic phenomena in farming seems to be the surroundings states scenario, which consists of the optimistic, pessimistic and most probable scenarios on the basis of six spheres (economic, technical, legal, political, socio-demographic, environmental). The experts were addressed to identify important determinants for the development of rural areas and farming and to estimate their magnitude of impact and the probability for trend occurrence. Generally, greater impact magnitude characterizes determinants of optimistic opposed to pessimistic scenario. Among the most probable effects, the experts anticipate a strong influence of technical and environmental factors; all of them pointed that these spheres will significantly improve. By contrast, the socio-demographic factors are most likely to play a negative role. It should be however emphasized, that the overall magnitude impact of the most probable scenario, with the exception of the socio-demographic sphere is positive, which concurs with the general optimism of the experts.

Sustainable regional agriculture and the 'promise' of the bioeconomy - experiences from two case study regions in Germany

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The contribution will address sustainability of agriculture from farmers' perspective, among other actor groups, as well as the implications of farm-based bio-energy production as a facet of the bioeconomy. Among other aspects, the contribution will aim at providing insights into agriculture-society relations, asking for the role farmers envision for themselves as compared to societal expectations and perceptions of agriculture (including the role farmers are expected to play in pursuing the objectives of the 'contested concepts' of sustainability and bioeconomy).

The above will be dealt with in a regional perspective, drawing on findings of empirical research in two case study regions located in the German federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg: a south-western region enclosing Freiburg and part of the Black Forest, and the Hohenlohe region located in the northeast of the federal state neighbouring Bavaria. The contribution will present regional farmers' and other regional actors' concepts of what sustainability means for agriculture in their region, as well as future visions of enhanced agricultural sustainability. At this, the maintenance of peasant/family farming as well as societal valuation of farming are exemplary elements desired by the regional actors. Furthermore, the implications of a focus on bio-energy production for farmers' roles will be highlighted.

Working Group 14: The voluntary sector and welfare policies in rural areas

Convenors: Diana E. Valero López [1], Jaime Escribano Pizarro [1], Annette Aagaard Thuesen [2], Helle Nørgaard [3]

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Working group description

The decline in local economic activity and public resources in many countries means that volunteering or innovative public-voluntary cooperation in relation to future welfare provision in rural areas has become important. Social and voluntary action is also a key element in relation to social exclusion in the current socio-economic context. Neoliberal policies tend to diminish welfare policies which in times of economic crisis make both people and places more vulnerable. In this sense, the increase of socially vulnerable places coincide with the reduction of welfare policies as a consequence of financial austerity and cutbacks, leaving as a result an important field of social situations which are assisted by families and voluntary systems. However, not all territories have the same resources or possibilities to overcome the (new) social problems that the crisis has developed or aggravated. In rural areas where cutbacks in public services can be especially serious the voluntary structures show important differences from those settled in urban areas, the co-production between public authorities and voluntary groups can be seen as a new venue in welfare provision. Traditional issues of accessibility, service proximity and mobility make the progressive withdrawal of public action and the substitution of territorial justice and social equity criteria by free market principles worse. In general, therefore, it seems that a great part of the unaccomplished needs and demands of rural households, especially those in the most vulnerable positions, are being attended by innovative public-voluntary cooperation. This co-production based on voluntary citizen cooperation and participation (Brudney and England, 1983) emphasizes that there is an overlap between regular producers and consumers in co-production, and that the citizen involvement or participation in service delivery is resulting in positive outcomes in relation to welfare provision in rural areas. This working group wishes to explore the development of this co-production which focuses their activities in the social needs of European rural areas. Basically, because the recent trend towards more responsibility for welfare production by the voluntary sector justifies a discussion about: i) local communities capacity to engage in this co-production, ii) how are they organized (or which are the features of the third sector), iii) what kind of social needs are they addressing, iv) who are being addressed, and (v) the impacts of their activities. Theoretical papers and case study experiences with concrete empirical examples about co-production by voluntary groups and community movements in rural areas are welcomed. In this way, this WG will expect to contribute to existing knowledge about solutions adopted to overcome the institutional vacuums left in the welfare models by the austerity policies in rural areas.

The renew role of family and other traditional responses to face social vulnerabilities in Spanish rural areas: the case of SACAM (Albacete)

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The ongoing crisis is having negative social impacts in Spanish rural areas, particularly in terms of unemployment and especially in those spaces which presented themselves as weakened ones. In a context where the public action is featured by deregulation and privatization policies and financial cutbacks and other austerity reforms in social policies, local society is being forced to face the crisis in an active way. This shows up particularly relevant in rural areas where the cutbacks in public services can be especially serious because of the weakness of their provision, and the voluntary structures show important differences from those settled in urban areas because of the different population structure itself. The aim of the paper is to explore the development of those strategies through a case study focused on the area 'Sierra de Alcaraz and Campo de Montiel' in Albacete province. To resolve it, we made 22 semi-structured interviews with several stakeholders (during April 2014), who were chosen by their background on social policies delivery, social action and local reality in the studied area. The results highlight the key role still played by families in the social sustain of rural population in need, as well as the updated importance of traditional assistance institutions (as Red Cross and Caritas) in order to relieve the social footprint left by the crisis in the area. Between both possibilities we could remark also several actions developed by local associations that act on specific fields, like for example alcoholics, handicapped, etc.

Geography Matters : The Complex Drivers of Social Exclusion and Poverty in Rural Contexts

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Research on rural poverty and social exclusion has identified specific structural and social drivers as increasing the vulnerability of some rural places and groups to poverty and social exclusion which has been exacerbated by the adoption of 'austerity' measures . Within the complex and multidimensional aspects of social exclusion, issues related to 'access ' (both in relation to public, private and third sector services and mobility) interacting with other structural and social factors have been consistently highlighted as critical to experiences of social exclusion and poverty in rural contexts. The focus on 'access' and access to services in particular reflects a recognition of the multidimensional aspects of social exclusion and poverty. This article seeks to add to the growing research and calls for enhancing conceptual and empirical understanding of exclusion in rural areas by: (i) reviewing and drawing on theoretical accounts related to issues of 'access' both in its relational sense as well as arguments based on social justice; (ii) applying these conceptual insights to two rural case studies representing two types of rural areas located in two types of welfare regimes: a remote rural island in Scotland, UK and a rural area in Spain ;and (iii) arguing for the importance of developing more nuanced conceptual and empirical approaches to poverty and social exclusion, taking into account the diversity of rural areas and the ways in which rurality intersects with other social identities and structural issues to shape particular experiences of social exclusion and poverty,

Citizen participation in the context of rural local welfare systems

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Our presentation is focussing on the citizen participation in the field of welfare services. More specifically we concentrate on the role of citizens and civic organizations as part of local welfare systems (LWS) in Finnish rural areas. By the concept LWS we refer to different mixes of formal and informal actors who participate in definition of welfare needs and provision of welfare resources at local level. We regard the LWS from the perspective of local people and their communities in order to identify their contribution to it.

Over the past years challenges related to the provision of welfare services have been growing in Finland. Solution for the problem has been sought in centralization of services as well as in the privatisation of services to the market players. At the same time in rural areas there emerge innovative local models to create welfare and provide services. These are based on active participation of citizens and local communities as well as co-operation across different societal sectors.

The content of participation of citizen in LWS identified in the research can be divided into three dimensions: 1) democratic governance of services, 2) overall approach towards more user-orientation and -involvement throughout services and 3) participation of citizens as co-producers in direct provision of services. Based on our case studies we will present our findings about the structures and practical implementations that enable citizen participation at the various levels of LWS as well as the advantages offered by LWS perspective to the provision of welfare.

Do all communities have the capacity to engage in service co-production? Testing and challenging current policies across communities that 'do not engage'.

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SRUC, Edinburgh, UK

In order to increase the efficiency of public sector spending, and to enhance self-reliance and sustainability at the community level, the UK and Scottish governments have introduced policies promoting community empowerment, focusing on developing the resilience of communities, and promoting co-production. These policies are supported by the European Union and, for example, its LEADER programme that stimulates community engagement and grassroots community action.

Although the policies appear as positive and inspirational, they emphasise a need for communities to be proactive and to become agents of change who create answers to local challenges through community engagement and co-production. It is not clear, however, how the transition from state-dependent to empowered and resilient communities should happen. Current policies imply a high level of readiness across communities and exclude the possibility of existing communities with no history of engagement in community action and service co-production.

This paper presents findings from a Capacity for Change (C4C) programme run by LEADER in Dumfries and Galloway region of Scotland which, through co-producing community action, aimed to build the capacity of communities that *do not engage*. The ultimate aim of the project was to develop community resilience, enhance local empowerment and help rural citizens to co-produce services. Based on a longitudinal study and 345 face-to-face interviews, the presentation highlights that working with communities that *do not engage* has proven positive results but without sensitivity and a skilled approach to community development it can do harm and bring negative effects.

Spatial inequality in volunteering and local initiatives

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As other governments, the Dutch government strives to transfer responsibilities in neighbourhoods and villages to residents. It is hoped that residents not only participate within the framework of established volunteer organisations, but also in the more flexible frameworks of 'local initiatives'. These goal oriented local initiatives typically focus on liveability issues, making participants valuable partners for local governments in their endeavours to responsibly diminish their own efforts. The ideal of more resident involvement is welcomed by many, but an often heard concern is that increased residents responsibilities may increase inequality. After all, residents with more resources and skills can represent their interests more effectively than others. Similarly, self-organization may be most successful in local areas with more resourceful residents, sometimes at the expense of other areas.

Using survey data provided by 7,000 rural dwellers in the Netherlands, this paper investigates inequalities in various types of active local involvement. Results show that both local volunteers and the driving forces behind local initiatives ('local promoters') are relatively often male, religious, highly educated and middle-aged. Also, both groups have lived long in their village and experience a strong social attachment. In comparison to volunteers, local promoters are even higher educated, more often newcomer, but rarely young. Spatial differences were smaller than expected, but in general residents of villages surrounded by attractive landscape more often act for local causes (in both ways) than residents of less well situated villages, mainly because of their strong social attachment.

Exploring motivations for volunteers in nature conservation to inform local policies

Susan Marango, Nigel Curry, Gary Bosworth
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Nature conservation at a local level is characterised by high involvement from volunteers. The recognition of their potential and capability to bring about local knowledge on ecosystems and management practices that can be utilised to inform nature conservation policies and actions is lacking. In this paper we explore their motivations for participation in nature conservation activities and compare these against the goals of policy initiatives that support local projects. We apply a neo-endogenous development framework and the principles of sustainable development to demonstrate the capabilities for local communities to manage their natural resources. We then explore the interactions between top-down and bottom-up influences in the subsequent organisation and activities within four case study projects. Better understanding of the connection between community participation in policy making and the delivery of co-produced (by public authorities and local communities) policy outcomes can inform other areas where there is a growing role for the voluntary sector. In particular, for nature conservation, we also consider the question of how local knowledge and community action can contribute to broader sustainability objectives and how effective national or international policies can translate into local action.

Next generation rural development: community broadband initiatives as a model for neo-endogenous development

Koen Salemink¹, Gary Bosworth², Dirk Strijker¹

¹*University of Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands*, ²*University of Lincoln, Lincoln, UK*

This paper discusses the interplay between market, government, and civil society which evolves around community-led broadband initiatives. Dominant free market rationale in the telecommunications market has left many rural areas in an underserved position, with no access to Next Generation Access technologies such as fiber-optics or cable. There is growing discontent about this in rural communities, considering the recent rise in community broadband initiatives shown in this paper. The realization of community broadband, however, is not a straight-forward process. It is influenced by exogenous factors – such as market power of telecommunication companies or lacking governmental policy – and endogenous factors – such as social and intellectual capital. This complex inter-relationship between the exogenous and endogenous lends itself to analysis that is framed by neo-endogenous development principles.

From a database with 62 community broadband initiatives in the Netherlands and additional data from the UK, we have extracted 8 consecutive steps which are involved in organizing a community broadband network. In each of the 8 steps exogenous and endogenous factors are involved. These factors affect whether an initiative will succeed. An exogenous market factor is that telecommunication companies have tried to frustrate local initiatives. Governmental funding opportunities are also an exogenous factor, while the presence of key actors and various forms of capital are an important endogenous factor for success. Overall, the neo-endogenous development process requires specific capacities and perseverance. New or developing community-led broadband initiatives can learn from our findings and become better prepared than their predecessors.

Working Group 15: Social capital, learning processes and social innovation in rural areas

Convenors: Paweł Starosta [1], Katarzyna Zajda [1], Sandra Šūmane [2], Karlheinz Knickel[3], Tālis Tisenkopfs [2]

1: University of Lodz, Poland; 2: Baltic Studies Centre, Latvia; 3: Institute for Rural Development Research at Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Germany

Working Group Description

When considering new, smart and inclusive sustainable development pathways in rural areas, social innovations come forefront as new solutions that meet societal needs and lead to new or improved capabilities and relationships and a better use of local resources. We find numerous citizen initiatives – LEADER groups, integration of marginalized rural groups, local food initiatives, innovative ways of providing social services, social farming, artisanal networks etc. – which all together challenge our conventional conceptualization of rural and agricultural development, re-discovering a more holistic approach to rural areas, agriculture and food, and asserting alternative values and ethical principles.

In this Working Group we wish to illuminate more in detail the mechanisms and processes underlying social innovations and affecting their initiation, implementation and diffusion. One key factor is social capital understood as the potential of cooperation based on mutual trust and shared norms and values. Another are the ways various knowledge and learning processes are intertwined in social innovation in the form of new learning attitudes and behaviours, new knowledge arrangements and knowledge bases. Social innovations come into being through social interaction and learning processes consisting of identifying social needs, creating new solutions and their implementation.

Many patterns of development involve social capital and learning. The more traditional modes are based on personal contacts between different social actors. In the newer ones, means of communication, especially the internet, play a very important role. Here the ability to initiate the process of innovation with the use of new technologies is more important than face to face contacts. Study visits, for example, can be replaced by on-line meetings. In this Working Group we wish to examine new forms, roles and interlinkages of social capital and knowledge, and their contribution to innovative solutions in rural areas.

The questions to consider within the Working Group are:

- What are the relations between social capital and social innovation?
- What examples of traditional and new patterns of social innovation exist in rural areas?
- Can social capital be brought into the process of developing and then sustaining new solutions to the new challenges rural societies are confronted with?
- Who are the actors that develop these innovations and how do they organise themselves?
- What learning modes and knowledge sources do they use; in particular, what is the role of local, tacit, informal knowledge and social learning?
- How are social innovations, social organisation and knowledge and learning processes interlinked with the dominating agricultural and rural governance and knowledge structures?
- How can researchers, advisors, educators and policy makers enable social innovations and the related learning and knowledge?

We will organise the Working Group in an interactive manner. Instead of conventional presentations we would like to encourage participants to engage more deeply in the debate. The first round will consist of very short lightning talks with concise inputs. The second round will be organised as a World Café to deepen discussions on key issues and jointly synthesize insights derived from the papers.

Overcoming community aliention and fostering of social capital through social engagement in the rural communities

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According to scholars repetitive social engagement (as one of the key components of civic engagement) can lead to creating of the social capital. The aim of this paper is to discuss the importance of social engagement-social capital nexus in the context of the rural communities. The research was conducted in two villages in the north of the Czech Republic, in the specific area of former Sudetenland, where the development of civil society has been interrupted with the expulsion of original German inhabitants from this area after World War II.

First researched village has shown high level of social engagement activities, in the second one this level was low, while both villages are comparable in the number of inhabitants and in the number of local organizations of civil sector. In-depth interviews with the representatives of local NGOs and community leaders revealed, that in the village with the higher level of social engagement activities the level of social capital was much higher than in the second village. While in the first village the interviewers often talked about a 'pleasant atmosphere for life' then in the latter animosities and high level of fragmentation within the community was observed. The study shows that the most important aspect for the development of social engagement in the observed rural communities was the presence of the local leaders, who were bringing the enthusiasm and innovative ideas, and who were capable to take care of the organisation.

How to define successful citizen initiatives? A professional perspective

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In the backdrop of depopulation and the participation society, citizen initiatives in rural areas are expected to contribute to community liveability by maintaining various types of facilities in the area. Studies on which factors influence the success or failure of citizen initiatives have thus far neglected to conceptualize what actually is regarded as successful or unsuccessful, although it is relevant to have a clear expectation of what citizen initiatives can achieve, and when and in which sense they can be called successful (or not). Is a financially independent citizen initiative more successful than an initiative that represents the wishes of an entire community? Or can a citizen initiative only be successful if it achieves the goals that were initially set?

This study aims to conceptualize determinants of success and failure of rural citizen initiatives from the perspective of professionals in the field of depopulating rural areas. Three focus group discussions were conducted with in total 23 experts from local governments, housing corporations or consultancy bureaus in the North of the Netherlands. The resulting conceptualization will add to future research in studying factors influencing success or failure of citizen initiatives. Furthermore, it may improve evaluations of the achievements of the citizen initiatives and classifications of various types of initiatives.

Between social collapse, clans and open, solidary communities. Social capital of Northern Poland's rural areas.

Wojciech Kniec

Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun, Poland

The paper presents results of three-year field study on different aspects of social capital on rural areas conducted in Pomorskie and Kujawsko-Pomorskie regions of Northern Poland. The study was based on methodology arising from synergic concept of social capital (Woolcock, Narayan) developed into the form of matrix consisting on multi-variable set of indicators, that enables to assign chosen communities to relevant types from own typology of rural communities based on elements and levels of social capital.

The data obtained both from quantitative and qualitative research (including 1600 interviews, 150 IDI, 12 case studies, sociological photography etc.) reveal deep sub-regional differences in social capital types arising mainly from cultural background and complicated history of Northern Poland. Different types of rural communities will be presented according to different types of social capital present inside them: from 'collapsed communities', through 'anomie communities', 'clan communities', 'open-clan communities', 'uprooted communities', 'privatized communities', 'clientelistic communities', 'open but ineffective communities' up to 'open and solidary communities'.

Relational social capital in the rural spaces and the most important actors. A case of study from SNA of LEADER+ program in the province of Teruel (Spain).

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The current crisis and socioeconomic changes taking place in rural areas in Spain since 90s years are derived from, among other factors, the dynamics in the relational capital of these territories. Theoretically, the presence of social capital translates into relatively dynamic and well structured social and institutional networks. The presence and behavior of key actors in this networks has a strategic role in the development of innovations useful to improve capabilities and relationships between local communities to achieve a better use of local resources. With our paper can identify the typical profile of this key actors (they are economics, politics, technicians, and social) and how they are organize in networks more or less dense and cohesive. In this way, we could identify which networks prioritize in the development strategies and/or which should support to achieve greater local balance. To accomplish this, we provide a comparative analysis from the study of social networks in two LEADER+ groups in Teruel (Spain): ADIBAMA and OMEZYMA. We analyze social networks and leaderships from relevant social, economic and public actors in each of the rural areas. The methodology is based on Social Networks Analysis with the primary information provided by more than fifty personal interviews in each area. The results shows the structural characteristics of the different social networks, the different dynamics in each of the stakeholder groups and, therefore, the difficulty to identify clearly the leadership of a group of actors over the rest in the territorial revitalization of LEADER groups.

Reciprocity in an agritourism community of practice

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Group-based learning can provide an effective way for individuals running small rural tourism businesses to simultaneously develop human and social capital, which can subsequently be converted into financial capital in the context of their businesses. While a significant proportion of learning comes from taught aspects of such programmes, considerable and unique benefits originate in processes of exchange between participants. The extent and value of such benefits is rooted in social capital developed between group members and whether the group represents an appropriate community of practice. We explore the journey of one group of agritourism providers brought together in a three-year facilitated programme, which aims *'to increase innovation, collaboration, investment and leadership in order to achieve higher value from Scotland's rural tourism assets'*. Results show that reciprocity is a key factor contributing to the effectiveness and value of time spent learning in this way. While bonding capital (e.g. connection to farming) was found to be important in the early stages of social capital development, it was demonstrated that capacity for exchange between individuals in the group on the grounds of commonality (e.g. business type, level of experience) was more important in the long-term. We question whether an 'agritourism' community of practice exists, with other more salient commonalities found to underpin the balanced reciprocity between participants and thus the instrumental value of the programme.

Evaluation of a multi-case participatory action research project: the Case of SOLINSA

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Scholars agree that evaluation of participatory action research is inherently valuable; however there have been few attempts at evaluating across methods and across interventions because the perceived success of a method is affected by context, researcher skills and the aims of the participants. This paper describes the systematic evaluation of participatory action research project that used a reflective learning methodology with 17 European networks (LINSA) as part of a European research project titled SOLINSA: Support of Learning and Innovation Networks for Sustainable Agriculture. The collaboration was evaluated using a semi-structured, learning-oriented evaluation instrument that was collaboratively developed within the project. The primary achievements of the interactions were based around enabling LINSA to reflect on their state and their practices, which allowed them to enhance internal engagement, rethink the network's positioning, develop strategies, and create concrete outputs. Comparison of self-evaluation of different networks using a single tool enabled the identification of common factors that contribute to successful collaboration. Included in these common factors was the need to identify and build a working relationship with key partners based on mutual trust and commitment, and to gain a balance between guidance and listening, interactions and freedom, and positive and critical reflection: a fragile equilibrium that is difficult and time consuming to establish. The adaptation of learning-oriented evaluation, by including a structure to allow comparison between the wide range of contexts, provides a useful instrument for evaluating participatory action research processes.

Governing agriculture and rural development in a rapidly changing world

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In this paper we ask how agriculture could respond to the rapidly changing context in which it has to perform. The farming sector is faced with a large number of challenges such as climate change, liberalization of policies and increasing societal demands. At the same time opportunities arise for new value creation (e.g. energy production). For farmers this means that they become more and more exposed to, and part of, social-cultural, agro-ecological and economic systems and interrelationships that increasingly are multi-actor, multi-level and multi-sector. Hence, we have to go beyond the traditional top-down policy mechanisms and sectoral approaches and make a shift from government to adaptive governance that allows for a better integrated development of agriculture and rural areas.

In this paper we will argue that for agriculture and rural areas to be sustainable, its governance systems need to be responsive to change. Therefore, we will apply the resource governance framework developed by Pahl-Wostl (2009). She identified four key attributes to analyse structural characteristics of governance regimes and their influence on adaptive capacity and processes of social learning. The analysis will be based on ten selected case studies implemented in the international RETHINK research programme. The ten cases represent examples of particularly innovative trajectories that interlink farming and rural development.

In conclusion we will reflect on how the observed governance regimes influence processes of social learning and its resulting adaptive capacity. Furthermore, we will identify challenges and bottlenecks for the further enhancement of adaptive governance in agriculture and rural areas.

Rural-urban business partnerships - territorial transcendence on equal terms

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There are and have always been myriads of trade related business partnerships between enterprises located in rural areas on the one hand and entities in urban areas on the other hand. These years partnership variants surpass normal trade alliances, embracing also social issues, benefits related to place branding, knowledge dissemination etc.

This paper investigates 12 different rural-urban business partnerships in Denmark: food, film, green care, media, retail, health, teleworking, education and tourism. The degree of structural and legal formalization varies, but in many cases the formalization is fairly low, particularly where the number of participants in the partnership is high and the duration limited in time. Issues about whether the partnerships are openness and activity formats are also included.

The paper proceeds with specifications of the resources and flows in the rural-urban business partnership. It becomes clear that there are multifaceted packages of flows consisting of products, production capacity, market access, knowledge, capital, waste products and amenities.

The creation of productive partnerships often takes a long time, and that they are matters of continual change. The successful examples transform positively the value chain and rearrange the nature and power of transactions

The case studies provided in this study have some exemplary value. They demonstrate a need to investigate in greater depth and in new ways the kinds of need and challenges that rural areas can address in collaboration with urban areas. It is crucial to address the extent to which business enterprises can be part of alliances.

Building virtual bridges: rural creative practitioners online

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A growing number of creative practitioners are in-migrating to rural areas, attracted by the inspirational beauty and tranquility, and becoming an important part of local economies and communities. Working remotely demands remote participation in professional communities, placing a growing need on practitioners to embrace digital tools in order to access such networks online. This paper will present research carried out in rural Scotland and Cornwall in the South West of England, which explored networking behaviours amongst rural creative practitioners, both on- and offline. The research shows that networking is valued by practitioners as a means of developing social capital to sustain their businesses and counteract rural penalties relating to remoteness and isolation from clients and professional peers. Yet the literature (e.g. Grannoveter, 1985) suggests that rural practitioners focus mostly on bonding social capital and strong local ties, whilst failing to benefit from opportunities provided by bridging to new networks. On the contrary, our findings suggest that creative practitioners value and seek out new networks. We found that online networking, particularly through social media is a powerful tool for the development of bridging social capital, allowing access to broad new networks and markets. Yet it is an unsuitable environment for the development of bonding capital and the trust required for gaining tangible benefits from one's networks. The ability to develop social capital through online channels is further challenged by the often poor broadband connectivity found in rural areas. Further barriers exist particularly in relation to digital skills and confidence levels.

Danish small town social life - Essential for everyday life but how to utilize for wider development

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The paper explores social organization and social life in small towns in Denmark and what it is good for. The exploration is based on six case towns (of 1000-1500 inhabitants). The approach is two-fold; an investigation of formal organisations and groups and a bottom-up approach interviewing young people, households and business on their different social relations, organizational life and their voluntary capital. Furthermore two processes initiated by local organisations on developing town visions have been followed. All towns have a diverse organizational set-up around sports and cultural activities. In two towns groups organise events that attract visitors from a larger region generating profits for the community. All towns have groups addressing development challenges. The most common way is to organize even more local activities where in two towns a more external approach is taken working to make the town visible in a larger region. Small town organizational life is essential in creating a diverse everyday life for children, young families and elderly where the young people miss more unorganized activities and spaces to hang-out. Most social life is 'invisible' and goes on in homes, club houses and sporthalls. The towns in commuting distance to large cities attract newcomers where the other towns attract elderly and home-comers that missed the social life. The strength and diversity of social life depends on the size of the catchment area, organizational tradition, ability to organize events, flexibility to address new challenges and coordination towards common goals.

Passive and active participation in local elections (case study of Czechia)

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The autumn 2014 local elections took place in almost all municipalities in Czechia. The registration authorities recorded an incredible interest in candidacy (right to be elected – passive participation). Through proportional electoral system, voters choose (right to vote – active participation) not only councillors but indirectly also mayors (leaders of municipalities). To be a mayor of a small municipality is very crucial role; high quality and competent mayor can start a positive development of their community. However, the excessive fragmentation of the settlement structure in Czechia, manifested by large number of small municipalities, can lead to limited selection of suitable and willing candidates. Nevertheless, can we detect the regional differentiation of passive and active participation of citizens? In order to answer this question, the contribution shows relation between the willingness stand as a candidate and voter turnout, defines the elementary clusters of municipalities in Czechia, which are further analyzed (not only) from regional aspect.

The democratic features of projects

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Projects are one of the most central organisational devices in late modernity. At the same time projects are heavily under theorised. The growth of projects in the public sector (states, municipalities, interstate cooperation, etc.) is due to several factors: societal complexity and fragmenting, the adjacent problem of hierarchical steering, inertia and the need to innovate, and so on. One special driver is the growth of supranational organisations (e.g. EU) and their need to operate in parallel with the nation states and their permanent structure. One of the integrative features of projects is their participatory and including function. Fragmenting and contested hierarchical steering poses several challenges for traditional democracy and one of remedies has been to involve people in steering through projects (most EU-projects have at least such a partial function). Inclusion and participation are however also thought to stimulate innovation and economic activity. The notion of Quadruple Helix (extension of Triple Helix) denotes exactly this thinking and function. The including and participating features of projects do however not exist in a void, they are depending on societal and cultural features such as social capital, even if they also have a potential to improve this. Projects are not only under theorised but also under researched in empirical terms. In order to fill the gap a Finnish research team has recently undertaken a large-scale survey of EU's Structural Fund project. The findings, related to democratic conduct (inclusion, participation, integration, negotiation, etc.) will be presented and quantitatively analysed in this paper.

The effect of a focus upon local news on community attachment: a social capital perspective

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To what extent does their focus upon local news affect residents' expressed attachment to their community? Albeit relatively unexplored in previous research, an examination of this effect might significantly improve social science understanding of attachment, a key element of community quality of life. This research examined the effect of a focus upon local news on community attachment using a conceptual model informed by the social capital framework and complemented with elements of the linear development and systemic approaches to understanding community. The conceptual model was evaluated by the extent to which it fit data gathered from a social survey of 860 adults living in rural areas within 10-selected states. The results indicate that a focus upon local news might have a strong direct effect on community attachment. Implications are discussed with respect to how community attachment might be improved by fostering a greater focus upon local news.

Identifying social innovations in local rural development initiatives

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In this paper we draw on earlier research into community-led rural development initiatives in an attempt to develop our understanding of the meaning and scope of 'social innovation'. The European Commission (2014) defines social innovation as *"innovations that are both social in their ends and in their means"*, adding that *"Social innovations are new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs (more effectively than alternatives) and create new social relationships or collaborations."* Drawing on a Schumpeterian view, we assert that innovations emerge from new combinations of resources and these should bring about positive changes that can create value. In a social context, innovation is also about mobilising citizens "to become an active part of the innovation process" (BEPA, 2011).

Teasing out the key feature of social innovation, we re-visit data from five different national contexts and analyse our data against indicators derived from existing literature. This allows us to develop a clearer understanding of social innovation in a rural development context and to identify where social value is created through the application of social innovation policies and the growth of rural social enterprise. Moving forward, the aim is to inform future research that will provide guidance on evaluating social innovations and facilitating the exchange of good practices between local development groups as the CLLD agenda in Europe gathers pace.

Collective dynamic and social innovation: a case study of the organic farmers union in the Gers department

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Sustainable development initiatives are followed by a diversity of pathways. As a result, the nature of these processes depends on different mechanisms, including local dynamics and social innovations. Yet, there are few studies on local initiatives, actors mobilized and project achievement. The aim here is to present the organic farmers union Gabb32 social innovation process within its collective action and analyze it to understand its mechanisms as a bottom-up initiative to implement a collaborative local network supporting sustainable development in the Gers, France. Using a case study approach, we analyzed the collective dynamic in this department undertaken by the Gabb32 in order to move toward agro-ecology transition. Results show that Gabb32 field crop group participatory approach and empowerment are key factors to engage other rural actors. Hence, the anchor of the analysis takes into account three main stages of the process: 1) test and research of eco-technical solutions; 2) innovation dynamic and exchange of experiences between organic and conventional farmers; and 3) consolidation-capitalization of the dynamics of innovation. The originality of Gabb32 project relies on creating spaces for social learning between organic and conventional field crop farmers of the department. Social innovation initiatives and particular capabilities have been creating and sharing knowledge from the inside to formalize a multi-actor cooperation network. As a conclusion, collective action allows succeeding technical and social innovation. One facilitates changes in farming practices as part of agro-ecological transition and the other allows a greater opening up between different actors and new spaces of cooperation.

Social innovation in wind turbine projects understood through the lens of social capital theory

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There is an increasing interest in how to achieve rural development through social innovation, based on the social capital within the rural area. In Denmark, rural areas are expected to host wind turbines, to facilitate the national goals of a transition towards a fossil free, sustainable future. Legislation and planning have been developed to enable the localization of wind turbines. In the actual implementation, conflicts over costs and benefits emerge, and the existing planning proves insufficient in managing this. Therefore, in each wind turbine project social innovation occurs, whether as an effort to enable or hinder the erection of wind turbines. The social innovation can be seen in anything from the emergence of local cooperatives to international investors buying out entire villages.

In this paper, we present a study of a local wind turbine planning process in the rural area of Lemvig municipality, Denmark. Social capital theory is applied in order to understand the social innovation process and how the three elements of network, norms, and trust enables and hampers learning and, hence, the degree of innovation. Within the local community, structural holes divide the community into different networks. Each network hold different perceptions of the norms related to a fair wind turbine planning process and outcome. A reason is that the structural holes hamper information flow and limit the understanding and learning of the other network's decisions, perceptions and arguments. Further, trust appears as both cognitive and emotional trust. This affects the interaction and openness towards mutual learning.

Social diversity in Austria's LEADER strategies: prerequisite for and trigger of social innovation

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In the selection criteria for the Local Action Groups (LAG) of the LEADER programme within Austria's Rural Development Programme (RDP) 2014-2020 criteria of participation, combatting inequality and well-being are considered, besides numerous formal and programme specific ones. They relate, in particular, to themes like gender equality, life-long learning, representation of under-represented groups of rural society (like young people, migrants, disabled persons and older people) and well-being effects. Due to the call for Local Development Strategies (LDS) LAGs had to include in their proposals information about their concept for public services (social services, enhanced participation, voluntary work, mobility and renewable energy), including also issues of gender equality and social diversity.

The paper analyses to what extent and in which form the proposals of LAGs in Austria have taken account of these requirements in the SWOT-analysis, how they have defined their needs in respect to gender equality and social diversity in the regions and what kind of measures they have worked out in the LDS to address the needs but also the potentials of the disadvantaged groups. The different sections of the LDS (SWOT-analysis, needs-analysis, action fields) are analysed through Content Analyses, considering particularly the degree of feasibility of measures and proposed projects. Finally, these findings will lead to an assessment how and to what extent the proposed actions impact on i) strengthening social capital through participation of disadvantaged groups; ii) enhancing social innovation through stronger cooperation; and iii) bringing together the diverse and fruitful social potentials in rural areas in Austria.

Informal knowledge and learning for alternative modernisation pathways in agriculture

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This paper focuses on the role of informal knowledge and learning in developing sustainable alternative pathways in modern agriculture. Many farms that do not follow the predominant agricultural modernisation path, like small, organic, niche and other farms, are often overlooked in the formal agricultural knowledge and innovation system (AKIS), and their particular knowledge and information needs are largely ignored. Those excluded may still use AKIS, but often they rely more on alternative knowledge sources and learning modes: practice-based, local, traditional, farmer knowledge gained by doing, self-education or in social interactions. We argue that these farmers are engaged in a permanent creative change process introducing various kinds of novelties, improvements, innovations on their farms (and beyond) that allow their successful development and contribute to rural prosperity. But we witness also standardisation, ‘expertisation’ and certification of knowledge and concentration of the “right” knowledge in the hands of fewer experts, which limits the application of farmers’ own knowledge and skills as they must comply with formal rules and regulations.

On the base of the case studies implemented in the international RETHINK research programme we explore some key issues related to informal knowledge and learning: specificity of informal knowledge and learning, their enabling and limiting factors; the role of social networks (peers, professional organisations, neighbours, family, consumers etc.) in enhancing informal knowledge and learning; interactions of informal and scientific knowledge; (new) applications of traditional, local, farmer knowledge, their role in innovation, commercialisation, nested markets, ‘grey’ economy, social economy and in a more sustainable economy.

The Freiburg 'Regionalwert AG' - a German role model for financing the transition towards social and ecological regional sustainability?

Simone Schiller

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The 'Regionalwert AG', operating in the Freiburg region in Southwest Germany, is a citizens' shareholder corporation facilitating access to shareholders' capital for organic farms and businesses in the region. The key innovation brought forward is the mobilization of financial capital for the creation of regional value in financial but also in social and environmental terms. The associated businesses are evaluated not only on the basis of their economic performance, but also according to their contribution to social and environmental values in the region.

The case of the Regionalwert AG will be presented and analyzed with regard to the factors contributing to the initial innovation, to the central drivers during the course of its further development and to the institutional embedding on various levels. Central to the innovation and its success were the charismatic, committed and well networked leader and founder, the supportive social environment in Freiburg and the region, but also the global financial crisis and the rising demand for alternative forms of economic thinking and investment. The Regionalwert AG is not institutionally linked to official government structures; however its leader and members sustain strong social ties to various stakeholders and actors in local and regional governance.

Although the Regionalwert AG is actively pursuing to reproduce its economic and social innovation model in other regions, this has been successful only in few cases. Thus the questions seems relevant whether and under which conditions a model that emerged within a regional and local context can be transferred to other contexts.

Human resources as a factor of rural development

Alzbeta Vazacova

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The contribution aims to introduce roles and problems of human resources in rural development in Czechia. As human resources are considered human and social capital, hardly measurable soft factors present in particular place and time and in different hierarchical relation. These resources can influence local development if they are activated and used, they become endogenous development potential of rural municipality. The presupmtion is that high human and social capital contribute to municipal development. This fact is in recent years considered as factor possible to explain differential rural development of municipalities with objectively similar physicalgeographic ad sicioeconomic conditions. However, it is not true always, rural municipalities with high human and social capital and thus with high endogenous development potential also stagnate or decline. This contribution deals with these cases. The topic is in general set in contemporary theoretical concepts and different approaches to the rural development considering human resources. The importance of human resources is reflected in institutional theories of regional development dealing with intangible factors. These theories support shift from top-down to bottom-up government and also the shift from 'government' to 'governance' principle. There is a paradigm shift within the theory of rural development, OECD (2006) defined new paradigm with emphasis on local actors, multifunctionality of rural areas, decentralization of decision and responsibility, use of unutilized resources and heading towards competitiveness of rural areas.

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Working Group 16: Rural responses to climate change: Challenge and opportunity in neoliberal times

Convenors: Elizabeth Dinnie[1], Christian Reynolds[2], Jonathan Hopkins[1]

1: The James Hutton Institute, UK; 2: University of Aberdeen, UK

Working Group Description

Addressing climate change is one of the greatest societal challenges of neoliberal times. For rural societies climate change presents both opportunities and challenges. Opportunities include re-localisation of services and production through encouragement of small-scale social enterprises such as locally-led initiatives in food growing, renewable energy production, waste and transport. Economic opportunities are influenced by local capacity and also by local and national policies and incentives. They also present challenges to social relations, with increasing public concern about winners and losers, and potential impacts on the natural environment and traditional rural economic activities such as tourism. Rural communities may be more vulnerable to adverse effects of climate change, such as increased risk of flooding or changes in crop production due to changing weather patterns. Fuel poverty is a real concern in rural areas, due to elderly populations, inadequate or hard-to-heat housing, and poor services.

This working group invites submissions looking at the ways in which rural societies across Europe are responding to the challenges and opportunities which climate change presents. We would like to engage scholars and activists in discussions about how rural responses to climate change are affecting and changing rural life, including governance, inclusion, development, and service delivery. Questions addressed in this working group could include:

- What opportunities does climate change present for rural businesses, agriculture and social enterprise through, for example, the development of renewables or localisation?
- How do social relations change as a result of responses to climate change or in response to climate change related disasters?
- The transition movement is based on re-localisation of production and consumption. How does this movement draw on or contradict idealised/normative notions of rurality, identity and community?
- Do rural communities have the resources and capacity to respond to challenges which climate change presents, or to take opportunities? What additional resources do they need?
- What is the role of the state in helping rural communities respond to climate change?

We welcome research that addresses these, and other, questions and that adds to our theoretical understanding of how different rural societies are responding to these questions. We welcome traditional formats for presentations and are also open to more participatory sessions that encourage discussion of these issues from different perspectives.

"I don't believe in climate change!": farmers' adaptations to climate change and their management of risk

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Agricultural adaptations to climate change have generally involved small incremental changes, characterised by short-term and small-scale actions to reduce the losses or enhance the benefits of variations in climate rather than transformational adaptation, which involves actions adopted at a much larger scale or intensity. This paper considers how such transformational changes might be produced by focusing on the factors which encourage or discourage the implementation of adaptation measures across multiple groups and scales of management. This emphasises the importance of two sets of 'actors': formal institutions, e.g. government agencies, and communities of practice, e.g. farm systems groups. Based on questionnaire surveys and in-depth interviews with representatives from these two groups, including farmers, the paper reports on how farmers autonomously adapt to a variety of risks, including those related to climate variability, despite many farmers and their advisers claiming they do not 'believe' in human-induced climate change. The lack of communication and engagement processes established between formal institutions and communities of practice is highlighted as one of the major barriers to on-farm adaptation. The paper presents and discusses a model for transferring knowledge and information on climate change among formal institutions, communities of practice, trusted individual advisers and rural landholders, and for supporting the co-management of climate change across multiple groups in agricultural areas.

Mainstreaming climate change into rural development planning in Nigeria: reflections on strategies and constraints

Edlyne Anugwom

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While climate change has gradually assumed front-burner position in development discourse in Africa, it has largely been approached from a largely elitist urban perspective. As a result, it has not been committedly focused on rural dwellers that incidentally in developing societies are at the forefront of the adverse consequences of environmental events. It also contends that there is need to mainstream climate change adaptation into formal rural development planning in Nigeria as a critical means of taking on board the problems of rural dwellers. In spite of constraints ranging from lack of trust of formal agencies of the state to the non-negotiability of some traditional norms and practices, a critical way of achieving this mainstreaming would involve setting up state funded and regulated climate change response committees at the rural areas. Also, in view of evidence of age-old practices of rural communities consistent with environmental preservation, the state should exploit means of integrating such practices and make them part and parcel of rural development plans and formal interventions in rural development programming. Equally worth exploiting is the need to build the capacities of rural women in the adoption of climate change strategies at the household level. Contrary to prevailing practice, there is need for state level climate change adaptation programmes and actions to be devolved in simple terms to rural areas and made components of rural development interventions. This would involve innovatively reframing these programmes to fall into place with existing social practices regarding resource exploitation in rural communities.

Farmers' engagement with the challenge of climate change: a case study of farmers in Gloucestershire, England

Alice Hamilton-Webb

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Rural communities, and particularly farmers are inherently vulnerable to the possible adverse effects of climate change. Flooding poses a significant threat to farming practices, while warmer climates may result in the spreading of new pests and diseases, for example. However, climate change also provides opportunities for farmers to mitigate and adapt, with the sector now committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 80% by 2050. However, in these neoliberal times, there is little regulatory control influencing farmer behaviour in relation to climate change. This paper explores the extent that farmers in the county of Gloucestershire, engage with climate change risk, and the key motivations and barriers involved in responding to risk on-farm. The paper is based on a mixed method study involving a quantitative survey of 200 farmers and 20 qualitative face to face interviews. The paper assesses the relative influence of internal and external factors on farmers' engagement with climate change; factors relating to willingness to respond, capacity to respond and general engagement. A particular focus is the relative role that risk experience plays in farmers' engagement with climate change. Existing research has concluded that local significant events that are potentially linked to climate change, such as flooding could be used to promote concern and encourage appropriate climate change response. Gloucestershire has a long and rich flood history, yet there has been very little research into how farmers' experiences with flooding have influenced engagement with climate change; amongst other factors. This paper aims to address this important gap.

Community in rural responses to climate change: polysemic, polyvalent or phatic?

Gerald Taylor Aiken

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This article addresses the way in which the Transition movement idealises, utilizes, and is in turn used by 'community', as it responds to climate change. Perhaps the most prominent of the recent rural responses to climate change, Transition uses community to mobilise, inspire and to inoffensively present their radical vision of a relocalised, resilient world without oil. It is also a model of community action that is well funded by states seeking to meet their legal and moral low carbon obligations. This paper will trace the recent use of community in environmental governance, using specific references from the Transition and related movements.

First, and in common with 'community's' social science heritage it argues that community is polysemic. That is, it carries within it wide and varied semantic associations, including, amongst many others, small-scale, place, commonality, and rurality. Digging deeper than drawing a line between signifier and signified, community has another social science heritage also found in the Transition use of community. Here community is polyvalent, involving many different and overlapping values, from exclusive belonging, exclusion of others and difference, to a feeling of belonging or acceptance that goes beyond semantics. Lastly, and innovatively for this area of study, the paper will address community as phatic communication. Here, community does not mean anything at all, nor does it imply a sense of shared values. Rather community is a gesture, which can transform our understanding of the way community is used in meeting the low carbon challenge.

Resident experiences of wind farms in rural landscapes: an exploration of attitudes towards three existing sites

Rebecca Wheeler

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Runner up in the *Sociologia Ruralis* Student Paper Competition

There is a wealth of literature exploring attitudes towards windfarms and the various debates surrounding them. However, for the most part, this literature has focused on responses to proposed sites, rather than exploring the long-term impacts of windfarms on local residents. This paper presents the findings from qualitative research in three English villages, which investigated how existing local windfarms are perceived and experienced by local residents, and how such new structures are incorporated into conceptualisations of rural place over time. The results show that, whilst concerns remain in some instances, the windfarms have (perhaps surprisingly) become a familiar and unremarkable - or even valued - part of the landscape for many people. Here, the varied interpretations of existing windfarms, and the place-based processes underlying them, are discussed with particular reference to rural identities and local contexts. The potential implications of the findings for managing future rural change are also considered.

Transition and tradition: how are low-carbon initiatives contributing to continuity and change in rural communities?

Elizabeth Dinnie, Joshua Msika, Annabel Pinker, Kirsty Holstead, Anke Fischer
The James Hutton Institution, Aberdeen, UK

The recent growth of the transition movement has attracted widespread attention among academics and activists alike. Much of this attention has, quite rightly, focused on measuring and evaluating the contribution of community-based initiatives to a better, fairer and more sustainable society using a range of social, economic and environmental indicators. Rather less attention has been given to the ways in which grassroots activities are contributing to changing conceptions of rurality itself. Transition initiatives occur in both rural and urban locations, but transition culture draws on many imaginaries of idealised rurality through, for example, claims to be community-based, local and to have shared values. However, the notion of transition also implies a break with tradition, and many transition initiatives are now also finding innovative ways of organising and using technology to achieve their goals. This paper draws on data collected in north-east Scotland to examine the ways in which rural community-led transitions are contributing to both rural continuity and rural change. The paper explores the ways in which groups utilise practices, discourse and symbols of (a largely imagined) rurality while simultaneously changing ideas around what rural communities are and what they can do.

Working Group 17: Promoting and sustaining rural wellbeing in a neoliberal world: Methods, case studies and critiques

Convenors: Karen Scott[1], Margaret Currie[2], Lorna Philip[3]

1: *University of Newcastle, UK*; 2: *The James Hutton Institute, UK*; 3: *University of Aberdeen, UK*

Working group description

Since the turn of the millennium there has been a dramatic rise in interest in the concept of wellbeing. Its origins are related to a variety of other concepts including, for example, sustainability, resilience, quality of life, life satisfaction, social inclusion, happiness and the good life. Recently the framing of wellbeing as a development policy goal has become marked in academic and governance discourses. Wellbeing research has, to date, been most commonly associated with urban studies but rural social scientists have a long tradition of engaging with topics related to wellbeing and are now investigating a range of rural challenges within a wellbeing conceptual framework.

Understandings of wellbeing and what constitutes it varies internationally and between different disciplines. It may be conceptualised at the scale of individual, household, community, social groups, society or the nation state. Regardless of how wellbeing is defined however, its multi-dimensional nature suggests it is an inherently dynamic process which is intrinsically difficult to capture or 'measure'. Depending on how wellbeing is framed, evidenced and implemented in policy and practice, wellbeing may be co-opted by neoliberal agendas or may find more synergies with sustainable development narratives. In this session we are keen to discuss the ways in which wellbeing research may:

1. provide a useful conceptual framework within which a diverse range of rural development topics can be investigated;
2. adopt a wide-range of methodological approaches, some well-established, some innovative;
3. allow narratives which may either support or critique neoliberal standpoints.

Contributions to this session are welcomed from scholars whose work addresses ways in which wellbeing research can contribute to broader rural development, resilience and sustainability goals. Papers that address the following broad areas are particularly welcomed: critical reflections on the relationships between wellbeing narratives, neoliberalism and sustainable rural development; exploring the rural dimension to wellbeing research; promoting, creating and sustaining wellbeing in rural places; the application of innovative methodologies to explore wellbeing in a rural context; case studies of rural wellbeing research; wellbeing across the lifecourse.

Bringing the outside in: technology for increasing engagement with the outside world among rural housebound older adults

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Chronic conditions can impede an individual's ability to engage in activities that promote well-being in later life. Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) can potentially offer benefits to well-being through novel modes of interaction, which could be particularly beneficial for older adults living with chronic conditions in rural areas. This paper reports on findings drawn from semi-structured interviews conducted with older adults, who were predominantly housebound and living with chronic conditions in rural North-East Scotland. It explores how interviewees retained social contacts, the types of activities their chronic conditions prevented them from doing and their attitudes towards enhancing involvement in social activities. These findings guide the development of novel ICT, which aims to enhance individual well-being and the wider integration of older, largely housebound rural adults, into the social lives of the communities in which they live.

Determinants of rural livability: the importance of participation in subjective livability

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Policy makers and scholars are increasingly thinking that participation in village life affects an individual's perceived livability. In current policy documents an emphasis on participation is emerging as a tool to improve livability, and also many scientific conceptual models are suggesting a relation between quality of life/livability and personal and community development through participation (e.g. Mitchell, 2000). However, this assumed relation has hardly been empirically addressed. Therefore, it remains unclear how participation and perceived livability are exactly related to each other. Is the level of participation a social characteristic that influences an individual's evaluation of several livability determinants, or is the opportunity to participate in itself a livability determinant? Especially in the rural context a more critical understanding of this relation is important, as rural citizens increasingly have social networks outside their village and are more and more outward oriented.

This paper aims to empirically assess the assumed relation between participation and subjective livability. Based on the method proposed by Namazi-Rad (2012), quantitative research has been carried out among rural residents in the province of Friesland, the Netherlands (N = 896). Respondents were asked how much they participate in village life, how satisfied they are with a set of livability determinants including participation, and subsequently to rank each determinant in their subjective perception of livability. As a result, this paper provides an empirically supported understanding of the relative importance of participation in the subjective evaluation of livability of several groups of rural residents.

Longer-term impacts of community participation in rural health services planning and links to wellbeing

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The purpose of this paper is to explore what happens after a rural health community participation exercise in service planning, and what can be learned to improve future processes to enhance both individual and community wellbeing. It is unique as it provides findings and analysis from a follow-up study conducted in 2014, of the 2008-2010 Scottish Remote Service Futures (RSF) community participation project (Farmer & Nimegeer, 2014; Nimegeer et al, 2014). RSF developed a community participation process for use by health services planners and providers to make decisions about service reconfiguration. RSF endeavoured to engage community members, health professionals and service managers to co-produce future health service options. In 2014, three of the original four communities were revisited and stakeholder interviews were conducted to investigate the extent to which citizens, health professionals, managers and others remembered the RSF project, how the community had changed (or not) since then and whether this was a result of RSF. Emerging results from the interviews related to: remembering the participation process; the perceived resulting impact on service change (where evident); and different roles in the participation process. These results will be presented whilst being critiqued from a wellbeing stance to longitudinally explore how involvement in the RSF project affected individuals' and communities wellbeing. Conclusions will include broader recommendations and reflections on community engagement processes and associated wellbeing impacts.

Liveability from a rural geographical perspective

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Most research into wellbeing and quality of life does not take into account the geographical locale. In this paper I will conceptualize quality of life from a rural geographical perspective, by adding the place component and framing this as the liveability of an area or neighbourhood. I will elaborate on the paper of Ruth and Franklin (2014), who question if it is realistic to strive for 'liveability for all' because perceptions of liveability vary across life course and generation. With their choice for the urban context, I think they overlook insights that result from the longer history of the use of the concept of livability in rural areas (e.g. Kaal 2011). This paper will make three additions to the work of Ruth & Franklin:

1. differentiation between spatial contexts;
2. more eye for group differences other than age and lifecourse: e.g. based on residential rootedness, place attachment, local involvement, (im)mobility, social networks, participation
3. the importance of changes and transitions in geographical space, moreover if they are related to dealing with the 'loss' of facilities, people, and so on.

Using quantitative methods to understand the assets and burdens of older people to society: the wellbeing implications

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Older people could be considered to be a burden to society, as they are perceived to “live off the state” and not give back. However, in many rural communities older people have often been found to be a source of help, informally enabling people to live at home without further assistance and as such can be viewed as assets. This paper will report on a PhD study which is assessing how older people take from and give to society in rural areas, by considering the quantitative part of the study which examines existing secondary data to understand the financial contributions older people make and the pensions and benefits they receive. Whilst presenting the data, consideration will be given to the links between wellbeing and government policy, and how governments might seek to measure wellbeing as a site of individual or governmental responsibility. The paper will use the data to investigate the authoritative view of identifications and experiences of older people enabled by state technologies of legibility such as the census data and healthcare statistics, and so how these might produce a discourse of burden, surrounding the idea of wellbeing. The use of quantitative data will then be critiqued. Specifically, quantitative methods will be presented as being valuable for an overall understanding of the contributions older people make to society, and also what they consume, but credence will be given to the important role that qualitative methodologies have in understanding older people as assets or burdens to their (rural) communities.

“It's revolutionised how we do things”: then and now - a case study of Internet behaviours in a remote rural community

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The Digital Economy has opened up new opportunities for societal wellbeing across many domains of life. However, access to the many benefits the Internet offers is not universal. The market dependency of the landscape of connection has resulted in communities with inadequate fixed and mobile infrastructure and off the digital map - most notably in remote, rural areas. There is a growing social and economic gap between those who are connected and those who are not, the 'digitally excluded'.

This paper draws upon the Rural Public Access WiFi Service (R-PAWS) research study focused upon enabling Internet connectivity for commercially 'hard to reach' rural areas in the UK. It describes a deployment of satellite broadband connectivity in a remote rural area in the Welsh Marches, a community where many individuals have no home-based Internet connection and others have a very poor quality service. We introduce our study participants, households containing local business owners and/or employees of varied ages, families, and semi-retired couples, and we present an analysis of qualitative data to provide insights into their Internet behaviours and experiences, before their participation in R-PAWS (with a poor Internet connection) and during their participation in the project (with a much faster connection). Of particular note are economic benefits through cost savings to participating businesses, enhanced professional practice, and evidence of older-generation participants steadily harnessing the Internet. Such benefits translate to the positive role that improved digital connectivity can have on the wellbeing of individuals and remote rural communities at large.

Interaction between digital policy and community-led broadband organisations in the UK: the loss and creation of rural wellbeing

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Superfast broadband is theorised to enhance individual and community wellbeing, and yet rural areas in the UK remain underserved. In response, national strategies, such as Broadband Delivery UK (BDUK), seek to reduce the gap in broadband infrastructure. Complementing these are community-led broadband organisations; rural communities working voluntarily to remedy their limited broadband supply and stimulate rural broadband development, enabling the creation of wellbeing through digital access. Their inclusion as part of wider superfast broadband deployment strategies has not been examined nor is it well-understood. Reflecting on qualitative interview data collected through the lifecycle of two community-led broadband initiatives, this paper contributes evidence-based discussion on the UK digital agenda and related policy mechanisms and their complex influence on community-led alternatives to rural broadband development.

‘Scholarly, vernacular, and imaginal practices’: using deep mapping to achieve co-produced policy relevant health and wellbeing research?

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Deep mapping has emerged principally as a ‘blurred genre’ which is particularly well suited to representing and conjuring the fleeting particularities of a place as process, within and through the time bounded encounters created by a collective of artists, academics and dwellers. Our work in the Representing Cromarty project explores to what extent we might be able to use a deep mapping process as a means to overcome some of the known difficulties of other kinds of research methods aimed at facilitating dialogue with health and wellbeing policy makers. Deep mapping offers one very particular advantage over better known action research methods: it is a genre which does not seek to manufacture consensus. Through this work we demonstrate that the ‘deep map’ needs to incorporate the spectral traces of involved public agencies generated through participation by different kinds of employees and elected representatives. Attention to institutional archaeologies and cultures of memory therein helps to evade an inappropriate positing of ‘place’ as Emotion and space as Reason (184: Massey 2008). Ignoring that aspect of space-time conceptualisations risks generating an unpalatable dynamic in terms of participants’ positionalities whereby ‘community,’ or dwellers, are positioned conceptually as separate, more authentic and more static, in imaginary opposition to allegedly exogenous key policy actors who are later invited to ‘the table’ as spectators rather than embedded co-producers. Thus, this paper outlines an argument for why adopting a deep mapping approach challenges traditional conceptualisations of community engagement in health and wellbeing policy formation and service delivery planning.

A wellbeing approach to cash transfers in rural Africa

Eleanor Fisher

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This paper examines whether a wellbeing approach contributes to understanding the impact of cash transfers (CTs) on chronic poverty and vulnerability in rural Africa. CTs are a guaranteed, regular, non-contributory sum of money that institutions provide for groups of chronically poor and vulnerable people. Drawing on a tradition of wellbeing research relevant to developing contexts, the paper asks whether a focus on wellbeing provides a useful conceptual framework for exploring the relationship between CTs and dynamic, multi-dimensional rural poverty. Current research on CTs plays out a familiar tension between positivist and constructionist epistemologies in social science, with a dominance of 'etic' quantitative socio-economic research that measures, aggregates, and models impact through surveys rolled out across broad geographical areas and covering large population samples. More limited is work from 'emic' qualitative and participatory social science perspectives that are inductive in orientation and employ contextually sensitive analytics to understand complex and often non-quantifiable cause-and-effect processes plus, importantly, the meanings and values people impute to these processes. Can a wellbeing approach make a contribution? Research on the Kenyan Orphans and Vulnerable Children's Programme permits consideration of whether and how a wellbeing approach drawing on qualitative social perspectives, enables us to tease out the relationship between CTs and the strategic choices people make over their own wellbeing in contexts where they may have little power to exercise choice, necessitating an understanding of how the dynamics of wellbeing and ill-being are played out through people's agency, autonomy and connectedness to others.

Cultural value, rural arts, and the good life?

Frances Rowe, Karen Scott, Venda Louise Pollock
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How might we frame notions of rural cultural value that go beyond the materiality of the economic to include wider notions of wellbeing (Scott, 2012)? Drawing on the everyday lives of rural communities (Halfacree, 2006) and taking as its point of departure Dewey's ideas of art as lived experience (Dewey, 1934) a group of inter disciplinary researchers at Newcastle University aimed to answer these questions through empirical studies of rural arts practice and its effects in two small rural arts organisations in Northumberland, a remote area of North East England, during the period 2011 – 2013*. The paper challenges the discursive constructions of rural arts as either an accessory to the rural idyll or an immutable economic asset to be consumed by urban tourists as part of the wider neo-liberal project. Instead it proposes an alternative framing of rural arts that reveals their messiness and complexity and their potential for human flourishing. Such a view may challenge notions of rural cultural value held by national arts agencies thus rendering the rural as more visible, dynamic and capable of innovation and social renewal, suggesting the need for a more sophisticated lexicon for judging the value of rural arts investments and programmes (Matarasso, 2009). This is relevant to policy makers and research councils at a time of resource constraints, and revitalised interest in the value of arts and culture to individuals and society.

Values in place; how values influence intentions and well-being in rural places.

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Understandings of wellbeing and what constitutes it vary internationally and between different disciplines. Regardless of how wellbeing is defined, its multi-dimensional nature suggests it is an inherently dynamic process which is intrinsically difficult to capture or 'measure'. Wellbeing can be framed within the context of sustainable development narratives. Important drivers of transformation to sustainability are individual and shared beliefs, values, worldviews and paradigms which influence people's attitudes and actions. This can be termed as the inner dimension of sustainability, or change from the inside-out, rooted in underlying values. The paper discusses the concept of values which has been used in an instrumental and more ideological way, and explores how values play a role in the individual psychological dimension and the collective cultural dimension of sustainability. Values are not self-standing concepts which can be mapped or analysed as atomized issues. They are intertwined, context determined, culturally varied and connected to how we see our self and how we perceive our environment. This has relevance in the context of 'valuable' rural places, influenced by human's intentionality and processes of evaluation and sense-making. A value-oriented approach toward sustainable development in rural places pays attention to short-term as well as long term sustainable development, is linked to economic, ecological, social and cultural aspects of sustainability, and offers insight in the drivers and consequences of our actions in time and place. The full paper will be published in the journal *Regional Studies*, *Regional Science*.

Working Group 18: Rural development and the politics of fracking in Europe

Convenors: Elisabet Rasch, Michiel Kohne

Wageningen University, The Netherlands

Working group description

This working group explores ideas and practices of rural development in relation to and as a consequence of fracking. In many countries in Europe governments together with industrial partners promote fracking as a way of extracting shale gas, considering this as a way of 'development'. Fracking operations are ongoing or under consideration in several countries all over the world. Fracking as an extraction process has huge consequences for inhabitants in the area and their livelihood strategies and access to land. At the same time, rural communities have not been involved in the decision making processes about whether and where to frack.

As the use of fracking has increased, so have environmentalist concerns over dangers of pollution, groundwater contamination, and the postponement of energy transition. In many countries (The Netherlands, England, Romania, South Africa, to name a few) citizens have organised against fracking. They build up their arguments around environmental issues, as well as issues of citizenship. Proponents of fracking consider shale gas a safe and profitable energy source. Both proponents and opponents make extensive use of different sources and forms of information and knowledge to build up their argument.

In the working group we would like to explore the politics of shale gas from the point of view of rural communities facing the consequences of (future) fracking. We invite papers that explore this rural development-fracking nexus, linking it with themes as economic policies, energy battles, social movements and citizenship, framing and legitimating discourses, property rights issues and the 'disasterisation' of fracking. We are also interested in papers that explore the role that social scientist can play when it comes to the societal debate on fracking and its consequences. Does this problematic call for more action-oriented research and how can we envision this?

We plan to make an edited volume out of selected papers of this panel.

Shale gas development and hydraulic fracturing: investigating public perceptions, trust, and community engagement

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Shale gas development is ongoing or under consideration in countries worldwide. A multitude of controversies has accompanied the surge in American shale gas production. One salient issue at the core of these debates is the lack of trust among and between the oil/gas industry actors and other stakeholders. A second issue centers around the well stimulation/completion process known as hydraulic fracturing. Data collected in general population surveys from random samples of individuals in Pennsylvania (USA) and Texas (USA) are used to empirically examine both objective and perceptual issues associated with the exploration and production of shale gas. Specifically, these data are used to empirically examine the associations between the public's trust in groups/organizations related to natural gas development and civic actions that may or may not have been taken in response to drilling and/or production of natural gas. Further, issues associated with the public's views on the process of hydraulic fracturing, management and disposal of frac flowback wastewaters, and frac flowback wastewater treatment technologies are explored. Finally, contributions made to self-reported knowledge of hydraulic fracturing by different sources and the amount of trust in each of these sources to deliver unbiased, factual knowledge about the topic are investigated. The findings from this presentation should prove beneficial to the energy industry, community leaders, government and regulatory agencies, environmental and non-governmental organizations, and other stakeholders. Possible implications and recommendations of the results are advanced, as are suggestions for future research projects.

Politics of the (un)known: an anthropological perspective on the impacts of Australia's unconventional gas developments

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The rapid development of the unconventional gas reserves within coal seams along Australia's Eastern seaboard has sparked an unprecedented gas boom that is fueled by the establishment of large export capabilities for liquefied natural gas (LNG). Much of the required coal seam gas (CSG) is sourced in rural areas of the country's north-eastern state of Queensland, where gas-rich coal seams often under-lie agriculturally valuable black soil country. The intensifying competing land uses between farming communities and gas companies has led to complex social controversies over the impacts and unknowns from CSG developments.

This paper investigates the emerging problems of knowing potentially unintended and unanticipated consequences of the current gas boom by moving beyond dominant notions of risk. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork within Queensland's 'agri-gas fields' (de Rijke 2013) and a variety of social scientific literature, I develop an anthropological approach to the politics of the (un)knowns surrounding the controversy over coal seam gas developments. For this purpose I conceptualise knowledge and ignorance through a postconstructivist lense that understands (not) knowing as part of the interactional process. I conclude by arguing for a move beyond mere calls for more (scientific) knowledge or better risk assessment, but rather improved politics of knowledge that acknowledge potential unknowns and the multitude of participants within such techno-environmental controversies.

Views on hydraulic fracturing: using national level survey data to compare UK and US residents

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The widespread rapid emergence of shale gas development-and the use of hydraulic fracturing techniques to extract it-has fostered a proliferation of debates and associated policies. In particular, the United Kingdom and the United States represent a useful contrast: they occupy different stages in the development process and have different approaches to governance, media coverage, and expressions of activism.

Our work uses parallel national survey data to compare processes and outcomes of shale gas development in each nation. Within the UK, the University of Nottingham has been conducting an online survey of public attitudes towards shale gas extraction since March 2012. Cornell University researchers replicated key items on this survey during 2014. Our comparative analysis focuses on knowledge, support, and anticipated outcomes of shale gas extraction. We explore how each variable is driven by ideology and respondent characteristics.

Several key findings emerge: first, although the industry is more mature in the US , knowledge is notably lower among US respondents. The relationship between knowledge and support varies between the two countries: in the US, increased knowledge is associated with higher opposition; the opposite result is obtained in the UK. US respondents were more likely to agree with standard industry messages about shale gas being a cheap, secure, and clean energy source. Multivariate analyses reveal that the relationships between knowledge, respondent characteristics, and anticipated outcomes exert very different effects on support for hydraulic fracturing. Implications of these findings for shale gas-related governance and communication are discussed.

Resisting fracking - citizenship and belonging in the Noordoostpolder, The Netherlands

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Resistance against fracking takes place in a huge variety of forms in (proposed) extraction sites around the world. This paper analyses the specifics of how inhabitants of the Noordoostpolder in The Netherlands enact themselves as citizens in the contestation of hydraulic fracturing. The Noordoostpolder is a rural municipality in The Netherlands. In 2013 the Dutch government granted permits for exploratory drilling to UK-based Cuadrilla in the municipality. On the basis of qualitative ethnographic fieldwork we analyse how Noordoostpolder citizenship is produced in relation to belonging. It has become prominent in research on citizenship to point at the constitution of citizenship outside the state and across boundaries. We agree that global connections and transnational interrelations become increasingly important. However, we concede that territory and belonging remain important for the production of citizenship in two ways. First in terms of 'who is called to the table?' we analyse how citizens negotiate their access to decision making. Second, in terms of 'feeling at home in a place', we analyse how narratives of belonging enter negotiations as a discursive resource in the claiming of rights. We will analyse what belonging means in the Noordoostpolder and how this shapes ways of resisting hydraulic fracturing.

'For and against CSG' – social representations of CSG in public media.

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Global energy demand is a human-induced factor that shapes the rural landscape in many parts of the world. The rapid expansion of the Coal Seam Gas (CSG) industry in Australia presents one such example. This area-intensive industry with the hydraulic fracturing technology used to extract gas has led to mounting community concerns about impacts on property values, human health, ecosystem functions, and adverse effects on other economic sectors such as tourism and agriculture. They also challenge a sense of place attachment rooted in subjective interpretations of the rural idyll by long-term rural residents, amenity migrants, and those involved in various economic sectors impacted by this industry. The public media have in response been populated with opinions and reports supporting or opposing the CSG industry. Our study applies social representation (SR) theory to examine public understanding of CSG as a controversial social subject, including but not limited to CSG through science, technology, and health-related issues. SR theory contends that individuals and groups engage in social representation practices to gain power over decision-making processes, protect own or a shared identity, and resist or reject unfair practices through the processes of anchoring and objectification. This theory provides a framework for our analysis of public representations of CSG and hydraulic fracturing through local, regional, and national newspaper media in Australia. Implications for managing related activities in rural areas via communication practices will be discussed.

Unconventional gas development and deliberative democracy: why a regional community said no. A report of findings from the 2012 Lismore election poll and exit-poll survey (New South Wales, Australia)

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Public concern resulting from unconventional coal seam gas (CSG) exploration and production has become a contentious planning issue in regional Australia, with public concern drawing attention to government planning obligations. To assist Lismore City Council (Northern New South Wales) in its deliberations on the topic, a referendum-style poll on the issue of CSG industry development was held in conjunction with the local government elections of September 2012. The poll question, 'Do you support CSG exploration and production in the Lismore City Council area?', elicited a poll response rate of 97% of eligible voters, of which 87% voted 'no'. This paper reports the results of an exit poll survey and examines the role of the poll and exit poll survey in providing a process of deliberative democracy in the context of the CSG debate. Key details highlighted by the results were that non-supporters of CSG exploration were primarily concerned about water quality, while supporters saw the primary benefit being regional employment. Emerging themes of this study are the need for more independent research on potential risks and benefits of CSG developments, increase in institutional transparency, and the development of renewable alternatives. The study concludes that the principles of deliberative democracy involved in the Lismore City Council poll and subsequent exit poll survey have provided an opportunity for a more open discussion and genuine discourse within the unconventional gas debate.

The political economy and political ecology of shale gas extraction in England

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The low carbon energy transition in the United Kingdom aims to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from electricity production in the long-term by encouraging the development of renewable and nuclear generation infrastructure. However, there are also likely to be transitions in the use of fossil fuels in the medium-term. The unconventional gas industry is gaining momentum as resource estimates increasingly indicate that there are significant volumes of exploitable shale gas in the Bowland Shale and the Weald Basin, as well as in the Midland Valley of Scotland. This paper will compare proposed extraction in two geographical regions of England: the northwest and the southeast. The emerging unconventional extractive industry has faced different challenges in each region and its development has been uneven. Community intervention organised in reaction to proposals for shale gas extraction in each of these economically-contrasting regions will be compared. The relationships between local community pressure groups, local planning authorities and central government shall be analysed in detail. The likely impacts of government proposals for tax incentives and community benefits packages will be discussed. Environmental considerations such as access to a secure water supply and proximity to specially designated areas of land will also be examined. An advocacy coalition framework approach is employed to conceptualise the recent emergence of shale gas in United Kingdom energy policy, with particular reference to England.

Europe's energy at a crossroad: Poland, France, and anti-fracking movements

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According to a 2011 report by the International Energy Agency, the world is entering a 'golden age of gas'. Such claim has been prompted by the radical changes brought about by unconventional sources of gas to energy markets: in particular, this is the case for shale gas. American findings led to a transformation of the US market, and Europe too is starting to be affected by this phenomenon. While including my analysis within the broader geopolitical framework of natural gas trade, I propose to analyse the emergence, in Poland and France, of movements of opposition to the shale gas industry and to material practices perceived as threatening for the environment. This is particularly the case for hydraulic fracturing procedures. I show how the industry has underestimated the complexity and influence of the anti-fracking movement. By reviewing the studies published in the last five years on this subject, my study shows instead that mobilisations are based on a coalition of diverse interests and ideologies, which will unlikely be influenced by public relations campaigns. Notwithstanding local idiosyncrasies, protest groups share anxieties concerning such topics as the industrialisation of rural landscapes, food production, the power of multinational corporations, the corresponding disempowerment of communities; the potential for subsoil and surface pollution, and more in general the future health of human beings and the environment.

The energetics of citizenship at the intersection of hydraulic fracturing, energy transition and rural development in the Noordoostpolder, The Netherlands

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In this paper we trace how citizens in the Noordoostpolder engage in negotiations about energy and power to decide about energy and land use. We describe and analyse how local actors practice and demand citizenship through resistance and mobilisation towards fracking. The Noordoostpolder is a rural municipality in The Netherlands. In 2013 the Dutch government granted permits for exploratory drilling to UK-based Cuadrilla in the municipality. On the basis of qualitative ethnographic fieldwork we describe and analyse, first, people's different reactions to the news about the proposed fracking sites in the municipality and how they frame this as part of government policy, violation of citizen rights and disempowerment by lack of knowledge. We then go on to analyse how non-activist citizens and activists gradually developed their arguments in favour or against fracking through the collection and production of knowledge and as such developed their own 'energy narratives' in order to be included in the process of deciding about energy and land use. Finally, we analyse how these processes bring different actors - entrepreneurs, farmers, environmental activists - together in unexpected coalitions and how they combine strengths and capacities to demand citizenship in terms of being included in the governance of land and energy.

Social responses to industrialisation of rural landscapes, with a case study of unconventional gas developments in eastern Australia

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Competing demands upon the provision of natural resources to meet the needs of current and future generations are highlighted by the global expansion of the unconventional oil and gas industry. This rapid growth has provoked research not only in the physical sciences relating to hydro-geological impacts and fugitive emissions of the extraction process (including fracking), but also into multidisciplinary projects such as risk perception and assessment, competing land-use and social dynamics. This study contributes empirical data to the fast growing body of research into unconventional gas industry developments by examining impacts upon social systems, from an individual to a regional scale in eastern Australia. Taking a mixed-methods approach, and using a framework that incorporates social license, social identity and democracy, this study examines the dynamics occurring within and between different stakeholder groups and individuals in affected communities; documenting social responses to industrial developments over a four-year period. The research provides an in-depth analysis of background and motivating factors behind support and non-support of unconventional gas industry developments in rural Australia, including community aspirations for economic prosperity versus environmental concerns and aspirations for renewable energy development.

Community development Implications of shale energy: the US experience and prospects for Europe

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The United States has a long history of energy development occurring in rural places, resulting in a volatile mix of costs and benefits to rural communities. Some of this development was situated in remote and isolated communities of the western U.S., while more recent shale energy extraction has occurred in the eastern U.S., a region more akin to European landscape uses and population densities. Some U.S. communities have attempted to use energy extraction as an economic springboard, either by integrating with the energy sector or by maximizing wealth capture. Others have tried to evade most socio-economic impacts or block all development with local regulation. This paper reviews the social, economic and ecological outcomes of energy impacted communities in these regions, focusing on the effectiveness of strategies for sustainable community development. Questions over the applicability of the U.S. experience are raised, and key variables that may influence the European experience are discussed, including population densities, regulatory authority, and the composition of the industry and its workforces.

'Fracking': promoter and destroyer of 'the good life'

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Shale gas development via high-volume hydraulic fracturing (often called 'fracking') has recently attracted much attention as a relatively new means of energy development in the US, Canada, and the UK. Heated policy debates have erupted in each nation over the role of shale gas development in the future of that nation's energy mix and the effects of development on the local, often rural communities in which it occurs. Most mass media and policy discourse on this topic focuses on the impacts (potentially) associated with development. Less attention is given to the extent to which these impacts actually matter to the members of the public; almost no attention is afforded to the why these impacts do or do not matter to the public. Our research suggests that perceptions of what constitutes 'the good life' are the primary motivating factor behind support for and opposition to shale gas development in the rural communities where shale gas development is occurring or is likely to occur. Interview data supports this conclusion in six US and three Canadian communities. Additional survey data from 34 US municipalities across two states (New York and Pennsylvania) validates this finding. We offer the moral and political philosophy of 'perfectionism' as a guiding explanation for relevance of conceptions of 'the good life' to summary evaluations of shale gas development. We conclude this presentation with attention to the policy implications of our findings, including the need for increased attention to values and philosophical commitments in the policy process.

Working Group 19: Contested models of land and property use and social relations: Qualitative explorations

Convenors: Sam Hillyard [1], Annie McKee [2], Jayne Glass [3], Garry Marvin [4]

1: University of Durham, UK; 2: The James Hutton Institute, UK; 3: The Centre for Mountain Studies, Perth College-UHI, UK; 4: University of Roehampton, UK

Working group description

The working group will explore the impact of change in property and land use practices upon social relations. The backdrop is one of considerable rural change. The focus will be on land use change and its implications in two contexts: the acceptability of single-owner estates in the Scottish policy context and rising criticism over the leisure and ecological practices of large estates in England.

The working group will take the analytic long-view: social histories of locales, contemporary changes and also future-forecasts. Have changing property and land use practices encouraged innovation, demographic shifts (both outward and pro-rural) or sedimentation (by choice or default)? Have supposed reforms enhanced the sustainability of land management practices for the rural populations and their futures (cf. Glass et al., 2013)? It will explore how extant patterns of land use have changed significantly and in whose favour (Sutherland, 2012). It will seek to identify examples of 'best practice' or innovation that brokers both social and environmental harmony.

Anticipated papers will explore specific case studies, interrogating questions such as: have regulatory services remained the preserve of the State, or have communities themselves had to become resilient or self-policed? What have been the key tipping-points effecting change? To what extent are social practices and interactional performances significant in a global context - is power still exerted at this level? Has policy reform speeded or contested change? What models are available to owners, visitors and residents? What fauna is seen as legitimate and sustainable on these landscapes (Buller 2004)?

The anticipated papers will be unified through qualitative research approaches that can capture agency, resistance and the capacity of local-level agents to negotiate and mediate change. It also embraces the impact of new social media and technologies upon the communication and everyday experiences of rural and urban-associated networks. The approach places a value on the micro-level perspective and also challenges the role of the social scientist researching such sites, including the extent to which the academic researcher can facilitate dialogue in conflictual situations.

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"If you owned the land you could do things - and things couldn't be done to you": what could you do, and for who? Power, change and meanings of land at local level in Scottish community land ownership.

Tim Braunholtz-Speight

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One of the highest profile innovations in land ownership models in Scotland in recent decades has come from the community ownership movement. This paper explores the role of land in power relations around that movement. It looks particularly at the local level, and draws on an in-depth qualitative study of two emerging community land initiatives (CLIs) on the the Isle of Skye. It addresses three related issues.

Firstly, it looks at the immediate impacts of these CLIs on local power relations, both in terms of their development activities, and also in terms of residents' increased decision-making power. Participation in and benefit from CLI activities is examined.

Secondly, it considers more generally what powers land ownership conveys - and what it does not. The relationship of local initiatives with action at wider spatial and institutional levels is considered. Varying local perceptions of the significance of land ownership are discussed, with attention given to the recent history of development in the study area.

Thirdly, it investigates the relationship between power, and perceptions of who and what land is for. Local debates about changes in the ownership and use of land raise questions around the meaning of community, development, the private and public sectors, and the crofting system. These are explored to highlight how the social and cultural aspects of land are entangled with the economic and political in everyday practice.

Exploring past, present and future relations with the land at Bennachie, north east Scotland

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This paper reflects on the Bennachie Landscapes Project, a collaborative landscape heritage project underway at the hill of Bennachie in north east Scotland. Originating in the work of a community group, the project has involved archaeology, archival history, oral history and landscape survey, with a key goal of understanding relations with the landscape. Efforts have been directed at understanding the 19th century settlement founded on what was understood as common land, but which was subsumed within surrounding estates when the land was divided up between them in 1859. Of concern here is how understanding the history of land ownership and management can help communities reflect on the present and future too. Asserting the presence of small-scale crofting agriculture at Bennachie serves as a counterpoint to both the private land ownership of estates and the scenic or recreational value of land that public organisations often encourage. The paper also reflects on heritage research as a process of knowledge co-production that connects local, diaspora and academic communities. Enabling communities to research the history of the landscape is not just an end in itself, but can inform current and future debate on land management. Heritage research can produce senses of temporality in the landscape beyond simply a reading of the past.

Keeping the Huerta alive: social landscape creation through an alternative economic space established by agro-entrepreneurs

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My study investigated how a few dozen small-scale agro-entrepreneurial initiatives managed to revive the periurban fields of the Metropolitan Area of Valencia through their. This study aimed to understand how the alternative economic space created by these initiatives reshaped the contemporary representation of the fields they set out to cultivate. This study fits into the school of critical urban theory, which "emphasizes the politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested ... character of urban space - that is, its continual (re)construction as a site, medium and outcome of historically specific relations of social power" (Brenner 2009: 198). A representational approach to landscape understands that it is a venue where systems of cultural, political and economic power can manifest through both material and dialectical construction (Rose, 2002; Wylie, 2007). Through the lenses of critical urban theory, this research meant to explore how the selected agro-entrepreneurial initiatives mobilized the available sympathizing social networks for their support and to what extent they wished and managed to engage their clientele in the redefinition of the Huerta's contemporary representation. It focused on how the emergence of the alternative agro-entrepreneurial initiatives could be perceived as a critique towards predominant power relations, inequality and injustice that might characterize the fields they operate within. A qualitative, exploratory case study research was conducted under a constructivist grounded theory methodology.

Land assembly in China: legal and social processes and implications

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The Agrarian Question as it pertains to China forms the context of this paper. Although there are both small and large scale farms in China, the policy intent is to assemble land in large units to facilitate 'modern' agriculture. The fate of over 200 million small scale farming families in this process is unclear, although a large number of working age men and women have already left their villages to be migrant workers in the cities. Their idle land is one impetus for land assembly.

This paper provides evidence of the process of land assembly with emphasis on the legal and legislative framework that is now facilitating a rapid escalation of the many processes that enable peasant lands to be acquired and concentrated. The shift in policy outlook from the Household Responsibility System, that ensured a large measure of equality of land distribution, to the present day where a land market is coming into operation, in all but name, forms the first section of the paper. Following this is a set of cases of how peasants are being convinced that giving up their land is in their best interests, and the role played by village elites in the process.

The paper concludes with a discussion of what processes of land assembly have emerged that seriously undermine the autonomy of peasants (peasants become laborers on their own land), the ironic cycle over time whereby rural China passes from a state of labor excess to one of labor shortage, the attendant land use changes that accompany land assembly (from food to cash crops), and the impact on families that are divided geographically by the various emergent land and labor conditions.

Scottish land reform in progress: qualitative explorations

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This paper provides an overview of the process of land reform ongoing in Scotland, focussing in particular on discourses of sustainable development and shifting power relations. The current Scottish Government aims to diversify landownership and land use with support for community landownership and the break-up of large, privately-owned land holdings, known as 'estates', through revision of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003. This represents a step-change in an otherwise gradual process of evolution in changing landownership patterns and has provoked divergent and strongly-held views regarding private property and the 'public interest'. This paper draws on ethnographic case studies of private estates, as well as participant observation, interview data, workshop reports and questionnaire findings. Rather than reporting on one research project, this paper seeks to identify critical themes from several studies and researcher reflection, providing an insight into the role of social relations between key estate stakeholders (including landowners, land managers and community members), and the potential for social capital generation and empowerment through community engagement and partnership working. At this turning point in Scottish landownership and land use policy, this paper highlights the importance of communication to effect positive change and explores best practice approaches to resolve land reform conflicts on the local and national scale.

Shore displacement and second homes: implications of land elevation for planning and development

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Second homes are understood increasingly as an important component of tourism but also as a significant part of housing patterns, and the potential benefits or challenges it brings for regional and local development are rising themes of academic research.

In this article we explore on a micro-scale level the conditions for second homes in an area where shore displacement occurs due to land elevation and pristine land is continuously created. The study area is the Kvarken Archipelago in western Finland, an enlisted UNESCO World Heritage due to land elevation and unique geological formations caused by the latest ice-age. Here the elevation is 1 cm per year creating yearly approximately 1 sq.km of land in the shallow archipelago. This new land becomes an economic and social resource for the local stakeholders in the archipelago. There are roughly 20,000 second homes in the region, many of which are located on leaseholds on emergent land. Ownership and control of the emergent land is much contested.

The aim is to understand the implications of social management of land through a combination of different stakeholders such as municipalities, land- and water commonages, local communities and second home owners. Combining interviews with stakeholders in management of emergent land, and data from two second home surveys in Finland, the following research questions are scrutinized: How is the regulative framework of emergent land management interpreted in Kvarken Archipelago? How is the social management of land influenced by, for example, spatial context, institutionalization of commonages, and path dependency?

Resources, experiences and senses - representations of a peripheral wilderness

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The paper aims to show the multidimensional value of the landscape of a resource-based periphery in Finland. In the early 20th century, the growth of human activity rested upon the utilisation of natural resources for the needs of the forest industry. Assisted by settlement related regional policy, small-scale farming and forestry work became the prevailing way of life, which as a side effect, served to strengthen the resource value of the land. Later on, the structural collapse of labour-intensive forestry as well as a growing interest towards other esteems of the natural environment transformed the value approach.

Spatial mapping is used to illustrate the overlapping use of the land from the perspective of continuous state-owned territories, villages in the vicinity, and the influence of the concept of 'Everyman's rights'. Analysis of the represented meanings offered by current inhabitants shows that the natural environment classified as 'wilderness', in fact enables a variety of values such as commercial utilisation, trails and small lakes which are used for everyday recreation, and also an appreciation of the landscape itself.

Community development and nature conservation policy in Scotland: environmental democracy on the Isle of Rum National Nature Reserve

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In Scotland, statutory and voluntary nature conservation agencies manage land for its wilderness qualities and associated biodiversity. Usually this management is ostensibly based on 'impartial' and 'value-free' science. However, the demands that this science-based conservation practice places on the land often conflicts with the more culturally-based management practices of rural communities who live and work on this land.

Under recent post-devolution reforms in 2000 and potentially further such change, Scotland under the general theme of land reform has prioritised the reconciliation of conservationists' values and locals' concerns. This prioritisation has led to the gradual development of legislation that aims to resolve conflicts, legislation that involves novel participatory mechanisms to enhance public involvement in science-based nature conservation policies. Yet, it remains to be seen whether or not these 'inclusive' and 'co-operative' mechanisms can work in practice, while further change is liable to lead to yet further public engagement.

The aim of this paper is to stimulate debate on the development of further participatory mechanisms like these that are ostensibly orientated towards the practical reconciliation of wild land conservation and community interests. This will be done by describing and analysing these mechanisms and evaluating their success in achieving environmental democracy in Scotland. Illustrating this, the Isle of Rum, a world-renowned 'wild area' with a community development plan in operation, will be used as a case study.

Rural spaces as expressive infrastructures: the prospect of Thrift's untoward land

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This paper evaluates Thrift's diagnosis of a capitalist 'expressive infrastructure' (EI) controlling and manipulating social actors before the event has fully unfolded and questions whether it is too locale-bound. The EI is an extension of a broader portfolio of work analysing the extent, operation and impact of a 'knowing capitalism'. The EI as a concept explicates how capitalism controls and manipulates *before* the event had fully unfolded. Thrift's work is of relevance to sociologists because Savage and Burrows flagged similar concerns in their call for more use of new social media and digital transactional data. Yet we view this as too restrictive and empirically-driven rather than as open and diagnosing as Thrift's theoretical enterprise.

This paper applies the EI to understand the profound changes taking place in the ownership, management and cultural imagination of rural spaces. The paper does so by putting the theoretical idea of the EI and the rural as a case study together – to fruitfully explore how both an empirical case might speak to the concept of the 'expressive infrastructure' using the rural as a vehicle. We suggest that the EI is to be found across everyday mediated encounters, which includes rural spaces. In turn, we reflect on the wider implications that expressive infrastructure holds for our understanding of socio-spatial change in a world where a 'knowing capitalism' has become so pervasive. The implications for what rural spaces are already becoming is evaluated and a series of scenarios discussed.

Working Group 20: Neoliberalism, financialization and rural change

Convenors: Hilde Bjørkhaug [1], Hugh Campell [2], Geoffrey Lawrence [3], Bruce Muirhead [4], Sarah Ruth Sippel [5]

1: Centre for Rural Research, Norway, 2: University of Otago, New Zealand, 3: University of Queensland, Australia, 4: University of Waterloo, Canada, 5: University of Leipzig, Germany

Working group description

Neoliberal policy settings have led to the deregulation of finance and, as a consequence, have contributed to what has been termed 'financialization' – the increased presence and influence of the finance sector throughout economies of the world. Importantly, the food and farming sectors appear to be viewed as important targets – new asset classes – from which profits can be made. Globally, there is evidence that hedge funds and private equity firms are purchasing food companies, merchant banks and sovereign wealth funds are responsible for large-scale land acquisitions, and supermarkets are becoming involved in an array of financial activities including the provision of credit and banking. Scholars have argued that the finance sector is restructuring food and farming on a global scale. For example, large-scale land purchases by sovereign wealth funds have been implicated in 'depeasantisation' as capital seeks land for biofuel, rubber and oil palm production and people are dispossessed. Are similar forces at work in the global north in terms of private equity firms purchasing land for investment purposes owned by those who could be termed family farmers? And, what other impacts are being experienced? Is the global restructuring of agriculture generating greater productivity gains for farmers? Is the world becoming more food secure as a consequence of financialization? Are there case studies which demonstrate that social, economic or environmental benefits accrue to those regions and nations that encourage the flow of foreign capital into food and farming? What are the effects of these changes in rural communities?

The aims of this session are to: establish the connection between neoliberalism, financialization and rural change; provide national-level, as well as local-level, evidence of impacts of financialization; to trace the contours of the global restructuring of food and farming in an era of financialisation; and, to understand – from insights around the globe - how European food and farming industries and rural communities are being reshaped by financial entities.

Neoliberalism's role in promoting the financialisation of agri-food industries: evidence from Australasia

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Neoliberalism is more than a hegemonic ideology justifying market rule, de/re regulation of government policy settings to favour private enterprise, and the privatisation of state-owned enterprises. In its politico-economic guise it is also responsible for lowering the barriers to foreign trade and investment and reducing taxes on corporate profits, with free-trade agreements playing an important facilitating role. In these, and other, ways, neoliberalism is fostering what has been termed the 'financialisation' of economies throughout the world - represented by the increasing presence of financial entities (merchant banks, sovereign wealth funds, private equity groups among others) in the ownership and control of strategic areas of the economy. In particular, during the last decade there has been a surge of activity by the finance sector in agri-food industries. In the countries of Australasia, financial firms have been purchasing land to grow foods and biofuels, have acquired intermediaries to facilitate flows of finance capital into food and farming, have been involved in the purchase and 'asset stripping' of food companies, and have employed capital to speculate on forward contracts in food. The presence of Chinese State Owned Enterprises throughout Australasia is of great interest. Chinese intentions to 'go global' are leading to a large scale land acquisitions in neighbouring countries, as well as nations like Australia, eliciting public disquiet. Focusing, in particular, on Chinese, Japanese and Korean finance-firm investments in the region, this paper examines the stated (and often unstated) motives for investment, and assesses the impacts being felt throughout the region.

The Canadian province of Saskatchewan and change in land ownership patterns

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According to Statistics Canada, the province of Saskatchewan has over 60 million acres of farmland, which is close to 40% of the total amount of farmland in Canada. Before 2003, Saskatchewan had among the most restrictive of rules governing land ownership for both non-Saskatchewanites and non-Canadians. These restrictions, lifted as of 1 January 2003 for Canadians, prevent speculation in farmland, and limited land concentration to maintain opportunities for Saskatchewan residents to acquire farmland for agricultural purposes and support the development of strong rural communities. Since then, farmland investments have skyrocketed. Although land prices have doubled since 2005, Saskatchewan farmland is still considered cheap compared to land in neighboring provinces and cross-border states. This has made Saskatchewan farmland increasingly attractive for financial speculation.

We will discuss the most recent investment trends in Saskatchewan after 2003, including its effects on farm-sector restructuring. The analysis is based on interviews with financial investors, realty brokers, agricultural consultants as well as farmers and farm union representatives. We find that despite heavy entry by investors such as Regina-based Assiniboia and the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board, most land deals are still farmer-to-farmer. However, in order to grow without reaching unsustainable debt-levels, traditional family farmers increasingly enter investor-induced leaseback deals. We ask whether this represents a paradigm shift, weakening the fabric of rural communities, giving birth to a new class of corporate family farmers, paradoxically removing capital from regional Canada despite a huge in-flow of investment capital.

"This is a risky investment" Norwegian agriculture attracting private equity capital

Bjørn Klimek

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Regarding the small dimensions of the Norwegian food industry, Private Equity capital is deeply involved in the structural development of the sector through acquisitions and takeovers. The Norwegian social-democratic model of agriculture, with its attempts to maintain small-scale farming, struggles with comparative disadvantages. Private Equity capital is now (surprisingly maybe) investing in direct competition with farmer cooperatives that for decades have been the centerpieces of the model. While other Scandinavian food industries since the 1990s developed into the single EU market, Norwegian national policies led the food industry into what can be seen as comparative disadvantages in productivity. The weakness in productivity finally is what today attracts Private Equity capital in its attempt to restructure the food industry. I will in this paper argue that it is the Norwegian model of agriculture, with its non-market based elements, that today attracts finance capital. An outline of the socio-economic characteristics of the Norwegian model as well as those of Private Equity will illuminate why they both fit well together.

Despite this involvement of finance capital, I question whether this is a process of financialisation. The identified economic motives of the Private Equity takeovers indicate by definition typical industry capitalism with investments in productivity and efficiency. The study is incorporated in a varieties-of-capitalism framework combining social theory on financialisation with business school theories on Private Equity transactions. Macro-qualitative methods allow for studying Private Equity buyouts as a subsequent process of the political transformations which have taken place since the 1990s in Norway's economy.

New farm/land investments and local dis/content: the forms and strategies of encounter

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The last decade has witnessed a comeback of agriculture in investment debates. Floating capital, either domestic or foreign, liberated from its sector of origin, has increasingly identified farms and land as worthwhile areas of surplus extraction. Thus, not only the countries of global south but also some European countries, those recognized for providing a likely positive economic balance, have become the targets of these new investment interests. This paper is based on the case of Slovakia, a country where its post-socialist legacy and EU membership have helped to recreate the map of farm/land ownership which, especially in the fertile lowlands, consists progressively of foreign farm groups, several fortunate winners of the wild 1990s transformation, and some mysterious firms cooperating with real-estate agencies. These transfers, as well as the whole restructuring of property and labour relations they bring along, are accompanied by somewhat conflicting or even paradoxical reactions and interactions, which range from an inviting welcome to common-sense opportunism to un/willing adaptation to open dissent. Based on diverse data but mainly on interviews with the involved stakeholders, the paper discusses the way these new investments encounter the local level – either the farm sites or broader public. It focuses on the central mechanisms which facilitate the capital in (or sometimes hinder it from) entering new fields and thus enable and define this major change in the rural areas of Slovakia.

The (micro)financialization of agriculture. Accumulation and indebtedness processes in rural communities.

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Climate change, lack of welfare, patenting of seeds - along with other global processes - are among the major causes for rural indebtedness. Contextually, especially in the most marginalized rural areas, an increasing number of small farmers is entering the credit market due to the spread of so-called 'banking the unbanked' programs. Notwithstanding the steady growth in terms of number of reached clients, whether and how much microfinance helps its clients is still subject of intense debate. The shift from the subsidized/state-driven model to a market oriented one that has affected the sector in the last decades has been supported enthusiastically from key players such as the World Bank. By achieving financial sustainability, it is argued, microfinance institutions can enhance their operating outcomes, being able to serve an increasing amount of people. Nonetheless, many critical observers claim that the profit opportunities made possible thanks to the high interest rates generally related with microfinance, are attracting a growing number of private providers which are drifting away from the original mission.

The paper analyses the latest evolutions of the microfinance industry, arguing that microcredit has become a tool through which the logics of 'financialization' and neoliberalism have been extended from the Global North to the most marginalized areas of the South.

Starting from empirical evidence from Nicaragua, the paper shows how the (micro)financialization of rural communities is contributing to reorganize marginal economies according to global market needs. This might expose small farmers to new risks, rather than generating greater productivity gains for them.

Food or finance? Cultural and economic valuation in the Norwegian debate on agricultural land protection

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Available land for grain-production in Norway is about 1% of the total land area and one third of the total productive agricultural land. On the one hand available grain area has become a determining measure in the Norwegian food security and food sovereignty discourse. It is seen as a major challenge to sustain or increase this area (and its productivity). On the other hand financial interests represented by actors such as private equity and hedge funds, property developers and industry are seeking easy and secure objects for investment and development. A decision to secure agricultural land is value based, both culturally and economically, and open for negotiations. In this paper recent development on the status of agricultural land in Norway, for food, finance –or both, is discussed in relation to cultural and economic valuation. Analysis leading up to the discussions is based on a broad range of empirical data such as interviews with stakeholders on agricultural land issues, media texts and public reports and policy documents. Findings suggest that while speculation in agricultural land for long has been protected in both legislation and in the public opinion, the current liberal government is seeking areas for deregulation. Agriculture and land use policies are among targeted areas for liberalisation and with this the position of food production in Norway is weakened.

More of the same or different? Perceptions of financialization ‘from below’

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The growing ‘green’ interest of global finance has not only received much attention in recent years, it also resulted in renewed awareness of the scarce and finite character of natural resources. While ‘nature’ has been discovered as providing the basis for a whole range of new attractive financial asset classes and products, it has also become apparent that natural resources are highly sensitive due to their importance for livelihoods and significance for individual and national identity. The movement of financial actors into productive areas such as agriculture has thus provoked a questioning of the motives for, and implications of, these investments. Based on examples of community perceptions of, and ‘resistance movements’ against, the financialization of farmland this paper will address the following questions: How is financialization perceived by rural communities and, if so, on what grounds is it questioned, resisted or criticized? What is the moral significance of aspects such as place and locality or distance and proximity in these perceptions/movements? How useful are spatial concepts such as ‘nationality’ or ‘foreignness’ for resisting or scrutinizing the financialization of natural resources?

'Assessing the impact of financialization in international development agency land dealings'

Philip McMichael

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The paper will examine the turn to 'responsible investment' in agriculture, in an age of financialization – from the perspective of premises, practices and possibility. In particular, the World Bank and the FAO's Committee on World Food Security (CFS) have both developed principles of 'responsible agricultural investment,' with the Bank reporting on corporate performance and local community impacts, and the CFS seeking to balance financial investment in land and protection of human rights. A critical evaluation of these initiatives (with cases) will include considering whether and to what extent international agency claims for 'responsible investment' contribute to a 'land grab trap,' that is, where an emphasis on financial investment distracts from recognition and protection of essential labor investments in land and rural economy reproduction by current food-producers.

New Zealand's free trade deal with China: re-evaluating the rhetoric and reality of free-trade deals in agriculture.

Hugh Campbell

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This paper examines the current 'crisis' of free trade deals in agricultural products in relation to three entities: 1) The WTO, which recently failed to conclude its first successful trade negotiation since the Uruguay Round in 1995; 2) The TPPA, which has seemingly lost a great deal of momentum and looks likely to fail, again partly around agricultural trade issues like Canada's supply management system, and 3) the China/New Zealand FTA which came into effect in 2008 and has proved to be a highly influential intervention into New Zealand's external trade linkages. This seems to fit the pattern argued by some commentators that in the absence of progress on global or multi-party free trade talks, bilateral negotiations would implement global free trade incrementally and with unintended and potentially inequitable consequences. To respond to this claim, I look more closely at the China/NZ FTA and its resultant 'dairy boom' by examining the emerging effects of this in terms of controversies over farmland purchasing in NZ which take the form of both direct foreign purchasing and the debt-driven inflation of dairying land prices for young farmers. Now that the dairy boom of exporting to China appears to be over, questions can now be asked as to whether this was really a free trade deal, or whether it represents a modern version of the old colonial food supply relationships with the attendant risk of calamitous loss of market access that characterised imperial food trading in the period from 1845-to the post-WWII period.

The spatial dimensions of a neoliberalised countryside: perspectives from Ireland

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The increasing influence of neoliberalisation has been studied extensively both as a global process and a local, path-dependent development. However, only in recent years has there evolved an emerging literature exploring the process from a rural perspective. Over the past 20 years, in particular, national economies have become increasingly globalised, a trend facilitated by neoliberal ideas around so-called free-trade and free markets. At national level this has resulted in the marginalisation of policies concerned with the spatial equity of employment opportunities and living standards, with an increased focus on urban economies for improving efficiency, competitiveness, and for attracting mobile international capital. These general trends have been detrimental to rural economies. Accordingly, this paper demonstrates how temporal spatial developments of rural areas can be linked to the increasing influence of neoliberalisation on rural life. As such, national census data from five key time periods covering 1986-2011 are scrutinised in order to extricate the path-dependent trajectories of regions and localities across rural Ireland based on pivotal socio-economic indicators representative of major restructuring developments taking place during the period. Essentially, the paper argues that neoliberalisation of the rural economy has led to greater levels of inequality across rural space which reflects the withdrawal of the state from policies aimed at balanced spatial development throughout Ireland and Western Europe.

Working Group 21: Global and local processes generating and reproducing rural poverty

Convenors: Ildikó Asztalos Morell, Kinga Kerekes

Uppsala University, Sweden

Working group description

Poverty emerges in the context of local, national and international processes of differentiation. Economic growth as well as welfare state interventions provide the framework within which the process of regional differentiation evolves creating developing regions on the one hand and regions characterized with economic stagnation serving as ground for marginalization and poverty. Beyond structural roots of poverty, differential access to cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, Putnam) contributes to social inequalities. The ongoing global turn towards global neo-liberal and conservative welfare regimes (Castells) contribute to the weakening of safety-net for personal or work-related insecurities. Workfare takes over welfare principles, emphasizing the moral obligation to work while blaming those finding themselves on the margins for bad work morals. The deservingness of eligibility to obtain subsidies becomes all the more moralized and restricted as well as ethnified.

The role of civil society initiatives increases in mediating poverty. According to models of governance EU funds (regional and social) are to inject resources defined by local agents, which are to enhance economic growth and combat poverty. However, projectification assumes advocacy which the most impoverished regions and groups lack.

Social differentiation is increasing (Piketty) boosted by economic restructuring combined with budgetary pressures from international monetary agencies leading to major welfare cut-downs in transition economies. Those on the margins find themselves accepting precarious work conditions (Standing). Large segments of the population seek jobs abroad creating a precarious labour category with insecure welfare entitlements in immigration societies as well as often contribute to worsening labour status for the local workforce within the areas where they obtain employment. Migrants provide key resources for their broken families left behind. While certain regions and populations emerge as mobile, others remain in stagnation without being able to use the opportunities of migration for the improvement of the living conditions of the community.

In Southern Europe rural areas offer a refuge to the crisis ridden urban populations and seem to behave more resilient to the pressing neo-liberal policies. Despite the pressures on the convergence of segmented labour markets in the period of crisis in the South there still seems to be a resistance by nationals to enter 3D jobs occupied so far by migrants. As a result, in these jobs migrants still predominate making the situation more complicated. In Eastern Europe (as the case of Hungary) contra-selective mobility patterns emerge, enhancing rural segregation and differentiation between welfare dependent and flourishing rural spaces.

Rural transformation, women's paid work and their sense of empowerment: a case study of seafood processing factory workers in the Middle Black Sea region of Turkey

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Neoliberal economic policies in the last decades have affected many rural communities in Turkey but in different ways according to their geographical and socioeconomic characteristics. While villages in some regions prosper by producing agricultural commodities marketable in global market, mountain villages in the Black Sea region face agricultural decline in recent years. Many households in the villages we currently research suffer poverty as a consequence of the degeneration of agriculture and out-migration since the privatization of cigarette factories and the decline of tobacco production in the area. An increasingly prevalent household strategy for coping with economic hardship during the last decade is wage work in export-oriented seafood factories which employ women for their cheap and flexible labour. This paper examines a transformation of rural women from unpaid family labour to wage worker and its impact on women's sense of empowerment. The research was conducted at a seafood processing factory and in five mountain villages in a middle Black Sea province, Sinop. Data were collected by 217 structured interviews and twenty-three in-depth interviews with women who engage in paid work and those who do not in 2013 and 2014 respectively. Our case study shows that many households heavily rely on women's precarious wage work or social benefits. Despite their contribution, women's labour continues to be undervalued in the household and the community. Nonetheless, working women, especially unmarried women, have developed a sense of empowerment through the experiences of earning money and working with other women.

Rural poverty and empowerment processes. How global neoliberalism is restructuring local economies.

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Social inequalities have increased considerably over the past decades, due both to local and global processes. Focusing on individuals, the neoliberal discourse pays less attention to the structural roots of poverty. As a consequence, the 'poor' are often presented as the only responsible for their own condition, since they are unable to take the opportunities they had been offered, because of their lack of initiative, culture and education. The neoliberal discursive order is reflected in the poverty-reducing strategies implemented by the global governance apparatus, where a new approach, oriented towards the so-called empowerment principles, is taking over classical welfare policies. Economic empowerment processes - such as the ones connected to microfinance - are analysed here in the light of the latest transformations of capitalism, starting from the following hypothesis: the 'poor' are not simply used as an 'industrial reserve army' anymore, but are rather object of a 'governmental' strategy - alluding to the Foucauldian category - that directly refers to their social, communicative and creative skills. Said 'governmentality' can be interpreted as an attempt to 'make value' of the condition of poverty, especially in the most marginalized and relatively self-sufficient rural communities. These, the paper argues with the support of empirical evidences, are pushed to interiorize the neoliberal discourse and to reorganize their economic structures in order to produce value for the global market. Empowerment processes, in any case, are "paradoxical", since they can also encourage new forms of participation that aim to build local alternatives to global neoliberalism.

Exploring the potential of cash transfers for supporting rural livelihoods - the effects of the child support grant in South Africa

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Unconditional cash transfers have in the past decade received increased attention as a potential way of reducing poverty in rural areas in the global South. Opinions differ however on whether cash transfers have only consumption effects or are able to produce long-term livelihood effects that can help people get out of poverty permanently. South Africa's unique situation as a rich 'developing country' with high poverty has allowed it to experiment with building of welfare systems, including non-contributory pensions (which have had major effects on improving livelihoods) and child support grant (CSG). A type of unconditional cash transfer to all households - the basic income grant (BIG) - was also proposed in 2002 and was intensely debated, but has so far not become a reality due to political opposition. The debates about BIG have raised several concerns, e.g. the classic worries about fuelling a 'dependency syndrome', while others point to that grants can help take poor people's focus from their immediate pressing needs and allow them to invest in creating long-term livelihoods for themselves. This project follows up 250 households where some have and others have not had access to the CSG over the past 14 years. If the former concerns are true, households that have received grants should be no more engaged in farming, entrepreneurship and work than other households, while if the latter expectations are true, grant-receivers should have a better general livelihood situation than others. This study explores if there is clear evidence for any of these standpoints.

Communal work as precarious labour: Hungarian local community strategies meeting long-term unemployment

Ildikó Asztalos Morell

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This paper is to scrutinise the way how communal work [közmunka] as national tool for the reintegration of the long-term unemployed into the work of labour in Hungary is adapted and utilised in rural municipalities characterised by high ethnified unemployment. Communal work is a new tool of welfare strategies critical of the increased welfare dependency of long-term unemployed. The goal is to see how communal work is integrated into the local municipal context and how it is constructed as an instrument of ethnified welfare discourses. Furthermore, it is to analyse how these discourses are legitimising the ethnification of diversified local welfare praxis. In this effort the paper is to utilise Standing's concept of precarious class. An additional goal is to problematize communal work as a local developmental strategy pursued by key agents forming the local arenas of governance.

Working Group 22: Rural gentrification: Cross-national comparisons

Convenors: Martin Phillips [1], Darren Smith [2]

1: University of Leicester, UK; 2: Loughborough University, UK

Working group description

Rural gentrification can be viewed as a manifestation of the processes and problems of the neo-liberal countryside, being potentially driven by the dynamics of globalised flows of capital and labour; intensified and differentiated commodification of space nature and heritage; demands for places of recreation, rest and escape; the devaluation and re-evaluation of land and buildings; and the restructuring of society and state relations. Rural gentrification has also emphasised the need to consider the consequences of change - emphasising issues such as the social exclusion and displacement, social mobility, service accessibility and personal and community wellbeing - as well as the possibilities of opposition and resistance to dominant processes of change.

Relatively little attention has, however, been paid to the differential geographies of rural gentrification. The concept has been quite widely employed in the UK (e.g. Sutherland 2012; Stockdale 2014) and North America (e.g. Hines 2010; Nelson and Nelson, 2010; Hurley 2012; Golding 2014), but less so across Europe although recent years have seen an increasingly number of studies (e.g. Eliasson & Westland 2014; Lagerqvist 2014; Lagendijk et al 2014; Paniagua 2014; Richard et al 2014). This research still lacks the breadth and depth of urban gentrification studies, a situation that may reflect differences in extent and form of gentrification in rural and urban areas. However, as Clark (2005) argues, it is important not to conflate the geography of use of the gentrification concept with the geography of the phenomenon itself. This is an important argument given the relative lack of substantive research on rural gentrification, which means that, to date, knowledges of the geographies of rural gentrification are limited, even in the UK and North America where the process has been most studied. In other national contexts, such as France and Portugal, it is noteworthy that there have been relatively few studies of gentrification in rural (and urban) contexts, a situation that poses intriguing questions about the differential geographies of the concept and phenomenon.

This working group seeks theoretical and empirical papers that explore the concept of rural gentrification, or association concepts (e.g. counterurbanisation, peri-urbanisation, amenity migration), examining both how these various concepts are understood and how the rural gentrification is developing in particular locations. A key aim of the working group will be to explore whether or not rural gentrification is a concept capable of explaining the form and dynamics of rural change across different national contexts?

Rural gentrification in Russia: land rush, gated communities and post-productivist farming.

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Although, the possession of a dacha (second country home) by Russian urban families has a lengthy history, the economic development and emergence of an urban middle class over the past decade has given a new boost to this phenomenon: the number of dachas had doubled, occupying over five times as much land. Every second Russian family has now a dacha. The transfer of land from agricultural use to sites for dacha construction has become a very profitable business, with approximately 85% of newly-built dachas located on agricultural land. This led to a dramatic landscape transformation and jeopardised land rights of rural communities in the affected areas.

In this paper, processes of gentrification are developed in relation to the commercial, productive and amenity values of land. The new Russian elite use their economic capital to reproduce a cultural symbol of elite membership, which caused the emergence of gated communities. At the same time, urban middle-class dachniks, who drew on their (or their parents') dachas as a source of food security in the early post-Soviet period, are increasingly altering their land use to reflect leisure interests. While for some urbanites, dacha farming is a recreational activity, source of organic fresh food, and socialisation within rural communities through food exchanges; others consider dacha as an escape from a consumerist society and value solitude at their dacha homes. Despite many mutually-beneficial interactions between gentrifiers and the rural population, material and immaterial territorial disputes arise from collisions between different lifestyle expectations and land use change.

Rural gentrification and tourism development: a case of villages in the Fuji-submontane area, Japan

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Over the last few decades, people have been drawn to some of Japan's idyllic rural locales that have good access to urban districts, local brands and landscapes. The phenomenon has appeared along with the growth of tourism and an influx of people from urban areas, which have caused changes in the social structures of local communities and in some cases, have led to rural gentrification. Based on a case study of the Fuji-Submontane area, a famous tourist destination, this paper explores the advancement of rural gentrification caused by tourism development and discusses the impacts on the local community. Since the beginning of the 20th century, private railway companies and developers have built up tourism to attract urban residents to the foothills around Mt. Fuji. In addition, the number of urban dwellers who want to live in this picturesque landscape and move there has spiked in the last few decades. In order to examine the relationship between tourism development and rural gentrification, we used both quantitative and qualitative approaches, which include census data analysis and interviews with incomers. The public image of the Mt. Fuji foothills has become an important factor in drawing new residents to the area. Some of them build new communities and run interesting tourism facilities such as guest houses, cafes, and restaurants. Thus, incomers also revitalise tourism. In the Fuji-Submontane area, rural gentrification and tourism have progressed simultaneously and have affected each other.

Rural gentrification and Khao Yai National Park: hyperreal rurality in Thailand

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This paper utilises a case study of Khao Yai National Park, located in the Northeast of Thailand in order to demonstrate the extent to which rural gentrification can be 'mapped' onto a wider geographical context, specifically, within Southeast Asia. Khao Yai National park is characterised by lush, green landscapes populated by an estimated 2,000 plant species, 5,000 insect species and 800 species of fauna. Thailand's first National Park, Khao Yai has attracted tourists and vacation home residents, predominantly from Bangkok which is only 200km away. Thus, the park has become a 'hyperreal' space of consumption - new housing developments are modelled on pseudo western architectural styles including British and French and marketed as a piece of urbanity set within a Thai countryside landscape. Data used in the study includes the narratives portrayed through the printed property literature on Khao Yai National Park. The 'blurring' of the conceptual boundaries between Thai rural and urban gentrification warrants further attention, however, gentrification in Khao Yai also exhibits unique characteristics including the desires of aspirational middle class Bangkokians to 'escape to the country' particularly over the weekends and upgrade their social status in the process. This process of social upgrading differs from existing conceptualisations of social class formation, organisation and practice. Instead, social status offers a more insightful lens into the characteristics of Thai gentrification and warrants further attention.

Rural gentrification in the 2010s: the middle class countryside?

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There is a legacy of evidence demonstrating the (new) middle class households 'taking over' the British countryside, as exemplified by the mid to late 1990s studies of Cloke, Thrift and colleagues. More recently, Phillips (2007) shows the continuation of this trend of an increasingly divided British countryside, whereby the most appealing rural areas are gentrified by more affluent in-migrants, often displacing 'local' lower income families. In this paper, we analysis 2001 and 2011 UK census data to up-date Phillips' analysis of 2001 UK census data, revealing that large swathes of the countryside is now almost most the preserve of gentrifiers. At the same time, we reveal pockets of non-gentrification, and utilise ONS area-level classifications to consider some of the reasons for these geographies of non-gentrification. The paper argues that the British countryside is more and more characterised by different rural populations living parallel lives.

Pahl revisited? Looking at Hertfordshire villages through the conceptual lenses of rural gentrification

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In the early 1960s Ray Pahl conducted a survey of villages in Hertfordshire that can be seen to have laid the foundations for the studies of rural gentrification that emerged over twenty years later. Pahl never himself used the term gentrification and during his lifetime often appeared quite dismissive of research and researchers that made use of the concept. The present paper returns to the survey that Pahl conducted, exploring the content of his questionnaires and subsequent development in the villages he examined. The construction of Pahl study is examined in the light of Savage's (2010) distinction between 'gentlemanly' and 'technical' modernism, with attention being drawn to the practices of data construction and recording, as well as the interpretation of rural life developed by Pahl. Attention is drawn to conceptualisations of rural gentrification, as well as related debates over the significance of rural representations, emotions and adaption/non-adaptation to rural dwelling. The paper also considers the dynamics of changes occurring in the villages subsequent to their examination by Pahl and the extent to which these may be understood through notions of rural gentrification.

There is no rural gentrification in France ? But do we look for it correctly and at the right place ?

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Despite the emerging of the rural gentrification as a concept in the French rural studies, research and publications related to it are still very few. Logically, quantitative approaches of rural gentrification dynamics are even more infrequent (Pistre, 2012). This could lead to a kind of paradox. The French academic cultural context still valorises empirical (and statistical) evidence to legitimate new theories or concepts. But without legitimating the use of rural gentrification as a concept, geographers and sociologists may be hesitant or reluctant to engage with empirical research. This could unfortunately perpetuate the lack of statistical exploration about rural gentrification and stop its recognition as a relevant and helpful concept to understand the French countryside change.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to this necessary collective effort of nourishing quantitative approach in France, in order to encourage empirical, theoretical, qualitative and quantitative rural gentrification studies in France and then to be able to launch cross national comparative studies. The paper will be organised in two steps. Firstly, we shall basically discuss methodological issues to draw both the limits and the potential of the national statistical database to address gentrification trends and forms: these issues concern the geography (limits) of the rural, scales of statistical treatments, indicators and reliability of census data in low density areas. Secondly, by relying on various census and other national data, we will submit few results from our statistical and mapping analyses for the whole of France and also for a few local fields.

Comparative studies in rural gentrification: steps in exploring rural gentrification in France, the UK and the USA.

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Recent years have seen calls for the development of comparative urban studies (e.g. McFarlane, 2010; Nijman, 2007; Robinson, 2011; Ward, 2008, 2010), including of urban gentrification (e.g. Lagendijk et al., 2014; Lees, 2012). Studies employing the notion of rural geography appear with much less frequency and rarely involve explicit comparative elements, beyond consideration of similarities or differences from conceptualisation of urban gentrification. This paper explores the relevance of debates within comparative urbanism to the study of rural gentrification. The paper draws upon an international research project that seeks to explore rural gentrification in France, the UK and USA. Attention is drawn to epistemological, ontological, practical and political dimensions of comparative research, drawing on notions of sociologies of translation and asset-based theories of gentrification. and methodologies and politics of comparison. The value of 'individualising', 'universalising', 'encompassing' and 'variation-finding' strategies of comparison (Tilly, 1984) are explored, drawing on a review of existing studies of rural gentrification and the programme of working being in the comparative study of rural gentrification in France, the UK and USA. Attention is drawn at the end of the paper to the implications of these strategies for understanding the relationship between rural and urban gentrification as well as the globalising spread of rural gentrification studies.

In the kingdom of the blind, the one-eye man is king : let's start talking about rural gentrification in France!

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Compared to the Anglo-American world, the concept of gentrification has been lately accepted and spread amongst scholars and media. And even if gentrification is now commonly used by French geographers and sociologists, first in depth and comprehensive research is still relatively recent in urban studies (Clerval 2009; 2010; Fleury 2009), and some researchers are still even reluctant to engage with it (Preteceille 2007).

But furthermore, *rural* studies explicitly addressing the issue of gentrification are very fewer. Does it mean that there's no gentrification process in rural France? Isn't this concept capable of explaining the social and geographical change in these areas? And yet, empirical studies may indicate the relevancy of the concept to understand rural social and demographic changes (Raymond 2003, Perrenoud 2008, 2012, Pistre 2012, Richard et al. 2011, 2014 a,b). In this paper, we would like to submit some hypothesis about the little attention paid to rural gentrification in France.

For instance, in France, gentrification is understood as an exclusively urban phenomenon, and as a consequence, rural geographers and sociologists feel illegitimate not to do so. As another hypothesis, French rural studies may have been influenced by the trauma due to the long and massive demographic rural decline and tended to explore the more enthusiastic issue of the countryside rebirth or renewal. And last but not least, one might postulate that what is now considered as the geography (limits) of rural in France prevents researchers from working on rural gentrification per se.

'Class-ifying' rural gentrification using different area-level classifications

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This paper provides an analysis of population change using UK census data to consider the difference that different classification of rurality (and urbanity) make for understandings of geographies of rural gentrification. Using a range of individual-, familial, and socio-economic variables from the UK census, major differences are exposed via the use of ONS, DEFRA and other area-level classifications. The paper also considers some of the ways in which other national area-level classifications can be adopted to undertake comparative, cross-national studies of rural gentrification. It is argued that defining rurality in both subjective and objective ways has a major bearing on understandings of the scale, magnitude and expressions of rural gentrification in the UK.

Working Group 23: Pluralistic rural gender relations: international perspectives on gender and rural development

Convenors: Sally Shortall [1], Bettina Bock [2]

1: Queen's University Belfast, UK; 2: Wageningen University, The Netherlands

Working group description

Globalisation, cosmopolitanism and the network society are all concepts underlining the increasing connectivity of countries and continents, and with it the increasing cross-border interrelations of citizens. Discussing citizens' social relations based on national identity and residency makes less sense than ever when people are increasingly on the move and populations become fluid. The same is true for the popular separation between global North and South in sociological research and analysis. With the actual level of transmigration the population of the South and North becomes mingled and with it their citizens closely connected.

This working group explores how rural gender relations are changing in a globalising world that fundamentally impacts on the structure of agricultural life in rural areas and urban-rural relations. It analyses the development of rural gender relations in specific places around the world and looks into the effects of the increasing connectivity and mobility of people across places. The working group is not geographically or geo-politically organised but integrates experiences across the globe by inviting contributions under five themes:

- How does mobility affect men and women in rural areas?
- What do we know about agricultural change, the response of individuals and the collective within farm households?
- What is the impact of international, European and national politics and policies on rural relations?
- The construction of identities and the changes occurring in the definition of rural femininity as well as masculinity as a result of rural transformations
- What is the role of international aid in advancing women's well-being in less developed parts of the world?
- We wish to organise this session in a different way to the norm which we believe will be more productive. Here are our plans:

If you wish to present in this working group you must send a prepared paper to the session organisers by June 1st 2015.

Authors will not present their paper, rather a discussant will give a summary and raise some issues for discussion about the paper.

If you are presenting in this session we ask that you will be prepared to be a discussant for some of the other contributors.

Agricultural changes leading to economic precarity - how do Swiss farm women and men react?

Sandra Contzen

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Processes of globalization and liberalization influence national (agricultural) policies which in turn lead to structural and economic changes in agriculture. Although farm families (try to) adapt to these changes, some families struggle with economic precarity.

While on the one hand official statistics lack about how many Swiss farm families struggle with economic precarity, on the other hand these statistics would fail to grasp what happens within the households. As households do not consist of homogeneous groups but are formed by individuals with own perceptions and own strategies, it is important to have a closer look at these individuals in order to understand the household's responses to the faced challenges.

The paper takes a closer look into farm families and explores how farm women and farm men perceive economic precarity and how they (try to) react. The analysis is based on qualitative data from a preliminary study carried out in 2009 and from a main study, which is still in progress. Based on the preliminary study the author assumes that farm women and men experience economic precarity differently because of their roles and responsibilities within the farm business and household. The paper aims at contributing to a better understanding of how agricultural changes affect farm women and men and what consequences this could have for gender relations in Swiss agriculture.

The LEADER approach and new relationships of women and men in rural communities.

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Relationships between women and men are influenced by the social roles they play. In traditional rural communities in Poland, female roles used to be limited to the family, no place in public activity was planned for women. Along with the current socio-economic changes, we can observe the changes that occur in the definition of roles attributed to the sexes.

One of the major stimulators of these changes is the LEADER approach, contributing to the creation of local action groups - organizations, in which parities are provided so as to facilitate women's introduction to the activity so far unfamiliar to them.

In Poland, the involvement of women in local politics is low. The activity of women in local action groups can contribute to a change in this situation. Through participation in these structures they can increase human and social capital resources and use them for standing in local elections.

The aim of the presentation is to show the impact of the LEADER approach on the change of rural women's traditional social roles. The subject of the analysis will be the political activity of women and men involved in the work of Polish local action groups and their human and social capital resources. The results of sociological research carried out in 2012 on the sample of 573 female and male members involved in 34 local action groups.

A comparative analysis will show whether women in local action groups have the opportunity to increase their activity on the local political scene.

Do women rule the Polish countryside? Gender and rural self-government in Poland

Ilona Matysiak

The M. Grzegorzewska Academy of Special Education, Warsaw, Poland

The main goal is to analyze the increasing participation of women in the rural self-government in Poland. The position of a village representative is as liaison between the residents of a rural subcommune (sołectwo) and the local authorities at the superior levels. The share of women among village representatives in Poland has increased significantly in recent decades. In 1958, the percentage of female village representatives was only 0.8%, whereas now this percentage exceeds 35.0% on the national level and, in some regions, reaches almost 50.0%. It will be explored what mechanisms lie behind this change: What are its reasons? Does it mean that rural women in Poland actually gained better access to power and local decision-making processes? Do female village representatives differ from their male colleagues in their ideas and initiatives? The chapter is based on a qualitative empirical study conducted in 10 communes located in different regions of Poland. The results show that the main reasons behind the growing number of women village representatives are: the absence of men, who migrate in search of work and the men's lack of the interest in participating in the rural self-government, which requires hard work and does not bring any significant benefits. However, it does not mean, that women just 'fill the gaps' - on the contrary, female village representatives often contribute significantly to the local development and aspire to other positions in the local public life.

Are rural gender relations really so different? Evidence from Northern Ireland

Lori McVay

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The focus of this paper will be the ways women's identities as 'rural' and 'woman' and 'leader' intersect, as well as how they are shaped by interactions through which women internalise gender roles and relations. Many participants in this study recounted experiences of being mentored by and/or working closely with men. Simultaneously, many of the women described having powerful female role models in their families. This presentation will discuss how those connections affected participants' concepts of gender and gender relations, their perceptions of the presence or absence of gender bias within organizations, and their view of care for others as the hallmark of womanhood.

This ethic of care was reflected in one of the most telling findings of the study: namely, that the majority of participants who worked in male-dominated industries or who had attended coeducational schools resolutely asserted that those organizations did not or had not discriminated against women. It was also present in the adamancy of many participants that they did not identify as feminists because they associate the term with such 'unfeminine' qualities as hating men or desiring to be free of their families. The women who identified as feminist and were challenging what they viewed as patriarchal or female-negative systems also claimed their 'rural' and 'woman' identities as valuable resources.

In summary, this paper will examine how the identities 'rural', 'woman' and 'leader' intersect with each other and with interactions with others to facilitate the incorporation of gender roles and relations into women's concepts of self.

Male in-migrants in Finnmark, northernmost Norway and constructions of masculinities: experiencing a rural space of opportunities

Marit Aure¹, Mai Camilla Munkejord^{2,3}

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While much research on rural masculinity has taken a sedentary and often agricultural point of departure, this paper explores constructions of masculinities among in-migrants to a variety of occupations and entrepreneurial activities in Finnmark, northernmost Norway. Based on fieldwork and interviews with 18 male newcomers in Finnmark, this paper suggests that contrary to what is often portrayed in the media, rural masculinities are not necessarily constructed as a negative contrast to a hegemonic urban and egalitarian masculinity. Rather, our analyses show how the specific mix of a compact geography, strong welfare institutions and a changing labour market located within a wild natural scenery, generates a rural space of opportunities where it is possible for male in-migrants to create themselves as men for the future. In particular our informants emphasize the significance of engagement in intensive fatherhood, being a supportive spouse, as well as their commitment to leisure activities and professional identities. These new forms of masculinities may challenge traditional hegemonic rural masculinities in several ways. In addition, and more importantly, perhaps, they show how masculine connoted practices may be interpreted in various and dynamic ways.

Rural queers: exploring the lives of LGBT persons in rural areas in Norway.

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There is a commonly held assumption that urban areas are better places to live for LGBT persons. Urban areas are assumed to be more diverse, more tolerant and to offer gay networks, clubs and organisations. Rural areas, on the other hand, are imagined to be homogenous, intolerant and less diverse with regard to gender and sexuality. Consequently, LGBT people are thought to leave rural areas in order to be able to live openly. The aim of this paper is to investigate the experiences of young LGBT persons living in rural areas in Norway. It is based on 24 qualitative interviews with LGBT persons, mostly between 16 and 30 years old. Analysing these interviews, we explore constructions of gender, sexuality and rural identities. While some informants see sexual orientation as an important part of their identity, others resist such identities as stereotypes limiting their true self. The informants challenge and resist dichotomous representations of the rural, (rural/urban), as well as gender (masculine/feminine) and sexuality (hetero/homo). Their stories reveal a complex relationship between experience and narratives of place, as well as sexuality and gender.

“It's different now; girls can be farmers”: social change and the impact on successor identification on British family farms

Hannah M Chiswell

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Drawing on multiple generation interviews with farm families in Devon, UK, this paper explores the impact of modernization on the strength of patriarchal intergenerational farm transfer. Farming in the UK has long been understood as a 'masculine occupation', however, the paper evinces a fundamental societal shift from a 'society of duty' to a 'market place of opportunity' (Gullestad, 1997), which has freed the individual from the shackles of tradition and expectation (Beck, 1994), has at least begun to diminish the tradition of patriarchal intergenerational transfer.

The paper explores the implications of this shift by demonstrating differences between older and younger potential successors' experiences of being identified as 'the successor'. Older potential successors, all of whom were male, had been clearly socialised into the role from a very young age in view of their gender, and felt they were simply 'born to farm'. In comparison, these expectations did not appear to exist for the younger cohort (both male and female), who recalled an upbringing predicated on freedom to choose what they wanted to do. Amongst this younger group, the farmers' son was no longer the 'default option', as it had nearly always been. The paper presents a number of inspiring examples of young women that have chosen to enter the occupation, and pays particular attention to the issue of gender identity.

Overall the paper concludes that the societal shift from the collective to the individual has penetrated the family farm, and has begun to free family farming from its masculine identity.

The Agency Paradox: the impact of gender(ed) frameworks on Irish farm youth

Anne Cassidy

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This paper focuses on gendered engagement by Irish farm youth who attend university with the individualisation discourse and how this shapes their relationship with their 'home place'. It is based on research with 30 Irish university students from farming backgrounds who do not intend to become full-time farmers aged between 18 and 33. As modern society encourages young people towards spatial and lifestyle flexibility, the future of farming, which relies on a successor from the next generation to take over the farming identity and landholding, is threatened. Nevertheless, family farming norms continue to hold sway around to retaining the farm in the family. Irish farm youth are often brought up with two competing ontological worldviews—that of succeeding to the farm and/or supporting its retention and gaining a professionally orientated education. It argues that there is a paradoxical gendered engagement with the individualisation model and with the notion of agency. On the one hand sons are brought up with the idea of choice but yet accept their futures are bounded by the possibility of a permanent connection to the landholding. On the other hand, daughters are brought up to be independent and equal off the farm but are also socialised into subordinate roles in the succession process. These paradoxical positions increase the possibility of the farm being kept within the family but are flexible enough to allow for off-farm progress by these young people in careers and reduces inter-family conflict.

Gender and farm divorce in Norway

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The transformations of rural societies have prompted interest in how gender relations and identities are affected, and research has documented ongoing changes in the position of women and men within agriculture. Farm women today are recognized as making more independent choices and assuming increasingly visible positions both on and off the farm, and farm men's position as heads of the family farm are weakened. Consequently, women and men experience changes in traditional norms of rural femininity and masculinity. In addition, individualization and increased variability in family forms are challenging rural family practices. Changes such as these have arguably reframed the discourses surrounding gender in agriculture.

This paper explores how women and men handle a family farm break-up. Focus is on the paradoxes/tensions between community and individualism, between older patriarchal norms and gender equality. Results show that women were strongly influenced by the moral norms of rural womanhood, and that they managed to retain their feminine dignity as caring and considerate of the family. Men struggled to live up to the ideals of rural masculinity, which centre on hard work, self-sufficiency and mental strength. Despite more variable and fluid gender identities in late modern society, we find that farm women and men's practices and the understandings of themselves (identities) are reconstructed to comply with the dominant norms of rural masculinity and femininity.

The paper is based on interviews with eleven farm women and men who had experienced family break-up.

Transnational currents and women's land rights

Susie Jacobs

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This paper discusses transnational currents and women's land rights, emphasising contradictory trends. Although land tenure regimes differ regionally and locally, most women face persistent inequality in holding and controlling land compared with men of similar social groups.

A dominant trend has been for the privatisation of land rights where land has been collectivised (as in post-Soviet scenario) or in African communal systems, spurred on by IFIs (Fortin, 2005) Such neoliberal policies often serve to consolidate landholdings (Spoor, 2012) and to threaten the land rights of the poorest (Manji, 2010).

More recently, attention has turned to the importance of women's land rights, given their key agricultural roles (FAO, 2010). Fraser (2009) alleges that feminism concentrates on individual rights and so can be used as a 'trojan horse' for capitalism. This argument has not been applied explicitly to land tenure debates, but could be seen to 'fit' since women's (individual) land rights could further privatisation. The considerable dilemmas involved are beginning to be recognised in research and writing (Englert + Daley, 2008; Hall, 2014; Jacobs 2014).

A different and perhaps more collective direction of 'transnationalism' concerns the growth of feminist movements, which have highlighted the taken-for-granted nature of intimate violence. This is of relevance for rural as well as urban women, as denial of land rights potential or actual) often takes violent form. Some agrarian movements such as the feminist grouping within *La Vía Campesina* have made elimination of violence central to their aims, a hopeful sign (Jacobs, 2015).

Tradition and transformation in the construction of rural femininities – Female farming strategies in Sweden

Susanne Stenbacka

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Entering farming is often considered equal with succession, a process marked by gender relations. Patrilineal succession is still a dominant culture but parallel to this other cultures develop. For example increased diversification, involving for example farm tourism, may encourage female succession. Besides succession within the family, female farmers may also start a new business, thus embodying the intersection of entrepreneurship and farming apart from the generational context. Yet another road into farming is a relationship or marriage. This study deals with experiences and strategies among young women attending an agriculture program in upper secondary school and young female farmers. Focus is set upon changing rural femininities within agriculture or the green sector; possibilities regarding the entrance into farming, what qualities are important for being a farmer and how to organize a viable farm business. The work is based on an empirical study in Mid Sweden.

On the basis of in-depth interviews with female young farmers, focus-group interviews with students at an upper secondary school with agricultural focus and one focus-group with female farmers and female students, it is argued that both tradition and transformation are present in today's farming. Within the identified farming strategies it is possible to find independency and teamwork, economic as well as social goals – practices active in the construction of rural femininities.

Female farm management and male /part-time farming: a sign of changing gender roles in agriculture or of the crisis of small-sized family farms?

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In Austria gender roles are quite traditional among peasants compared to the general population. Yet the percentage of farms led by women is constantly growing. Especially small-sized farms are often handed over to women, while male farmers engage in some dependent employment. In my contribution I want to discuss, whether this growing percentage of female managed small-sized farms is to be interpreted as a sign of changing gender roles in these farm families - or if women are just used as placeholders until male farmers take over the farm again or it is given up permanently.

Working with quantitative data retrieved from a recent study on family farming, we observed that there are only slight differences between male and female led farms in gender roles. Gender role models and gendered division of labour remain altogether rather traditional and there are hardly substantial gains of agency for female farmers in decision making processes. Hence female farm management does not automatically indicate a substantial change in gender roles towards the emancipation of female farmers. Additionally both male and female managed farms preferably pass on the farm to sons. This strengthens the hypothesis that patriarchal structures are not substantially weakening and female farm management is used as interim solution until it is to decide how the family farm will be carried on - and male farmers eventually come back into business again.

Layering geography, occupation and gender: constructing rural farm women's identities

Susan Machum

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A few generations ago it may have been accurate to equate rural with agriculture but with mass exodus from farming the world over, and the gentrification of small rural towns and villages, these terms are neither synonymous nor interchangeable. Farm families may not live on the farm; increasing numbers of rural families have no occupational ties to traditional rural industries such as farming, fishing or forestry. Yet academic research and popular culture continues to layer geographic location with gender and occupation evidenced by phrases like 'rural farm women' and 'urban agriculture'. In each instance the geographic location of the act is rendered significant; and this is especially true for those situated in rural spaces. For example, type 'rural women' into Google Scholar and you will receive over 169,000 hits while 'urban women' only renders 44,000 hits. This suggests to be a woman in a rural community has more significance than being a woman living in a city.

This paper argues the propensity to mix space and occupation effectively flattens the identity markers of women living and working in rural communities — presenting them as more homogeneous and unidimensional than their urban counterparts. Using case study data and an intersectionality framework, the paper illustrates how problematic the use of terms such as 'rural women' and 'farm women' can be. The paper concludes women's lives and experiences are far more pluralistic and complex than the labels emphasizing geographic space, gender and/or occupation suggests.

Regional disparities in women's access in the labor market after maternity leave

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The purpose of the paper is to provide a comparison and description of the status of women in the labor market from different regions of the Czech Republic. The issue of the status of women in the labor market is currently increasingly discussed, also in the context of changing gender segmentation in the market. In particular, certain segments of women who want to actively participate in labor market are considered as pre-risk groups.

Women must choose between something as natural as having children, taking care of family and on the other hand, something as necessary nowadays as education and good career opportunities with potential personal career growth. The above phenomenon often leads to mobility of young educated people from rural to urban areas with better possibility of reconciling work and family life, therefore the decrease in human and social capital in the country. The question for this paper is following: What opportunities and at the same time support do women have after maternity leave by the state in different regions? Data used to deal with the research question were collected during semi-structured interviews with local leadership, experts from scientific and academic sphere, and complementarily study of documents. We should look for solutions, also based on the comparison of pro-family policies and models in European countries and on the analysis of the tools of family policies in similar regions of the EU, that lead to finding the right balance between work and family life supporting the Czech family.

Seasonal agricultural labour of girls in rural Turkey

Ayşe Gunduz Hosgor

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Seasonal agricultural migration in Turkey is a prominent historical, economic and sociological issue. Although this type of labour exploitation has been practiced for centuries by various groups, literature indicates that recent seasonal agricultural labourers are from urban and rural poor areas of Southeast and Eastern regions. Most of them belong to ethnic groups of Kurds, Arabs, and Dom/Rom Gypsies. Members of labouring households temporarily migrate to work in the fields for periods between two to ten months. Recent studies also highlight the fact that labourers migrate as households, with men and women, participating collectively in the process. Another significant dimension of seasonal agricultural migration is child labour. Boys and girls of seasonal farm labourers work alongside their families. Studies have shown that these children suffer from malnutrition and even famine, as well as living in improper housing without access to potable water, sewage for waste, and suffering from a lack of even basic health and education services. Like their parents, these children are socially ostracized and discriminated against in the regions where they work. However, increase in gender-based analyses of child poverty has also shown that boys and girls experience poverty differently. Accordingly, in this article, I will focus on seasonal labour of girls. How do girls experience seasonal agricultural work? What are the problems specific to girls rather than boys? How do they involve in productive and reproductive work? The article will be based on a qualitative research conducted in three cities, Ordu, Yozgat and Şanlıurfa.

Working Group 24: Animalising rural societies: Human-animal entanglements in a neoliberal world

Convenors: Katrina Brown [1], Rhoda Wilkie [2], Dominic Duckett [1], John Bone [2]

1: James Hutton Institute, UK; 2: University of Aberdeen, UK

Working group description

Neoliberalism, as it is mobilised through economic and governance arrangements, material practices and discursive processes, influences the nature, extent and place of human-animal interactions in rural societies. These types of socio-economic mobilisations not only permeate and shape a wide range of rural activities, practices and contexts (e.g. agriculture, aquaculture, tourism, conservation and recreational pursuits) they also produce novel constellations and hybridised configurations. Although different species and breeds of animals are pivotal to the creation and maintenance of different types of (human) rural economies the extent to which interspecies entanglements are overtly acknowledged in such analyses is currently underappreciated. This Working Group seeks to address this interspecies blind spot by animalising our understanding of rural societies in a Neoliberal world. By attending to such 'zoological connections' and exploring the diversity of people's (e.g. land managers, employees, consumers, visitors, and others) relationships to and economic dependence on other animals, it will offer both a timely and critical reminder that more or less thriving ruralities are configured, albeit to varying degrees, through 'more-than-human' interconnections.

Possible questions addressed might include (but are not restricted to):

- How are more-than-human agencies, knowledges and ways of knowing enrolled into neoliberal processes, governance and decision-making frameworks?
- How are animal-human relationships configured and changed with regard to processes of commodification, commercialisation and enclosure?
- How do biotechnology and biosecurity reshape human-animal interactions? (e.g. genetically modified animals for food, epidemiological and zoonotic risk, surveillance, animal alienation, biopolitics).
- How are rural spaces produced as places of conservation (rare breeds, local breeds, traditional breeds, protected and endangered species) and places of production? Likewise, how does the concurrent intensification and extensification of agricultural and conservation practices matter?
- How are notions of justice, ethics and responsibility mobilised with regard to animal-human entanglements in the economic and moral ordering of rural space?
- How do particular bodily, technological, affective and sensory relations become enrolled between animals and humans, and how are these entangled in neoliberal structures and processes?
- What are the implications of neoliberal processes for animal disease and animal health? (e.g. epidemiological and zoonotic risks, outbreaks, pandemics, risk and the limits of modernity, breeding for health as opposed to breeding for production)
- Where are the key tensions between human and animal health/wellbeing?
- What are the opportunities and challenges of applying interspecies scholarship to the understanding of the rural realm, and what kinds of conceptual and methodological tools, techniques and technologies might we need to address them?

Re-connecting farmers and their animals through technology? Representations of animal-human relations in 'Precision Livestock Farming' research and developments

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Due to scale enlargement in animal agriculture, farmers face difficulties to adequately attend to the well-being of each of their individual animals. To address these difficulties, much recent animal science research focusses on developing and assessing so-called 'smart farming' or 'Precision Livestock Farming' (PLF) technologies. These technologies, which principally involve on-farm sensors and data-processing software, are promised to extend farmers' eyes and ears, and thereby allow farmers to re-connect with individual animals and to improve their animals' welfare and productivity. Starting from the recognition that technologies are never simply facilitating but rather remaking and remade in human-animal relations, this paper critically examines how interactions between animals, humans and technology are understood and constituted in PLF research and developments. The paper offers a qualitative content analysis of systematically collected scientific papers on PLF technology and promotional materials of PLF manufacturers, which have been published since the year 2000. In this analysis, the paper builds on the sociology of science and technology and the sociology of human-animal relations to reveal and criticise different reductionist assumptions that underlie PLF research and developments. The paper concludes by underlining and specifying the need for more social scientific attention to if and how PLF technologies may improve on-farm animal-human relations and animal welfare.

Neoliberalising nature: a longitudinal study of badger vaccination

Damian Maye¹, Gareth Enticott², Rhiannon Naylor³

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Discourses of biosecurity governance make increasing references to neoliberal modes of governing. UK governments have reframed modes of biosecurity governance in a discourse of 'cost and responsibility sharing', and sought to shift the costs and responsibilities of managing disease to farmers and agricultural organisations. These shifts have consequences for both farmers and nature: farmers must find new ways of collective organisation; whilst nature becomes remade as these neoliberal processes unfold. This paper examines how farmers have responded to these processes and their implications for the management of nature. To do this, the paper focuses on the controversy of bovine Tuberculosis in England, and the role of vaccination in preventing the spread of disease between farmed cattle and wild badgers. The paper presents a longitudinal analysis of 220 farmers over a five year period which examines their confidence in badger vaccination and its relationship to their views on the governance of animal health. The paper shows low farmers' confidence in badger vaccination which is associated with their levels of trust in government. Longitudinal analysis is used to show how farmers' confidence in badger vaccination has declined over time. Factors affecting farmers' confidence in vaccination are explored. The paper shows too how farmers' have deep-seated understandings of nature that lead them to reject vaccination and question neoliberal approaches to animal health governance.

Commodification of genetic information in livestock breeding

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The commodification of genetic information through contemporary biotechnologies has been widely studied in relation to human bodies and plants. Less attention has been paid to the 'geneticisation' of livestock agriculture and the role of genetic information in restructuring the networks of livestock agriculture. This development has opened possibilities for increased privatization, commercialization, and appropriation, as well as intensified objectification and machination of animals – for rendering animals as capital in novel ways. This paper studies the promotion of genetic knowledge-practices in Finnish dairy cattle breeding and postulates that this work is based on a series of reductionist simplifications. These simplifications work to present genes as stable and tradable commodities and animals as bio-informational proxies; to promote devices translating genetic information into knowledge about material animal bodies; to control and reconfigure livestock populations. This work cannot be performed in any given way – it's defined by the structures and traditions of Finnish dairy production and contested by other knowledge-practices, and by cattle themselves. The data – articles, promotional material, interviews – focuses on the Finnish Animal Breeding Association controlling a large majority of the Finnish breeding market. I argue that the commodification of genetic information enables the creation new markets, in which value is generated from cattle and their reproductive material in novel ways, and in which commodities travelling across boundaries are created. This work is instrumental for the emergence and durability of genetic knowledge-practices, which significantly influence animal lives and restructure relations within, but also far outside, Finnish dairy breeding.

Becoming a region, becoming global, becoming imperceptible: territorialising salmon in Chilean Patagonia

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Over the last four decades salmon farming has grown up in the Patagonian region. Today Chile is a global leader in the salmon industry and viewed in certain quarters as epitomising successful neo-liberal development. This presentation critically reflects on this process through an anthropological view on how the regional territorialisation of salmon has taken place. It teases out how 'more-than-human' interconnections have built up over time between salmon, people, sea lions, and the Infectious Salmon Anaemia Virus (ISAV), amongst other actors. Following a Deleuzian perspective, it is argued that a particular line of flight has imperceptibly, indeed unintentionally, led to the construction of a 'salmon-public'. This approach is used to demonstrate how relational ontology can facilitate an understanding of inter-species association in processes of global transformation, bringing to the fore aspects often peripheral to regional planning and intervention. Original empirical data is presented in the form of ethnography, capturing the introduction of the *Salmonidae* family into Chile in the nineteenth century, the role of local people in salmon farming experiments, global connections between salmon industry entrepreneurs, and finally, daily life on a salmon farming pontoon. In conclusion it is argued that relational ontology is a valuable approach for understanding processes of inter-species association and regional transformation in contexts where established ways of framing change are not adequate, given the complex globalised world in which we live.

Unravelling the global wool assemblage

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Sheep are synonymous with rurality in both material and imaginative terms; from their long-standing role in meat and textile production networks, to their positioning within discursive constructions of domesticated nature and countryside stewardship. With neoliberal globalization processes introducing new networks of global connectivity into rural localities, so these existing local assemblages of human and non-human entities are arguably being re-made in new relations, expressions and formations. One such expression can be found within the contours of the global wool trade, where market forces and environmental factors have combined to redefine the value of sheep's wool to UK farmers in recent years.

This paper applies an assemblage reading to the contemporary global woollen industry, in order to draw out and examine the more-than-human dimensions of globalization, which link sheep grazing on the hills of mid Wales to the Chinese textile industry, and beyond. Specifically, we trace the interactions and interdependencies between human and non-human, organic and inorganic, technical and natural components of the global wool assemblage through various stages of wool production, processing, distribution, marketing, and consumption, end-use and re-use. In so doing, we consider the agency of non-human actors within the assemblage including climate, pathogenic organisms, sheep and wool itself, as well as the discursive, technological and regulatory regimes that seek to control, commodify and assign different forms of value to these unruly elements. Through the example of wool, we develop a broader argument for more-than-human globalization in understanding how rural societies are negotiating change in the context of neoliberalism.

Pollinator policies and the more-than-human entanglements of bee-keeping.

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The precipitous decline in global pollinator populations has resulted in a range of government initiatives over recent years to tackle the various causes identified, including diseases such as varroasis, excessive pesticide usage, and a decrease in forage. In the UK policies implemented include the Wales Pollinator Action Plan and DEFRA's National Pollinator Strategy; on an EU level we are in the midst of a two year ban on neonicotinoid pesticides. Inputting into these policies, organisations such as the Bee Farmers' Association provide an important direct link to pollinator health in the field. Whilst scientific data has been critical to understanding pollinator declines, lay-knowledges and 'citizen-science' from practitioners has equally provided a vital source of information. This paper reflects on the role of bee-keepers in developing such insights, exploring the animal-human entanglements involved in the practice of bee-keeping, and the more-than human knowledges shared within such relations. As such, we consider how these more-than-human ways of knowing are being enrolled into current governance frameworks. Traditional environmental knowledges are increasingly considered alongside scientific data in situations where sustained interaction and immersion offers a useful compliment to 'expert' data. In this paper we consider the ways in which bee-keepers not only offer a more long-term and continuous insight into pollinator health, but also how they attain different forms of understanding from those accessed by scientific methods. Here we consider how bodily and sensory relations are enrolled between animals and humans, and how these are subsequently entangled in governance structures to support pollinator health.

Changing biopower through EID in Aberdeenshire and Orkney

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The perennial challenge of livestock disease, once a parochial concern, is increasingly the subject of new regimes of control at both national and international scales. Driving this change are neoliberal forms of governance that have facilitated a global trade in animals and animal products as markets have opened-up. One consequences of the expansion of animal movements through trade is the emergence of new disease risk pathways. At the same time the 'internet of things' and 'ubiquitous computing' (Ubicomp) have opened-up new possibilities for surveillance. Microchips attached to or embedded in animal bodies create virtual identities monitoring movement histories of individual animals from bower to plate. At the European scale, whole populations of animals and their keepers have been corralled into regimes of surveillance typified by the Sheep Electronic Identification (Sheep EID) system. The emergence of these new forms of governance potentially alters the network of relationships between animals, farmers, regulators and consumers. What Foucault has conceptualised as 'a proliferation of techniques directed towards the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations' is developed as a lens to understand current livestock surveillance from the farmers' perspective. Qualitative research incorporating interviews and focus groups with farmers and other stakeholders in Aberdeenshire and Orkney explores farmer attitudes to livestock EID. This paper considers changing biopower relations as animals become visible at a population level in ever more detail and as farmers are newly enrolled as technicians tasked with tagging livestock and capturing data.

Valuing 'meadow meat'. Reconstituting producer--consumer and human--animal relations

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In this paper I concentrate upon valuing. More specifically I concentrate upon valuing meat: how specifically produced and consumed 'meadow meat' is made more valuable in relation to conventional meat. This particular mode of production has gained increasing momentum as a niche market for quality meat, which, in addition to meat, produces also environmental goods and better animal welfare. Holding together these specific values and attaching them to consumers' worlds, however, necessitates a creation of a whole new set of relations between producers and consumers as well as humans and animals. In this paper I tease out how these relations are built, hold together and get contested in the multiple practices of producing and consuming 'meadow meat'. Concentration on valuing as a practice, something performed, reveals how sensing of animals and the farm become central attributes in making sense and valuing 'meadow meat'. Such a relationship in valuing provide both consumers and producers with a greater degree of agency than in conventional meat production chains, but makes their relation exclusive at the same time. I discuss what such emerging marginal spaces of meat production and consumption – and practices of valuing -- can contribute to our understanding of sustainable food systems.

Horse retirement yards as spaces for animal death

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The increasing popularity of horse keeping has given rise to the inevitable question of the ending of the horse's life when the horse cannot provide leisure activities for its owner anymore. For many owners, euthanising their horse, often a companion animal, is not an option. Since the 1990's, special services called retirement yards have emerged, providing care for horses between their active age and death. These practices illustrate the ways in which conceptions of animal death shape contemporary human-animal relations, especially the new forms of consumption culture where the responsibility for the difficult decisions and tasks regarding companion animal death can be commercialised.

In this paper, we explore horse retirement yards as rural spaces devoted to animal death. Based on ethnographic data from two retirement yards in the UK, the study focuses on the retirement yard as a liminal space, transforming the role of the animal within human culture. We ask how the imminent death alters the shared everyday life with a companion animal, and look at the consequences of retirement yard practices to the emotional human-animal relationship. We also pay attention to the ways in which the acknowledged position of the horse as a hybrid of nature and culture is challenged when the 'cultured' life of individual horses, including care, handling, training and riding, comes to an end and the horse develops a new identity as a member of a herd of conspecifics in the same situation.

Nurturing nature: the intersection of society and nature in the production of Nordic native breed horses

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Nordic native breed horses are more than just horses. Rather, they are the product of a system of breeding - the encounter of human needs and reproductive technologies with the genetic potential of the horses. They are the result of hundreds of years of careful and skillful breeding by farmers and others, which was aimed primarily at producing horses which are optimal for wresting a living from the often difficult northern environments. In this sense, we can also say that they are socio-natural constructs as they are the result of the intersection of environmental demands with the human manipulation of equine genetics. This paper presents the results of a three year research project looking at native breed horse tourism in western Norway, Iceland and the Faroes. It will focus on the Faroese pony, which is at serious risk of extinction, and the attempts by local groups to re-valorize the breed through appeals to its importance as a Cultural Heritage asset.

Working Group 25: Education and rural development

Convenors: Anna Dipace, Alessia Scarinci, Francesco Contò

University of Foggia, Italy

Working group description

The economic crisis and the rise of the opening of international markets tend to nullify the peculiarities of rural areas and their products and involve the permanence of a disadvantaged economic status especially in rural areas. At Community level, agricultural policies and rural development aim to promote alternative development paths in order to transform and implement the economic/productive activities of farms in a complex activity alongside innovative services able to multiply the competitiveness and value of traditional production. The idea of multifunctionality is an expression of this need for diversification of agricultural activities that can generate integrated services to citizens such as agritourism, direct marketing and the promotion and protection of the territory through widespread education and communication initiatives. This concept raises the need for a change in the identity of the entrepreneur and the farmworker, skills and strategies of management. Strategic factor in this perspective of economic growth, diversification and enhancement of the multifunctional characteristics of each territory is the human capital. According to definition of human capital provided by OCSE (2001), knowledge, skills acquired by individuals, as well as contribute to improving the living conditions of staff, facilitate the creation of social and economic well spread. To activate bottom-up processes in marginal rural areas, should be at least three types of resources: a competent and highly qualified human capital, a cohesive network of individuals, a leadership capable of mediating between the different needs and bring to a conclusion the process itself. What are the most effective, methods of teaching and learning, the training technologies best suited to support the formation of this valuable human capital? What is the role played by research institutes, universities, capacity-building project of the operators, the transfer of knowledge and good practices and the construction of a cooperative network between agricultural stakeholders? What are the methods emerging from the experience widespread and characterize the history of each territory?

The effects of vocational education and qualification on change in gender-oriented family farm management: a case study of female farm managers in Austria and Switzerland

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Agricultural vocational education and qualification for women farmers effect change in gender-oriented family farm management. This case study of 20 female farm managers in Austria and Switzerland demonstrates how professional education for women promotes female farm management in patriarchal family farms.

Austria and Switzerland have a small-scale agricultural structure and family farming is the predominant mode of agricultural production. The family farm has been handed down in patri-linear tradition from father to son. It has been exceptional for daughters to be socialized as successors and to form permanent careers as farmers - farming women generally engage in agriculture by marrying a farm successor.

In Switzerland the ratio of full-time farms is 71.3% and only 5% of farm managers are women; in Austria, the ratio of part-time farmers is 55%, and 35% of the farms are officially managed by women.

Thirteen interviewees in Austria can be categorized mainly into two types. The one is a female successor with advanced agricultural certification; the other is a female co-manager of the conjugal farm who gained advanced certification for home economics through further education.

Of seven interviewees in Switzerland, six are female successors who are without brothers and gained advanced certification for agriculture, or who are young, and happy to attend further education for certified agricultural skilled workers whether they have brothers or not.

Besides legal institutions, agricultural education and qualification, further education and home economics qualifications in particular give women a chance to become farm managers beyond patriarchal family farm tradition.

The role of the advisory system and public organizations in the blueberry production sector in Central/North Portugal: a case study of new small-scale farmers.

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The case study was selected from a production area that is growing. The blueberry sector in Portugal sells their product throughout Europe and the national market. The blueberry production orchards were selected for their dynamic promotion by public and private organizations, while having many new small-scale farmers. The small-scale farmers are assisted by an advisory system that is a mix of private and public institutions that provide advice and transfer information about how to plant, grow, produce and harvest blueberries, as well as how to package for sale and provides a central location to store and next sell the product from the contiguous production areas. This inter-connected system resembles a commodity-based extension or advisory service that is predominately privatised using traditional extension methods to be identified. The private-public mix is also promoting the entry of farmers into the blueberry production area through the Rural Development Programme.

The overall research methods and data collection process can be identified as a qualitative case study design. First, the research design was initiated through a literature review. This review permitted an introductory analysis and characterization of the blueberry sector. These preliminary steps assisted in selecting the region of study and identifying the key stakeholders within the agricultural development system, concentrating on the advisory services.

The total number of valid interviews with new small-scale farmers was 25. The study also completed six interviews with blueberry production and marketing advisors/technicians. The study operationally filtered and defined the small-scale blueberry farmers with diverse economic criteria.

Capacity building strategies as a tool for rural areas development

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This paper defines and analyzes strategies to foster development in rural areas from an academic approach. It is based on a case study located in Sierra de Ávila, central Spain. Its main objectives are to design and implement a development programme aimed at entrepreneurs. One of the most important pillars of this program is based on its plan of capacity building and education for business, which form the basis of this study. The university's group that is carrying out the field work has used for over 25 years participatory tools that permit involving the various actors of the area from the early planning stages. This methodological approach has allowed the development of an advanced planning model called 'Working With People' that connects expert and experience knowledge in the territories where it is applied. Until recent time, the diagnosis of the territory and the design of the program's strategy have been carried out. In order to ensure the sustainability and applicability of future entrepreneurial initiatives it is necessary to support and strengthen potential entrepreneurs through training activities and capacity building. In this context, this article aims to study the implementation strategy of these training and capacity building activities studied from an academic perspective.

Emerging educational subjectivities in the global periphery: new worker identities for new times

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In Canada and in Scandinavia particularly the conflation of historic national identity with rural resource production is a key metaphor in the cultural imaginary. At the same time rural places have often been marginalized in metrocentric discourses of development. Associated with these peripheral places are equally marginal backward, rough and uneducated identity stereotypes that have been well explored in the rural studies literature. But things are changing. We argue that contemporary resource development has both reinforced and complicated established metrocentric discourses and that places outside the metropolis are increasingly central to national development agendas. This has led to new concerns about education in rural and remote regions aimed at creating new worker/subjects for emerging forms of technologically enhanced resource development requiring different knowledge forms and competencies.

The new northern 'cowboy' who replaces the hegemonic identity of the rugged experientially educated labourer is a formally trained and mobile tech-savvy gas driller, machine operator, IT worker, service industry worker etc. This is an educated subject comfortable with new tools, skills and literacies in addition to the resilience, industry and stamina expected of the older generation of rural labour. The demand for these educated workers in turn leads to discursive emphasis on retooling education systems in rural and remote areas. Drawing on research in Atlantic Canada and in northern Norway, we interrogate the educational and identity consequences of the entanglement of traditional primary industries such as fishing and farming with emerging associations with mining and oil and gas development.

Linking graduate student survey research training with locality-based economic development: the University of Missouri Program

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The University of Missouri Division of Applied Social Sciences (DASS) in the College of Agriculture, Food and Natural Resources (CAFNR) and University of Missouri Extension have developed a collaborative program in which graduate students learn the technical skills of survey research through working directly with community- and area-based development associations, city/regional leadership and professionals from the MU Extension ExCEED (Extension's Community Economic and Entrepreneurial Development) program. The program provides an opportunity for local and regional rural economic development groups to gain valuable empirical data on how different segments of the local population will support various strategies for alternative income generation and contributes to developing diagnostic tools to identify the readiness of a development program to be successful. Examples of practical information gained from previous surveys that can be useful in anticipating problems that are likely to occur in rural economic development programs as well as identifying specific strategies for overcoming these weaknesses include: (a) unanticipated differences in support for various economic development strategies, (b) identification of bridges and barriers between key individuals and groups that affect the ability of a rural development group to generate successful collective action, (c) identifying sources of resistance and acceptance to the introduction of new entrepreneurs in rural regions, and (d) identification of ways to increase engagement of small-scale agricultural producers, artisans and B & B entrepreneurs in a regional association. Students get real life, hands on experience working in communities and positions them well for careers.

Responsible and Sustainable Development of Heritage Interpretation for Community Goods

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In order to plan and implement an effective interpretation process focusing on community lead projects several key questions need to be asked to inform the development:

- What are potential ways to maximise long term community benefit of heritage based interpretation activities
- How may the costs and impacts be minimised and how can these be best measured?
- What methods within an action research context can be utilised to ensure community engagement and ownership of the interpretation processes?
- How does heritage interpretation map onto the currently favoured ecosystem services approach especially when interpretation takes places in fragile sites including areas designated for protection of scenic beauty?

Using a range of empirical examples of people focussed interpretations from Wales and Ireland these questions are explored in terms of using knowledge transfer to both conserve the resource developing best practice and responsible methodologies of interpretation. Issues of debate of multi-functionality, local economic advantage and new skills development and education are discussed by exploring appropriate applications of latest technology to communicate effectively whilst safely protecting rural heritage for community advantage.

The role of social and experiential learning in agricultural innovation networks: a case study of the Scottish Monitor Farm programme

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There is evidence that farmer networks can contribute to sustainable agricultural development, because they allow farmers to learn from each other and with each other. The 'Monitor Farm' programme in Scotland demonstrates an interesting example of social and experiential learning in the context of agricultural innovation and rural development. The Monitor Farm programme was initiated in Scotland in 2003, following a model developed in New Zealand to support farmers in adapting to changes and increasing profitability. Subsequently, the concept involves a nominated farmer opening his farm to a 'community group' of local farmers and industry representatives, who follow the 'Monitor Farmer's' progress over a three-year programme. A facilitator supports meeting organisation, data collection, discussion and knowledge exchange. Building on established learning theories (Kolb's experiential learning cycle and the concept of social learning) this paper seeks to explore the extent to which the Monitor Farm programme allows learning processes to take place with the aim of explaining the successes and drawbacks of the Monitor Farm programme. This paper draws on qualitative data from participant observation of three monitor farms over two years, interviews with the monitor farmers, facilitators and other community group members, as well as results of a questionnaire with participants at a national-scale monitor farmers workshop. This paper demonstrates the close link between social learning and social capital generation, and the importance of trust in cooperative networks.

An examination of the relationship between preferred farm activities and educational effects for visitors: canonical correlation analysis

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The study examines the relationship between preferred farm activities and educational effects for visitors on educational farm in South Korea. Using self-administered questionnaires, an on-site survey of educational farm visitors was conducted. The survey yielded 408 questionnaire responses in 35 educational farms. The principal component analysis and canonical correlation analysis were adopted to examine the data. Canonical correlation analysis showed that walking related activity, animal and plant related activity, riding related activity, and harvest related activity factors of preferred farm activities were significantly correlated to learning attitude, life habit, eating habit, and environmental awareness of educational effects. Especially animal and plant related activity factor was highly correlated with learning attitude. The managerial implications of these results are examined.

Education for innovative and sustainable rural futures

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Futures research indicates a range of challenges facing rural communities and agricultural businesses now and into the future. Challenges for rural populations arise for a range of reasons, include the complexities of marketing products, as a result of government legislation and regulations, changing societal values including of activist groups often based in urban locations, business decisions made away from rural locations, small profit margins and changing rural populations. People who wish to build lives in rural locations, or to maintain intergenerational family rural lifestyles, need to contribute to community redevelopment that enable reinvention, innovation and that build or contribute to sustainability. Analysis of current trends and likely futures point to the need for future rural residents who are able to overcome difficulties, be innovative and create new opportunities. The ability for rural communities and rurally based organisations to be innovative, and successfully foster new ventures requires a high quality education that provides both academic knowledge and a range of capabilities including flexible literacy, numeracy and interpersonal abilities. This presentation will introduce an approach to futures research and the insights it has yielded about rural futures, with a focus on an Australian example. A comparison between likely futures and desirable futures is then used to consider the educational outcomes that rural communities need for their future prosperity and sustainability.

Training for Supporting Multifunctional Rural Systems

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A multifunctional local system is a network of local firms providing as a whole a diverse portfolio of private and public goods to the local community. In rural areas it may include farms, agritourisms, social farms, artisans and so on, that are embedded in the local area, offering their products and services to residents and tourists. Assuming that co-operation among local actors could be an effective pattern for enhancing sustainable development in rural areas, how to create or reinforce network awareness and capability among rural actors? Which training practises can be effective in nourishing networking processes among small rural firms?

A project was carried out in an alpine area in North-eastern Italy. It involved a group of local firms in a programme on relational training, in order to make communication more effective, improve both interpersonal and firm interaction, and manage group dynamics. Other activities were also implemented: workshops on rural development, multifunctional agriculture, agritourisms, educational and social farms, territorial management, common property organisations etc.; and company visits to inter-firm organisations operating in tourism and healthcare services. The project results reinforce the concept that supportive policies for rural development should also be directed to scale-up networking processes. Furthermore training focusing on the improvement of network awareness and capability can be an effective tool in these processes. In fact the reinforcement of relational skills should precede the establishment of a partnership, in order to increase the chances that a multifunctional rural system takes off and functions in the long term.

Working Group 26: How can new forms of food governance contribute to creating alternative economic spaces for the revitalisation of rural areas?

Convenors: Egon Noe [1]; Markus Schermer [2]

1: Aarhus University; 2: University of Innsbruck

Working group description

In a context of recurrent economic crisis, lasting distrust towards the incumbent agrifood system and withdrawal of state institutions from core regulatory tasks, new initiatives are emerging throughout Europe. Diverse stakeholders forge new alliances with partners in order to develop or maintain the quality of food, the sustainability of agriculture and the agrifood economy as well as lively rural areas. At the same time mainstream actors incorporate similar arguments and appropriate values like seasonality, rare breeds and varieties, traceability, localness, or short circuits for their ends. However, there are other mainstream market actors, some producer cooperatives for instance, who adapt their activities and contribute to an enhanced resilience of agrifood systems. New forms of long-term partnerships and networks between food chain actors emerge, which are built on shared sets of values. These find expression in the products as well as in the relationships between partners along the supply chain. Some of these arrangements seem to make the growth of a 'values-based food network' possible, which may benefit the livelihoods of rural regions. Such new forms of food governance establish themselves on different levels and scales, oriented vertically along supply chains or territorially within regions, market oriented or policy driven. Working group 2b examines the emergence and impact of these new forms of governance in rural space.

Neo-liberal Appropriation of Local Food by the State: Korean case and implications

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Under dominant neo-liberal regime of South Korea, there have been growing efforts to relocate food into local space and social relationship. Local food movements, including farmers' markets, CSAs, and local food shops, have attracted public attention over the past 10 or so years. What is interesting is that the central government as well as local governments have been playing an active role in promoting local food. Over the past couple of years, the government has aggressively promoted local food shops. These shops, while inviting small farmers and emphasizing locality, are in fact organized by the government as a means to rationalize food market and increase competitiveness of farm sector. Currently, there are more than 50 local food shops supported by the government and it is aimed that the number will increase to 120 by 2016. We will analyze the dynamics of neo-liberal government appropriating the local food movement in Korea. The state as an agent to promote neo-liberal policies by using apparently alternative forms of food organization will be highlighted. We would argue that unless there is an active engagement by social actors, i.e., farmers and consumers, and their social ties, genuine local or alternative food system is not possible.

Re-embedding food practices: agro-biodiversity preservation, heritage policies and the Andean potato

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Biodiversity preservation is a major challenge facing humanity. Heritage policies are niche activities, which at face value contribute to a transition toward more just and sustainable food practices through improving livelihoods while protecting ecosystems. Worldwide, protection of landscapes or species draws a permanent link between ecological and symbolic values and cultural communities in charge of their preservation. This presentation focuses on the heritagization of potatoes, a crop for improving life conditions for peasant societies in the Andes. Heritage policies foster agricultural assets' commoditisation, calling for the assignation of monetary value to particular species. Thus heritagization fosters commodity 'pathway diversions', following Kopytoff's expression. Pathway diversion means (a) that an object is removed from its commodity pathway for its protection and preservation, contributing to the singularization of the object. Diversion also occurs (b) when a previously removed object is commoditized through reentry into the commodity pathway after having gained value through its absence. The focus of this paper is to identify the pathway diversions of potatoes species generated by heritage policies; and how these diversions articulate with pre-existing local pathways and values. We focus on an FAO initiative for preserving agricultural systems and landscapes shaped by farmers and herders. Comparing the biographies of tubers, depending on their integration into safeguarding policies, this work evaluates production and/or destruction of economic, ecological and symbolic values in the process of heritagization. Attention is paid to clashes between regimes of value at particular stages of potatoes' social life to underline challenges regarding the articulation between local perspectives on biodiversity and ideologies promoted by external institution.

The possibilities and constraints of a peripheral state to re-regulate and re-articulate the new social relations brought by neoliberal soybean expansion - the case of the Uruguayan government 2005-2015.

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During the past decades the Common Market of the South, Mercosur, has become the world biggest producer and exporter of soybeans. The configuration of the current global soybean complex can be seen to represent a spectacular example of neoliberal social relations and practices. For example, the global complex of production, crushing and commercialization of soybeans is marked by high market concentration and high barriers to entry, both upstream and downstream. It also forms part of the 'gene revolution' as the vast majority of the soybeans produced today are genetically designed to be herbicide tolerant. The dominant technological package, under a strong intellectual property right regime, has rendered high levels of vertical integration in upstream stages, as well as important economies of scale in the cultivation stage. The soybean complex is also marked by the financialization of agricultural and land markets, as well as by increased demand for soybeans in China. In this way, the soybean expansion in the region has spurred the dominance of multinational agribusiness. However, the neoliberal agro-food system has increasingly been questioned by the governments of Mercosur. This study focuses on the explicit attempts made by the smallest Mercosur country, Uruguay, to re-negotiate and re-regulate the new social relations brought by its recent insertion in the global soybean complex. The study concludes that the 'reformist' strategies adopted by the government have partially succeeded in rearticulating social relations, despite significant constraints posed by norms, practices and regulations within the global soybean complex and the leading firms within it.

Juggling along the collaboration spectrum - balancing collaboration and competitiveness in a changing agricultural community

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Communal agricultural settlements in Israel (Moshavim) have long relied on collaboration for individual and collective prosperity. Farmers shared material resources, techniques, knowledge and information; and stepped in to support their peers even in labour in time of need. However, the neo-liberalization of Israeli economy and the agricultural sector within it have created new challenges to the traditional bonds that allowed this support system to evolve: From perceived competition over the same end-clients to a fragmentation of the economic focus of different farmers in the region. In this paper we examine changes in the level of collaboration between farmers, and how farmers re-conceive the possible spectrum of collaboration in a new age of individualized farming and competition: From servicing models for sharing machinery, to sharing new knowledge and practices as entrepreneurs. We use the Arava case study to discuss how competitiveness can be balanced along this collaboration spectrum in agricultural communities around the world.

Building local food governance: an analysis of some critical points

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In the context of growing awareness of the need for a transition to more sustainable food systems, the definition and implementation of a new food governance system appear crucial. The emerging need by civil society to play an active role in issues related to food, but also, on the other hand, the complexity of the processes underlying a radical change of the production and consumption models, shows the necessity of a redefinition of governance in terms of interests represented, modes of interaction amongst actors/fields involved, and operational and decision-making mechanisms. The urban and metropolitan contexts appear relevant in this regard: in effect they are increasingly appearing as potential spaces for system and governance innovation around food related issues. The urban food strategies developed in a number of Western Countries are expression of this potential. As evident is, nevertheless, that the implementation of new food governance systems is not without difficulties.

This paper analyses an experience in Italy (in Tuscany, in the territory of Pisa province), in which since 2010 public and private actors are interacting around the creation of an integrated urban food strategy. While exploring the dynamics underlying the establishment of an effective governance system, it focuses on the critical points emerging in the active participation of the various stakeholders (belonging to civil society as well as to public institutions) and on the challenges that the implementation of an institutional environment enabling the exercise of food democracy has to face.

Canada's system of supply management as post-neoliberal

Bruce Muirhead

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Using the supply managed dairy and the egg industries, my paper will investigate the origins and evolution of supply management in Canada, framed as a post-neoliberal paradigm. Why did the system come into existence in the 1970s? What were the underlying conditions? Does it have any relevance for the situation of agriculture in Canada today, especially in view of the decline in global prices being experienced by farmers in late 2014? As well, my paper will compare the Canadian system to those in Australia, New Zealand and the US as seen through the negotiating positions of each in the Trans Pacific Partnership negotiations.

The discussion will include issues like the tremendous disparity in power between farmers and processors/supermarkets and what that means for producer incomes and producer viability and the role of international agricultural markets in dictating producer (dis)satisfaction with price and the context in which they operate. How does supply management, for example, humanize the producer experience? Does it present a welcome antidote to globalization and neoliberalism? How has it fared in international trade negotiations in which Canada has been involved? Why have governments in Canada, especially those representing a fundamentalist conservative ideology, been prepared to defend supply management in that context? Has supply management eased the environmental footprint in this sectors in which it is the organizing paradigm? A comparison with other models in several other countries will help to better elucidate supply management's record.

Institutional Innovations: exploring the co-evolution of sustainable agricultural practices and markets

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The literature on social innovations focuses on alternative approaches to organising the provision of (and the valuation of) products and services that meet societal needs that are not met through conventional channels. Alternatively, institutional innovations are concerned with changes in the problem framings, institutional arrangements and network construction of institutions. If we agree that multi-stakeholder sustainability standards and their accompanying systems of certification are: "one of the most innovative and startling institutional designs of the past 50 years" (Cashore et al., 2004: 4), then novel changes in these systems can be analysed according to how they contribute to transitions to sustainable agrifood systems by examining how innovators envision and construct mechanisms that enable sustainable practices to interact and co-evolve with sustainable marketing initiatives. The paper is based on a meta-analysis of fifteen case studies of institutional innovations from around the world (4 Latin American, 6 African and 5 Asian). Based on an analytical framework of institutional innovations and the functions of innovation systems (Hargrave and Van de Ven 2006; Hekkerts et al. 2007), I explore the role of different actors in the processes of institutional innovation in agrifood systems. I focus on three groups of innovations: participatory guarantee systems, multi-actor innovation platforms, and embedded networks as ways to differentiate between institutional *agencements*. Important insights are gleaned from the roles of diverse actors at different stages of institutional innovation. We conclude with reflections about how community and international dynamics of mainstream and alternative food systems influence the development of institutional innovations.

***“They are not going to be able to copy this”* Fighting the cooperative corner and creating third spaces of cooperation in food and farming**

Raquel Ajates Gonzalez

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Winner of *Sociologia Ruralis* Student Paper Competition

Cooperatives can be deconstructed into four components: legal form, governance model, social movement and informal cooperative behaviours that predate all other layers. In the case of agricultural cooperatives, this multifaceted character is increasingly being fragmented by the mainstream food system that is co-opting the less radical elements of cooperativism that can be easily absorbed without requiring a wider transformation of neoliberal industrial practices. This paper explores the activities of niche cooperatives in the UK and Spain experimenting with creative models of governance, finance, membership and multilevel crosscutting collaborations attempting to fight back and reduce the risk of appropriation by the dominant regime. Using case study methodology, data from document analysis and from over 40 interviews are presented. Drawing from the anthropological concept of ‘third space’ and the permaculture principle that commends us to ‘use edges and value the marginal’, I argue that these initiatives are creating both real and symbolic spaces that foster growers’ and consumers’ self-efficacy to construct more rounded, inclusive and sustainable cooperative models. These social experiments not only disrupt and reframe the ‘professional agricultural cooperative’ imaginary, but also reaffirm people’s infinite creativity to reinvent their food systems.

Capitalizing on local food pride. traditional products movement across Romania's food market

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In the age of soaring food prices, natural resources deterioration, loss of resilience of agricultural systems, applying the neoliberal scenario appears like a burlesque approach to reality. In a way or another, it metastatically spreads through the global food system bringing it in the stage of unsustainability. As a reaction, a wide range of alternative models have surfaced in order to enable sustainability. Among them, agro-ecological initiatives seem to lead to a sort of purgatory for the current food system. Although their leading ethics shares the same principles all over the world, countries' types of responses anchor differently in specific cultural bases. In the case of Romania, a country of consistent rural territories and of subsistence farmers rural communities, the rural-urban dichotomy of space overlaps a strong bicephalous identity discourse on food issues. The struggle between the two realities - one of urban over-processed food products and another of rural essentially organic products - is becoming artificial since Romanian consumers habits are accompanied by profound tradition-driven patterns. Given this, the feebly emerging food movement centered on traditional products represents an intermezzo meant to legitimate the assumed and at the same time blurred status quo of Romania's food system. The present paper focuses on the analysis of the drives that generate the grassroots movement, questioning the sustainability of this process.

Communicating trust? The role of social-media for establishing producer-consumer relationships

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Values-based supply chains depend highly on consumer trust. Consumers expect that they can be trusted to (for instance) comply with certain production standards, contribute protecting the environment, secure that producers receive a fair price or that ways of transportation are shortened and an added-value for the region is achieved. Particularly in direct marketing, with (at least potentially) interpersonal exchange relationships between producers and consumers, trust in these attributes is highly developed and distinctively strong. However, while values-based food systems like organic food still experience an ongoing and unbroken popularity, they enter increasingly larger and extended market structures in which the direct contact between producers and consumers is greatly reduced or not given at all anymore. Therefore, one decisive challenge for growing values-based food enterprises, besides aspects of infrastructure or logistics, is the question how trust and transparency can be maintained and secured. Web-based communication processes (like smart phone apps or social media) may be seen as one promising option to substitute direct face to face relationships. Within the European research project 'HealthyGrowth - From niche to volume with integrity and trust', a number of qualitative case studies of growing organic supply chains have been analyzed on the use of web-based and particularly social media. The results show why and in how far enterprises make use of them and highlight the potentials and limits to foster trust, transparency and credibility.

Governance and coordination within and around growing mid-scale organic chains: how shared values are maintained over time?

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¹*INRA-Ecodéveloppement, Avignon, France,* ²*RUAF, Leusden, The Netherlands*

Based on the comparison of a dozen case studies within the Healthygrowth project (cooperatives, box schemes, organic shops network etc.), this paper aims at exploring which characteristics of governance and coordination within growing mid-scale organic initiatives and their surrounding network allow (or not) to maintain strong shared values alongside the up scaling and growth process. We first analyse the competing conceptions over values and the possible controversies among the different stakeholders involved in these initiatives: do they want 'just' organic products or more, i.e. for example local and seasonal products, products coming from small scale peasant farms etc.? We then analyse the initiatives' governance, who it involves (shareholders or leaders, but also employees, consumers, producers, civil society etc.?) and how; as well as the relationships and coordination with business partners (contracts, agreements and arrangements with producers, processors, etc.). We show that the initiatives can reach a certain degree of stakeholders and network alignment thanks to the way they set up and then often adjust over time their governance and their coordination modes in order to maintain their values. In some cases, it seems that behind a visible convergence of the different stakeholders' views, 'objective' power relationships partly explain such an alignment (for example, producers might disagree with some aspects but cannot really influence), but most cases reveal the necessity (and the efficiency) to maintain an openness to discussions and debates over the core values.

The collective power of the Lilliputians: enhancing understanding of how organizational elements of Alternative Food Networks can support a post-neoliberal transition

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Wageningen University, Wageningen, The Netherlands

In this paper we draw on transition and organizational theory to advance understanding of how alternative food networks (AFNs) contribute to a post-neoliberal transition. We identify and analyse organizational elements that facilitate or support transition by introducing practices of democratic and community-based decision-making, and principles of sharing in transactional relationships. We further reflect on whether AFNs are prompting adaptation at the regime level or whether they are in fact practices that suggest potential pathways to a sustainability transition. We conclude that part of the potential of the "Lilliputians" (networks of networks) comes from the way in which they organize themselves against (perceived) threats.

Values-based food chains - recoupling man and soil?

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¹*Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark,* ²*Centre for Rural Research, Trondheim, Norway*

A sustainable agriculture is dependent on how we care for and cultivate soil. Not only in terms of producing food of good quality, but also in terms of maintaining the quality of the soil to feed future generations, nature of the farm land, of the surrounding landscape, and not least the quality of rural livelihood. In a neoliberal perspective the market is seen as driver of a sustainable development, depending on political consumers. This is self-contradictory because in a neoliberal food regime the only relation consumers have to how the soil is cultivated is through decoupled global food chains, and most people only know little about the actual agriculture and what is going on with the soil. However, emerging food-chains are trying to re-establish 'values-based' couplings between man and soil, emphasizing a broad range of values, promising for another kind of marked based sustainable development. Based on Pirsig's relational understanding qualities as an outcome of value-relations, the aim of this paper is to analyse to what extent different values-based food-chains offer quality couplings between production and consumption, and thereby supports a more sustainable food production. The analysis is based on studies of 18 organic values-based food chains from the HealthyGrowth project, which are distinguished by a broad range of values. We ask: What kind of value relations are these chains able to support? What role do the different actors of the chains play in this? To which extend do these chains support sustainability in agricultural production?

Canada's system of supply management as post-neoliberal

Bruce Muirhead

University of Waterloo, Canada

Using the supply managed dairy and the egg industries, my paper will investigate the origins and evolution of supply management in Canada, framed as a post-neoliberal paradigm. Why did the system come into existence in the 1970s? What were the underlying conditions? Does it have any relevance for the situation of agriculture in Canada today, especially in view of the decline in global prices being experienced by farmers in late 2014? As well, my paper will compare the Canadian system to those in Australia, New Zealand and the US as seen through the negotiating positions of each in the Trans Pacific Partnership negotiations.

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Contesting and inspiring the conventional food chains. What is the transformation potential of local contract farming initiatives?

Julien Vuilleumier

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Based on ethnographic descriptions of three local contract farming initiatives (CSA) in Switzerland, our communication aims to discuss how the producer – consumer relationship is settled and performed by the social actors within these networks through actual practices. Following a diachronic approach of the initiatives and an embedded position of participant observation, we explore what is the transformation potential regarding the ‘mainstream’ food system of these initiatives that are generally presented as creating new forms of partnerships in food networks. While we point out some dialogical processes of negotiation and adjustment, specific articulations between activism and commercial imperatives reveal the hybridity of these associations, which are both social movements and food supply chains. On one hand, they implement processes for the redefinition of food quality conventions (e.g. production modes, aesthetics, social conditions, sustainability) but also of the exchange regulation and trust between the partners. These negotiations are operated within the frame of a community but also with references and connections to wider movements of critical consumption and agriculture (re-)politicisation. On another hand, the delivery model (such as food basket) of these initiatives is also “adopted” and transformed by commercial retailers showing that they have perceived commercial interests in it. Between opposition and “recycling” by the conventional food system, the transformation potential of these initiatives is much more related to micro-ruptures, adjustments and connections within the revised producer – consumer relationship than to radical changes. This reveals also some of their underlying opportunities, tensions and limits as innovative niches.

The role of the business logic for growing value chains of organic food – first results of an international case study analysis

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Values-based food chains link farmers, processors, wholesale and retail traders in a way that the end-consumer receives a product with additional quality attributes such as regionality, fair trade, high animal welfare or nature conservation standards. The transmission of such additional values which are beyond general food standards requires chain specific objectives and well-targeted management strategies. When objectives and strategies follow an overarching logic, all businesses/initiatives can maintain the additional values of food products from field to fork.

The business logic provides the 'guideline' matching management of chain partners with core objectives. The paper is based on the hypothesis that the existence of an overarching business logic is a precondition for the transmission of specific quality attributes through the food chain. The theory behind the business logic is presented; with a focus on its role during growth processes. The theoretical framework is tested on 18 case studies representing a variety of well-established mid-scale businesses, initiatives and chains in nine countries.

Results show that all studied businesses/initiatives have consistent business logics for their internal organisation and cooperation and communication in the specific chain. The business logic ensures the effective value transmission based on e.g. controlling and information measures. However, the particular quality attributes - and identity - of the end-consumer product can get lost when expanding intermediates, mills or slaughterhouses, market lots to traders who do not share the same business logic. These results indicate that the business logic concept helps to identify success factors for growing values-based food processing and marketing.

Exploring the adaptive capacity of growing mid-scale organic value chains in Europe

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¹*Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden,* ²*Eberswalde University for Applied Science, Germany*

It is clear that the industrialised food system is in need of a transformation into something less environmentally and socially destructive and less vulnerable to scarcity of non-renewable resources. While there are alternatives, there are very few examples of alternative/organic/localised/civic food systems that have been able to grow out of their niche and make a substantial difference. The examples that are available can tell us a lot about what it takes to create new models within the hegemonic food system and about what is needed for such food chains to develop and maintain momentum.

Using some key notions in resilience thinking, this paper explores the adaptive capacity of organic food value chains from 10 European countries that have been able to grow trying not to compromise their integrity and values. Adaptive capacity in this context is the ability of food system actors to manage their food value chain as to enhance desired resilience. Key aspects of adaptive capacity that are often mentioned are diversity, trust, social networks and learning.

While all cases have different trajectories and are embedded in different national contexts they have experienced challenges with which they have dealt more or less effectively, drawing on their adaptive capacity. For example, mid-scale organic value chain initiatives that use diversity as a strategy (products, involved actors, knowledge etc.), that work to establish long-term partnerships and that enhance learning potential are more likely to embark on a trajectory that builds resilience.

Food and territory: local strategies of the Sardinian family farms in the dairy and wine sectors

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Dipartimento di Scienze Sociali e delle Istituzioni, University of Cagliari, Italy

In the last fifty years, the agricultural modernization policies and the following neo-liberal and deindustrialization policies have increased the social and economic marginalization of the Isle of Sardinia, a rural region of Italy, often represented as "isolated" and "backward" within modernization discourses shaping national development policy.

Nevertheless, the Sardinia Region revealed to be very resilient and capable to re-organize his local agri-food resources within a the new framework, where the multifunctionality of agriculture, the small family farms and the local cultivars are commended. In this paper we analyze two main cases of local supply chain (the dairy sector and the wine) in the Sardinia Region. At first, we explain how historically the local agriculture was embedded in the culture and in the rural community; Secondly, we analyze how some family farms are succeeding to use the link between agriculture and territory as a comparative natural advantage to compete and resist in the neo-liberal economy. For these farms, cultivars, natural biodiversity, landscapes, environment, food, culture, tradition, craft knowledge, system of informal rules of local community, way of living and building, become territorial capital. Their strategies are based on territorial agri-food initiatives (e.g. Rural streets of the wine), territorial food chains, the promotion of the local cultivars and specialties (as high quality production and region-specific products), the centrality of informal and familiar work, the importance of the reciprocity economies.

New forms of partnerships in food chains

Klaus Laursen, Egon Noe
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In the recent years a form of food chains has emerged that can be described as values-based mid-scale food chains. Such chains are characterized by being more complex than face-to-face interaction chains but still more closely coupled than bulk chains. A number of these chains are based on new forms of organization such as partnerships.

Departing from Niklas Luhmann's system theory the paper approaches this development by analysing how new forms of partnerships between food chain actors create possibilities that would not have occurred otherwise become a success under the current condition. The paper demonstrates how the temporal aspects of systemic research together with a clear analytical distinction between the different organizations provide a new insight into this form of partnership.

The paper analyses a number of cases drawn from a European context in relation to the Healthy Growth research project. Despite their different national contexts the cases all share the character of being part of various mid-scale values based food chains. Also they share the characteristic of having experienced periods of growth where the issue of handling the values constituting the chains in the light of growth has been undertaken. The cases demonstrate how new forms of partnerships plays an important role in such chains and how they have an impact on the overall chains ability to handle values in the light of growth.

Organic farming as a factor for territorial development: a comparative perspective

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Results of former research suggest that in the perspective of endogenous development 'soft' factors like human, social and cultural capital may have a stronger impact on improving the sustainable livelihoods in rural areas than financial investments in physical infrastructure (Emery and Flora 2006, Schermer et al 2010). However, the expressions and the configurations as well as the combinations of these capital assets are strongly place dependent. In various European countries organic farming aspires to be a driving factor for territorial development, forming initiatives like the Biovallée in France, Biodistretti in Italy or Bioregionen in Austria. Starting from the common denominator of organic farming these initiatives aspire contributing to sustainable territorial development and the creation of 'model regions'. This contribution puts processes of development of organic farming on a territorial scale into a comparative perspective. The comparison will involve amongst other issues of organizational set up, internal and external social relations as well as surrounding contextual environment. While the overall objective is similar, the outcomes differ, as our analysis of three European territories shows. Specifically the contribution will try to answer the following questions:

- What contextual factors constitute different expressions of human, social and cultural capitals in different regions?
- How do different governance structures and institutional settings influence the configuration of such initiatives?
- What is the role of key persons in the development of a regional governance structure?
- How can organic agriculture contribute to new regional networks?

Local food production and local identity: inter-dependency of development tools and results

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Self-promotion and reinterpretation of local identity is becoming increasingly important in rural communities. Local identity building is succeeded very differently by rural municipalities and regions. The paper analyses the role of local food production in local identity creation. It is based on two contemporary discussed phenomena of rural development: local cultural heritage and local food production, as a part of local cultural heritage. Using the example of two Hungarian rural micro-regions we analyse how a local community presents itself through local food production, and how local communities can be built by revitalizing a part of the local cultural heritage: a local agri-food product.

The paper is based on the literature about alternative food networks (Renting et al. 2012, Lamine 2005, Fonte 2010) and on the role of cultural heritage in rural development (Ray 1998, Bessiere 1998, Telsstrom et al 2005). The case-studies were conducted as a part of a larger research on agricultural restructuring of the last two decades in Hungary. It is based on qualitative and anthropological methods: document-analysis, semi-structured interviews, transect walking and participatory observation. The paper analyses the role of short food supply chains (SFSC) and local food culture in the two micro-regions and the process of local community and identity building. It analyses the differences of the SFSC's; our results suggests that agri-food products and relating local events can hardly be base of the local image outside the region, but also can help building, strengthening the local community and local identity.

Fusing pluri-sector activities with public and private initiatives: cases of *Rokuji-sangyo-ka* in Japan

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Policies targeting rural and farming sectors in Japan have gone through drastic changes during the last decades. A notable recent development of such transformations is the emerging pluri-sector economic endeavor, or *Rokuji-sangyo-ka* ('sixth industrialization', if translated verbatim), in which entrepreneurial farmers and other actors in agri-food chains supposedly increase economic gains by combining the primary, secondary and tertiary economic sectors' activities, thereby creating value-added agricultural products and/or rural services. For this, the government has launched various programs, such as *Rokuji-sangyo-ka* planners (consultants), to help farmers and relevant actors embark on entrepreneurial ventures. Novel funding schemes for entrepreneurial actors, involving investment-oriented funds from the private financial sector rather than conventional subsidies directly from the government, also have been instituted. These novel developments in Japan, which fuse pluri-sector activities with public (governmental) and private entrepreneurial initiatives, prompt us to gauge its impacts on the rural/farm sectors and theoretical implications to social science disciplines. Thus, the paper will first provide a brief overview of policy programs designed to support *Rokuji-sangyo-ka*, followed by case studies of farmers' initiatives, discussions of ideal-typical models elicited from the cases and their implications vis-à-vis rural and farm sectors' development. The paper will conclude with an assessment of whether, and to what extent, the *Rokuji-sangyo-ka* initiatives signal (post-)neoliberal transitions. We hope that the paper can offer new insights about rural development programs in Japan, which are rarely known to researchers in Europe, and contribute to better understanding of "Post-neoliberal food transitions."

Heading down to the local: craft beer and local economic development in rural Australia

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The Australasian micro-brewery sector has experienced healthy growth in production and consumption over the last five years, accompanied by spectacular spatial and numerical expansion. These trends fly in the face of the supposed 'iron laws' of economic geography, and contrast strongly with performance of the mainstream beer brewing sector. Arguably, the success of the Australasian craft beer sector is substantially dependent on two factors: 1) the production of a diverse range of 'real' beers; and 2) canny marketing strategies - including sophisticated place-marketing of micro-breweries and their beers - which have elevated boutique beer and its consumption to the status of a positional good. Drawing on field research in rural New South Wales and Tasmania, Australia, this paper discusses the role of place and space in the locational, marketing and overall business strategies of local craft brewers, and investigates the contributions that these small businesses make to the regional economies within they are located (i.e. their economic embeddedness). It also considers the role of the regulatory space within which these firms operate in facilitating or constraining the sector's dynamics. The paper argues that, in an industry in which the search for scale economies is ubiquitous and predatory behaviour is rife, the craft beer sector is currently leading a re-localisation of food and drink production and consumption across regional Australia.

When food aid supports local farming: case study in South-West France

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As an increasing number of people require the assistance of food aid organizations and the EEC revises its funding, many farmers go bankrupt and vast areas of farmland turn into green spaces. Access to fresh quality foods gets difficult, impacting people health. This contribution is based on an original on-going case study assessing the impact of an innovative food aid supplying mode, called Uniterres, aiming at supporting small local farmers in South-West France and increasing fresh fruit and vegetable consumption among food aid recipients, by buying farm products at a sustainable price via a pre-order system. This grass-root initiative, promoting values such as solidarity, empowerment and resilience, involves diverse territorial institutions and public authorities. This paper will focus on the case of several small-scale farmers involved in the programme because they are "experiencing difficulties". I'll examine the impact of the programme and its evolution while considering the conditions for adaptation to short supply chain requirements as encouraged by current public policies and by the structuration of the agricultural sector in rural Aquitaine. I'll also question the solidarity dimension, the creation of possible links between food aid shops and farmers, the problem of regular quality supply and meeting consumer's expectations. Fieldwork, including participant observation, follows the lines of global approach including the diverse protagonists involved. The analysis should highlight the favourable conditions for the sustainability of such a project.

Agricultural development in Northern Haiti: mechanisms and means for moving five crops forward in a changing climate

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With a population estimated to about 10 million Haiti is considered as one of the poorest nations in the world. Agriculture is the primary income-generating activity for rural Haitians and contributes to 25 per cent of the gross domestic product. In Northern Haiti about 145,000 farm households depend on agriculture. In order to increase the production and improve the level of food security in Northern Haiti, several development projects are working to increase agricultural production in five crops (rice, corn, banana, cacao and beans) in the Northern Haiti. The efforts use Farmers' Fields Schools (FFS) to train farmers and introduce new technologies. Adoption of new approaches and material items is neither simple nor direct. Farmers know no competent state assistance in their experience. Fertilizer and farm chemicals are not available when needed and producers are averse to outlays that they can ill afford. The purpose of this paper is to assess the mechanisms and means that Haitians farmers use to improve agricultural productivity, the double bind of state and market failure, and the role that climate change plays in interventions intended to increase yields. The study leads to several modest conclusions about the improvement of conditions for sustained advancements in food production in an important region of Haiti.

Resilient wine routes amidst a maelstrom of change? Outlining threats and vulnerabilities.

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Over the last decades, wine tourism has emerged as a vehicle for a transition from mostly agrarian to diversified rural economies, offering a rich set of opportunities at both an entrepreneurial and a community level. In the Greek case, this particular form of special interest tourism has been mainly reinforced by 'strategic alliances' and collective initiatives that led to the development of regional networks and wine routes. Despite the positive steps already taken, the symbiotic relationship between the wine and the tourism industry is constantly facing inter-linked and often reinforcing challenges that threaten the performance of such ventures. The recent financial meltdown of 2008 triggered the most significant global economic crisis since the Great Depression, with neither viticulture nor tourism escaping the impacts of 'Neoliberal Capitalism'.

In the light of the current situation of increasing uncertainty, the sustainability of wine tourism, viewed as a complex Socio-Ecological System, is being put into question. Thus, a deeper understanding of the sector's capacity to deal with disturbance and change is deemed necessary. The present study adopts the theoretical concept of Resilience, in order to explore the ability of wine tourism to respond effectively to external stresses and confront various shocks. Qualitative data will be gathered by means of in-depth interviews with key stakeholders and national experts across the country, in an effort to outline the constellation of threats ('Resilience of what to what?') that affect the performance and transformation of the wine tourism sector and the rural areas in general.

Posters

Does AFNs adopt a ‘political process’? A methodological proposition.

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The development of alternative food networks (AFNs) needs to pay more attention to the ability of people to organize and act politically – or empower. AFNs are experimenting new forms of collective organizations and have difficulties to involve different actors essential to the success of these projects: heterogeneous consumers, funding stakeholders, active participants, involved farmers... This contribution aims to present and discuss the potential of an original approach situated at the crossroad between the vertical Multi-level perspective and the horizontal Actor-Network Theory to explore the modes of collective organization and governance of three AFNs existing in the Southern part of Belgium.

This approach analysis how the AFNs adopt – or not – a political process by which decisions could come about democratically by adopting an inclusive and reflexive process. This original approach lies in the symmetrical analysis applied to every actors involved in theses AFNs (stakeholders of the project, farmers, consumers, institutional stakeholders...) to underline tensions, powers, coalitions and understand how some associations between actors are successful while other fail. At the same time, this approach aims to focus on the relationships between these AFNs and their territory to question 1) the dichotomy between the micro- (niche-innovations) and the macro-level (the neoliberal agrofood system) and, 2) the potential of the territory as a bond for association between heterogeneous actors. By doing so, this approach tries to answer to the current issue of social inclusion, but inclusion of farmers, stakeholders and every actors around the AFNs, as well as consumers inclusion.

Living at the margins: neo-liberalism, autochthonous women's associations and household survival in rural southeastern Nigeria

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The study focused on how autochthonous associations in rural Southeastern Nigeria play critical roles in the economic survival of rural households in spite of the dearth of formal state interventions and general unfriendly economic environment. Particularly of interest were to ascertain the ways in which these associations functioned; challenges they confront and the perceptions of rural women on the roles of these associations. The study focused on two autochthonous women's associations in two states in the Southeastern Nigeria. It collected data through the social survey. Even though women's autochthonous associations have been in existence before independence in these communities, it was the socio-economic privations of the immediate SAP era that motivated women to innovatively expand the scope of these organizations to include pooling together resources and extending credit therein to members. Incidentally, these associations have now acquired considerable niche in economic provisioning for members. As the study discovered, while these associations came into existence with the core mandate of uniting women and building peace in the rural areas, the foray into micro-credit provisioning for members has gradually become the soul of the associations. Therefore, the study recommends that these associations are better left to function as they are presently structured and the state should explore ways of enhancing their ability to facilitate entrepreneurial and business pursuits by women. As the extant literature shows, women's involvement in entrepreneurial activities exerts net positive influence at both the household and national economic levels.

Re-purposing cultural heritage assets for community enterprise

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The re-purposing of Cultural Heritage Assets offer a new set of opportunities for communities to develop innovative new enterprises which deliver activity and trading-based income whilst also delivering specific Public Goods to both the group which manages the assets and to the wider community.

Recent innovations in the fields of traditional boats and maritime heritage; native breed horses and other species; the conversion of heritage buildings; and the development of culture landscapes point the way forward for local, rural communities who need assets for development, assets which express their culture, history and contemporary identity. By developing such assets to deliver education, social work and tourism activities, communities can build economic activities which reinforce local identity, which assure that traditions remain alive, and which delivers new economic benefits not only for the community organisation (Social Enterprise, NGO, Community company, etc) but also into the wider community as they build networks of service providers in the shape of SMEs. Further, the new economic activity which results is often very significant for communities which are experiencing declining employment opportunities in traditional rural sectors of activity such as farming or forestry. This paper will propose a model for Repurposing of Cultural Heritage Assets which will help frame the practice in a way which is of use to academics and policy makers, and critically, also of use to grass roots communities who wish to engage in innovative community enterprises.

Coming into being: possibility and coevolutionary change for sustainable places

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Coevolutionary processes refer to coupled change between society (practices, values, institutions, e.g.) and the biophysical context. Coevolutionary processes have therefore embedded in them issues of path-dependency, which are reflected in the social and biophysical structures that shape the possible modes of existence specific to a particular place. Despite the determining effect of coevolutionary pathways and path-dependency, coevolutionary potential remains and possibilities for coevolutionary openings, by external or internal factors, exist. This work sheds light on the possibilities for creating openings for change. Presided by Ernst Bloch concept of Not-Yet-Conscious and inspired by ethnobiographic approaches, this work explores, from a socio-cultural perspective: (i) the access to new possibilities in one's present and (ii) the conditions to create or re-new paths towards those new possibilities of existence, in dealing with its coevolutionary context - in both its social and biophysical structures. To do so an iterative process of interviews was created with three persons (two organic farmers and a new resident) who have been dedicated to change towards more autonomous, place-based, living in rural areas and who have in any way created change in relation to existing social and biophysical structures; thereby informing about the above themes based on their experiential and biographical learning.

**Does the soy system in Argentina fit the transition towards food-related sustainable practices?
A Resilience assessment of the rural communities to help evaluating the sustainability of the
neoliberal model.**

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In the globalized market, soy is one of the most important and fast growing food commodities. Thanks to the introduction of soy GM varieties in the '70s, Argentina has become the third most important producer in the world; this has entailed relevant impacts at the environmental, social and economic level. The soy system, hyper-specialized and strongly dependent on export, is now dealing with criticisms coming from European consumers, environmentalist movements and the civil society in Argentina and abroad. Although almost 100% of the total production derives from GMO seeds, measures are being taken to increase the amount of certified sustainable soy to address the European market. The study aims to assess the Resilience of the rural communities and the Sustainability of the soy production in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe and the North, through interviews structured adapting the indicators and categories identified by the Resilience Alliance. The results show that the rural communities have been capable of reorganizing and adapting to the GM soy system, but relevant changes are threatening the original structure of the rural sector. Starting from these results, more sustainable soy production alternatives are then analysed to understand how and to what extent the rural communities would be able to adapt to their introduction on a large scale and to evaluate if they could represent an alternative to the dominant soy system. The role of national and global public institutions and private sectors in supporting the transition towards a more sustainable production is discussed.

Agricultural support schemes missing out on multi-functionality - consequences for agricultural sustainability

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Impacts of EUs agricultural support system on Swedish agriculture seem to be relatively ambiguous. The single payments scheme models are shown to be a driver to the dramatic increase in farm acreage in Europe. Whereas the agri-environmental payments has contributed to more diverse and less intensively managed farms, particularly in the areas with mixed forest and farm landscapes. These giving contradictory impulses to farmers and different directions of change depending on geographic variables and other farm characteristics.

We argue that though the agri-environmental payments in Sweden have given positive effects on the niche/micro level contributing to the fulfilment of national environmental goals set at macro/landscape level, more can be done. Farmers' possibilities and willingness to support the environmental goals could be enhanced by increased understanding at the meso/regime level of multifunctionality within farming systems, co-evolutionary processes and multi-level connections in society. Interviewed farmers described the connectivity of agricultural practises but also stated their knowledge and competence often not to be trusted or listened to by regime authorities. They claimed that many support scheme controllers lack both basic agricultural knowledge and holistic understanding of farming. This paper point at possible environmental improvements by an agricultural support system allowing for adoption to the specific local farming setting to reach a dynamic "best state" situation at each farm. To fulfil the environmental aims at the macro/landscape level, a co-evolutionary link is needed between the scales in the system, allowing flexibility for local solutions and to benefit from the innovations at micro/niche level.

The truth About Fukushima? Comic books, Google Maps and YouTube parodies.

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This submission explores representations of Fukushima Prefecture, Japan, since the 2011 nuclear disaster. I question whether popular media representations of Fukushima have potential to perpetuate negative impressions of the largely rural prefecture's places and produce as 'tainted', or whether such representations have value in opening up a full and frank discussion on the uncertainties and indeterminacies of the effects of radiation on people and produce. Underpinning this, I suggest, is a wider challenge of representing in a nuanced way the competing and sometimes contradictory narratives of place that can exist within rural communities.

I explore these points with reference to three sources - Oishinbo, a long-standing Tokyo-based comic book series on gourmet food which ran episodes entitled 'The Truth About Fukushima'; Google Street View, which added coverage of Fukushima Prefecture - including evacuated towns - to its data set in 2013; and the way a local fisheries cooperative has used social media to present its own view of life post-disaster.

Referring to examples from each source, I argue a cautious and responsible approach to representing life in Fukushima needs to balance the tension between not over-sensationalising the effects of the accident, versus acknowledging radiation was emitted that can have effects on human health in certain doses. Particularly important and relevant for representation of rural areas more generally, I argue, is the need to make visible socio-political dimensions of rural landscapes and acknowledge the heterogeneity of narratives and interpretations 'locals' may have of their own communities.

Resilience of places and well-being of rural population from the perspective of services use

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The use of the term well-being implies a multi-dimensional character embracing social, environmental and economic dimensions. Many researchers (Stiglitz et al., 2008) argue that conventional, market-based measures of income, wealth and consumption are insufficient to assess human well-being. They need to be complemented by non-monetary indicators of the quality of life.

In Latvia, a rapidly growing number of municipalities with a small number of inhabitants highlight the issue of depopulation of large areas of the country and the administrative costs per inhabitant.

Functional relationships between people and places are changing rapidly, therefore the question of depopulation of the countryside as a trend that will result in people mostly concentrating in cities in the near future, but the countryside, as a location with less opportunities, will stay practically empty is controversial. Relatively recently, people (particularly in the countryside) to a large extent depended on the opportunities offered by the place. Nowadays, the places where one lives, works, receives services, and enjoys one's leisure mostly do not coincide because people are becoming more mobile. More and more people live in rural areas but work in towns, gaining access to the most vital services and opportunities.

The main focus of this paper is on the services-use patterns of rural population. The empirical evidence of this study is based on the survey conducted for the research project 'Elaboration of Innovative Diagnostic Instruments for Regional Development'.

Small school closures and the economization of the educational system – evidence from Austria

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Since the turn of the millennium, a significant number of elementary schools have been closed in Austria, particularly small schools in rural areas. Pupils attending these schools are aged between 6 to 10 and were taught together in up to three classes, but not four as it is the case for „regular“ schools. In our study we found that 230 small schools faced closure between 2001 and 2014. Furthermore, the dynamic of school closures has increased considerably between 2011 and 2014, as more than half of all the closures took place in this period despite stable or even increasing numbers of pupils. Does this indicate an economization of the education system in Austria?

Our data show that the economization of the education system is varying greatly in between the nine Austrian federal states. Due to their legal competence in the field of compulsory education it can be seen that the federal states are responding differently to similar developments. Only two federal states, namely Styria and Upper Austria, are responsible for the dramatic increase of school closures during the period from 2011 till 2014. Out of 114 small schools closed in Austria, 60 have been shut down in these two federal states. Up to the present Tyrol makes strong efforts to maintain its small schools as long as possible and schools are often held open till a minimum of three children.