

# **The Study of Rural Change from a Social Scientific Perspective**

**A Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography**



**Michael Mackay, Harvey C. Perkins and Stephen Espiner**



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**Michael Mackay, Harvey C. Perkins and Stephen Espiner**

Department of Social Science, Parks, Recreation, Tourism and Sport

Faculty of Environment, Society and Design

P.O. Box 84 Lincoln University

Lincoln University

Lincoln 7647

New Zealand

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## **Preface**

This publication comprises a review of two decades of literature (1989-2009) on the social science of rural change. It was constructed as an aid to research on the changing nature of Central Otago, South Island, New Zealand, with particular emphasis on the Cromwell and Makarora Districts. In these areas the rural landscape has changed as a result of the introduction of a wide variety of new economic and social activities. Traditional pastoral agriculture remains but has been supplemented with activities associated with tourism, recreation, hospitality, heritage and nature conservation, amenity and retirement residence and new crops such as grapes and export grade cherries.

The publication has two parts. Part 1 is a 'Review Essay' (pp.1-20) which synthesises the 165 research articles included in Part 2 – the 'Annotated Bibliography' (pp.21-99). The review essay will help the reader navigate through the many annotations (which are listed in Part 2 alphabetically by *first author name*, not by topics or themes).

The bibliographic material was drawn from social scientific journals, government reports, book chapters and conference proceedings and covers work on: neo-liberal (rural) restructuring and the conceptual transition from productivist to post-productivist/multi-functional rural spaces, new rural governance, rural commodification, neo-endogenous rural development (and the culture economy approach to rural revitalisation), amenity migration and more recent theorising about the emergent global and hybrid countryside.

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## **Part 1: Review Essay**



# Two decades of rural change research: a review of the social scientific literature (1989-2009)

## Introduction

Over the last twenty years, a very significant international and New Zealand social science literature has developed around the effects of rural restructuring on rural economy, society and space (see, for example, Albrecht, 2007; Castle, 1995; Cloke, 1989, 1997; Fitchen, 1991; Illbery, 1998; Perkins, 2006; Ray, 1998; Slee, 2005; Woods, 2009). The origins of this work can be traced to the mid 1980s when in many places around the world a range of pressures – including economic globalisation, neo-liberalism and associated rural policy reforms – initiated a social and economic ‘crisis’ in the countryside. Central to this crisis, in many places, was the de-regulation of agriculture, the restructuring of local government and the privatisation<sup>1</sup> of many rural services. Among primary producers and the rural community more generally, these changes created much unemployment, debt and a more general period of rural unease. Over time, many places and their people adapted to the change, some able to capitalise on an increase in non-agrarian/consumption-based activities in the countryside (such as rural tourism, outdoor recreation, and residential property development), while others worked hard to diversify into new areas of primary production. Other rural areas declined.

For the last two decades, rural researchers across the world have closely examined the way in which this broad process of change – often called ‘rural restructuring’ – has transformed the countryside from areas of agricultural production into arenas of *both* production and consumption, often involving new constellations of local and global actors. In this paper we discuss some of the key theoretical debates in the study of rural change and restructuring over this period (1989-2009). As such, the literature review moves from early structural accounts of agricultural deregulation and rural restructuring and the imminent ‘rural crisis’, to more recent theorising about the commodified countryside (Perkins, 2006), post-productivism and multi-functional rural space (Holmes, 2002, 2006; Illbery & Bowler, 1998) and the emergent ‘global’ and ‘hybrid’ countryside (Woods, 2006, 2007, 2009; Murdoch, 2003). In our review we pay particular attention to the social science of rural change in New Zealand.

## Post World War II productivism and neo-liberal (rural) restructuring

In the years which followed World War II – a period which included the high possibility of a global food supply crisis – the governments of many advanced capitalist countries introduced new (interventionist) regulatory and policy regimes which aimed to: (1) *protect* local agriculture from flux in the global economy; (2) *enhance* regional food security and self-sufficiency; and (3) *maximise* local primary production (Marsden et al., 1993). Among the measures implemented were government subsidies for farm inputs (such as fertiliser, pesticides and farm equipment), minimum price guarantees for farm outputs (such as meat, wool and grain), state support for rural research and development, and the establishment of tariffs to shield local primary production from global competition (Albrecht, 2007; Illbery & Bowler,

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<sup>1</sup> Privatisation involves the shifting of responsibility for rural economic and social affairs from the public to the private sector. Some local services and associated jobs were lost in this process and where this occurred, it called for communities to develop these services which were previously provided by government (Bell & Cloke, 1989; also see Conradson & Pawson, 1997). While much research has focused on the restructuring of public service provision in rural communities, Bowler and Everitt (1999) uniquely analysed change in the private sector with a particular focus on the British pub, noting that many of these establishments closed or changed significantly to cater for tourists and visitors – a new function offering entertainment and services for non-rural people.



1998). These state-led policy regimes underpinned a long period of productivist<sup>2</sup> agriculture, one which situated farming firmly at heart of rural life – a structured coherence which remained relatively uncontested for at least the next twenty-five years.

During the 1970s and 1980s a range of social, economic and political forces began to challenge productivist agriculture and, by association, the hegemonic position of farming in the countryside. These pressures included: (1) a growing public awareness of the environmental damage intensive farming was causing and a related shift in consumer preference towards ‘green’ commodities and organic food, (2) social and political concern for the ongoing cost of supporting ‘over-production’ in the rural sector, and (3) more general pressures emanating from the rapidly globalising and neo-liberal economy (including an intensifying demand for free and open international trade). As Ward et al. (2008, p.118) stated, “it has been argued that post-World War II concerns over food security and self-sufficiency have been replaced by concerns about managing and disposing of surplus food, the costs of farm subsidies and the environmental problems of intensive farming”. These concerns, coupled with events surrounding the end of the Cold War (Albrecht, 2007), underpinned a major revolution in the post-war political economy of agriculture – a process commonly called ‘rural restructuring’.

At the heart of rural restructuring was the dismantling of the productivist regimes which had buttressed intensive primary production since the 1950s. These regimes, built on the principles of social democracy and state intervention, were replaced with a raft of neo-liberal policies which exposed primary industries (particularly agriculture) to the unremitting market forces of advanced global capitalism and consequentially caused a ‘crisis’ in the countryside. In the rural areas of many advanced capitalist countries, this crisis was initially marked by falling farm incomes, increasing farm debt and job losses in the primary sector.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the rural ‘crisis’ (and ‘rural restructuring’ more generally) caught the attention of many critical social scientists. Geographers and sociologists, in particular, became active in building *theory* around these events – initially adopting a neo-Marxist political economic approach in their work (Cloke, 1989). For them, rural restructuring was linked to broad macro-scale processes which were at play in the global economy. Early scholarship in this area concentrated on (1) understanding the structural determinants of rural change (including the new regulatory environment) and (2) characterising the new and emergent international political economy of agriculture – with a strong focus on the development of global commodity chains for primary goods, as noted by Woods (2009).

It was during this early period of research that a group of prominent British geographers started to draw attention to the great spatial variability and unevenness in the rural change process (Lowe et al., 1993; Marsden, 1995; 1998; Marsden et al., 1993; Murdoch & Marsden, 1994). While agricultural policy change was at the forefront of their work, they also<sup>3</sup> acknowledged

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<sup>2</sup> During the 1990s, many rural commentators adopted the term ‘productivist’ to describe the post-war policy regimes and the nature of the primary sector they underpinned (Lowe et al., 1993; Shucksmith, 1993; Ward, 1993). Lowe et al. (1993, p.221), for example, used the term to describe an era which involved “a commitment to an intensive, industrially-based and expansionist agriculture with state support based primarily on output and increased productivity”. There are now numerous historical accounts of regional productivist agricultural regimes such as Argent’s (2002) work in Australia, Jay’s (2004) work in New Zealand, and in the more recent work of Ward et al. (2008) in Europe.

<sup>3</sup> Also important in their work was a new focus on the role of individuals and local communities in the change process (Lowe et al, 1993; Murdoch & Marsden, 1994). Roberts (1995), for example, reported a more broad shift in the social science of rural change from structural accounts to those that considered matters of individual influence and agency, work which would eventually answer a call to move beyond exogenous and endogenous models in explorations of rural development (Lowe et al., 1995).

the importance of increasing consumptive uses of rural space and the related proliferation of non-traditional rural enterprises<sup>4</sup>, such as rural residential property development and rural tourism and commercial outdoor recreation businesses (Lowe et al., 1993). Moreover, these new interests were also reflected in local planning; the regulatory environment was adapting to the variable pressures for rural diversification and protection (Lowe et al., 1993; Marsden, 1995, 1998). In a series of books and articles (Lowe et al., 1993; Marsden, 1995; 1999; Marsden et al., 1993; Murdoch & Marsden, 1994) these researchers developed the idea that rural restructuring was producing a *differentiated* countryside.<sup>5</sup>

## Rural restructuring and change in New Zealand

Since the early 1990s and in tune with research from much further afield, an academic literature has been written around the effects of ‘rural restructuring’ on New Zealand’s primary sector and especially farming (Cloke, et al., 1990; Fairweather, 1987, 1992; Gouin, 2006; Lawrence et al., 1992; Le Heron & Roche, 1999; Willis, 1991, 2001) – and on the people and small rural towns which depended on these economic activities (Cloke, 1989, 1996; Conradson & Pawson, 1997, 2009; Dowsett, 2008; Fairweather, 1989; Johnsen, 2004; Mackay, 2004; Newell, 1992; Pawson & Scott, 1992; Panelli et al, 2003; Press & Newell, 1994; Robertson et al., 2008; Wilson, 1994, 1995). Nearly all of these accounts begin by charting the events that led to the liberalisation of the New Zealand economy in 1984 (‘the seeds of change’ – Rayner, 1990) and then the associated rural reforms which included agricultural subsidy removal and the deregulation and reregulation of the primary sector (see, for example, Britton et al., 1992; Cloke 1989; Le Heron & Roche, 1999; Rayner, 1990). This contextual work usually provides the backdrop for one of two streams of work:

1. Studies which have examined the changing nature of New Zealand agriculture under globalisation and the new (neo-liberal) regulatory regime (Britton et al., 1992; Cloke et al., 1990; Fairweather, 1992; Gouin, 2006; Lawrence et al., 1992; Le Heron & Roche, 1999; Willis, 1991, 2001);
2. Studies which report the way people and places have responded to the change<sup>6</sup> (Cloke, 1989, 1996; Conradson & Pawson, 1997, 2009; Fairweather, 1987; Johnsen, 2004; Pawson & Scott, 1992; Wilson, 1994, 1995).

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<sup>4</sup> Some researchers have tried to establish the types of new or non-traditional rural enterprises which characterise farm diversification strategies – including integration of non-traditional crops and livestock (Barbieri et al., 2008) and farm tourism, recreation and hospitality ventures into the farm business (see Gardner (1993) for a New Zealand perspective on the rise and nature of non-traditional farm ventures).

<sup>5</sup> Proponents of this thesis soon developed a four-fold typology of the differentiated countryside – each ‘ideal type’ reflecting a different spatial outcome of the change process. Type 1 – the *preserved countryside* – typically involves localities close to urban areas where anti-development and preservationist values are strong (generally among a large and new population of middle-class residents who expertly use the political process to hinder development and influence land-use planning). Type 2 – the *contested countryside* – typically involves places which are far from cities but which have high amenity value. These amenity resources act as a draw-card for visitors, tourists and some new migrants. While agricultural interests still dominate local politics in these areas, rural land use developments are often contested by newcomers. These places are, therefore, marked by an emerging tension between old and new residents (but usually with no overall winner). Type 3 – the *paternalistic countryside* – typically comprises areas with large well-established farms. The land-holders here remain in firm control of local politics and decision-making processes. The local economies of these places are marked by increasing diversification – a local response to the global crisis in primary production. Because there are few new migrants in these areas, diversification activities tend to face little opposition. Type 4 is the *clientelist countryside*. In these marginal and usually remote areas, agriculture and its associated institutions dominate, but their existence generally relies on ongoing state support. The rural community’s welfare (particularly employment) is often at the core of local politics.

<sup>6</sup> While most of this New Zealand-based work has been conducted by geographers, a handful of sociologists have also been concerned with rural change and the ‘new’ sociology of agriculture. See Curtis (2004) for a review of this work.

In regards to the latter, early papers generally highlighted the distressing aspects of the rural 'crisis' including: declining farm incomes, increasing farm debt, farm sales, primary sector unemployment and the strategies farmers employed to lessen or evade financial hardship and debt including economic diversification and pluriactivity. More recent papers in this stream, however, have a more positive undercurrent, suggesting that, while there was indeed an initial period of rural hardship in New Zealand, there is growing evidence of a successful transition into the new era, particularly in those places where dairy farm conversion has been possible and where high amenity value has opened up opportunities for tourism development and other non-traditional rural enterprises (Clope & Perkins, 1998, 2002; Conradson & Pawson, 2009; Dowsett, 2008; Gardner, 1993; Hall, 2006; Kearsley, 1998; Keen, 2004; Robertson et al., 2008; Woods, 2006, 2009). Akin to the international work that was developing in the field of rural research, many New Zealand authors – particularly geographers – noted the unevenness in the change process.

### **Post-productivism and multifunctional rural spaces**

It was during this early focus on the uneven spatial implications of rural restructuring in New Zealand and overseas that the term post-productivism emerged in the international rural change literature to describe the new conditions developing in the countryside (Lowe et al., 1993; Shucksmith, 1993; Ward, 1993). As the term itself suggests, post-productivism refers to the developments which manifest *after* the eclipse of productivist agricultural policies and practices. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, the term developed into a very popular – albeit highly contested – theoretical framework for understanding the contemporary countryside and changes within it (Argent, 2002; Bjorkhaug & Richards, 2004; Burton & Wilson, 2006; Evans et al., 2002; Halfacree, 1997; Holloway, 2000; Holmes, 2002, 2006; Ilbery & Bowler, 1998; Jay, 2004; Lowe et al., 1993; Mather et al., 2006; McCarthy, 2005; Morris & Evans, 1999; Shucksmith, 1993; Smailes, 2002; Walford, 1999, 2003; Ward, 1993; Ward et al., 2008; Wilson, 2001; Wilson & Rigg, 2003; Wilson & Wilson, 1997).

Ilbery and Bowler (1998) were some of the first authors to put post-productivism at the centre of this international debate by attempting to identify and outline its exact characteristics. According to them, during the productivist era, "...emphasis was placed on raising farm output ... and was characterised by a continuous modernisation and industrialisation of agriculture" (Ilbery & Bowler, 1998, p.57). In contrast, they suggested that the emerging post-productivist era could be "...characterised by the integration of agriculture within broader rural economic and environmental objectives" (Ilbery & Bowler, 1998, p.57) and is often marked by the development of a low-input/low-output farming ethos in which the emphasis is on the quality (not quantity) of the agricultural commodities produced. The authors noted that both periods have been influenced by the way governments have intervened with strategic economic policies and reforms. Of particular importance is their identification in both periods of three major structural shifts: productivist agriculture involved intensification, concentration and specialisation; while post-productivism entailed a move towards extensification, diversification and dispersion.

Since Ilbery and Bowler's (1998) seminal paper, the notion of post-productivism has remained at the centre of an ongoing and particularly vigorous academic debate surrounding:

1. its precise empirical and conceptual characteristics (Burton & Wilson, 2006; Evans & Morris, 2002; Ilbery & Bowler, 1998; Mather, Hill & Nijnik, 2006; McCarthy, 2005; Morris & Evans, 1999; Walford, 1999, 2003; Wilson, 2001; Wilson & Wilson, 1997);

2. the applicability of the notion in rural areas beyond Britain and Europe (Argent, 2002; Bjorkhaug & Richards, 2004; Holmes, 2002, 2006; Jay, 2004; Smailes, 2002; Wilson & Rigg, 2003); and
3. the sequential/linearity and binary historical nature of the post-productivist transition (Argent, 2002).

The critiques published by those interested in countryside change in rural areas outside of Britain have generally scrutinised the exportability, and therefore suitability, of the productivist/post-productivist model to non-European places such as Australia (Argent, 2002; Holmes, 2002, 2006; Smailes, 2002) and the developing world (Wilson and Rigg, 2003) and New Zealand research has featured here too (Jay, 2004). These researchers have found that productivist ways of ‘thinking and doing’ are still prevalent among farmers and, therefore, that the term post-productivism falls short of capturing, accurately, the details of contemporary rural change. Some critics in the UK (e.g., Walford, 2003) have agreed with Morris and Evans (1999) who suggested that post-productivism is a ‘myth’ (also see Roche, (2005) who from his vantage point in New Zealand argued that post-productivism might only be relevant to the UK experience). Others – who are less critical of the concept’s applicability – have noted that while signs of post-productivism *are* indeed evident, traces of productivist agriculture are often still embedded in many rural regions and associated with particular commodities (Ward et al, 2008).

Post-productivism has also been linked to the rise of many new rural land uses and new patterns of rural settlement. Halfacree (1997), for example, suggested that contemporary counterurbanisation is a feature of the post-productivist countryside, a process whereby people move to the countryside for jobs in the growing service sector but also for lifestyle reasons which are generated by the intrinsic appeal of the countryside. The development of smallholding space (or small-scale farm enterprises) is another example of post-productivist activity (Holloway, 2000) as are farmers’ markets (Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000).

Given that the research on post-productivism has heavily focused on the diversification of rural economies, some researchers have suggested that the term should be replaced by a focus on a *multi-functional rural space*.<sup>7</sup> They propose, that this could better capture the idea that rural space is currently being used in hybrid ways – including *ongoing* productivist agriculture and also for many new economic activities, including those directly related to the amenity attributes of countryside spaces (Bjorkhaug & Richards, 2004; Burton & Wilson, 2006; Holmes, 2002, 2006; McCarthy, 2005; Smailes, 2002; Wilson & Rigg, 2003; Woods, 2009).

Holmes (2002, 2006) has been particularly active in developing theory around the idea of multi-functional rural space – a phenomenon he believes is driven by consumption and conservation values which are clearly challenging agriculture’s long-standing hegemonic position in the rural sphere. Holmes (2006, pp.142-143) noted that, as a result of these new interests, a differentiated and more complex countryside has arisen:

...at its core, the multifunctional transition involves radical re-ordering in the three basic purposes of underlying human use of rural space, namely production, consumption and protection. The transition can be characterised as a shift from the formerly dominant

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<sup>7</sup> It is perhaps the Australians who have engaged most critically with the post-productivism debate and come up with a concept which better represents changes in antipodean rural land use and society (Argent, 2002; Holmes, 2002, 2006; Smailes, 2002). There is, therefore, a growing literature on Australian *multifunctional rural spaces* (Holmes, 2006; McCarthy, 2005) which attempts to deal with the diversification outlined above and is a concept which acknowledges change and embraces the breadth of activity we are currently seeing in the New Zealand countryside.

production goals towards a more complex, contested, variable mix of production, consumption and protection. These three basic goals can be linked to forces driving the transition to multifunctional rural occupance, namely agricultural overcapacity (the production goal), the emergence of market-driven amenity uses (the consumption goal) and changing societal values (the protection goal).

Other researchers have noted that the multi-functional character of contemporary rural space is a direct outcome of neo-liberal reforms (McCarthy, 2008) and that it is perhaps more positive than post-productivist discourses because it focuses on new outputs – not the loss of old productive systems. McCarthy (2008) called for ethnographic examinations of multi-functional rural spaces – particularly from the perspective of agricultural producers – to provide more robust ‘versions’ of the phenomenon.

### **The commodification of the countryside**

The recent work on both post-productivism and multi-functional rural space draws many parallels with literature on the ‘commodification of the countryside’. This research has argued that the countryside has changed from a place organised *solely* for primary production to one *also* organised for the sale of an increasing array of non-traditional rural commodities, services, lifestyle products and experiences i.e., the production *and* consumption countryside (Cloke, 1993; Cloke & Perkins, 2002; Hopkins, 1998; Perkins 2006; Slee, 2005). This area of research – which coincided with the wider ‘cultural turn’ in social science research<sup>8</sup> (Cloke, 1997) – usually draws attention to the non-agricultural dimensions of countryside change such as the shifting representations of rurality in media and advertising (Bascom, 2001; Cloke, 1993; Hopkins, 1998;) and the increasing commodification of rural culture, places and landscapes for touristic, leisure and recreational purposes (Cloke & Perkins, 1998, 2002; Moon, 2002). This literature relies heavily on postmodern/cultural theory and has underpinned what Cloke (1997) described as a revival in rural studies.

In the recently published *Handbook of Rural Studies*, Perkins (2006) argued that commodification is the central process driving rural change and the development of new rural economies; an integral part of the re-resourcing of rural areas that has occurred as a part of rural restructuring. It works itself out in myriad ways across the globe as capital seeks to accumulate in new ways and interacts with national and international regulatory arrangements and local production and consumption practices. Perkins (2006) suggested that, in this process, particular interconnected and overlapping forms of rural commodity are maintained, adapted and created, and so, therefore, are rural landscapes, productive processes, technologies, social arrangements, activities and practices. Consequently, the meaning of the rural is also continually changing for residents, visitors and those who view it from afar.

Most obvious among these rural commodity forms are a wide range of products (Perkins, 2006). These are illustrated by Perkins (2006) through: well-established and new agricultural and horticultural commodities; a diverse range of rural settlement types associated with counterurbanisation<sup>9</sup>; short and feature-films incorporating rural landscapes made with the

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<sup>8</sup> Morris and Evans (2004) have argued that it may seem that the ‘cultural turn’ in rural geography is mostly focused on non-agricultural concerns – agricultural geography is more culturally informed than it might first appear. As evidence, the authors noted four areas of agricultural geography which have drawn on cultural perspectives: representations of agriculture, nature-society relations, heterogeneous agri-cultures and enculturing the agri-food economy.

<sup>9</sup> Residential property development in the countryside, particularly rural building conversion, represents another type of newly commodified rural spaces (Phillips, 2005; Shucksmith et al., 1993).

support of regional film commissions and place promoters; and a plethora of recreation and tourism products and activities. These products are integrally linked to commodified forms of production, some of which are well established, but these exist alongside many new ways of doing things. Rural areas are, therefore, sites in which old and new production practices and technologies are applied, developed and interact with each other.

Some of the products and production processes discussed by Perkins (2006) are closely linked to commodity forms which may best be discussed using the terms *attraction* and *experience*. The sale of new and 'boutique' foods and beverages, often at the point of production; the diversification in patterns of counterurbanisation; and the provision of a significant array of commercial rural recreation and tourism opportunities are based on the re-making of the rural as a set of places which are attractive to those with money to spend on consumption goods and fashionable experiences. It follows, therefore, that *land* and *lifestyles* are centrally important commodity forms arising from the process of rural commodification. Particular types of rural lifestyle are available for purchase by those who can afford to do so. Land, perhaps the most basic of rural commodities, and the lifestyles of the people who live on it, or who visit it irregularly, are also subjected to a variety of material and symbolic forces as land is marketed, exchanged, subdivided, regulated, landscaped, ploughed, fertilised, planted, built on and fought over. The changing meaning of the rural and the ways people make a living in rural areas is intimately tied up with the ways these forces work themselves out (Perkins, 2006).

### **Culture economies and neo-endogenous rural development**

In the late 1990s, a rural sociological literature also developed around the processes of commodification, but this work has been more strongly focused on the various ways local rural residents have attempted to create new opportunities for income generation. This process is known technically as *neo-endogenous*<sup>10</sup> or *local rural development* (Ray, 2006; Shucksmith, 2000; also see Woods, 2005c).

Ray (1998, 1999; also see Kneafsey, 2001; Mackay, 2004 and Panelli et al., 2003) developed a particular variation on this theme known as *rural culture economies* which emphasised rural redevelopment based on the valorisation, commodification and sale of local cultural resources which can be physical, symbolic and human. Studies of this nature have examined the ways in which local rural actors have attempted to optimise and/or retain control of their social and economic well-being in a globalising world. The growth of place promotion, tourism and commercial recreation making use of local resources are good examples of the rural culture economy in action (Kneafsey, 2001). A plethora of different examples can be found, such as the Canadian rural community which realised that it had very considerable skills in the restoration of old motor vehicles and set about establishing a local and very successful industry around such activity (Bryant, 1989).

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<sup>10</sup> See Woods (2005c) for an overview of rural development and Shucksmith (2000) for a critique of the endogenous development model which, he argues, tends to valorise community participation while perhaps masking the existence of marginalised/disadvantaged groups.

Central to Ray's (1998, 1999) culture economy theory<sup>11</sup> is the suggestion that a new type of rural economy has emerged; one founded more on regional/territorial identity and the valorisation, manipulation and sale of a rural community's endogenous resources (which may be tangible or intangible) rather than on the sale of just primary commodities. Examples of rural development centred on the valorisation of endogenous resources (or 'cultural markers' as Ray called them) might include: traditional methods for cooking (Haukeland et al., 2001), local music (Gibson & Connell, 2003), local languages (Ray, 1998), regional heritage (Moon, 2002), history and architecture (Panelli et al., 2003), adventure and wilderness (Cloke & Perkins, 2003), and bucolic landscapes (Mackay, 2004). Ray argued that through the process of 'commodification', cultural markers can and often do become "key resources in the pursuit of territorial development objectives" and key components the *rural culture economy*.<sup>12</sup>

Tourism brochures are especially useful in highlighting the prevalence of rural culture economic activity and rural commodification<sup>13</sup> (Cloke, 1993). This advertising material commonly draws attention to the innumerable activities, experiences, attractions, accommodations and facilities now available (at a cost) to tourists visiting the countryside including: horse treks, 4WD tours, farm stays and tours, high country hiking, country cottages, rural backpackers, country garden tours, country retreats, local cuisine, rural landscapes, rural hospitality and participation in rural work, such as shearing. More evidence of this process can be found in the many rural place names which are now synonymous with the inimitable 'tourism' products sold in specific regions. The following are some New Zealand examples: Nelson and arts and crafts, Hawkes Bay and wineries, Tirau and farming history (Panelli, et al., 2003) and Queenstown and adventure experiences (Cloke & Perkins, 2002). These products are unique (if only symbolically), for they are usually presented and sold to tourists as geographical 'experiences' of a 'local' culture, people and place. Such evidence supports the suggestion that an escalating range of rural 'things' are being transformed into components of a new and more

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<sup>11</sup> Ray's (1997) earliest work was an attempt to formulate a *conceptual model* of endogenous rural development. He did this by focusing on how local people utilise their cultural resources, social and human capital and networking capacity to engage with extra-local institutions and markets. He developed the idea during research examining the European Union's LEADER programme – an initiative established to encourage and support locally derived economic development projects in struggling rural areas (also see Ray, 2000). Ray (1998) suggested that the formation of a culture economy could be seen as a form of 'local' action that could address the economic and social needs and realities of rural residents in an increasingly global economic system. Ray (1998, p.4) clearly acknowledged a global and local spatial interdependence within a culture economy, whereby the extra-local marketplace forms the consumer base "...to which the territory seeks to sell itself." Thus, Ray bridged the exogenous/endogenous dichotomy by focusing on the essential links between the two.

<sup>12</sup> In later work, Ray (1998) developed a typology detailing four possible modes (or strategies) available to, and used by rural residents as they seek to create and maintain a rural culture economy. Ray (1999, p.526) provided the following summary of the typology:

"Mode I occurs as action to commoditise a culture through local products or services, or the incorporation of a territorial identity onto a generic product or service. Mode II involves the encapsulation of cultural identity into a strategic image for the territory. Once constructed, this image is then available to raise the visibility of the territory concerned in the wider policy and political arenas. Mode III similarly involves the construction or re-discovery of a culturally based territorial identity but this time the goal is to cultivate a local solidarity within the territory itself...Taken together, modes I, II and III can themselves be thought of as a kind of repertoire of strategic action available to the territory in question. Mode IV of the Culture Economy Typology, however, focuses attention onto the possibility of a range of paths of development [i.e. participation, coping and resistance]."

<sup>13</sup> A good example of the use of tourism brochures in the study of rural change is Cloke's (1993) work on commodified rural spaces in Britain. Cloke conducted a socio-semiotic analysis of rural tourism brochures to provide insights into the increasing commodification and symbolic value of the British countryside. He found that the contemporary countryside is commonly marketed to visitors as a zone of pristine natural landscapes, easy living and ideal family types. Hopkins (1998) conducted similar research in Canada finding a wide array of commodified rural 'things' marketed to tourists as rural experiences and cultural products including camping in the countryside, crafts, bed and breakfasts and zoos. Hopkins does not reveal loss in the countryside resulting from commodification but rather the addition of value (although he questions the level of tolerance tourists and locals will have as the countryside becomes increasingly like a shopping place).

diverse rural economy – one reliant on the packaging, presentation and sale of local rural ‘culture’ to tourists.

Ray’s (1998, 1999) conceptualisation of the rural culture economy – which today informs and underpins a more contemporary theory of *neo-endogenous development*<sup>14</sup> (Ray, 2003, 2006) – has been used in empirical investigations examining the dynamics of rural development in a variety of settings and contexts. Kneafsey (2001), for example, used Ray’s work as a lens through which to view local rural tourism development in a French region, and also the ways in which residents participate in the process of rural commodification. Similarly, Mackay (2004) used Ray’s typology as a framework to examine rural tourism development and rural place making in one small rural New Zealand area in the South Island. Also worth mentioning here is the work of Panelli et al. (2003) who looked at the fostering of a culture economy around farming history in the small town of Tirau in New Zealand’s North Island.

### **Rural place promotion and tourism development**

As is obvious from the above, the study of how rural place identities are created as part of economic development strategies has become a very significant theme in the rural studies literature and a very important component of Ray’s culture economy thesis (1998, 1999). Ray argued that in contemporary times there is a need for rural places to develop specific place identities around which future economic activity can be built. According to Ray (1999) these identities are created as local rural actors select ‘things’ from geographically defined, and therefore unique, ‘repertoires’ of cultural resources. These things then become (through the process of commodification) place products and/or recognisable, and therefore marketable, symbols of the locality (e.g., ‘local’ landmarks, history, heritage, language, customs and traditions). For Ray (1998), this process can also involve the rediscovery of lost cultural traits, or even the creation of new cultural/place products.<sup>15</sup> Generally, however, the ability to create ‘unique’ place identities and place-products is set firmly in the notion that ‘culture’ is geographically bounded. From a variety of theoretical perspectives and drawing on a great variety of data sources, researchers have shown how small rural communities all over the world have attempted to ‘put their town on the map’ (Bell & Lyall, 1995) by basing development on the valorisation and promotion of a distinct local identity.

Bascom (2001), for example, studied – from a post-structuralist perspective – how one rural community in America (Branson, Missouri) sought to ‘energise’ its local economy by constructing an appealing place image built on a local heritage theme (Bascom, 2001). Similarly, Schnell (2003) illustrated how, in Lindsborg, Kansas, a rural industry emerged based upon the valorisation and commodification of the town’s Swedish ethnic heritage. Schnell suggests that the town’s inhabitants were able to evade rural decline by capitalising on their ‘ethnic roots’ – a cultural marker that has since become a valuable tool for rural (re)development. In another example, Bessiere (1998) focused on the culinary heritage industry which was rising in prominence in the French countryside – a development pathway many local rural communities were adopting at the time to revitalise their local economy. The role of food in the development of regional identities has also been studied by Everett and Aitchison (2008) and Haukeland et al. (2001). This work shows that local food has become a very important

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<sup>14</sup> Like the notion of culture economy, the central pillars of neo-endogenous rural development are localism, participation and partnership – all of which have become important features of rural policy in the EU (Ray, 2003, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> For example, Gibson and Connell (2003) showed how a new culture economy has developed in Byron Bay (Australia) – once a small whaling town – involving the production, marketing and sale of local music to tourists and visitors – a connection which is evident in a new regional identity associated with alternative lifestyle activities and music subcultures (one which is particularly attractive to young backpackers).



feature of many local place identities and in the production and consumption of rural towns, as demonstrated in Everett and Aitchison's (2008) study of Cornwall (England) where food, place promotion, tourism and economic growth went hand in hand.

A particularly good example of rural place identity construction leading to local differentiation, economic gain and enhanced community well-being is also provided by Bell and Lyall (1995) in their book *Putting Our Town on the Map: Local Claims to Fame in New Zealand*. They argue that the 'need' to construct distinct place identities in New Zealand, as elsewhere, became widespread during the early 1990s as rural communities actively fought against the impacts of the economic recession (Bell & Lyall, 1995). The aim was to fight marginalisation by putting towns on the tourist map with constructed 'local claims to fame' (Bell & Lyall, 1995). Bell and Lyall (1995) believed that as a result, a new cultural landscape had emerged, evident in the prolific display of giant sized objects, signs and themes that welcome the visitor to the towns and at the same time display an element of local cultural pride and identity. Examples included: Te Puke and its giant sized kiwifruit, Pokeno and its claim to be 'bacon country', Dannevirke as Viking country (Scandinavian heritage), Westport and mining, Taihape – the Gumboot City.

Clearly rural tourism development is important here; Butler (1998) argued that rural imagery (and we would suggest rural place identity) works to reinforce a view of the countryside as an attractive and evocative location resulting in increasing demand for rural visitation, experiences and products which can have both positive<sup>16</sup> and negative outcomes<sup>17</sup>. The rise of rural tourism has been connected to broad transitions in global society and economy and more specifically, rural restructuring (Butler, 1998; Butler et al., 1998; Gill, 1999, Moon, 2002<sup>18</sup>). According to Butler (1998) the rise of rural tourism is a result of an array of interrelated factors including: a general increase in the demand for, and participation in, leisure activities; significant changes brought about by the restructuring of agriculture; new consumer tastes, preferences and social movements; increasing affluence; greater personal mobility; the increasing use of rural imagery

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<sup>16</sup> Wilson et al. (2001) found that cooperation between local business people is important for successful rural tourism development. Tourism requires different types of businesses working together, such as service providers, accommodation providers, restaurant and attraction managers. The important role of rural tourism entrepreneurs (and small businesses) is also highlighted in the study. They found that a core group of entrepreneurs had usually invested time, money and energy to make tourism work in the rural area. Examples of cooperation between tourism entrepreneurs included: working as a group to be open on Sundays and holidays, all painting their buildings to a particular standard or theme, tourism operators forming a group to organise and promote local tourism, and tourism businesses being willing – as a group – to give money to promote tourism. Keen (2004) noted that in small towns, many local rural tourism operators have developed tourism ventures for the social benefits it brings, rather than for profit. They also derive satisfaction from being involved in local sustainable development. Here, Keen employed the term social/community entrepreneurship which emphasises the role a single individual/entrepreneur can have in the development of tourism in small rural towns.

<sup>17</sup> While rural tourism has long been heralded as a lever for economic and social development (Greffé, 1994; Keller, 1987), the challenges of developing rural tourism have also been highlighted by Gill (1999) who argued that tourism development is often placed in the hands of local residents who can face competition from those who have ownership over local resources but have no interest in development initiatives (e.g., farmers who own land and newcomers who wish to develop resource-based tourism).

<sup>18</sup> Moon (2002) provided a rare English language account of contemporary rural change in Japan. The author drew attention to the transformation of the Japanese countryside as it is increasingly arranged to facilitate new consumption-based activities (such as tourism). In Japan, this change is often referred to as *muraokoshi* or 'the village revitalisation movement'. Similar to events in rural Europe, North America and the Australasia, the author reports that *muraokoshi* surfaced in Japan during the 1970s as a consequence of "...decaying rural conditions...[and was described as]...self-help efforts initiated by those living in the countryside to revitalise their economy and society (2002, p.228). The author suggested that *muraokoshi* developed robustly in rural Japan when local rural people realised that anything rural could, in theory, be commodified, including their history and culture. Consequently, rural communities in Japan employed regional character and culture as local attractions for visitors and connected this (through a variety of endogenous strategies) to a myriad of (re)invented 'local' rural tourism products. The outcome is encapsulated in the paper's title – *The Countryside Reinvented for Tourists*.

by the media; and new technological developments. He noted that tourism is also an agent of rural change. Rural tourism has become the economic mainstay of many rural areas (Butler, 1998) as many place-based studies have shown. In Otago and Southland in New Zealand, for example, rural tourism has been embraced as one way to diversify into non-agricultural areas, and these areas have become two of the country's most significant tourism regions (Kearsley, 1998). Much of the tourism there has developed around rural landscapes and heritage – what might also be called local *countryside capital*<sup>19</sup> (Garrod et al., 2006) – and adventure experiences.

## **New rural governance**

During the late 1990s, a literature accompanying the culture economy thesis and research into contemporary processes of rural (re)development more generally, emerged around the idea of *new rural governance* (Cheshire, et al., 2006; Jones & Little, 2000; Little, 2001). A central plank in neoliberal policy was to limit the size and scope of government and this inevitably led to both the closure or diminution of publicly funded rural services and the re-making of local government. This has been characterised as a shift from government to governance. Rural regions in this new environment are still supported by government but there is a much stronger focus on local entrepreneurial and promotional activity, public-private partnerships in the establishment of new economic activity and social provision, and a greater degree of consultation by public bodies with communities and other interest groups. Internationally, a good deal of the literature on new rural governance attempts to discover the extent to which the new forms of governance really do herald something new or simply replicate well established power relationships under a new guise.

The origins of the rural governance literature can be traced to theorising about the changing nature of *urban* governance under new and developing neo-liberal political regimes (for example see Jessop, 1995). In this work, and put simply, governance refers to a new mode of governing involving public, private and voluntary institutions working together in partnerships and programmes which aim to generate positive social, economic and environmental outcomes for communities. Woods (2005a, p.167), in his rural writing, defined governance as:

New styles of governing that operate not only through the apparatuses of the sovereign state but also through a range of interconnecting institutions, agencies, partnerships and initiatives in which the boundaries between the public, private and voluntary sectors become blurred. The actors and organisations engaged in governance exhibit differing degrees of stability and longevity take a variety of forms and operate at a range of scales above, below and co-incident with that of the nation-state.

Elaborating, Goodwin (1998, p. 5-6) wrote, “Where government signals a concern with the formal institutions and structures of the state, the concept of governance is broader and draws attention to the ways in which governmental and non-governmental organisations work together, and to the ways in which political power is distributed, both internal and external to the state”.

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<sup>19</sup> Garrod et al. (2006) suggested that the shared community resource base should be thought of as ‘countryside capital’ – a capital asset that can be invested in and from which benefits will flow providing it is utilised in a sustainable manner. Garrod et al. (2006) suggested that countryside capital can encompass physical, social and symbolic elements that characterise the rural region (such as natural landscapes, wildlife, soils, agricultural buildings, industrial remnants local customs and ways of life). The authors linked the notion of countryside capital to rural tourism development, emphasising the importance of the local resource to multiple actors for different purposes and the need for sound policy.

Essentially, governance marks a shift from long-standing models of top-down government decision-making, planning and policy-making, towards a more participatory system of politics at the local level – so-called ‘grassroots community engagement’ (O’Meara et al., 2007). In Robinson’s (1996, p.348) words: “proposals for bringing about improved governance centre on mechanisms to promote the decentralisation of power and responsibility and to increase consultation and participation in decision making”. Since its introduction into the intellectual debates about urban change, the term governance has gained a great deal of theoretical currency among academics, politicians, and local government practitioners (Goodwin, 1998).

During the late 1990s, Goodwin (1998, also see Little, 2001) criticised rural commentators for not connecting with the ideas being developed in the social scientific literatures on new urban governance. He found their silence peculiar given the then burgeoning literatures associated with different dimensions of countryside change, including rural politics (for example see Woods, 1997). In that paper, Goodwin (1998) reviewed the wider literature on governance and formulated a research agenda for the study of governance in a rural context. He believed this focus would reveal: new and emerging dependencies and relationships between the market, state and rural society; the shifting balance of power in different rural communities; and the ways different interests (social, political and economic) are articulated and come to the fore in different rural places. He also suggested that, as the state steps back from the governance of rural areas<sup>20</sup> and local actors/agencies assume greater control, questions will need to be asked relating to accountability, legitimacy, inclusion and empowerment. Since the publication of Goodwin’s paper, the subject of governance has become more conspicuous in rural studies.

Woods (2005a) has reviewed the progress made in the field of rural governance. He accepts that two ‘interlocking components’ form the base of the new system of rural governance: partnerships; and community engagement and active citizenship. He outlined six key issues prevalent in the literature relating to new rural governance (see also Woods & Goodwin, 2003):

1. matters surrounding exclusivity of the structures of rural governance (i.e., it may provide room for small groups of established organisations and individuals to assume a disproportionate level of power and influence in a rural area).
2. questions regarding legitimacy and accountability within the new system of governance.
3. while partnerships are a central component of governance, issues can arise relating to unequal resources and to the level of influence of different partners.
4. the lifespan of partnerships which are supported by funding schemes may be short.
5. new territories and different scales of rural development might create tension/confusion between overlapping institutions and over geographical jurisdictions, and
6. rural governance may be creating geographical unevenness between partnership-rich and partnership-poor communities.

In theorising the characteristics, processes and outcomes of new rural governance, writers have often focused on a particular initiatives (or policies) which might be a representative mechanism of the new governing system. Good examples include analyses of the Rural Challenge initiative (Jones & Little, 2000), LEADER Action Groups (Ray, 1998), a Town Enterprise Committee (Pini, 2006), and Enterprise Companies (MacKinnon, 2002). These types of partnerships, policies and initiatives – and there are many more – have been examined in different parts of the world including: the United Kingdom (Ray, 1998), Wales (Edwards, 1998), England (Conelly et al., 2006; Woods, 1997, 1998), the United States (Radin et al.,

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<sup>20</sup> Cheshire et al. (2006) noted that in Australia central government is still very much involved in the governing of rural areas and that a government-governance model is perhaps more appropriate.

1996), the Scottish Highlands (MacKinnon, 2002), and Australia (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000; O'Toole, 2006; O'Toole & Burdess, 2004; Pini, 2006). These studies usefully detail some of the key characteristics of rural governance. While Little (2001) accepts that this type of research (on local experiences of governance and specific local policies) is essential, she has stressed that it is also necessary to “step back from this detail to consider the nature and direction of governance in the context of the changing economic, political and cultural expectations surrounding the strategic regulation of the countryside” (p.98).

A more specific area of inquiry in the research on rural governance is partnership formation. The formation of partnerships (which aim to bring together rural actors and agencies drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors) is considered a key – if not absolutely necessary – feature of both urban and rural governance (Jones & Little, 2000; Radin et al., 1996; Woods, 2005a). Indeed, Pini (2006, p.404) noted that partnerships are part of the (political) promise of the new mode of governance: “What is seen to be promised by the language of governance – partnerships, networks and participation – is that newly established institutional arrangements will lead to a dissolution or redistribution of power, and open up new opportunities for state involvement by citizens who have been traditionally marginalised in the public sphere”.

Despite this promise, rural researchers have found that in many partnerships, the balance of power between different actor groups is often skewed to one side (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000; Jones & Little, 2000). Jones and Little (2000), for example, found that in rural areas where the voluntary and private sector resources were ‘thin on the ground’, the public sector took the lead in partnerships. In that paper, the authors conveyed their concern about the constant valorisation of partnerships in the rural governance discourse, believing that it screened important issues associated with power relations and accountability. MacKinnon (2002) also articulated a concern with partnerships. He discovered that when in partnership with the community, LECs in the Scottish Highlands (i.e., unelected local agencies established by the state in place of development boards) provided not local empowerment, but limited empowerment to selected local actors. Moreover, he (MacKinnon, 2002, p.321) noted that these arrangements are clearly not partnerships of equals “...since the balance of power is weighted towards the LEC side of the relationship”.

While partnerships are an important (yet contested) facet of new rural governance, understanding the ways in which communities participate in these arrangements has been another area of scholarly research (for example see: Edwards, 1998; Jones & Little, 2000; Mackinnon, 2002; O'Toole, 2006). Marsden and Murdoch (1998, p.1) have emphasised that community, civilian and non-governmental participation is a key part of new rural governance – a theme taken up strongly in papers in a special issue of the *Journal of Rural Studies* which examined governance and the ‘new topography of political relations’ in the countryside. Another field of research which can tentatively be aligned with the study of new rural governance and the notion of participation concerns the role and responsibility of local rural communities in natural resource management, and environmental protection and conservation (for good examples see: Seymour, 2004; Wallington & Lawrence, 2008; Wilson, 2005; 2006).

More recently, and perhaps in response to Goodwin's (1998) earlier call for such analysis, some researchers have focused on the issue of legitimacy in the new rural governance arena (Connelly et al, 2006; Welch, 2002). Welch (2002), for example, has examined the strategies that local governments formulate as they attempt to retain legitimacy in the new and much more complex rural governance environment. His work provides a bridge between governance theory and the day-to-day practices of rural governance – insights from Central Otago in New Zealand and Victoria in Australia provide data for his study. Connelly et al. (2006) have also

examined uncertainties surrounding the notion of legitimacy within the new governance setting. They focus on sustainable transport policy-making in the Peak District National Park in England and, in doing so developed the notion of 'situated legitimacy'. In their words, this relates to how legitimacy "...is constructed in and through specific policy deliberations, how it is used in their own contexts by actors in the rural governance and those affected by their deliberation". As they have pointed out, this is more complex than previous understandings of legitimacy in the former era of representative democratic government.

More recently, Pini (2006) has explored new terrain, examining potential gender bias in new rural governance institutions and programmes (also see Sheridan et al., 2006). Using interviews with men and woman involved in local leadership in the shire of Villa (Australia) – she found that men held most of the positions of power. As such, she proposed that while a 'new' mode of rural governance had emerged, it was one in which traditional gender roles were firmly rooted.

### **The global countryside**

In a summary of recent progress made in rural geography, James McCarthy (2008) highlighted work which was developing around the idea of an emergent 'global' countryside. Put simply, this research has suggested that rural places are being (re)made, linked and commodified as a result of (1) current global forces (such as amenity migration, significant levels of 'non-domestic property ownership', international tourism) and (2) the economic, social and political activities of an increasingly complex network of local, global and international actors (McCarthy, 2008; Murdoch, 2003; Woods, 2006, 2007, 2009). Woods (2006, 2009) argued that as rural places are shaped by these global processes, the capacity for locals to act is being increasingly challenged, although not altogether eroded. As such, he suggested that it is perhaps more appropriate to think of the global countryside as a series of reconstituted and hybrid spaces involving interactions between local, regional, national and global actors – a place of negotiation, contest and conflict.

To empirically support his global countryside thesis, Woods (2006, 2009) reported findings from a case study in the Queenstown Lakes District, South Island, New Zealand. Here, amenity migration and rural property development (and associated population growth) have been at the centre of recent social, economic and landscape changes and at the core of local politics (especially land use planning debates). Woods argued that this has largely occurred because of the area's high and internationally recognised natural amenity value and a corresponding demand for rural living in this (very spectacular) environment (essentially becoming what Moss (2006b, p.15) might call a 'premier destination'). As a result of this increased interest and investment in the area, the Queenstown Lakes District is now inextricably linked to a network of global actors including international tourists and non-local investors (such as the Canadian Country and Western singer Shania Twain who purchased a major high country sheep station), and also those regionally based such as 'boosterist local politicians and developers' and savvy entrepreneurs. Woods stressed in his work that while at first glance it might appear that the locality is dominated by global actors and globalisation processes, it is more astute to view these places as hybrid constitutions involving both local and international actors who – whether in agreement, partnership or pitted against one another – all have a role in a new and emerging rural politics (also see Murdoch, 2003). To further develop the global countryside thesis, Woods (2007) called for more place-based accounts of globalisation as experienced in rural localities.

## Amenity migration

At the centre of recent theorising about the emergent *global countryside* is the notion of rural amenity and its ability to attract new residents, domestic and international tourists and also private capital. Some rural commentators have argued that contemporary rural development, in fact, may *rely* on the capacity of a region to be promoted on the grounds of its amenity attributes (for example see Albrecht, 2007; McCarthy, 2008) and that in Australia and New Zealand this is a key feature of the post-productivist and multi-functional transition in rural places (Argent et al., 2007; Holmes, 2006; Woods, 2006, 2009). McCarthy (2008, p.131 cited in Woods, 2009) argued that this focus on amenity can, however, bring about uneven change because “only areas meeting the requisite aesthetic, legal, linguistic and other preconditions qualify, leaving most rural areas unlikely to receive this form of [amenity related] investment”. Other rural regions must attempt to re-make themselves using natural and cultural resources other than ‘amenity’, but of course one of their place-making strategies might be to attempt to re-constitute the idea of amenity itself.

While understanding the relationship between amenity and rural development and change is a relatively new theme in rural studies<sup>21</sup>, a useful starting point has been made by Argent et al. (2007) who sought to answer the question: what exactly is amenity in a rural context? In their Australian-based research they discuss a range of locally situated environmental attributes including coastal vistas and access to good surfing and swimming beaches (Argent et al., 2007). From a North American perspective, McGranahan (1999) draws attention to a similar set of natural amenities, highlighting the importance of climate and access to water resources such as lakes and rivers. Buckley et al. (2006) included wine regions and national parks, and mountains are also very good examples of amenity resources which have the capacity to attract new residents and tourists to rural regions (for example see Glorioso & Moss, 2007; Hall, 2006; Loeffler & Steinicke, 2007; Moss, 2006a, 2006b).

Moss (2006b) also draws attention to the cultural amenities of rural areas which may act in the same way. Thus, for Moss (2006b, p.3) the process is “the migration to places that people perceive as having greater environmental quality and differentiated culture” (p.3). He argued that while amenity migration is most obvious in accessible areas of developed countries, it also occurs in remote and less exploited mountain areas of the world – places that have become ‘premier destinations’ (Moss, 2006b, p.15). Moss also suggested that while environmental motives clearly underpin amenity migration, other motives are tangled up in this migratory

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<sup>21</sup> Although not employing the term ‘amenity migration’ until recently, rural population and social change has been the focus of much past rural research (Bascom & Gordon, 1999; Hoggart, 2007; Lewis, 1998; Milbourne, 2007; Woods, 1998b) and a number of terms have been used to describe its different dimensions, such as ‘counterurbanisation’ (Boyle & Halfacree, 1998; Halfacree, 1997; Mitchell, 2004) ‘retirement migration’ (Deller, 1995), ‘green migration’ (Jones et al., 2003), ‘return migration’ (Ni Laoire, 2007) and ‘exurbanisation’ (Egan & Luloff, 2000). In a recent review of this work, Milbourne noted that place-based accounts of rural population change have tended to examine local rural transformations based on the dualisms between local and incomer, or insider and outsider (for example see: Egan & Luloff, 2000; Salamon, 2003; Smith & Krannich, 2000) and related socio-cultural conflicts. Milbourne suggested, however, that more care is needed in interpretation so as not to make broad generalisations from these situated, place-based studies. He noted a lack of critical attention given to processes of international migration and rural areas, which perhaps have more to do with economics than life-style. The obvious case here is of low-income international migrant countries moving to rural areas to work in low-wage sectors of the rural economy. Milbourne argued further that it is important to account for spatial complexity i.e., while there has been population growth in some areas, there has been population loss in others. He also suggested that studies of short-distance rural migration (re-locations) would also be a legitimate area on enquiry. He is critical of recent approaches for their lack of engagement with recent discourses/theories of mobilities and is concerned that those who have engaged in the study of rural population change have failed to see that it is more than just the movement of people, but also reflects something of the shifting meanings of rural places and ruralities. Milbourne suggested that there is a need to combine different methods to reveal the true nature and complexities of the phenomenon. Mitchell (2004) might agree arguing that even the very popular term counterurbanisation may not capture the current complexities of the movement of people to rural areas.

pattern such as economic gain, personal safety and the pursuit of a 'simpler existence' in rural places i.e., migration for socio-cultural as well as economic reasons. For clarity, Moss (2006b, pp.8-9) provided the following definitions for both environmental and cultural amenities:

Environmental amenities are the valued natural physical attributes of a place, including terrestrial and aquatic landscapes, distinguishing topographical features, climate, air, water and biodiversity quality and quantity. Cultural Amenities are tangible and intangible manifestations of human groups considered culturally valuable by either their originators or others. Tangible manifestations are artefacts, including the built or significantly altered natural environment. At the more visually perceivable end of an intangibility continuum are the performing arts, spectacles and rites, and toward the other end are audible language, gestures and other shared constructs, such as aesthetic and organisational paradigms.

Also useful here is Don Albrecht's discussion of rural America's transition into global society and the increasing significance of amenity in this process. In his words (Albrecht, 2007, p.1) "after passing through eras labelled as "Small Towns in Isolation" and "Small Towns in Mass Society" ... we are now entering the era of "Small Town in Global Society" – one which is a direct outcome of globalisation processes and one in which will produce both winners and losers. Albrecht goes on to argue that 'global society' is very different from 'mass society' in that it comprises intensive global competition and the "reduced relevance of location" (Albrecht, 2007, p.1). But in the context of amenity resources, location is of vital significance. In this regard, Albrecht (2007) argues that while rural populations have historically grown in areas where extractable natural minerals and the necessary resources for primary production have been plentiful, in the new global era it is increasingly an area's amenity repertoire – the "combinations of factors that comprise an aesthetically pleasing environment" (Albrecht, 2007, p.6) – that drives economic development and rural social change.

Fittingly, McCarthy (2007) also draws attention to the literature which is developing around amenity and amenity-related migration and tourism, a phenomenon currently taking place in and transforming rural areas all over the world (Albrecht, 2007; Beale & Johnson, 1998; Betz & Perdue, 1993; Buckley et al., 2006; Chipenluk, 2004; Escribano, 2007; Hall, 2006; Loeffler & Steinicke, 2007; Moss, 2006a, 2006b; Nelson 2006; Rudzitis, 1999). He defines<sup>22</sup> amenity migration as: "...the purchasing of primary or secondary residences in rural areas valued for their aesthetic, recreational, and other consumption-orientated use values..." (McCarthy, 2008, p.130: also see Moss, 2006a). He noted that while movements of people to the countryside are not a new thing – people have been visiting the countryside for pleasure for millennia – the

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<sup>22</sup> A number of other academics have tried to define the term amenity migration. Important here is the work of Price et al. (1997) who sought to (1) define amenity migration (as something very different to tourism), (2) characterise the amenity migrant, (3) explain why amenity migration exists, and (4) describe the major impacts of the movement. Amenity migration – a globally emerging phenomenon – involves the movement of people to remote/rural places in search for natural beauty and cultural diversity. Amenity migration is most marked, therefore, in areas with 'rich caches' of environmental/landscape and cultural amenity resources. Climate, clean air, quietness and the desire to flee the stresses of urban life also draw people (amenity migrants) to remote/rural places. The amenity migrants are generally more affluent than local people and, given their urban/middle class origins, tend to have urban expectations and very different attitudes. In their new residence the amenity migrants might earn an income full-time, part time or not at all, or conversely, they might be economically active elsewhere. While amenity migrants usually consider themselves residents of an area, their occupancy can be: (1) permanent (i.e., most of the time), (2) seasonal (i.e., for one or more periods during the year, such as for the ski-season), or (3) intermittent (i.e., move among residences more frequently). Conceptually, amenity migration is driven by six factors which coalesce into two dominant societal forces (p.266): (1) increasing motivation for amenity migration related to: (i) higher valuing of the natural environment, (ii) higher valuing of cultural differentiations, and (iii) higher valuing of leisure, learning and spirituality, and (2) greater facilitation for amenity migration relating to: (i) increasing discretionary time, (ii) increasing discretionary wealth, and (iii) increasing access through improving and less expensive communications and transportation technology.

current extensification and intensification of the phenomenon warrants new attention. He asks, what is causing or enabling the intensification of amenity migration? Upon a review of the literature, McCarthy (2008) offered the following answers to this question: the increasing mobility of elites, rapid growth in incomes of certain urban professionals, loosening of restrictions on foreign ownership of land and property, the destruction of distance (transportation and communication), and increased circulation of the representation of prized rural landscapes (all of which have resulted in the emergence of a global market for a small number of rural landscapes meeting the requisite criteria – particularly those adjacent to protected natural areas and former farming regions where large land tracts are able to be purchased).

McCarthy (2008) also considered how we should seek to understand or investigate amenity migration and associated phenomena and suggested that we must look at the widely circulating imaginaries, meanings and performances which are coded as rural and which likely underpin demand for (and to some extent organise the production and use of) particular rural landscapes. Underpinning this, he argued, is the intoxicating image of the rural idyll which fuels a desire for life in the countryside, a detached home, green open space and closeness to nature.

McCarthy (2008) also highlighted recent areas of work on the effects of amenity migration and the globalising of the countryside more generally. He identified, however, that little work has been done on the ecological effects<sup>23</sup> of amenity migration which are likely to be profound (changing patterns of land use, land cover, and water use, changing mixes of species through planting or stopping and starting hunting or fishing). Social impacts have been of interest – such as the likelihood of increasing property values which may drive out those who rent their accommodation and also the formation of new social relationships rural spaces. Material aspects of change have also been touched upon, such as new forms of housing and mixes of retail and service providers. In many instances, academics have held negative views – i.e., amenity migration is bad for the environment and bad for the ‘social’ – nevertheless McCarthy suggested we may be entering a new era of rural stewardship as many new amenity migrants seem to have strong environmental values.

In terms of the social effects of amenity migration, the work of Moss (2006b) is again useful. He suggested that because most amenity migrants come from the city they can: ‘upset old rhythms’ and change local values, norms and behaviour, thereby creating a new and complex social milieu comprising conflict or collaboration, convergences or alliances (such as new relations between farmer and environmentalist, or community groups fighting for or against growth and development). Detrimental effects can be heightened by the impermanence of amenity migration i.e., in-migrants can be part-time residents or might leave because their expectations weren’t met or the area changed after their arrival (possibly due to the behaviour of other amenity migrants). In sum, they lack commitment or attachment to their new (albeit temporary) place of residence. Amenity migrants are often more wealthy than local residents too, and therefore, have more purchasing power than locals – another catalyst for tension. Local displacement can also occur as the price of goods and services increase with their presence – particularly real estate prices which can increase phenomenally.<sup>24</sup> The amenity migrants might

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<sup>23</sup> Moss (2006b) briefly discussed the principal biophysical (ecosystem and landscape) effects of amenity migration in mountain areas. Soil, water and air degradation are clearly a concern, especially as populations grow in remote areas and housing developments appear in fragile environmental areas (although this is not so in places where regional governments have managed to exert some control over development).

<sup>24</sup> Loeffler and Steinicke (2007) also noted the potential for conflict between newcomers and long term residents based around the link between amenity migration and increasing property values which, in the high mountain sub-regions in California, locals had been priced out of the market. Buckley et al. (2006) have also drawn attention to the connection between amenity migration and rising property values.



also assume greater control over resources than locals, done by drawing on their more extensive social networks and political-economic connections with the outside world. The in-migrants might even enter the local political arena. The effects are not all negative, as Moss (and others) point out. Amenity migration can create wealth and jobs<sup>25</sup>, and that outmigration might be reduced by new employment opportunities. Improved infrastructure and services might also manifest in places where amenity migrants congregate<sup>26</sup>.

## Conclusion: the 'hybrid' countryside

By way of conclusion, we thought it appropriate to focus on ideas about the hybrid countryside, particularly as characterised by Jonathon Murdoch (2003), because they provide a way of bringing the ideas discussed in this essay together. The most recent work of Woods (2006, 2007, 2009) and others (Albrecht, 2007), which seeks to confront the complex nature (and making) of local rural space in contemporary global society, can neatly be linked to what Murdoch (2003, p.280) has described as “a more general effort to develop theoretical approaches that can elucidate the variegated and heterogeneous relationships that now drive processes of change in the contemporary countryside”.

The heterogeneous qualities of the countryside were discussed by Murdoch (2003) who used Actor Network Theory – or ANT – to interpret the countryside as a ‘hybrid’ zone comprising multifarious associations between constellations of people, landscape, amenity, technology and other non-human objects. Murdoch (2003) argued that in a rural context ANT usefully sheds light on the crucial interplay between ‘social’, ‘technical’ and ‘natural’ entities in the ‘co-construction’ of the countryside. “The discourse of hybridity” he argues “...is a response to this ‘mixing up’ of things and people in rural processes and events” (Murdoch, 2003, p.279) and works to bridge discussions of rural *natures* with those on the *social* construction of the countryside. In his conclusion he writes:

The countryside, then, is composed by heterogeneous actors – viruses, mutant proteins, conservative philosophers, farmers, fields, counter-urbanisers, and so on. Yet, despite this heterogeneous composition, it is still possible to talk *social* constructions of the countryside, just as it is still possible to discuss rural *natures*. It would be foolish to argue that such words no longer have any utility in making sense of rural arrangements...it has merely been suggested that another perspective might be added to the repertoire – hybridity...the countryside is multiple and therefore requires multiple modes of understanding...In short, while any particular vision of the countryside will continue to focus upon social forms, natural entities or even hybrid objects, it will also need to be aware of the interrelationships that exist between these realms if it is to fully capture the full range of processes currently running through rural areas (Murdoch, 2003, p.279).

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<sup>25</sup> Interesting work in England has reported that in-migrant entrepreneurs were the owners of over half of the small businesses in rural localities, and that these accounted for a great deal of local employment and local economic diversification thereby offsetting economic and social decline (Bosworth, 2006). Similarly, the labour market impact of migration has been looked at in Scotland (Findlay et al., 2000). These researchers found that in-migrants make rather than take jobs. They looked at job-growth associated with rural in-migration. They argue the in-migrants do not destabilise the local labour market but produce positive change thereby contributing towards the regeneration and long-term sustainability of rural places - new service jobs was one area of growth.

<sup>26</sup> In some rural areas in Canada, amenity migration is now more important than extractive industries, although the authors find that planners and administrators often lack the capacity to plan for this change (Chipenluk, 2004).

## **Part 2: Annotated Bibliography (by Author)**



# A

1. **Albrecht, D. E. (2007). Small town in global society. *Southern Rural Sociology*, 22(1), 1-14.**

In this paper – the 2007 Southern Rural Sociological Presidential Address – Don Albrecht discusses the plight of small rural towns in America under globalisation. In his words (Albrecht, 2007, p.1) “after passing through eras labelled as “Small Towns in Isolation” and “Small Towns in Mass Society” ... we are now entering the era of “Small Town in Global Society” – one which is a direct outcome of globalisation processes and one in which will produce both winners and losers. Albrecht argues that ‘global society’ is very different from ‘mass society’ in that it comprises more intensive global competitiveness in the marketplace and the “reduced relevance of location” (Albrecht, 2007, p.1). Albrecht emphasises the growing importance of amenity resources in this new era. In regards to amenity, Albrecht argues that while rural populations have historically grown in areas where extractable natural minerals and the necessary resources for primary production have been plentiful, in the new global an area’s amenity repertoire – the “combinations of factors that comprise an aesthetically pleasing environment” (p.6) – tend to be more important drivers of economic development and rural social change.

2. **Argent, N. (2002). From pillar to post? In search of the post-productivist countryside in Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 33(1), 97-114.**

In this paper, Argent considers the extent to which the notion of ‘post-productivism’ – a concept developed by British geographers to describe changing rural conditions in advanced market economies – might be used to interpret changes taking place in the Australian countryside. Two observations inspired the research. Firstly, Argent noticed trends occurring in Australia consistent with core ideas in post-productivist debates. For example, legislation governing the physical management and use of rural resources in Australia was increasingly being influenced by a range of new (social) values such as growing public/urban concern for the natural/rural environment and an increasing acknowledgement of Aboriginal title in land in Australia’s rangelands. Moreover, Argent noted increasing urban-rural migration, although he was at pains to point out that this was leading to uneven rural development as urban migrants were primarily moving to rural areas with high amenity value. The author’s second observation was the general popularity of the term post-productivism among geographers. Accordingly, Argent assesses and critically evaluates the applicability of the concept in an Australian context, exploring whether Australia has experienced a post-productivist transition at all.

The author reviews seminal papers relating to the idea – or ‘metanarrative’ as he calls it – of post-productivism; key components characterising the opposing productivist and post-productivist paradigms are presented. Next, Argent examines these key components in the Australian context. This task results in a broad historical narrative of agricultural policy change in Australia since World War II. Based on his findings, Argent argues that while there is clear evidence of a post-war productivist rural regime operating in Australia and, during the mid-1980s, some evidence of a post-productivist transition, “...there is much stronger evidence that the Australian farm sector and rural landscapes are being shaped by the complex interactions between the ‘productivist ideals held by farmers and key policy makers alike, and the growing environmental regulation of farming” (p.97). In other words, agricultural/primary ‘production’ activities still shape many parts of the Australian countryside, and therefore, the notion of a post-productivist rural sphere (i.e., the end of productivism) has limited practical or conceptual application in the Australian context. Argent describes two main flaws in the notion of the post-productivist transition: (1) that it “...relies [too] heavily upon a binary historical narrative in which events and processes tend to be selectively interpreted so as to fit the pre-given eras...” and (2) that it “...fails to account accurately for the complex nature of regional- and farm-level actions” (p.106). The article is one example of dissatisfaction with the notion of post-productivism among geographers outside of the UK.

3. **Argent, N., Smailes, P. & Griffin, T. (2007). The amenity complex: towards a framework for analysing and predicting the emergence of a multifunctional countryside in Australia. *Geographical Research*, 45(3), 217-232.**

Today, many rural commentators argue that rural development rests on the capacity of a region to be promoted on the grounds of its 'amenity' attributes. The authors of this paper argue, however, that despite 'amenity' being recognised as central to a community's economic and social future, the term remains weakly defined. In light of this, the authors set out to answer the question, what is amenity in a rural context? They also seek to find out how 'amenity' is distributed across the Australian countryside and how it might influence demographic, socio-economic and land use change. The authors begin by suggesting that amenity is a central element of the post-productivist transition and/or also the more recent conceptualisation of the 'multifunctional' rural transition (to which they align their study, as the title indicates). Both transitions involve "...the replacement of a landscape and society devoted mainly to extractive, land-based primary industry by one where urban, residential, recreational or other uses dominate, and consumption rather than production determines the value of rural space" (p.217). Here, they highlight Holmes' (2006) emphasis on the increasing prominence of amenity driven rural land use and community change in his theorisation of the rise of multifunctional rural space in Australia. The authors move on to develop a conceptual model of the 'amenity complex'. To do this they chose simple indicators to capture the essence of the concepts of amenity and lifestyle in a rural context: including the physical environment, settlement geography and location, the cultural landscape and the overall attractiveness of the community. Using their index, they then assess how effective it might be as a tool to predict in-migration rates and patterns. Among all the variables used, three elements stood out as those which influenced in-migration, namely: (1) beach distance, (2) employment in recreational and related services, and (3) irrigation water resources. These elements, they suggest, reflect what amenity might mean to Australians today: "...easy access to good surfing and swimming beaches; coastal views; riverine areas for recreation, and the services and facilities that compliment these environmental and geographical attributes" (p.231). Overall, the paper confirms that rural in-migration flows are increasingly driven by more consumption interests, one part of the multifunctional rural transition currently taking place in the Australian countryside.

# B

4. **Barbieri, C., Mahoney, E. & Butler, L. (2008). Understanding the nature and extent of farm and ranch diversification in North America. *Rural Sociology*, 73(2), 205-229.**

Over the last two decades North American farmers have responded to increasing economic and political pressures by incorporating a range of new enterprises into their farm/ranch business operations. While many academics have acknowledged such diversification, few have sought to establish the types of enterprises being developed – this study fills the gap by identifying and classifying eight farm/ranch diversification strategies which have been employed by North American farmers. The eight strategies – which were developed from survey work conducted in 2005 – are presented in a ‘Farm/Ranch Diversification Typology’ and include (p.217): (1) non traditional crops, livestock, and practices, (2) new marketing and distribution, (3) recreation, tourism and hospitality, (4) historic preservation and adaptive re-use, (5) leases easements, and time-shares, (6) contracts and services, (7) expertise consulting, and education, (8) value adding strategies.

5. **Bascom, A. (2001). “Energizing” rural space: the representation of countryside culture as an economic development strategy. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 19(1), 53-64.**

From a post-structuralist viewpoint, the author examines how rural communities in America have sought to rebuild weakened economies by constructing appealing rural place identities. The identities in question are built upon selected elements of the local/rural culture, landscape and resources, and are used as marketing tools to attract new types of capital investment, particularly that associated with the establishment of consumption-based activities (such as tourism). The author suggests that the end result is the ‘energizing’ of recently exhausted local/rural economies. The author uses case study research to discuss more fully the notion of the rural ‘energising’ process; Branson, Missouri (USA) acts as the case study site. The author shows how Branson combined old but recognisable elements of local history and culture with newly created forms of localness to produce a distinct and marketable ‘rural’ place image - one which has led to a great deal of economic growth based on the consumption of localised forms of rurality. In his conclusion, Bascom usefully highlights an important side effect of the energising process; as rurality is increasingly commercialised “...the celebrated facade of a timeless and tranquil landscape” is diluted or destroyed as more and more people (or consumers) are invited to take part in the rural experience.

6. **Bascom, J. & Gordon, R. (1999). ‘Country living’: rural non-farm population growth in the Coastal Plain Region of North Carolina. In N. Walford, J. C. Everitt & D. Napton. (Eds.), *Reshaping the Countryside: Perceptions and Processes of Rural Change* (Chapter Seven). United Kingdom: CABI Publishing.**

Before the 1970s many rural areas in North Carolina experienced population loss but after the 1970s nearly all rural areas grew. The authors investigate the reasons for this population growth in the eastern rural coastal region of North Carolina. There, agricultural mechanisation and the transition to industrial farming reduced the number of farms and farm workers after 1950. During the 1960s and 1970s rural industrialisation and businesses spread into rural areas; they were looking to locate to areas with willing workers. They were also in search of people who were prepared to trade higher wages for a rural lifestyle. Also in-migration associated with recreation, tourism and retirement had an effect. Within 50 years the region has made a transition from that of an agricultural economy to a service and manufacturing economy.

7. **Beale, C. L. & Johnson, K. M. (1998). The identification of recreational counties in nonmetropolitan areas of the USA. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 17, 37-53.**

In this article the authors employ a set of key indicators to measure economic activity associated with tourism and recreation in nonmetropolitan counties in the USA. Using their set of indicators, they identify 285 'recreational counties'. Next, the authors compare population growth data for these counties with other nonmetropolitan areas. They discover that population growth in the 'recreational counties' consistently exceeded that recorded in the other nonmetropolitan/rural areas. They also found that local government spending in these 'recreational counties' differed from all others, signifying policy concerns in the area of recreational amenity supply. Overall, the findings show that recreational amenity plays a key role in drawing migrants to nonmetropolitan areas.

8. **Bell, C. & Lyall, J. (1995). *Putting Our Town on the Map: Local Claims to Fame in New Zealand*. New Zealand: Harper Collins.**

In this book, Bell and Lyall show how many rural communities in New Zealand have manufactured place identities which in turn have contributed towards local/regional differentiation, economic gain and enhanced community well-being. They argue that the 'need' to construct distinct place identities in New Zealand, as elsewhere, became widespread during the early 1990s as rural communities actively fought against the impacts of the global/rural economic recession. The aim was to fight marginalisation by putting towns on the tourist map with constructed 'local claims to fame'. Bell and Lyall believe that as a result a new cultural landscape has emerged, evident in the prolific display of giant sized objects, signs and themes that welcome the visitor to the towns and at the same time display an element of local cultural pride and identity. Examples included: Te Puke and its giant sized kiwifruit, Pokeno and its claim to be 'bacon country', Dannevirke as Viking country (Scandinavian heritage), Westport and mining, Taihape – the Gumboot City.

9. **Bell, P. & Cloke, P. (1989). The changing relationship between the private and public sectors: privatisation and rural Britain. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 5(1), 1-15.**

In this paper, the authors draw on evidence from 'Thatcher's Britain' to examine the impacts of privatisation on rural space – a process which they see as being at the heart of New Right politics and one which, at the time of writing, was occurring in similar ways in many developed nations. Privatisation is characterised by the authors as a move "...to shift responsibility for the management of various elements of production and consumption from the public sector to the private sector" (p.1). Primarily, the paper explores the theoretical and ideological background of privatisation. The impacts of privatisation are also discussed – such as the need for rural communities to help-themselves; fulfilling roles and providing services which were previously provided by local governments. They also note that under privatisation (the free-market project) those on the margins might be at risk of being undermined. Most usefully, the authors outline an exploratory research agenda for rural researchers who might be interested in examining the future impacts of privatisation on rural places.

10. **Bessiere, J. (1998). Local development and heritage: traditional food and cuisine as tourist attractions in rural areas. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 48, 21-34.**

For this article, Bessiere examined the social, cultural and economic transformation of rural France as a 'culinary heritage' industry rose in prominence throughout the countryside. Bessiere argues that place-bound cultural markers (in this case, local food products and associated services) have been used to widen the economic scope of the rural community thereby re-resourcing declining rural economies.

11. **Betz, C. & Perdue, R. (1993). The role of amenity resources in rural recreation and tourism development. *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration*, 11(4), 15-29.**

The authors examine, from a management perspective, the link between amenity resources (such as local scenery, heritage and culture) and rural tourism development. The authors justify their research by arguing that “amenities are the bridge that links recreation resource management with tourism” and also that amenities are what many rural tourism enterprises and marketing strategies are usually built upon. In their discussion, the researchers draw on three major surveys conducted in 1989 in a south-western state of North America. That research considered questions pertaining to rural residents and visitors/tourists recreation preferences. From this data an inventory of the most sought after amenity resources is presented. The inventory highlights the centrality of the rural resource base for rural tourism. The amenity management implications of the findings are discussed.

12. **Bjorkhaug, H. & Richards, C. A. (2004). Sustaining agriculture in Australia and Norway: a multifunctional approach. Paper presented at Globalization, Risks and Resistance: XI World Congress of Rural Sociology, Trondheim, Norway, July 25 – 30, 2004.**

In this conference paper the authors examine whether a multifunctional approach to agriculture has transpired on the ground (in terms of farm practice) or whether it remains a theoretical idea and policy tool. The authors argue that in both Norway and Australia, productivism has been overshadowed by a new philosophy which is underpinned by new values relating to social, environmental and ecological sustainability; for the authors this represents a shift away from productivism towards what has been conceptualised as post-productivism. The authors argue, however, that the notion of post-productivism is perhaps too simplistic and suggest instead that the term multifunctionality could be used as better way to think about contemporary forms of production in the countryside.

The comparative study examines countries which have embraced very different agricultural development models: Australia having embraced a market-oriented/neo-liberal approach and Norway having embraced a market-protected paradigm. In their analysis, the authors note that in Norway the language and action of multifunctionality has been incorporated in the agricultural mode of operation – one which remains propped up by government subsidies and agreements between the state and farmers. Here agricultural actors are seen as having a key role in the production of multifunctional rural space – albeit via rewards for their efforts in sustaining culturally and biologically valued landscapes on their properties. In Australia, the authors find that the notion of a multifunctional approach is still at a conceptual level and is present in current debates about the value of the countryside as a site of consumption, biodiversity, culture and heritage. The authors maintain that any shift towards a multifunctional approach in agriculture requires both government support and the support and actions of local agricultural actors. Conceptually, they recognise the value of the multifunctional concept and call for its broader theorisation.

13. **Bosworth, G. (2006). Counterurbanisation and Job Creation: Entrepreneurial In-Migration and Rural Economic Development. *Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper Series No. 4*. Centre for Rural Economy, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.**

Bosworth reports on survey research conducted in the North East of England which found that over half of the owners of rural micro-businesses were in-migrants who had moved at least thirty miles into their new rural locality. Further analysis showed that nearly 10 per cent of jobs in the survey area was in micro-businesses owned and operated by in-migrants, and that each in-migrant business has created two extra jobs. The findings also showed that in-migrants tended to be more focused on growth than their local counterparts. They had substantial business networks outside the community and important links within. As such, in-migrant entrepreneurs provided both supply and demand to the local and regional economy. This activity has contributed to the



diversification of rural economies, thereby offsetting economic and social decline associated with the agricultural downturn. The author argues that it is in the best interests of rural policy makers to acknowledge the value and importance of this relatively new sector of the regional rural economy and the contribution this cohort makes as it moves into (or back to) the countryside.

14. **Bowler, I. & Everitt, J. (1999). Production and consumption in rural service provision: the case of the English village pub. In N. Walford, J. C. Everitt & D. Napton. (Eds.), *Reshaping the Countryside: Perceptions and Processes of Rural Change* (Chapter Twelve). United Kingdom: CABI Publishing.**

Throughout the 1990s, most research examining the restructuring of rural services has focussed on the changing nature (or dismantling) of public service provision in rural communities. Missing in the literature, however, is any analysis of private sector restructuring. In this article, Bowler and Everitt attempt to fill this gap by showing how restructuring has transpired in one branch of the rural private sector – the English village pub.

For centuries, the village pub has been an important cultural/social institution in the British countryside, one which at the time of writing was moving through a significant period of restructuring. The authors report that in recent times many rural pubs have either closed down or have changed significantly in their physical form and in terms of what they offer. For example, a new focus on profits derived from food as much as drink is evident along with increasing dependence on visitor/urban tourist spending for survival. Essentially, the English village pub has changed from being the focal point of rural social life, into a centre for recreation and entertainment for urban outsiders. Such changes, they argue, are the result of four large scale and interconnected processes, namely: “...(a) the investment policies of national and international brewing companies; (b) recent United Kingdom regulations for the brewing industry; (c) changing social behaviour of the new rural service class; and (d) changes in the leisure behaviour of the non-rural population” (p.148).

The authors divide their main discussion in two parts: (1) changes in associated production processes (i.e., the provision of pub services, their offerings and image, and wider political and economic forces associated with the food and beverage sector), and (2) changes in consumption processes (i.e., the changing nature of pub visitors, and the types of service/goods they demand). In sum, the authors suggest that the pub – like many other private sector rural businesses – has assumed a new function in the countryside. In their own words, “...the role of the pub is now much more concerned with the production and consumption of recreational/entertainment service for non-rural people, as underpinned by the capital accumulation demands of the brewing companies and the pub-owning companies” (p.156).

15. **Boyle, P. J. & Halfacree, K. (1998). *Migration into Rural Areas: Theories and Issues*. Chichester: John Wiley.**

The authors of this book compiled a wide range of studies with the purpose of explaining the processes underlying the phenomenon of counterurbanisation and rural in-migration. The book is an excellent introduction to key concepts and issues in the topic area. While ostensibly international in scope, the book mainly focuses on rural migration patterns in the UK and Europe, with just two contributions from further afield, one from Australia, the other from the United States.

16. **Britton, R., Le Heron, R. & Pawson, E. (Eds.) (1992). *Changing Places in New Zealand: A Geography of Restructuring*. Christchurch: New Zealand Geographical Society.**

This book outlines the fundamentally geographic processes which worked themselves out after the beginnings of New Zealand’s economic restructuring in 1984. The restructuring was associated with the then Labour Government’s goal to internationalise the national economy, one they achieved through the implementation of a succession of economic reforms – including the removal of farm subsidies upon which many small provincial towns had survived. While the book

is not solely focused on rural change, Chapter 5 is dedicated to an analysis of the effects restructuring had on the country's farming and forestry sectors. Here, contributors describe the response of primary producers to the 'crisis' that restructuring brought about. One response, for example, was for farm households to diversify their economic activities so to avoid (or lessen) financial hardship. The impact of restructuring on two important sectors of the rural economy (forestry and meat processing) is also reported in the chapter. Other chapters in the book explore socio-economic change via analyses of: the tourism industry, the state sector, the environment, policy issues, national identity and local government. In theoretical terms, the book provides a structuralist interpretation of the socio-economic changes that occurred during and after restructuring in 1984 in New Zealand.

17. **Bryant, C. (1989). Entrepreneurs in the rural environment. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 5(4), 337-348.**

Bryant claims that, in general, studies of the processes of rural change have tended to focus on the influence of exogenous forces, and therefore, downplay the role of entrepreneurs (including: local people, community groups, regional governments and local institutions) in re-vitalising depressed rural economies. Bryant believes that entrepreneurs have an important role to play in encouraging new economic activity in rural areas by identifying and developing new enterprises. In doing so, these local people "...contribute to helping their own population realise their potential by getting them to shoulder responsibility and take initiative to influence their own destiny" (345). To make his point, Bryant uses an example from Atikokan, a small town in north-west Ontario. Facing economic decline in the wake of two iron ore mines closing, "...a not-for-profit association was formed to try to identify new opportunities for development in the town. One idea was to produce and sell classic replica automobiles... [and] after a long process...[the] community owned company started production". Bryant, in emphasising the significance of local agency in the study of contemporary rural change, shows how the formation of the new community company raised the confidence of local people in their ability to bring about development and to secure their own social and economic well-being in a globalising setting. As a result, many local people were reported to have moved on to develop their own enterprises in what Bryant (p.346) calls a new 'entrepreneurial community'.

More broadly, the paper examines the decisions made by entrepreneurs, be they farmers, non-farmers, or even local governments, in a local rural context and argues that these decisions are invariably influenced by the broader political, social, and economic environment. These influences may act as constraints and hinder innovation. For example, local or macro-governmental attitudes, taxes, subsidies, regulations and policies may discourage entrepreneurs and their communities from acting. Identifying these constraints is critical because entrepreneurial innovation is essential in sustaining rural vitality. Changes in the "enabling" environment may be necessary to achieve a balance between entrepreneurial discouragement and development excesses.

18. **Buckley, R., Sander, N., Ollenburg, C. & Warnken, J. (2006). Green change: inland amenity migration in Australia. In L. A. G. Moss (Ed.), *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures* (pp.278-294). UK: CABI.**

In Australia, amenity migration has only recently caught the attention of the research community and for this reason there has not yet been a coordinated analysis. To amend this, the authors of this book chapter sought to provide the first systematic analysis of amenity migration to mountain and inland areas in Australia. The authors centred their study on two main research questions; first, can we demonstrate that amenity migration is actually occurring in specific inland areas in Australia? Secondly, if it is occurring, what are its characteristics? The paper begins with brief historical context for a study of amenity migration in Australia. Over the last 30 years the main pattern of amenity-related migration has been the movement of people to coastal areas where mainly city dwellers have bought up land and built holiday or second homes and/or retirement residences. Subsequently, in these areas, land prices have increased and demand has often

exceeded supply causing developers to buy and subdivide farmland next to beaches and nearby water bodies. While this particular pattern of migration has been studied in Australia, a new flow of migration to inland areas where recreational and lifestyle opportunities abound has become discernable, but has not yet been examined – one which is comparable to patterns of ‘amenity migration’ as discussed in the North American and European studies. Next, the authors describe the areas that amenity migrants are typically attracted to including: (1) ski resort/mountain areas (which attract wealthy investors and young ski enthusiasts who might work at the resorts), (2) national park areas, normally comprising pastoral properties (often uncleared) which have high scenic value and are attractive to retirees and semi-retirees, (3) recently developed wine-growing areas where new migrants can benefit from wine tourism, without having to operate a winery themselves, and (4) former logging towns, where low-key housing on small acreages was available very cheaply for many years.

To establish if amenity migration is in fact occurring in Australia, the authors draw evidence from four data sets – each which had been originally collected for a different purpose but all of which are able to provide evidence of amenity migration – including national census data, land value/sales data, real estate marketing data, and PhD research on farm tourism. Each data set is described, along with how they were used for the purpose of this study. Four regions were selected for the study, chosen on the basis of the following criteria: geographical location, climate and scenery, recreational and lifestyle opportunities, recognition as a tourist destination and informal evidence from observations/experience and expert commentary. Upon their analysis of the data, the researchers concluded that amenity migration has definitely occurred in Australia over the period 1996 – 2001 at least, and that it has perhaps followed a similar pattern to that which occurred in the US some 15 years ago. In Australia, they found that migration patterns were stronger near ski resorts and alpine parks than for tropical or sub-tropical rural inland areas. They also concluded that patterns of migration differ depending on land tenure patterns, local histories, planning controls and level of infrastructure, such as their cases from New South Wales and Victoria showed. In both cases, however, it was apparent that wealthy people were purchasing places in small towns and rural agricultural areas, and that many others were moving to those locations to work in the tourism and property sectors of the economy. Most were university qualified. The authors also found that amenity migration was occurring in other more low-key inland locations and, again, two groups of migrants were apparent: (1) wealthy people purchasing rural blocks for semi or full retirement, and (2) less-wealthy people moving to small country towns for a variety of lifestyle reasons. Overall, the authors have used a variety of environmental attributes to identify amenity landscapes in Australia.

**19. Burton, R. J. F. & Wilson, G. A. (2006). Injecting social psychology theory into conceptualisations of agricultural agency: towards a post-productivist farmer self-identity? *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22(1), 95-115.**

In this paper, Burton and Wilson contribute to the current debates surrounding the theoretical conceptualisation of the post-productivist transition (including the more recent shift towards multifunctionality). They do this by exploring the way in which farmer’s self-concepts and attitudes are compatible with the macro-level structural changes in agriculture which underpin post-productivism. In essence, they bring the notion of agency from a social psychology perspective into the debate (a debate which to date has largely been derived from macro-level analysis). The paper is, as they describe, an exploration of structure/agency consistency, a notion developed by Giddens. In the paper the authors question the linearity of the post-productivist/multifunctional transition in agriculture. Their survey data – collected in Bedfordshire (UK) – shows that while there has been much talk about a ‘conservationist’ ideal in modern farming policy and practice (a key feature of conceptualisations of post-productivism); farmer’s continue to define themselves as having ‘production-orientated’ identities. In conclusion, the authors argue that the shift from productivist to post-productivist/multifunctional era is not accurate given that farmers continue to hold onto their productivist identities. As such, they argue

that the post-productivist/productivist/multifunctionality model represents, at most, a 'partial macro-structural driven transition towards a post-productivist agricultural regime'.

20. **Butler, R. (1998). Rural recreation and tourism. In Brian Ilbery (Ed.), *The Geography of Rural Change* (pp. 211-232). United Kingdom: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.**

In this book chapter, Richard Butler chronicles the rise of recreation and tourism in the countryside of developed countries and explains this growth by discussing broader transitions in global society and economy. The author recognises that while recreation and tourism have responded to, and are in part the result of, broader social and economic changes in the post-war era, they "...have themselves become significant agents of social and economic change in many rural areas" (p.211). They have also, as Butler states, become the economic mainstay of many rural communities. According to Butler, the increasing importance and salience of tourism, recreation and leisure opportunities in rural space is a result of several broad interrelated factors. These include: a general rise in demand for, and participation in, leisure activities; significant changes in agriculture brought about by restructuring; new consumer tastes, preferences and social movements (such as the Green Movement); increased affluence; greater personal mobility; the increasing use of rural imagery by the media; and new technological developments. Butler argues that the growth of rural tourism and recreation is the result of not one, but all of these factors. He then focuses on one of these factors: the increasing use of rural imagery by the media and entertainment groups (such as the images seen in blockbuster movies and advertising). According to Butler, this imagery works to reinforce a view of the countryside as an attractive and evocative location. According to Butler, this has resulted in increasing demand for rural visitation, experiences and products. After detailing the reasons for growing demand for the countryside as a site for recreation and tourism, and then characterising the types of such activity which are taking place, Butler summarises the associated economic, environmental and socio-cultural impacts, stressing that rising leisure activity in the countryside does not always result in benefits for local/rural communities. Reflecting on these (potentially negative) impacts, Butler highlights his concern about the lack of policy directly confronting the issue of increasing tourism and recreation in rural areas. To assist in managing change in rural areas in the future, Butler advocates that rural tourism and recreation should assume a more central position within the development of rural policy and planning.

21. **Butler, R. Hall, C. M. & Jenkins, J. (1998). *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*. United Kingdom: John Wiley.**

Drawing on international perspectives (largely from Europe, New Zealand and North America), this book considers the barriers, challenges and opportunities associated with rural tourism and recreation development in rural places. Opening chapters set the proliferation of rural tourism ventures within the context of rural restructuring, and then the remaining chapters weave through the policy dimensions of rural tourism, the ways in which places are packaged a 'sold' as commodities to tourists, the social impacts of rural tourism development and important issues of sustainability.

# C

22. **Castle, E. (Ed.). (1995). *The Changing American Countryside: Rural People and Places*. Kansas: University of Kansas.**

This book – a collection of essays – focuses on social, geographical, cultural and economic changes in the American countryside or, as Castle (the Editor) refers to in the introduction: “the forgotten hinterland”. Together, the chapters provide a basic review of rural affairs in the United States during the mid 1990s, spanning issues such as: rural policy development; demographic change; rural poverty; and the implications of land use change which has led to a great degree of regional diversity. The book is written by geographers and sociologists and, therefore, provides a general social scientific interpretation of contemporary rural change in America.

23. **Cheshire, L., Higgins, V. & Lawrence, G. (2006). Guest editorial. Rural governance in Australia: changing forms and emerging actors. *Rural Society*, 16(3), 231-234.**

This short piece is the editorial for a special edition of the journal *Rural Society*, one which explores new rural governance in Australia. The authors note that over the last 20 years, a more diverse assemblage of actors have become involved in processes of decision-making and service delivery – a role once considered the sole domain of the state. Like many other authors on governance, the writers refer to Stoker’s (1998, p.38) definition of governance which: “...refers to the action, manner or system of governing in which the boundary between organisations and public and private sectors have become permeable”. The special edition of the Journal, which this article opens, demonstrates “...that the ostensible shift from government to governance does not, as once suggested, involve a decline in the importance of state authorities. Government remains heavily present in contemporary forms of governance, via the ongoing structures of Australia’s federated system, and the continued role of state, federal and local government agencies in policy formation and delivery. What this suggests is that the government-governance relationship needs to be theorised more carefully...” (p.231). The authors also note that the central idea of community in governance is not necessarily problem free and perhaps not immediately democratic; the level of resources and authority given to local citizens must reflect the amount of responsibility they assume. Moreover, they note that as rural communities become more diverse, they also become less homogenous and, therefore, are likely to become arenas in which competing interests are at the fore.

24. **Chipenluk, R. (2004). Planning for amenity migration in Canada. *Mountain Research and Development*, 24(4), 327-335.**

Amenity migration – the movement of people to live in new locations for pleasure rather than for employment – is a relatively recent phenomenon but very significant economic force in rural North America, as in other developed countries. Since the 1990s the phenomenon has become more conspicuous, largely brought about by the fact that many city dwellers – with increased personal wealth and therefore free from economic constraints – can choose where they want to live and many select rural areas which have outstanding amenity value. Related phenomena include second home ownership and tourism-driven migration i.e., that tourism has a causative role; as people gain familiarity and a commitment to place they aspire to move there. In some areas, amenity migration is now more important than resource extractive industries and for this reason, in the planning literature at least, amenity migration is heralded as a benevolent rural development strategy that should be grasped. While amenity migration often brings new capital into a region, thereby instigating economic development, the phenomenon can also bring negative externalities caused by rapid and unmanaged population growth. As such local government and communities must plan for amenity migration.

In this research, however, the author finds that municipalities have little understanding, knowledge or awareness of the amenity migration phenomenon and, therefore, lack the capacity

to act. The study – which is based on an interpretation of the responses of planners and administrators to a series of open-ended survey questions about amenity migration – was conducted in several non-metropolitan mountain communities in British Columbia, Canada. In the conclusion, the author argues that municipalities – although having the adequate planning potential – are ill prepared to manage amenity migration because they have no means of tracking it and they do not have the resources needed to manage or influence it. The author adds that municipalities are often too small to take charge of the situation and that the support needed from regional and provincial bodies is lacking. The author argues that it is larger provincial governments who should be paying for, facilitating, and to some extent facilitating amenity migration planning (although in British Columbia few have shown interest in shouldering this responsibility). Overall, the paper is an investigation into the relationship between amenity migration and planning.

**25. Cloke, P. (1989). State deregulation and New Zealand's agricultural sector. *Sociologia Ruralis*, XXIX(1), 34-48.**

In this article, Paul Cloke examines the early impact of agricultural deregulation on rural society and economy in New Zealand in the mid to late 1980s. At the time of writing, the author viewed New Zealand's programme of deregulation as part of an emerging global 'New Right' political agenda (i.e., a market-led economy rather than one supported by state interventions and protectionist measures). Cloke discusses how this agenda manifested in New Zealand; he examines its early impacts on the agricultural sector, which, hitherto, was the backbone of the national economy. Cloke – a British geographer – was intrigued by the New Zealand experience stating that the “case offers an interesting illustration of an attempt by the state to apply new right economic policies to the agricultural sector by opening agriculture to market forces via the removal of subsidy and regulation” (p.35). He seeks to find out what other countries might learn from the New Zealand experience – asking the question, what happens when deregulation occurs? In the article and for necessary context, Cloke provides a useful summary of the agricultural policy measures which were in place before 1984 and also those implemented during the period of “swift and radical” (p.38) state deregulation (these policies are presented in two useful tables).

In a case study, Cloke compares and contrasts the experiences of two small South Island communities (Horoata in Canterbury and Ahaura on the West Coast). His findings were derived from data collected during a 6 month visit to New Zealand in 1987 when he conducted in-depth interviews with local residents and farmers. Whilst the study was exploratory in nature, he sought to answer two specific questions. Firstly, are the impacts of deregulation spatially/socially uneven? Secondly, are they inducing severe reactions in the rural economy downstream? Cloke reports that both towns experienced deregulation differently and therefore had responded in different ways.

The economy of Ahaura – a recently settled locality – was built on dairy farming and a variety of other resource-based enterprises including mining and forestry. The majority of those interviewed did not approve of the programme of deregulation – despite a long allegiance to the (Labour) government who had implemented the reforms. Cloke believes that because of the area's wide variety of land-based activities, deregulation was seen to be having a very wide range of negative effects. As such, nearly all locals felt a sense of hopelessness and victimisation. Most local farmers experienced the negative impact of deregulation and, in response and to cut costs, chose to employ little or no additional farm labour. The local forestry sector was also hit hard and some outmigration of forestry workers occurred (these people were replaced by retirees moving in). Interestingly, Cloke states that most farms in the area remained in the same ownership between 1984 and 1987 and connects this to plummeting rural land values in the area which made it unrealistic for farmers to sell. Cloke further notes that diversification occurred in Ahaura on at least a third of farms, some developing low-input sphagnum moss enterprises, others planting horticultural crops such as blueberries, while others invested in alluvial gold-mining. In Ahaura,

Cloke reported a social response characterised by enhanced community cohesiveness; the community recognised that economic and social survival meant mutual help was necessary.

In contrast, Hororata's economy was primarily built on livestock-fattening. This area was well-established and on good land; the area incorporated several large family farms which had been passed down through several generations. Those interviewed at the time generally approved of deregulation – even though the area was safely an opposition electorate. Some of the economic impact that resulted from deregulation was handed down to farm employees who were made redundant. Their presence in the community was replaced by in-migrants, largely unemployed city folk who sought to take advantage of the availability of cheap rural housing. Interestingly, and in contrast to Ahaura, after deregulation, one quarter of local farms changed ownership (either partly or wholly) which suggested to Cloke that land in the area was still a valuable market commodity. He points out, however, that instead of these sales involving shifts in owner-occupation, many involved a handover to Christchurch-based agribusiness companies or, in some cases, hobby farmers. Cloke also found more capital intensive forms of diversification in this region (such as shifts into deer and goat farming). In Horoata (in sharp contrast to Ahaura), Cloke reported a social response characterised by the abandonment of local facilities and services in search for cheaper alternatives in urban centres. As such, many local organisations dissolved. Cloke notes that in both the case study areas, agricultural suppliers and local rural businesses were severely affected as farmers tightened up their farm budgets. In his conclusion, Cloke argues that the impacts of and response to deregulation will vary greatly from area to area, shaped by the different economic, political and cultural characteristics of different places.

26. **Cloke, P. (1993). The countryside as commodity: new spaces for rural leisure. In Sue Glyptis (Ed.), *Leisure and the Environment: Essays in Honour of Professor J. A. Patmore* (pp. 53-67). London and New York: Belhaven Press.**

In this paper, geographer Cloke conducts a socio-semiotic analysis of rural tourism brochures to provide insights into the increasing commodification and symbolic value of Britain's rural spaces. For Cloke, commodification is a process which transforms rural places into commodities laden with new meanings i.e., from places of agricultural production to stages for the consumption of (often spectacular) rural experiences for tourists. The analysis of rural tourism brochures provides evidence that the contemporary countryside is commonly 'sold' to visitors as a zone of pristine natural landscapes, easy living and ideal family types. Mainly, the study shows how increasing commodification is dramatically changing the nature of rural space and that the processes implicated in this transformation are in need of further exploration.

27. **Cloke, P. (1996). Looking through European eyes? A re-evaluation of agricultural deregulation in New Zealand. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 36(3), 308-330.**

In this paper Paul Cloke (re)evaluates the impact of deregulation on New Zealand's agricultural sector (his initial interpretation was done much earlier – see Cloke, 1989). The paper starts with an acknowledgement that his original "evaluation was undertaken by means of a strongly European gaze, and was only partially successful in accounting for the specific global-local relations operating in New Zealand at the time" (p.307). Consequently, Cloke considers it time to revisit the New Zealand experience for a fresh interpretation. The author begins the paper by outlining the specific measures relating to agriculture which were 'speedily' introduced during the mid 1980s as part of the New Zealand government's much broader plan to liberalise the national economy. The specific measures included the removal of most agricultural subsidies and the installation of a user-pays system for services previously provided free to farmers. Rural Bank interest rates were also increased to match those in the wider marketplace. Beforehand, these farm interest rates were maintained at very low and manageable levels by the government. Understandably, Cloke notes that rural commentators, including academics, initially focused on the hardships experienced by farm families and rural communities as farms and associated local rural businesses fought to stay viable in the new neoliberal economic milieu. Cloke himself admits to engaging in this kind of analysis in his 1989 article; his research focused on declining

farm incomes, increasing farm debt, farm sales, and the strategies farmers employed to survive. Cloke also admits that he – like many others – accepted that as a direct impact of agricultural deregulation many farmers would be forced to walk off their land – a prediction that did not eventuate to the magnitude thought. The current paper was based on research conducted during a visit to New Zealand in 1994 (ten years after deregulation and 7 years after the author's first period of fieldwork). This time in New Zealand, Cloke casts his net wider eliciting a much more coherent story from a more diverse range of rural actors – one which positions agriculture and farming in much more positive light. Cloke notes that many academic researchers are beginning to articulate a similar story of agriculture's 'successful transition' from its reliance on state support and intervention to one underpinned by new-right neo-liberal policies and practices.

- 28. Cloke, P. (1997). Country backwater to virtual village? Rural studies and the cultural turn. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 13, 367-375.**

In this paper, the author suggests that a revival in rural social science is underway, one which can be linked to a 'cultural turn' and post-structuralism in social science more generally. New exciting literatures associated with rural culture and representations of rurality have emerged involving topics such as: rural others and difference, human perceptions of rural landscapes, rural identities, imaginaries and experiences. The author focuses on four of these emerging areas of rural scholarship, namely: nature-society relations (and human-nature engagements), discourses of rural experience and imagination (including work on the diverse nature of rural lifestyles), symbolic texts of rural cultures (i.e., how the rural is represented in the media and how this reinforces common discourses about rurality), and movements (focusing on rural motilities i.e., rural tourism and recreation and alternative rural living). Cloke reviews this work and notes that while it provides many new and exciting insights, it also re-emphasises a number of unresolved issues about politics, ethics and morality in rural research – in essence, he suggests that it is important to retain a critical edge in rural inquiry.

- 29. Cloke, P., Le Heron, R. & Roche, M. (1990). Towards a geography of political economy perspective on rural change: the example of New Zealand. *Geografiska Annaler*, 72(B), 13-25.**

In this paper the authors outline some of the key concepts used in the field of political economy and then demonstrate how they might be applied in a study of rural change and restructuring. They argue that embracing a political economy perspective will enhance our current understanding of contemporary rural change. The authors work through their ideas using New Zealand as a case study. In doing so, they move the research lens (which was previously fixed on the political economy of rural change in Europe and America) to a new domain. As such, they craft an early political economy of contemporary rural change/restructuring in New Zealand. The paper is arranged in four main sections. Section one works through the ways in which the political economy framework might best be used as a framework for interpreting contemporary rural change. Section two presents key political economy concepts. Section three provides an overview of neo-liberal restructuring in New Zealand from a political economy perspective. Section four investigates the rise of other forms of rural production in New Zealand's rural spaces – including those which are non-agricultural. The authors call for more emphasis on the political arena to couple the already strong focus on economic dimensions of rural change. They also suggest that scholars interested in the political economy of rural change need to consider changes occurring in broader process of contemporary capital accumulation, particularly the internationalisation of capital.

- 30. Cloke, P. & Perkins, H. C. (1998). Cracking the canyon with the awesome foursome: representations of adventure tourism in New Zealand. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16, 185-218.**

The authors discuss the ways in which the growth of adventure tourism attractions in many parts of New Zealand have been accompanied by important transformations in the socio cultural geographies of the places concerned. Three issues in particular are examined:



1. the increasing importance of adventure tourism facilities, practices and sub cultures and the way they have added new dimensions to the meaning, uses and performances of places and landscapes;
2. the ways in which adventure tourism seems to represent (along with eco tourism and other forms of alternative tourism) one of the latest chapters in the reflexive search for new objects of what Urry (1990, 1992) termed the “tourist gaze”;
3. the ways that representational texts (e.g., brochures, pamphlets and magazine articles) used to advertise adventure tourism in New Zealand seem to offer a way of interpreting nature society relations.

Cloke and Perkins focus on how the tourist gaze has been presented with ever more spectacular opportunities for challenging participation in landscapes of natural grandeur in New Zealand through the provision of adventure tourism attractions. They argue that tourists have augmented their “gaze” by seeking thrills through participation in physically challenging activity conducted in new and established landscapes often located in sites of scenic and often historic importance, thus presenting participants the opportunity to tame elements of natural wilderness (hence “crack the canyon”) in a thrilling way. They discuss how in the commodification of adventure tourism in New Zealand places of historic and aesthetic significance have been used by tourism operators to elaborate the adventure tourism experiences offered in those places.

In doing this the authors highlight the limitations of the “gaze” metaphor when interpreting adventure tourism. They show how adventure tourism is fundamentally about active recreational participation, and that it demands new metaphors based more on “being, doing, touching and seeing” rather than just “seeing”, thus supporting the observation that the body is absent from the corpus of the sociological studies on tourism. Thus, in New Zealand at least, the growth in adventure tourism adds place myth meanings of excitement, thrill, youthfulness, freshness to the social spatialisation of place. It also adds increasingly photogenic self representations to the imaginary texts of place promotion, and adds increasingly spectacular participatory opportunities for tourists, the majority of whom have until recently in gazed at spectacular natural landscapes and Maori cultural performances. In this way participation in adventure tourism goes well beyond the involvement of the “look” and the “taste” of places.

**31. Cloke, P. & Perkins, H. (2002). Commodification and adventure in New Zealand tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5(6), 521-549.**

This paper discusses the ways in which the commodification of adventure in tourism has influenced the production and consumption of tourist places. It examines the idea of adventure in tourism and uses Best’s (1989) analysis of commodity, spectacle and simulacrum to establish a framework for the changing nature of commodification in post-modern and ‘post-mass tourist’ times. The rise of adventure tourism in New Zealand is used as an example of how adventure has been commodified. A survey of tourist brochures for adventure tourism attractions in New Zealand reveals some of the elements of adventure which are being incorporated into commodity form for tourists. These elements include place, spectacle, embodied experience, memory and a “culture” of adventure. Although aware of the limitations of using textual evidence from brochures, the paper concludes that the society of the commodity and the society of the spectacle are clearly significant in New Zealand. Sign exchange is also important in the commodification of adventure although the authors conclude that places and practices are as yet rarely eclipsed by adventure signification.

**32. Connelly, S., Richardson, T. & Miles, T. (2006). Situated legitimacy: deliberative arenas and the new rural governance. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22, 267-277.**

Rural governance has changed dramatically in recent years. Presently, local partnerships are heralded as ideal arrangements for addressing local economic, environmental and social issues. These new partnerships, however – which are made up of multiple stakeholders – give rise to

questions of legitimacy – “...it is not clear how ‘legitimacy’ is to be understood now that the criteria of legitimacy appropriate to representative democratic government are not obviously applicable” (p.267). In this article the authors develop the notion of ‘situated’ legitimacy. In their view, in contemporary times, the notion of legitimacy is complex, perhaps given meaning by different actors in specific contexts.

**33. Conradson, D. & Pawson, E. (1997). Reworking the geography of the long boom: the small town experience of restructuring in Reefton, New Zealand. *Environment and Planning A*, 29, 1381-1397.**

In this paper the authors explore the way in which one small isolated town in New Zealand was affected by the government’s programme of social and economic restructuring. In their study, the authors focus their attention on the workplace changes which occurred in the town (Reefton, a small West Coast community in South Island, New Zealand) during and several years after restructuring. The paper begins with some historical context. During the ‘long boom’ – a period which began after World War II and lasted until the mid 1980s – Reefton benefited from, and to a large degree depended upon, state sector investment and intervention; this government support countered the area’s “lack of attractiveness to private capital” (p.1381). The presence of a range of state owned industries in the area – such as coal mining, forestry, and transportation and postal services – and their administrative offices, meant that many local people were employed by central government. The authors point out that those people who were employed in private enterprises also relied on government intervention; the companies they worked for often used government subsidies and development grants to offset the costs of operating in the isolated location. In the mid 1980s, however, the government implemented a radical programme of neoliberal restructuring which brought an end to these provisions. Some state sector industries were privatised while others were disbanded or downsized or carried through a process of significant restructuring. These processes brought about a significant decline in state sector employment thereby destabilising the local economy upon which the community had so long survived. Some outmigration also occurred amongst those who lost their jobs. After providing empirical evidence of these changes, the authors note the emergence of what they term local governance, a response they analyse further under the following three headings: resistance to change (evidenced in a small number of local protests), place promotion and local-level entrepreneurialism (such as the creation of slogans and events to attract tourists and visitors), and the continued hope for external assistance (where hope for the future depends on external (not government) investment). These emerging actions, they argue, have significantly shaped the new geography of Reefton. In their conclusion the authors write: “The economic base and geography of Reefton have been reworked to a form which reflects the less interventionist mode of regulation operating at the national scale. Within the regulatory order of the 1990s, dependence on the state and the social democratic commitment to keeping places and in particularly small towns alive has been replaced by a reversion to reliance on private capital, which has no such commitment. It seems that the pre long boom concept of the resource frontier, in which towns died once their economic function was undermined, has returned” (p.1395).

**34. Conradson, D. & Pawson, E. (2009). New cultural economies of marginality: revisiting the West Coast, South Island, New Zealand. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 25, 77-86.**

Following World War II, many governments in the developed countries adopted interventionist regulatory regimes which included measures to maintain the economic viability of marginal rural regions. These measures often included primary production subsidies and incentives which aimed to attract capital and labour to these peripheral places with the aim of countering the propensity for economic activity and capital to become concentrated in rapidly growing urban centres. But in the 1980s and 1990s these interventions were removed; governments favoured neoliberal regimes which relied on market forces and private ownership – not state intervention and ownership – to guide economic development. In New Zealand, early accounts of this transition told a story of

dramatic change, loss and pain. Primary producers were forced to operate without subsidies while the privatisation of many state owned enterprises resulted in the loss of many regional offices and services and jobs. But over the last few years, the employment and economic opportunities in many marginal regions have improved suggesting a successful adaptation to the developing neoliberal environment. This transition has certainly captured the attention of academics – particularly geographers – who have sought to map the way in which these places have recovered. This is one such paper; it charts the social and economic recovery of the West Coast (South Island) a marginal rural resource-based region which, in the immediate wake of restructuring, seemed destined for economic and social demise. In this paper the authors – who themselves interpreted and articulated this demise in an earlier article in *Environment and Planning A* (Conradson and Pawson, 1997) – trace the West Coast's 21<sup>st</sup> century recovery. They organise their inquiry around four areas of recent local economic development, namely: (1) the revival of gold mining, (2) the expansion of dairy farming, (3) forestry, and (4) tourism. The authors map the rise of these industries and the complex network connections which underpin their activities – such as their insertion into new international circuits of capital and tourists. Conceptually, the paper is organised around three literatures: (1) neoliberal transitions (involving new modes of governance), (2) new regionalism (involving policy responses to marginality which generally seek to facilitate endogenous development), and (3) cultural dimensions of marginality.

**35. Curtis, B. (2004). Rural sociology: a partial review. *New Zealand Sociology*, 19(2), 180-196.**

This article opens a special issue of the New Zealand Journal of Sociology devoted (in part) to rural sociology. The paper provides a partial review of recent debates and trends in the international rural sociological literature. To start the author argues that rural sociology might better be viewed as a sub-discipline rather than a topic for study (for it is more interdisciplinary in nature and therefore might best be referred to as 'rural studies'). The author mainly focuses on the 'new' sociology of agriculture. Two major scholarly shifts are said to have occurred over the last forty years. Firstly, a move from studies of rural community to the study of farms and agribusiness – a change which began in the late 1960s as researchers became less concerned with the specificity of community and more focused on context and structure. Secondly, 'an ongoing expansion in the boundaries of the refigured sub-discipline, encompassing feminist and constructivist critiques about the productivist blindspots of the new sociology of agriculture' (p.182). This has seen researchers move beyond rural place and space to consider a range of external/emergent phenomena such as global food chains and international systems of production and consumption. These trajectories of research comprise a new political economy of agriculture.

The new sociology of agriculture emerged after the obliteration of the urban-rural continuum and the subsequent repositioning of rural sociology and community studies. A more political (economic) agenda emerged concerned with agribusiness and the ability of global capitalism to penetrate (family) farming and agriculture. The new rural sociology looked at new production chains associated with different agricultural commodities, food industries and alternative agro-food networks (AAFNs) and was neo-Marxist in nature. The continued existence and/or loss of the family farm was (and remains) central to the debate, as have been findings from studies of farm survival strategies involving pluriactivity, part-time farming and share-farming.

The author delves into and reviews the recent research on food chains i.e., the complex relationship between (family) farms, local/global processors/factories, local/global agribusinesses and local/global distributors. Here, the author signposts the work of New Zealand geographers including Richard le Heron. The author also reviews recent work which incorporates actor network theory, and also that which involves environmental histories. The latter has occurred in conjunction with debates about post-productivism, pushing consumers and consumption issues more to the fore. The author also notes that the local has been re-placed under the academic lens. The author ends with an evaluation of New Zealand rural sociology, an academic field which is shaped by a very small group of institutions and just a handful of scholars.

# D

36. **Deller, S. C. (1995). Economic impact of retirement migration. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 9(1), 25-38.**

This paper explores the economic impact of retirement migration on regional economic activity. A regional economy in Maine (USA) is used for the analysis. The author identifies considerable positive economic impacts in the retail, health and construction sectors of the local economy which can be attributed to the demands and spending patterns of retirees who, in many ways, desire the same amenities as tourists. The author suggests that this introduced pattern of consumption – which instils new money in the economy – is akin to the workings of a local export market, such as tourism market.

37. **Dowsett, O. (2008). 'Rural Restructuring': A Multi-Scalar Analysis of the Otago Central Rail Trail. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.**

Rural restructuring has frequently been used to indicate the magnitude, and conceptualise the nature, of contemporary change in the countryside. Most notably, concern has focused upon the fundamental changes in economic and social organisation brought about by the increasing use of consumption-based activity as a path to rural development. The author suggests in this thesis that the use of 'rural restructuring' as a conceptual framework has been inconsistent. The issue of scale is a case in point with scholars positioning their studies of rural change at varying levels of analysis. In response, he adopts Massey's (2004) arguments about space and place to present an alternative model which considers 'rural restructuring' as a multi-scalar and mutually constitutive process. To explore the feasibility of approaching 'rural restructuring' in this way, the thesis focuses, in particular, upon the development of rural tourism at five different scales. These comprise the national scale (New Zealand), the regional scale (Central Otago), the sub-regional scale (the Otago Central Rail Trail), the business scale (five business case studies) and the individual scale (five entrepreneurial case studies). Reflecting the exploratory nature of the study and its multi-scalar approach, the author uses a number of qualitative research methods. These include interrogating the promotion of New Zealand and Central Otago as tourist destinations, cycling along the Otago Central Rail Trail, staying at accommodation businesses along the Rail Trail, and interviewing individual entrepreneurs about their experiences of business development. The analytical chapters of the thesis comprise an in-depth look at the promotion or experience of rural tourism development at each scale of analysis. Through identifying inter-scale consistencies and emphasising the reciprocal basis of such consistency, he presents 'rural restructuring' as a multi-scalar and mutually constitutive process. Thus, Dowsett connects the national-scale targeting of the 'interactive traveller' to the promotion of Central Otago as a 'World of Discovery', before linking the development of the Otago Central Rail Trail to its regional context. He then investigates the nature of business development as intimately bound to the evolution of the Rail Trail, before finally tying these entrepreneurial creations to individual accounts of exhaustion and enjoyment that emerge from the operation of tourism businesses. The thesis ends by concluding that 'rural restructuring' can indeed be considered a multi-scalar and mutually constitutive process, worked out simultaneously at wide-ranging but interconnected levels of change.

# E

38. **Edwards, B. (1998). Charting the discourse of community action: perspectives from practice in rural Wales. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14(1), 63-77.**

Since the late 1980s, community participation in rural development has been promoted by a multitude of government agencies and institutions, and over time has become naturalised in the development agenda. Despite community participation being a key aspect of contemporary development programmes and initiatives on-the-ground, and also a key theme in the new governance discourse, it has not been critically examined. To provide insights and some initial scrutiny, Edwards draws on his own experience of, and involvement in, a rural community participation initiative in Wales, namely the Jigsaw (or now Jigso) programme. The paper draws attention to the complexity and multifaceted nature of the community participation discourse and concludes with a series of research issues in the topic area which are in need of more scrutiny. Of particular importance is the need for more research examining (1) which communities participate in initiatives and (2) their reasons for their engagement.

39. **Egan, A. F. & Luloff, A. E. (2000). The exurbanization of America's forests: research in rural social science. *Journal of Forestry*, 98(3), 26-30.**

Exurbanisation – which refers to the “...migration of urban residents to rural environments” normally near or easily accessible to urban areas (p.26) – has increased over the last 20 years in America. A key motive for these migrants is the idea that an improved quality of life can be acquired in the countryside. These migrants often bring with them an ensemble of attitudes, needs and values that is very different from those of long-term rural residents. This kind of population growth can have a very significant effect on local forest-based economies and social structures, forest management practices and, in the end, forest policy (or the way rural land is used more generally). Thus, it is a topic that is of much interest to communities who might rely on extractive activities, such as timber harvesting. The paper also discusses the conflict that can occur between newcomers and long-term residents over land use practices.

40. **Escribano, M. J. R. (2007). Migration to rural Navarre: questioning the experience of counterurbanisation. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 98(1), 32-41.**

For at least 20 years, rural areas of Navarre (northern Spain) have been experiencing counterurbanisation – a major rural restructuring process. This phenomenon – which has led to much rural population growth – reflects the contemporary attraction of rural areas in Navarre as places of residence for urban people – particularly those living nearby in the county of Pamplona. While counterurbanisation is indeed happening in this way and for this reason, the profile of residents is in fact diverse, as are their reasons for shifting to the countryside. The paper highlights this diversity – heterogeneous migration – by reporting the findings of in-depth interviews with newcomers about their reasons for moving to the countryside. The author finds that it is not just only upper-middle class migrants in search of a better residential environment who are colonising the countryside but also younger people looking for a cheaper places to live and those people with fewer economic resources, lifestylers and less-skilled people. The author notes that counterurbanisation is not spatially homogenous either. In conclusion the author argues that counterurbanisation embraces many strands and, as such, a richer set of criteria should be used in a variety of case studies so that we can become more fully aware of the diversity of the counterurbanisation experience.

41. **Evans, N., Morris, C. & Winter, M. (2002). Conceptualizing agriculture: a critique of post-productivism as the new orthodoxy. *Progress in Human Geography*, 26(3), 313-332.**

The notion of a shift from productivist agriculture to post-productivist agricultural/rural regimes became 'fashionable' in rural studies during the 1990s. According to the authors, the simple concept has been used to describe complex structural processes which have, in recent times, brought about both agrarian change and countryside change more generally. In the paper the authors articulate a concern that, unlike other dualistic concepts in geography, the term post-productivism has not received the critical attention it deserves. Rather, the 'all-encompassing' binary (i.e., productivist/post-productivist) has been fashioned and maintained by scholars as the primary way for explaining contemporary rural change and the 'uneven development of rural areas'.

To address their concern, the authors present a critique (on both empirical and theoretical grounds) of the notion of the post-productivist transition. After providing an overview of the development of the idea, they present empirical data which questions five accepted and convenient characteristics of the current post-productivist era: quality food, pluriactivity and on-farm diversification, sustainable farming via extensification, production dispersion, and (environmentally focused) regulation. Based on a review of the empirical evidence, the author's advocate for the dumping of the term post-productivism, viewing it as a barrier to the improvement of academic understanding (at a deeper conceptual level) of the myriad and complex processes underpinning contemporary rural change. They believe that instead of inventing terms which might act as roadblocks to further theoretical understanding, rural geographers should engage with existing theoretical perspectives and apply them in a rural context; ecological modernisation is used as one example of this.

42. **Everett, S. & Aitchison, C. (2008). The role of food tourism in sustaining regional identity: a case study of Cornwall, South West England. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(2), 150-167.**

In this paper, the authors report the findings of a small scale study which explored the role of food tourism in the production and consumption of rural towns and local place identities (within the context of rural regeneration and agricultural diversification). Cornwall, South West England acts as the case study site. Qualitative data are generated via a literature and policy review and then through a series of in-depth interviews with restaurateurs in four popular tourist destinations in the region. Upon analysis, the authors argue that a relationship evident between "increased levels of food tourism interest and the retention and development of regional identity, the enhancement of environmental awareness and sustainability, an increase in social and cultural benefits celebrating the production of local food and the conservation of traditional heritage, skills and ways of life". The paper also sheds light on the ability of food tourism to: increase tourist spending in a region and extend the tourist season.

# F

43. **Fairweather, J. (1987). *Farmers' Response to Economic Restructuring: An Analysis of Survey Data. AERU Research Report No. 187. Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.***

The author draws on survey data (from 384 farms in the Hurunui and the Clutha regions of the South Island of New Zealand) to investigate how farmers were responding to economic restructuring. The author finds and reports on changing: financial situations, attitudes, needs and farm practices. He found that a quarter of the respondents had made major adjustments; many farmers engaging in new types of productive land use such as: deer and goat farming and also forestry. The author also notes: (1) the replacement of hired labour with family labour, and (2) an increasing awareness among farmers of the policy and regulatory environment. He also reports that 39 per cent of respondents reported a good/sound position with little or no need to make adjustments, 40 per cent a delicate position (needing minor adjustments), 17 per cent reported being in a difficult situation and were making major adjustments, and 3 per cent were in crisis mode and thought they might not survive. The most common adjustments were to engage in a range of low-input farm management practices, decrease on-farm labour and increase off-farm wage-earning. Twenty eight per cent of those who had adjusted had sought to diversify into new forms of productive land-use.

44. **Fairweather, J. (1989). *Some Recent Changes in Rural Society in New Zealand. Discussion Paper No. 124. Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.***

This report outlines recent transformations in rural New Zealand society, both on the farm and in the rural community. The author details the impact that restructuring had on farmers and the agriculture sector more generally. Fairweather shows that to cope with the often dire economic consequences of the reforms in question, many farmers: reduced spending, employed new management strategies and diversified the way that they used their land. Another observation was that New Zealand farm sizes were reducing. The author also notes the first signs of the emergence of corporate farming in New Zealand. In terms of the rural community, Fairweather notes an increase in the amount of user-pays services, rising unemployment and population change (i.e., a reduction in population size and also changing demographics).

45. **Fairweather, J. (1992). *Agrarian Restructuring in New Zealand. Research Report No. 213. Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.***

Drawing on official statistics, Fairweather examines the economic impact of agrarian restructuring on farms in New Zealand and the subsequent structural changes between 1984 and 1990. The author begins with a brief review of theory relating to the operation of family farms under capitalism and then moves to show the changing financial position of farms. Fairweather shows that farm incomes fell under the restructured agricultural regime and that many farmers assumed a great deal of debt, forcing many to search for alternative off-farm sources of income to supplement earnings. The author discusses a range of other findings from the data such as: the 'disappearing middle' across the range of farm sizes and changing farm labour force characteristics, such as increasing on-farm female employment. To conclude, Fairweather characterises the farm level response to restructuring and makes some concluding remarks about the persistence of the family farm in New Zealand agriculture (a farm altered in form but perhaps stronger and better placed to face present and future conditions).

46. **Findlay, A. M., Short, D. & Stockdale, A. (2000). The labour-market impact of migration to rural areas. *Applied Geography*, 20, 333-348.**

This applied population studies research paper examines the labour-market impact of in-migration to rural areas in Scotland. The analysis – an economic audit – suggests that in-migrants make, rather than take, jobs in rural areas. The paper is based on a nationwide survey of 689 migrant and non-migrant households in six areas across rural Scotland, which took place in 1997. The method enables the authors to examine and describe the scale and nature of the job-growth which they associate with rural in-migration. Job multipliers are calculated by migrant type and by economic sector. The authors were eager to address a lack of empirical research examining the consequences of rural migration, particularly in the area of local employment, rural labour markets and job creation. The authors suggest that in-migrants do not de-stabilise the local rural labour market, but instead produce positive change thereby contributing towards the regeneration and long-term sustainability of rural areas. In their conclusion, the authors state that the survey showed a very significant net job gain as the result of both self-employed households and as a result of new service jobs created by economically active migrants. They argue that there is no reason why these results shouldn't apply across the UK. They also note that the effect of in-migration varies from place to place, affected by the proportion of commuters and the attractiveness of the rural area to inward investment by the self-employed.

47. **Fitchen, J. (1991). *Endangered Spaces, Enduring Places: Change, Identity and Survival in Rural America*. Boulder: Westview Press.**

In this book, Fitchen discusses the changes which occurred in rural New York communities during the late 1980s. Together with an overview of the pertinent issues of the time, (such as rising rural unemployment, the decline of manufacturing and farming, the role of government, the weakening of rural social networks, and increasing rural poverty), the author – an anthropologist – carefully describes how people living in these rural places negotiated the dramatic and often detrimental changes that were occurring around them through local and diverse strategies of adaptation. Fitchen writes: “Many rural spaces, the settings of rural life, are now endangered by a variety of societal forces. Some rural places, the social matrices of rural life, are now in serious stress or decline, and some will disappear. But many rural places will adapt and survive into the twentieth-first century, although transformed and redefined. They will endure as communities because their people are working hard to preserve what they value in rural life and at the same time adjust to an increasingly urbanised society” (p,2). The book is interesting in that it provides a uniquely detailed insight into the real and severe struggles rural people and communities faced and their strategies for survival during the 1980s in the United States.

48. **Frazier, B. & Niehm, L. (2004). Exploring business information networks of small retailers in rural communities. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 9, 23 - 41.**

The authors of this paper studied the networking actions of rural community retailers in the United States. Five distinct informal networks were identified from the twenty-four semi-structured interviews undertaken. The networks identified are advisor, merchant, grapevine, inspiration and expert. The results indicate that the retailers are socially active and engage in a range of networking actions to achieve their goals. A key factor of building and using productive networks, according to this article, is the skill of engaging others in social interaction.



# G

49. **Gardner, J. (1993). Alternative rural enterprises: non-traditional ventures offer opportunities for rural communities. *Rural Management*, 2(Spring), 24-25.**

This short article – based on a paper presented at the 9th International Farm Management Congress (Budapest, Hungary 1993) – identifies and describes a range of non-traditional rural businesses operating in New Zealand. The author was motivated to conduct the research by the fact that while a great deal was known about traditional rural enterprises in New Zealand – i.e., those associated with primary production – very little was known about emergent non-traditional rural businesses. To address the gap, the author surveyed (by personal interview) 15 businesses within 150 kilometres of Palmerston North city. He found a broad spectrum of non-traditional rural enterprises ranging “...from relatively simple farmstays to complex operations such as manufacturing or running a tourism venture” (p.25). In his summary, the author suggests that non-traditional rural businesses provide: a supplementary source of farm income, increased revenue for rural communities, and new job opportunities for rural people. Moreover, many of the businesses he surveyed were quick to develop; starting small and then expanding. They did this with relative ease because (1) the businesses required little initial capital and (2) they often used existing rural resources.

50. **Garrod, B., Wornell, R & Youell, R. (2006). Re-conceptualising rural resources as countryside capital: the case of rural tourism. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22, 117-128.**

Borrowing from the principals of ecological economics, the authors argue that sustainable rural development can best occur if local residents and agencies begin to think of their shared/community rural resource base as ‘countryside capital’. “Essentially this involves recasting the rural resource as a kind of capital asset that can be invested in and from which a stream of benefits may be drawn, provided that the asset base is not overstretched by the various demands put on it” (p.118). Underpinning this philosophy is the idea that human survival and well-being ultimately rely on the careful (short term) use of the surrounding physical and social habitat or ‘natural capital base’. After spelling out their main proposition, the authors seek to define the term ‘countryside capital’ in more detail. Here, ‘countryside capital’ is described as a rural community’s available resource inventory i.e., the physical and symbolic elements that characterise that rural region (such as its: natural landscapes, wildlife, soils, agricultural buildings, industrial remnants, local customs, culture and ways of life). A model of the interactions between rural tourism and countryside capital is then presented to show its usefulness in more practical terms. From a tourism perspective, three reasons are outlined for the value of adopting the notion of countryside capital: (1) it clearly shows how the quality of the countryside is intimately connected to the quality and value of the rural tourism product, (2) it points out that it is in the best interests of rural tourism operators to adopt a more sustainable relationship with the countryside mainly because ‘the rural’ is its key resource, and (3) it clearly demonstrates that the mismanagement, damage or depletion of any one rural resource may negatively affect the sustainability of the local rural tourism product and the rural community in general. How one invests in countryside capital is discussed next. The authors view this as a complex process owing to the many different agencies that use the same resource base, but often for very different purposes. This point raises the issue of potential conflicts over the use of countryside capital, emphasising the importance of installing sound/sustainable policies for rural resource management.

51. **Gibson, C. & Connell, J. (2003). 'Bongo fury': tourism, music and cultural economy at Byron Bay, Australia. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 94(2), 164-187.**

A unique cultural economy has developed in Byron Bay (Australia) involving the production, marketing and sale of local music to tourists and visitors. This phenomenon has led to the production of a new regional identity associated with alternative lifestyle activities and music subcultures. Young tourists – particularly backpackers – have found this new identity particularly appealing. As a result, Byron Bay, once a small whaling town has developed into both a popular (tourism) destination and a location for ex-urban living. According to the author, this transformation of place exemplifies the function “of a politics of representation within social and economic geography”. The paper maps out the changes that have occurred at Byron Bay, particularly the economic impact of the area’s new cultural economy which has been built on the marketing (or media representation) of the Bay as a site to visit for the consumption of alternative/world music and associated alternative lifestyle activities.

52. **Gill, A. M. (1999). Competitive tensions in community tourism development. In N. Walford, J. C. Everitt & D. Napton. (Eds.), *Reshaping the Countryside: Perceptions and Processes of Rural Change* (Chapter Thirteen). United Kingdom: CABI Publishing.**

In this book chapter, Alison Gill examines some of the challenges confronting rural communities as they seek to integrate tourism – an inherently complex system based on service provision and the use of local/rural resources – into their equally complex and changing regional economies. For context, she notes that tourism has become a new and important sector in many rural communities which have undergone economic restructuring. Gill notes that one result of this restructuring is that rural communities and local governments have passed a great deal of the responsibility for decision-making (i.e., the bottom up approach) in regards to local/rural tourism development and planning; a shift which that has added an important political dimension to nature of contemporary rural change. The author’s main concern is that the inherent complexity of both the tourism system and broader economic and social processes affecting rural areas will present local residents with many challenges from which competitive tensions might emerge. To highlight such tensions, the findings of a case study of community-led rural tourism development and planning in Squamish, British Columbia is presented. The main tension reported is the ideological division between community members who have ownership of local resources but whom have no interest in local development initiatives (e.g., farmers who own land and traditionalists in local government) and the wider community (including ‘newcomers’) whom might wish to develop resource based tourism.

53. **Glorioso, R. S. (2000). Amenity migration in the Sumava Bioregion, Czech Republic: implications for ecological integrity. In: Goode, P. M., Price, M. F. & Zimmerman, F. M (Eds.), *Tourism Development in Mountain Regions* (pp.275-296). UK: CABI Publishing.**

In this book chapter, Glorioso examines amenity migration in the Sumava Bioregion, Czech Republic. Amenity migration, it is argued, is a relatively recent phenomenon involving the migration of people for ‘superior amenity potentiality’ and can be seen as a valuable economic alternative to waning agricultural/productive activity in rural areas and also a helpful diversification strategy away from over-reliance on tourism generated revenue. The author suggests that one of the main concerns of growth associated with amenity migration is the maintenance of the quality of the natural environment and the well-being of the local inhabitants. It is in this context that the author sets out to describe amenity migration. For Glorioso, amenity migration is a contemporary societal phenomenon involving the movement of large numbers of people to locations which are perceived to encompass high natural environment and/or distinct cultural amenities (p.276). According to Glorioso, the term ‘amenity migration’ was first used by Laurence Moss during the mid-1980s in a study which looked at the factors underlying the economic growth in Santé Fe, New Mexico. Glorioso suggests that there are three types of

amenity-migrant: permanent (those who reside for most of the time in the location), seasonal (those who reside in the area for one or several periods each year – such as for the ski season) and intermittent (referring to those who move between their residences more frequently) (p.276). Drawing on earlier work by Moss, Glorioso notes that the amenity construct is based on six key factors (2000, p.277). The first three factors relate to increasing motivation for amenity migration, namely: (i) higher valuing of the natural environment; (ii) higher valuing of cultural differentiation; and (iii) higher valuing of leisure, learning and spirituality. The other three factors are associated with greater mobility: (i) increasing discretionary time; (ii) increasing discretionary wealth; and (iii) increasing access through improving and less expensive information and communications and transportation technology. Focusing on the study area, the author maps the emergence of amenity migration since the 1990s. Reasons for migration to the Sumava Bioregion include: the distinct townscape/architecture, the pristine natural environment and distinct culture, increased knowledge/awareness of the area via improved information, and increased availability of jobs in the tourism sector.

54. **Glorioso, R. S. & Moss, L. A. G. (2007). Amenity migration to mountain regions: current knowledge and strategic construct for sustainable management. *Working Paper 2007/01, International Amenity Migration Centre (also published in *Social Change*, 37(1), 137-161).***

In high amenity areas all over the world, amenity migration is an important force for change. In this article the authors are concerned with amenity migration in mountainous regions which are attracting both permanent and part time residents because of their impressive natural amenity. The authors draw on earlier research, their own past work and community experiences to identify what is known about ‘amenity migration’ and associated ‘economic migration’. In a detailed literature review, the social and cultural, economic and biophysical effects are described. The authors note that amenity migration has involved some degrading of mountain ecologies along with a mixture of positive and negative socio-cultural and economic outcomes. The authors outline the response from public, private and volunteer sectors to the phenomenon. They argue that the benefits could be greater if amenity migration was better understood and managed for the purpose of ecological sustainability. Moreover, with this enhanced understanding, other negative externalities (socio-cultural and economic) could also be reduced or reversed. The authors outline their notion of a ‘strategic analysis’ (methodology) and advocate its use as a method/tool/approach for managing amenity migration in mountainous areas.

55. **Goodwin, M. (1998). The governance of rural areas: some emerging research issues and agendas. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14(1), 5-12.**

In this paper, Mark Goodwin reviews the wider social scientific literature associated with governance and then, upon noting a ‘silence’ in rural studies on the topic, provides a research agenda for the study of the governance of rural areas.

56. **Gouin, D. (2006). Agricultural Sector Adjustment Following Removal of Government Subsidies in New Zealand. *Research Report No. 284. Agribusiness & Economics Research Unit, Lincoln University.***

This report comprehensively analyses the consequences of the agricultural reforms (which were implemented in New Zealand during the mid-1980s) in regards to the rural sector. The report reviews the historical currents which led up to New Zealand’s economic crisis and the subsequent need to (rapidly) deregulate the agricultural sector. The report documents the way in which state support for agriculture was removed and also provides details of the suite of policies that were introduced. The consequences of these changes for the farm sector (at a structural level and in terms of farm income) are examined. The author concludes that despite losing well-established state support, the farm sector managed to maintain its level of economic activity. The author sums up the New Zealand experience and suggests what might be learned from what took place.

**57. Greffe, X. (1994). Is rural tourism a lever for economic and social development? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 2, 22 – 40.**

In this article, Greffe examines the ability of rural tourism to improve economic and social development. Of particular importance, the researcher found that the tourism cycle is part of a larger range of activities and processes, that impact on employment and policy making opportunities. Key policies that were vital to be implemented include: ‘protecting and providing amenities for the potential areas of attraction; aiding the renovation and extension of supply; ensuring solvable demand; training people in rural development.’ Overall this article provides a greater insight of the tourism industry and the goals of the rural tourism sector within it.

# H

58. Halfacree, K. (1997). **Contrasting roles for the post-productivist countryside: a postmodern perspective on counterurbanisation.** In P. Cloke & J. Little (Eds.), *Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, Marginalisation and Rurality* (pp. 70-93). London: Routledge.

Keith Halfacree draws on the work of post-modern theorists (such as David Harvey) to identify and discuss reasons for, and the impact of, urban-rural migration/counterurbanisation in the post-productivist rural era. In his words, the chapter "...attempts to provide some pointers to the contribution that urban-rural migrants may be making to the creation of the post-productivist countryside through examining rival theoretical interpretations of the motivation and attitudes of the migrants" (p.70). To begin and for context, Halfacree examines the forces leading to the demise of the productivist agricultural regime in Britain and the subsequent rise of the post-productivist countryside. Here, he notes that: "...post-productivism may signal a search for a new way of understanding and structuring the countryside. A space in the imagination is opening, whereby non-agricultural interests and actors are given an opening to strive to create a rurality in their image" (p. 72).

In the next section, the author reviews literature on counterurbanisation – a phenomenon that he argues signals that a post-productivism regime has taken hold in rural space. Here he suggests that counterurbanisation (one theoretical explanation for urban-rural migration) "reflects both the increasing use of rural space for non-agricultural purposes and the predominance of consumption interests over production interests, with the rural as a place of residence" (p.72). Upon his review of the literature associated with counterurbanisation, Halfacree identifies two major themes which he critically examines, viz: job-led accounts of migration (i.e., the creation of a new spatial division of labour brought about by a shift in manufacturing and service sector employment from the city to the countryside) and people-led accounts (i.e., people drawn to a rural residential environment for its intrinsic appeal, and able to move there because of improved personal mobility and levels of personal wealth). Halfacree finishes the paper by aligning the productivist/post-productivist debate with broader notions about a correlating societal shift from modernism to postmodernism.

59. Hall, M. C. (2006). **Amenity migration in the South Island of New Zealand: contestation for land and landscape in Central Otago.** In L. A. G. Moss (Ed.), *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures* (pp.295-305). Oxfordshire, UK: CABI.

Since the mid-1990s, migration has been at the forefront of debate in New Zealand, discussions which have often centred round issues of race and ethnicity, as well as population loss. Amenity migration has, however, received much less attention. To fill the gap, Hall takes a broad look at the amenity migration phenomenon in Queenstown and Cromwell – two towns situated in Central Otago (New Zealand's southern alpine region), both of which have been experiencing a high level of amenity and lifestyle migration. The chapter begins, however, with a broad overview of migration patterns in New Zealand and the difficulties confronted by those analysing these movements. Next, Hall discusses amenity migration in the national context, suggesting that (despite being understudied) urbanisation, retirement and lifestyle migrations are all making an impact on rural and peripheral regions. The author notes that in the North Island especially, amenity migration has been associated with domestic retirement to the northern coastal zones (for example the Bay of Plenty and the Bay of Islands). He also suggests that coastal amenity migration has occurred in both islands involving a large degree of return migration and overseas investment. In the South Island, Hall isolates Tasman, Nelson, Marlborough and Banks Peninsula as areas where this has occurred. He also describes another pattern of amenity migration in New Zealand, one which is linked to mountainous/alpine and high country regions in the South Island, combining both domestic (especially retirement) and international migration influences. In his

Central Otago case study the author confronts the issues of tourism and second home ownership – both of which can be also associated with more permanent and retirement migration and both of which have occurred in the case study area. The author also considers the impacts of amenity migration including the demands being placed on local resources, access issues, conflicts between amenity migrants and other land uses including viticulture and extensive farming (which may act as attractants for many amenity migrants), and the rising cost of housing. In his conclusion, Hall calls for an improved statistical and research regime that might lead to a better understanding of amenity migration, and also for a heightened awareness of the importance of adopting growth sound and well-informed growth management strategies.

- 60. Haukeland, Jan Vidar & Jacobson, Jens Kr. Steen (2001). *Gastronomy in the periphery: food and cuisine as tourism attractions on the top of Europe*. Paper presented at the 10th Nordic Tourism Research Conference, Vasa, Finland. Accessed online.**

For many tourists, consuming local food products in rural areas is an important part of the tourism experience. For many rural communities, regional food and beverage traditions (including recipes, particular harvesting techniques and cooking skills) are an important part of their community's cultural identity and heritage. As such, food has the potential to find a place in the development of regional character and identity for tourism and sustainable economic growth. The authors suggest then that food can be viewed as what Ray (1999) calls a 'cultural marker' – a local cultural resource that can be utilised for sound endogenous economic development (part of an area's cultural economy).

In consideration of this, the authors examine the potential for local food, culinary heritage and cooking traditions to become part of an area's appeal to tourists. The paper also discusses the significance and meaning of these 'social constructions' of place which emerge as a district is marketed around local food traditions.

Empirical data is presented relating to the food interests of motor tourists in Northern Norway; data is derived from the Norwegian foreign visitor survey. The objective is to examine whether tourists visiting particular areas have actually been drawn there by the possibility of experiencing local cuisine – as they do in regions of Southern Europe. They find that tourists do have strong interest in local food which is "linked with a fascination of what the visitors perceive as genuine local communities and an aesthetic interest in landscapes and other visual place impressions". In the conclusion and based on the survey data, the authors warn of the possibility of the over commercialisation of food bringing about a loss of distinctiveness between places and the subsequent loss of visitor interest.

- 61. Herbert-Cheshire, L. (2000). *Contemporary strategies for rural community development in Australia: a governmentality perspective*. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 16, 203 – 215.**

Rural governance in Australia is moving towards a 'bottom up' self-help approach to rural development within which partnerships and initiatives are key aspects. The surrounding discourse (or rhetoric) is said to empower the individual and community. The author adopts a 'governmentality' perspective which views this in terms of 'governance through community'. Much of the literature drawn upon for this paper is based in Britain and Europe; however the author links this to Australian (Queensland) examples as there is some evidence that Australia is following a similar rural development path. The concluding comments emphasise that while self-help can be understood as the governmentality perspective's greatest virtue, the extra burden of responsibility placed on local community members is significant. Additionally, rural partnerships were seen as at risk of creating social divisions by handing power to a small local minority i.e., those with the resources and expertise to act.

62. **Hoggart, K. (2007). The diluted working classes of rural England and Wales. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23, 305-317.**

Rural researchers in Britain have frequently written about the negative impacts of rural restructuring on the 'traditional' rural working class population – such as the difficulty of securing rural housing – yet without detailing the attributes of this specific occupational spectrum. As such, Hoggart investigates whether the rural working class population in England and Wales in fact comprises a cohesive demographic and occupational group, as the literature suggests. His research – which draws on large scale population data sets – finds considerable social and geographical diversity among the working class population (levels which marginally surpass those in towns) especially in terms of occupation base. He finds a stable existence of working class people in rural areas in England and Wales (albeit it coupled with consistent population turnover), as well as positive net movements in. He also finds that the working classes are much more proficient in achieving their housing needs than the literature suggests (i.e., he challenges the notion that they are being forced out of the rural). Given his findings, he argues that more care should be taken by those commenting on the magnitude of disadvantages confronting the so-called rural 'working class' population. He calls for a richer interpretation of rural populations than the common images of subordination that the literature frequently presents. The paper does not discuss whether this group is disadvantaged, but rather addresses questions about the nature of this population group, particularly 'whether the constituents of the rural working class population occupy a relatively stable demographic category that makes it appropriate to speak to 'the condition of the rural working classes'' (p.313).

63. **Holloway, L. (2000). 'Hell on earth and paradise all at the same time': the production of smallholding space in the British countryside. *Area*, 32(3), 307-315.**

In this paper, Lewis Holloway examines the geography of smallholding i.e., a range of small-scale farm enterprises which can be associated with the consumption of the countryside for lifestyle purposes. The author notes that this aspect of farming culture is a neglected area of geographical research. Holloway also notes that while there is no clear definition of smallholding (although hobby farms are often given as the prime example) the term should be employed to refer to a broad "...range of lifestyles associated with rurality...more than just a hobby to those involved" (p.307). Holloway uses data from a survey of UK smallholders to explore the place of smallholding in the contemporary countryside. The overriding aim of the paper is to enhance current understandings of post-productivist rural space in Britain – particularly in relation to socio-cultural change. Three other aims are to: (1) provide a theoretical and empirical framework for further smallholder research, (2) elicit key themes from the survey data, themes which can then be used for further in-depth research in the topic area, and (3) develop a more concise understanding of smallholding in relation to recent rural changes occurring in the post-productivist British countryside.

In conclusion, the author argues that "small holding involves people looking for something special in the countryside" (p.313). Smallholding is viewed as an integral part of the post-productivist countryside and also part of a new cultural geography of farming. To examine the smallholding phenomenon further, the author suggests that researchers should consider: (1) the relationships between smallholders and farmers in local contexts, (2) the power dynamics which are at play i.e., the way in which small parcels of land are obtained, sold and managed, and (3) the complex relationship between work and leisure, particularly how they are found bound together in small-scale production (which might also be viewed as the consumption of an idealised rural way of life – an idyllic version of what farm life should be). The author ends by stating that smallholders take their small-scale farming activities seriously – they are not simply at play in rural space. As such they are an interesting group of people to study, a group which can offer new insights into the ways in which the post-productivist countryside is used, imagined and experienced.

64. **Holloway, L. & Kneafsey, M. (2000). Reading the space of the farmers' market: a preliminary investigation from the UK. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40(3), 283-299.**

This paper provides some initial insights regarding the recent developing of farmers' markets – a new type of consumption space in the UK. Conceptually, farmers markets as distinct sites (or 'foodscapes') represent an ensemble of local, moral, ethical and environmental discourses and bring together producers, consumers and institutions. The authors investigate the discourses surrounding farmers' markets and upon analysis suggest that they can be thought of as both conservative spaces (i.e., they valorise the local in terms of its associations with health, quality and 'the rural') and alternative spaces (i.e., they represent one new dimension of diversifying rural economies). Their ideas stem from the results of case study work conducted in Stratford-upon-Avon. Further areas of research are suggested.

65. **Holmes, J. (2002). Diversity and change in Australia's rangelands: a post-productivist transition with a difference? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 27(3), pp. 362-384.**

In this article, John Holmes examines the possibility that a post-productivist transition is occurring in the Australian rangelands/outback. He believes that while a post-productivist transition is taking place (at a tempo akin to Western Europe's), a unique ensemble of impulses, actors, processes and outcomes is driving the shift in Australia. In the paper, Holmes argues that in many (marginal) areas of pastoral occupance, agricultural production is being subsumed by conservation and/or amenity interests and tourism/recreation activity (which require access to land rather than land ownership), and indigenous land uses and occupation which have arisen with the reassertion of aboriginal land rights. These changes, he argues represent broad societal shifts i.e., changing social values towards biodiversity, ecological sustainability and social justice. Holmes outlines three key forces which he believes are driving this shift, namely: agricultural overcapacity, increasing demand for amenity-oriented uses, and changing societal values. Based on his findings, Holmes suggests that European researchers tend to place too much emphasis on changing agricultural policies in their debates about the post-productivist transition and not enough emphasis on changing social and cultural circumstances. Nevertheless, the paper is somewhat supportive of the conceptualisation of the post-productivist transition – the author arguing that (currently) no other theoretical framework neatly captures the details of the changes which are occurring in Australia's rural outback. Thus, some dimensions of post-productivism are evident in the Australian outback, but to understand this better – particularly agriculture-environment tensions – new ideas are needed, such as a shift from post-productivist rural occupance to multifunctional rural occupance. In sum, while acknowledging the value of work examining the post-productivist transition, Holmes hints at his partiality towards the replacement of the term post-productivism with the a concept described as a multifunctional transition, one which might capture the complex interplay of interests which are emerging in the contemporary countryside.

66. **Holmes, J. (2006). Impulses towards a multifunctional transition in rural Australia: gaps in the research agenda. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22, 142-160.**

A multifunctional transition has occurred across the rural spaces in many affluent Western nations. This change is being driven by a rise in consumption and conservation values which contest the productivist values which have long-held a hegemonic position in rural affairs. Essentially, this paper provides a 'complete articulation' of what the author describes as the multifunctional rural transition (Holmes, in a previous study of rural change in Australia's outback – see above – concluded that this concept might better capture the diversity and complexity of contemporary rural settings – as opposed to the more limiting idea of post-productivism). The author's aim in this paper is to detail the forces which he sees are driving the so-called multifunctional rural transition. He argues that, "...at its core, the multifunctional transition involves a radical re-ordering in the three basic purposes of underlying human use of rural space, namely production, consumption and protection. The transition can be characterised as a shift from the formerly dominant production goals towards a more complex, contested,



variable mix of production, consumption and protection. These three basic goals can be linked to forces driving the transition to multifunctional rural occupance, namely agricultural overcapacity (the production goal), the emergence of market-driven amenity uses (the consumption goal) and changing societal values (the protection goal)” (pp.142-143). Emerging multifunctional rural land and resource use is, according to the author, producing differentiated and more complex rural spaces. This diversity/heterogeneity is captured in Holmes seven ‘modes of occupance’ in Australia’s rural space, each of which is dependent on the relative priority given to production, consumption or protection values, namely: productivist agriculture; rural amenity; small farm; peri-metropolitan; marginalised agriculture, conservation and indigenous occupation. Essentially, the paper is an initial attempt to provide a conceptual framework for the future study of rural change, one which captures the diversity and complexities of the contemporary countryside as opposed to its more monofunctional character of the past (and also the dualism associated with productivist/post-productivist thinking). The author ends the paper by suggesting that the proposed theoretical framework could be positioned “within current theory on the role of place and space in contemporary society” (p.159).

**67. Hopkins, J. (1998). Signs of the post-rural: marketing myths of a symbolic countryside. *Geografiska Annaler*, 80b, 65-81.**

In this article Hopkins examines the extent of rural commodification for tourism. The author seeks to establish more precisely what rural ‘things’ have become commodities for sale to tourists. Through a socio-semiotic analysis of 210 printed tourism advertising brochures in the South-western Ontario countryside, Hopkins found a wide array of commodified ‘things’ marketed to tourists as both rural experiences and cultural products including: camping in the countryside, the viewing of a nuclear power plant, boat tours, crafts, bed and breakfasts, and zoos. Rather than finding any ‘loss’ in the rural community resulting from the commodification, Hopkins discovers the ‘addition’ of a valuable, expanding and increasingly sophisticated array of rural tourism operators and products; his only question being – how much of this activity can the community and tourist tolerate as the countryside becomes increasingly like any other market or shopping place?

68. **Ilbery, B. (Ed.), (1998). *The Geography of Rural Change*. United Kingdom, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.**

This edited book provides a comprehensive overview of: (1) the social, economic, political and environmental processes underpinning contemporary countryside change and, (2) the various outcomes of this transition throughout the developed world. The book is divided into three parts. Part one contains two theoretical essays that introduce and examine central forces underpinning contemporary countryside change; the first chapter examines the economic processes underlying rural change while the second chapter explores the key social processes of change. Part two contains three essays which examine how rural land use has changed as an outcome of economic restructuring and the emergence of neoliberal politics since the 1970s. Part three contains six chapters covering the economic and social outcomes of rural change. Topics such as: rural migration, new countryside demographics, rural policy, planning and management, the rise of tourism and recreation in rural space, and rural service provision and social deprivation, are discussed.

The book's editor – geographer Brian Ilbery – provides the concluding chapter in which he synthesises the main ideas of the book, highlights the possible tensions and conflicts that may occur as a result of rural change, and then, reflecting on these insights, offers an opinion as to the feasibility of sustainable rural development in the future. In sum, the book highlights the multidimensionality and dynamic nature of rural places in the developed world i.e., that there is not one singular rural space or place, but rather ‘many’ versions – each shaped by a unique combination of locally specific economic, social, environmental and political factors, and each influenced in different ways by more global processes of economic and social change. Although the book is written for undergraduate students in the social sciences, several chapters are frequently cited in advanced articles on contemporary countryside change.

69. **Ilbery, B. & Bowler, I. (1998). *From agricultural production to post-productivism*. In B. Ilbery (Ed.), *The Geography of Rural Change* (pp.57-84). United Kingdom: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.**

In this (much referenced) chapter, the authors describe and explain the ways in which the countryside in many advanced market economies can be seen as changing from a place of agricultural productivism to one of post-productivism. According to the authors, during the productivist phase “...emphasis was placed on raising farm output...and was characterised by a continuous modernisation and industrialisation of agriculture” (p.57). In contrast, the post-productivist phase is “...characterised by the integration of agriculture within broader rural economic and environmental objectives” (p.57) and is often marked by the development of a low-input/low-output farming philosophy where the emphasis is on the quality (not quantity) of the agricultural commodities produced. The authors suggest that both phases have been influenced by the way governments have intervened with strategic economic policies and reforms. The authors provide a summary of the three essential processes of the post-productive transition, namely: commercialisation, commoditisation and industrialisation. In the second section of the chapter, empirical evidence from Europe and North America is provided. Here, Ilbery and Bowler provide examples of the shift towards a post-productive countryside including the recent rise of pluriactivity. Of particular importance in the paper is the outlining of three major structural components of productivist agriculture, namely intensification, concentration and specialisation. For the authors, post-productivism is linked to a new ‘food regime’ (i.e., the production of fresh, organic and other food products for green consumers in a dis-integrated food system) and represents the ‘flipside’ of the above structural components i.e., a move towards: extensification, diversification and dispersion.

# J

70. **Jay, M. (2004). Productivist and post-productivist conceptualisations of agriculture from a New Zealand Perspective. In G. Kearsley & B. Fitzharris (eds.), *Glimpses of a Gaian World: Essays in Honour of Peter Holland*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Schools of Social Sciences, University of Otago.**

In this paper, Mairi Jay employs the concept of post-productivism as a framework to examine changing attitudes towards the protection of indigenous vegetation and wildlife in New Zealand. For context, Jay reviews UK and Australian conceptualisations and applications of the notion of post-productivism. The New Zealand study begins with a summary of the political, economic and policy/legislative changes that occurred when the New Zealand economy was de-regulated in 1985. For the rural sector, this involved the removal of subsidy supports which, for many decades, had buttressed the (productivist) agricultural sector. It also involved the introduction of legislation that reflected a change in the relationship between New Zealand society and the environment (perhaps reflecting a post-productivist shift). Two pieces of this legislation are discussed, namely: the Conservation Act 1987 (which established the Department of Conservation) and the Resource Management Act 1991 (which introduced an integrated approach to the management of land, air, water and coastal areas).

Next, Jay investigates whether the attitudes and practices of agricultural actors have also shifted towards the protection of indigenous forest and wildlife – perhaps reflecting a post-productivist transition in agriculture. Jay writes that pastoral farming is still the main use of rural land in New Zealand and that farmers remain key actors in rural communities; their attitudes, values and management priorities continuing to shape the countryside to a major extent. Upon reviewing published literature (such as surveys, reports and academic studies), Jay states that in New Zealand “...majority of farmers remain strongly productivist in focus but show evidence of changing attitudes about indigenous habitat and the natural environment” (p.160). Given this, Jay then ponders the usefulness of the notion of the post-productivism for understanding rural and agricultural change in New Zealand. Jay is convinced that the notion of productivism is a useful concept (in that it describes the main focus of pastoral farming in New Zealand), but is not convinced that the notion of post-productivism accurately captures what is happening in New Zealand agriculture today. Jay advances the idea that productivist and post-productivist attitudes and values co-exist (side-by-side) in New Zealand – and that the post-productivist attitudes (which place emphasis on the protection of indigenous forest and biodiversity) are perhaps indicative of broader structural and value changes in New Zealand society. Indicators of social structural change include: diversity of farm sizes and types, urban to rural migration, and a diversifying rural economy (which includes tourism and craft earnings). Value changes include: environmental protection concerns, and the symbolic value of New Zealand flora and fauna particularly in relation to national identity.

71. **Jessop, B. (1995). The regulation approach, governance and post-Fordism. *Economy and Society*, 24, 307-334.**

In this paper, Jessop provides a detailed overview of the changing nature of (predominantly urban) governance. The new process of governance is spelled out and linked to broader societal and economic shifts associated with the emerging post-Fordist mode of regulation. The paper demonstrates that governance has resulted from neo-liberal restructuring which involves, in part, the steady withdrawal of state from the regulatory/governing process in local communities replaced by more empowered civilians who are enabled to participate in (and take charge of) local community development and regulation processes.

72. **Jones, O. & Little, J. (2000). Rural challenge(s): partnerships and new rural governance. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 16, 171-183.**

There is now a great deal of theoretical writing on the shift towards rural governance particularly by those with an interest in rural policy delivery and those with an interest in shifting state/society relations. These rural commentators have drawn on the concept of new governance which was developed by urban theorists in the wake of neo-liberal restructuring which occurred in the 1980s. The authors suggest that the idea of governance developed together with the notion that a shift from Fordist modes of regulation (state controlled) to a post-Fordist ways of governing modes – a much more flexible regime. Within this literature, the role and culture of partnerships emerged as one key component of new urban, and indeed now, new rural governance regimes.

In this paper, the authors examine the ways in which rural partnerships are formed, highlighting and considering some of the challenges and hindrances that urban commentators have already acknowledged (such as the implications of unbalanced power relations). The authors articulate a concern that the urban governance model – and its need to form partnerships to secure funding – has been transferred to the rural without much consideration of the differing social, cultural, and economic contexts which exist in the countryside and within which partnerships must form. In the paper they speak of the partnership culture and explore its suitability as a means for effective rural regeneration. The authors are concerned with the ongoing valorisation of partnerships and believe that this unquestioned value hides issues such as power relations and accountability.

The paper draws heavily on one policy initiative, namely, the Rural Challenge initiative. This initiative was set in place in 1994 in England and was aimed at fostering social and economic development via the establishment of a rural partnership culture. Under the initiative, Rural Development Areas (RDAs) could bid for any of six prizes each year (to the value of one million pounds). Bids could only be submitted by eligible partnerships; each partnership needed to include actors from the public, private and community sectors – and each partnership needed to appoint a lead partner. The authors examine the potential difficulties for each sector in accomplishing this. They found that the community sector often lacked: access to funds, expertise, and often time. Also, just who in the community (i.e., which interest group) was involved was important i.e., in a rural community, people's views are not always homogenous. The private sector, they found, is often thin on the ground in small rural communities, so again resources are an issue. Moreover, the scale of commitment, resources and expertise varies dramatically depending on the scale of the private sector involved. The public sector was found to frequently act as the lead in partnerships – councils, for example, working with schools, police and health organisations etc. These groups were better resourced in both an economic and political sense. The paper stresses, therefore, that partnerships may be dominated by a specific agency.

73. **Jones, R., Fly, M., Talley, J. & Cordell, K. (2003). Green migration into rural America: the new frontier of environmentalism? *Society and Natural Resources*, 16, 221-238.**

The authors suggest that migration from city to countryside in America has given rise to an environmental movement ('greening') in those parts of the countryside most affected. Based on telephone survey data obtained from two groups in Southern Appalachia, the authors argue that protecting the rural environment is a high priority for in-migrants because it is the rural landscape and natural resources that drew them to the countryside to live. The researchers report that in-migrants were often more knowledgeable about environmental issues, were more concerned about the rural landscape, and are more engaged in activities that promote environmental values than non-migrants. The authors believe that the key to understanding this rests on differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of both groups of rural residents. The article begins with a review of population growth trends that appear to be changing the character and composition of communities in rural America (and at the case study site). Next, a summary of the literature on the greening of rural America is given. Here the impacts of green migration are discussed, many of which are associated with the pressure that population growth places on local services and

amenities. A model of green migration is presented. The article's 'basic premise' is that "...a general greening of America has led to greater support for environmental values and increased environmental activism in many rural areas. These changes, however, should be more apparent in rural scenic areas that have grown rapidly since 1970 due to the influx of people who are seeking a better environment and an overall quality of life. This type of migration which, we call green migration, is thus assumed to be part of a general greening process that is gradually changing many rural communities in the United States" (p.226).

- 74. Johnsen, S. (2004). The redefinition of family farming: agricultural restructuring and farm adjustment in Waihemo, New Zealand. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20, 419-432.**

This article looks at the way in which family farms adjusted to the restructuring of agriculture in the 1980's. The case study area was Waihemo in Otago, including its surrounding rural areas. The author notes that alternative strategies were sought after this period to help sustain the viability of the farm; including increasing off-farm employment which in turn led to a decrease in the importance of the farm for rural individual's identity and livelihoods. These alternative farm strategies, the author argues, have led to a contested understanding of the family farm. The author argues that a conceptual reconsideration of the traditional family farm is needed and that the effects of farm adjustment should be closely monitored in the future, especially in regard to the consequences it may have for agricultural production and rural communities.

# K

75. **Kearsley, G. (1998). Rural Tourism in Otago and Southland, New Zealand. In R. Butler R. & C. M. Hall (Eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas* (Chapter 5, pp.81-96). Chichester John Wiley and Sons.**

Southern New Zealand – an area encompassing diverse rural landscapes and cultural and natural heritage experiences and also the premier tourist town of Queenstown – is one of the country’s most significant tourism regions. This book chapter: (1) charts the rise of tourism in Southern New Zealand, (2) describes the Southern Tourist Region’s (STR) tourism product, and (3) discusses the involvement of local authorities in regional tourism development. Kearsley paints a bright picture of tourism in the region noting that “it is unlikely that anything but a promising future can be expected” (p.93). He forecasts that the region’s rural spaces will continue to grow in their importance especially as increasing numbers of foreign tourists demand backcountry/wilderness adventure experiences for which the area is renowned. Throughout the region, however, the author notes that the magnitude of tourism development will vary: “Rural areas, the traditional agricultural regions of Otago and Southland, are likely to be more or less involved in tourism as agricultural and forestry fortunes vary. Currently, a dairying boom in Southland, in particular, has reduced the urgency to diversify into non-agricultural areas such as tourism” (p.93). Kearsley warns of the absence of a co-ordinated regional tourism strategy to plan for, manage and guide future development – a strategy which he argues is much needed. Kearsley ends the paper by stating that “there is great potential for the advancement of rural tourism in Otago and Southland, but until greater integration and co-operation is achieved, it will operate as it does today, at a piecemeal and local, albeit relatively successful level” (p.94).

76. **Keen, D. (2004). The interaction of community and small tourism businesses in rural New Zealand. In R. Thomas (Ed.), *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspectives* (Chapter 9, pp.139-150). England: Elsevier Limited.**

Keen’s chapter is one of several in this book which examine the ways in which small tourism business operators can bring about change and revitalise lagging rural and small-town communities. Her research – which was conducted in the Maniototo region (an area in southern New Zealand with a population of less than 1000) – shows that small tourism business operators are often ‘in it’ for the social benefits rather than just for profit. A key social benefit for her participants was the enjoyment the operator derives from their role in the sustainable development of the area/community. To conceptualise this, the author injects the notion of social/community entrepreneurship into the chapter and, in doing so, reveals the important role an ‘individual’ can have in the development of tourism in small rural places. The article documents the way in which tourism developed in the area, how it re-energised the community, but also how this occurred primarily through the efforts of one entrepreneur.

77. **Keller, P. (1987). Stages of peripheral tourism development – Canada’s Northwest Territories. *Tourism Management*, March, pp.20-32.**

Based on Butler’s (1980) renowned Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution, Keller (p.24) constructs a model depicting the “hierarchies of control and capital input” that are likely to emerge as a tourism economy develops at a peripheral/rural location (in his case, Canada’s Northwest Territories). Keller’s model reveals that a locally-owned and operated tourism industry can exist during the initial stages of development at a location. At this time, development is small-scale and investment is primarily local. As the destination becomes more established, however, extra-local organisations begin to invest capital, and thus, progressively assume control. As a result, the ‘local’ foundations upon which the new (tourism) economy was built begin to erode.

**78. Kneafsey, M. (2001). Rural cultural economy: tourism and social relations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(3), 762-783.**

While a great deal of theoretical literature has been written to explain how rural places, people and products become commodified for consumption, few accounts consider how local residents participate in this process. To address this gap, Moya Kneafsey examines how rural residents select local resources, and then, through “techniques appropriate to their requirements” (p.764), create local/rural products aimed at the tourism market. To do this, the author employs Christopher Ray’s (1998) Typology of the Rural Culture Economy, particularly its four individual ‘Modes’, as a research framework for a case study in Commana, rural Brittany (Western France). Kneafsey (2001) describes Commana as a rural/agricultural centre that has (like many other rural places in advanced industrialised countries) declined in the modern era of global economics. One result, she argues, has been the promotion by local policy makers of a ‘culture economy’ approach to rural re-development of which tourism is a significant part. Kneafsey uses Christopher Ray’s (1998) Modes of the culture economy typology to examine the way rural residents in the case study area turn their cultural assets (both tangible and symbolic), “...into [tourism] resources available for the local territory” (p.273).

The case study illustrates that Christopher Ray’s (1998) culture economy typology provides a useful framework for identifying the resources available to local economies and for analysing the strategies which can be employed to turn these into saleable [tourism] commodities” (p.764). The case study also stresses the importance of considering “...the historical trajectories of old and new social relations...in order to [fully] understand the processes which either drive or hinder the commodification of contested knowledges at the local level” (p.762) – something that Ray (1998) does not discuss in much depth. Additionally, Kneafsey discovers that the typology helps to expose obstacles that a rural community might face when developing a distinctive and local tourism product. These obstacles, she believes, are related to the ambiguities surrounding the concept of ‘the local’ in post-modern rural society. Who, for example, can be defined as local? Who owns local knowledge and how can this local resource remain sincerely local? Kneafsey (p.765) believes her case study begins “...to open up some of these questions”.

# L

79. **Lawrence, G., Share, P. & Campbell, H. (1992). The restructuring of agriculture and rural society: evidence from Australia and New Zealand. *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 30, 1-23.**

This article focuses upon the rationalisation of agriculture over the last two decades in Australia and New Zealand. Government changes associated with the reduction of expenditure and altering the way in which economies are regulated has led to farmers being exposed to international markets which they were previously isolated from. The consequences are that many small scale 'family-farms' are often left in positions of precariousness compared to larger scale 'corporate' based farms, creating polarisation of the agriculture industry. A key question highlighted by the authors is, 'should the family farm be defended or should we celebrate the expansion of a 'rational', efficient and flexible agriculture?' The answer to this key question requires careful consideration of present trends, lessons learnt from past experiences and politicisation of the effects rural restructuring has had on the Australian and New Zealand agricultural industry.

80. **Le Heron, R. & Roche, M. (1999). Rapid reregulation, agricultural restructuring, and the reimagining of agriculture in New Zealand. *Rural Sociology*, 64(2), 203-218.**

In this paper, Le Heron and Roche consider how New Zealand's agricultural sector has changed since deregulation in the mid 1980s. They attempt to look beyond common accounts of agricultural deregulation in New Zealand (which tend to use the nation's experience of reform as a model/lesson for other countries) to consider other dimensions of restructuring including (p.204): "(1) the changing relation between the regulatory regime of the long boom and emerging economic processes, including those defining agriculture, (2) changes in global commodity chains in which reform and restructuring relating to agriculture is set, apprehended, and ultimately grappled with by actors, (3) the extent to which a reimagining of agriculture is a companion to political and economic adjustment, and (4) the degree to which rescaling of links and interactions is forging new forms of structural coherence incorporating New Zealand territory". As such, their account exemplifies New Zealand's unique and perhaps inimitable experience of deregulation. Interestingly, the authors tie their discussion to the notion of "reregulation" which sheds light on the new policy arena within which contemporary agriculture operates (one which is increasingly being shaped by globalisation processes and one which facilitates the movement of transnational capital and the building and maintenance of complex global commodity chain networks).

The paper has three main parts. Part 1 describes events leading up to New Zealand's "agricultural crisis". Part 2 examines emerging 'global commodity chains' that, since the mid 1980s, "have shaped how economic, regulatory, and governance adjustments have been played out" (p.206). Here, the meat, dairy and horticulture (agri-food) sectors are considered. Part 3 considers the changing nature (image and scale) of agriculture in this new and emerging context. Here, the role and activities of marketing boards are discussed. In their conclusions the authors argue that agri-food restructuring in New Zealand is entwined in broader globalisation processes which are creating a "new game" within which agriculture is organised. A central feature of that "game" is the organisation of the New Zealand agricultural sector around private capital – activity facilitated by a range of neoliberal regulatory mechanisms which encourage transnational flows of capital and investment.

81. **Lewis, G. (1998). Rural migration and demographic change. In B. Ilbery (Ed.), *The Geography of Rural Change* (pp. 131-160). UK: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.**

This chapter examines the changing social composition of the countryside – the so-called 'rural turn around' – which, in recent times, has occurred as a result of in-migration. Lewis begins the chapter with a broad overview of rural population change – including its driving forces, past historical events and emerging trends. The author then argues that research on counterurbanisation



ought to focus more on the household and household turnover as opposed the customary focus on rural population growth. Moreover, Lewis suggests that behavioural approaches (including life course analyses) are necessary to fully understand the movements of people to and from rural places.

- 82. Little, J. (2001). New rural governance? *Progress in Human Geography*, 25(1), 97-102.**

This article provides a summary of empirical and theoretical research on new rural governance. Akin to Goodwin's (1998) earlier observation, Little notes that rural researchers were slow to embrace the notion of governance that was developing in urban research during the 1980s. Little notes, however, that by the beginning of the 21st century, rural geographers were embracing these ideas and a new literature on rural governance was coming to the fore. Little suggests that the root of the wider theory of governance is traceable to earlier debates on the changing nature of regulation in advanced capitalist societies in which it is recognised that the new forms and practices of governance have emerged. In her review, Little notes that a great number of rural researchers have concentrated on specific policy areas rather than on broader trends and processes associated with the relationship between the economy, the state, policy and society. While she concedes that research on local experiences of governance are needed, it is also necessary to "step back from this detail to consider the nature and direction of governance in the context of the changing economic, political and cultural expectations surrounding the strategic regulation of the countryside" (p.98).

- 83. Loeffler, R. & Steinicke, E. (2007). Amenity migration in the U.S. Sierra Nevada. *Geographical Review*, 97(1), 67-88.**

Strong population growth associated with amenity migration in California's Sierra Nevada counties is unmatched across much of the state. This paper explores the phenomenon with a specific focus on the driving forces behind, and consequences of, amenity migration in two high-mountain sub-regions in Sierra Nevada (i.e., those situated 1,800 metres or more above sea level), namely the Lake Tahoe Region and the Mammoth Lakes areas. The authors analysed secondary sources, official statistics and popular literature and related media, and also conducted interviews with experts and local residents, both new and old. The authors found that amenity migrants tend to be white and well-educated with considerable household earnings (compared to long-term residents). They also discovered that few were senior citizens, compared to the population composition of the lower foothill regions which are popular places for pensioners to move to and live. Prime reasons for moving into both the high-mountain areas studied were: safety/low crime rate, the high standard of living, the natural and recreational amenities, and the high quality of the school system. In terms of impacts, the authors discovered that amenity migration had created increased demand for periodic or permanent housing causing an enormous upswing in residential property prices, beyond the reach of many of the 'local' employees. This, they suggest, was setting the scene for potential conflict between newcomers and long-term residents as long-termers are gradually priced out of the market. Given the importance of tourism in high-mountain areas, it came as no surprise to the authors that most of the jobs in the areas under study were service oriented. Control of housing sprawl and the management of the environment (especially water supply and disposal, and roads) are earmarked as important planning issues associated with amenity migration.

- 84. Lowe, P., Murdoch, J., Marsden, T., Munton, R. & Flynn, A. (1993). Regulating the new rural spaces: the uneven development of land. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 9(3), 205-222.**

New forms of regulation are in place in the British countryside which reflect a shift from agricultural productivism (i.e., the post World War II state-supported model of agricultural development of which the maximisation of food production was the main goal) to a new post-productivist epoch in rural (re) development. In this epoch, the authors argue, both rural development planning and regulation have become 'localised' activities, no longer tied to

national-level 'productivist' agricultural regimes. The new local regulatory environment is producing differentiated rural spaces marked by increasing competition for local resources and an increasing demand for space for a range of non-traditional uses (such as residential living, conservation, recreation and tourism, pluriactivity, growing alternative crops, and retail). This change reflects an emergence of new possibilities for capital accumulation – many of which have resulted from the agricultural crisis – for new social groups to chase their demands in the marketplace and within the political system. The changes in question are also reflected in local planning, particularly as it adapts to the variable pressures for rural diversification and environmental protection.

To highlight the forces which underpin the differentiation process and also the actors involved in driving this change, the authors focus on three land development sectors, namely: minerals, farm building conversion, and golf. The case studies show how the differentiation of rural space is being driven by a range of economic, political and social actors. Conceptually, the authors develop the notion of 'arenas of representation'. They focus on two such arenas: the market and regulation. In doing so, they demonstrate that action-in-context is bringing about the uneven development of rural places.

- 85. Lowe, P., Murdoch, J. & Ward, N. (1995). Networks in rural development: beyond exogenous and endogenous models. In J Van der Ploeg & G Van Dijk (Eds.), *Beyond Modernization*. Assen: van Gorcum.**

In this book chapter, the authors argue that rural researchers need to explore the interplay between local and extra-local institutions in explorations of rural and regional development. The chapter is frequently cited in literature examining the 'neo-endogenous' approach to rural (re)development.

# M

86. **Mackay, M. (2004). *Tourism and the Rural Culture Economy in New Zealand: Insights from the Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.**

In this thesis the author shows that increasing tourism and recreation development in the New Zealand countryside can be understood as part of Christopher Ray's (1998) theory of emerging rural culture economies. The thesis has two parts. Part one connects Ray's (1998) theory and Typology of the (Rural) Culture Economy to rural tourism theory. As an outcome of this, "...four dimensions of rural tourism development are identified and described: the commodification of rural culture, identity construction and rural place promotion, local initiatives to support rural tourism growth, and the community response to tourism. The link also leads to the conclusion that tourism is an ideal strategy for rural re-development because it relies on the use of a community's local cultural resources – physical, symbolic and human – 'local' rudiments that ensure the social and economic benefits of tourism stay fixed in the community where the exchange between host and tourist takes place" (2004: ii).

The second part of the study uses qualitative research methods to examine Ray's (1998) rural culture economy theory and typology at one rural location where tourism has recently emerged. The Inner Rural Bays, Banks Peninsula (New Zealand) serves as the case study site. The author discovered that local actors (both old and new residents) had formed a tourism/economic development group which functioned as a forum for constructing a collective vision for local tourism development. Members believed that the group had fostered 'successful' tourism development at the Inner Rural Bays, thereby highlighting the importance of social relationships and social networking as a rural (tourism) cultural economy is formed and maintained. The study results in the development of a rural tourism culture economy typology useful (due to its simplicity) for planners and communities interested in developing rural tourism.

87. **MacKinnon, D. (2002). *Rural Governance and local involvement: assessing state-community relations in the Scottish Highlands*. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 18, 307-324.**

Rural researchers have paid a great deal of attention to new institutional arrangements in rural areas – matters which are often studied under the banner of new 'rural governance'. This type of governing involves input and participation from a multitude of actors drawn from the public, private and voluntary sectors – or more generally 'the community' – to best foster local development. "The development of these new forms of governance opens up a series of research questions regarding the dynamics of local-central relations, the operations of multi-agency partnerships, the changing relationships between key interest groups, the formation of economic strategies, and the scope for community involvement and local 'empowerment'" (p.307). In this paper the author examines the relationship between new local 'governance' agencies – in this case Local Enterprise Companies (LECs) which aim to provide local solutions for local problems – and rural communities, asking the question: how is governing through community played out on the ground? Evidence is derived from a review of three partnership initiatives in action in communities in the Scottish Highlands. The author finds that when in partnership with the community, LECs (unelected local agencies established by the state in place of development boards) provide not local empowerment, but limited empowerment to selected local actors. Moreover, he notes that these arrangements are clearly not partnerships of equals "...since the balance of power is weighted towards the LEC side of the relationship. In this context, the level of 'control' exercised by LECs is rooted in the professional expertise and financial resources derived from wider circuits of government which they operate within" (p.321). In terms of theory, the author adopts a governmentality perspective thereby connecting the recent work on community participation and empowerment, to wider shifts in the nature of government.

88. **Marsden, T. (1995). Beyond agriculture? Regulating the new rural spaces. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 11(3), 285-296.**

Marsden investigates diversifying economic activities in rural places/spaces in Western Europe. He notes the decreasing importance of agriculture in processes of rural change and the emergence of new parameters of uneven development, particularly regulatory regimes concerned with consumptive uses of rural environments and the buoyancy of non-agricultural labour markets. Power networks are formed and reformed, so that regional differentiation becomes both an outcome and a platform for further social struggle and negotiation. A new agrarian question becomes the means by which actors construct and sustain power networks; new actors and the power structures they develop are leading to significant shifts in the differentiation and regulation of rural areas.

89. **Marsden, T. (1998). New rural territories: regulating the differentiating rural spaces. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14(1), 107-17.**

In this article, Terry Marsden argues that as a result of rural restructuring, the countryside (i.e., rural society, space and economy) has become increasingly differentiated – shaped by (1) new sets of power relations at both a local and regional level and (2) a more diverse set of demands being made for the use of rural space (such as for residential development, primary production and multifarious commercial enterprises). In his view, the rural extends far beyond the local i.e., it is a place caught up in a complex mesh of local, regional, national, and international supply chains and networks. In the differentiated countryside, new modes of rural governance and regulatory mechanisms have emerged alongside a new role for the state in which it manages (rather than has power over) the various actors which participate in the practice of governance.

90. **Marsden, T. & Murdoch, J. (1998). Editorial: the shifting nature of rural governance and community participation. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 14(1), 1-4.**

Shifting social and economic forces have substantially altered the way rural areas are governed creating a ‘new topography of political relations’ in the countryside (p.1). In this paper the authors introduce a special issue of the *Journal of Rural Studies* which is devoted to the study of rural governance. The papers stem from two sources, namely: the UK Economic and Social Research Council’s Local Governance Programme attended by rural researchers, and a seminar which examined the changing nature of governance in rural Wales. Marsden and Murdoch emphasise that community, civilian and non-governmental participation is a key aspect of governance – a theme taken up strongly in the papers in this special issue of the journal.

91. **Marsden, T., Murdoch, J., Lowe, P., Munton, R. & Flynn, A. (1993). *Constructing the Countryside*. London: University College London Press.**

This book examines the processes underpinning rural restructuring and their spatially uneven outcomes. The authors also lay the foundations for a new methodological approach to the study of rural change which seeks to connect structural accounts of the rural transition to the practices and behaviour of long-term and new rural residents. To do this, the authors suggest that rural researchers should embrace middle-level concepts which link insights from studies of political economy with individual and rural community agency. The book includes a useful historical analysis of rural restructuring and change – albeit focused on (1) the British experience and (2) the agricultural sector. Perhaps most helpfully, the authors identify an emerging differentiated countryside and attempt to capture the main variations in a four-fold typology (or theoretical framework) of contemporary rural space. The first ‘ideal type’ of rural space they describe is the preserved countryside. This pertains to localities which are located close to major urban areas and where anti-development and preservationist values are strong (generally among large populations of middle class residents who expertly use the political process to hinder development and influence land-use planning processes in their own interests). The second ideal type is the contested countryside. These rural areas usually located away from major urban centres but, owing to their high amenity value, have attracted a good number of residents from the city. While

traditional agricultural interests may still dominate the local political arena in these areas, rural land use developments are often contested by newcomers. These areas are, therefore, marked by an emerging tension between the old and new residents (but with no overall winner). The third type of rural space described is the paternalistic countryside. Control in these areas – which usually comprise large farms – remains firmly in the hands of well-established land-holders; they continue to control local politics and decision-making. These areas are also marked by increasing economic diversification – a response to the crisis in primary production. The activities associated with diversification face little opposition, perhaps because few new-migrants reside in these areas. The fourth and final type is the clientelist countryside. In these very marginal (and usually remote) areas, agriculture and its associated institutions dominate, but their existence generally relies on state support. The rural community's welfare (particularly employment) is also at the core of local politics. Overall, the typology highlights the emergence of a differentiated countryside within which a range of power struggles exist. The tensions mentioned relate to the different visions people have for and of the countryside.

92. **Mather, A. S., Hill, G. & Nijnik, M. (2006). Post-productivism and rural land: cul de sac or challenge for theorization? *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22, 441-455.**

In this paper the authors call for the sharpening of the definition of post-productivism. They suggest that less importance should be placed on material/primary production and more on the provision of environmental services in rural areas (including tourism and recreation). The paper has two main aims: (1) to provide a more focused definition of the term post-productivism and (2) to broaden the post-productivist debate by providing a focus on rural land-use change (i.e., forestry and agriculture) as opposed to its usual application which centres on rural social change. In the paper the authors argue that in the past the concept of post-productivism has been applied too loosely. Despite this, they do not think the term should be abandoned. Rather, they argue that the true value of the conceptual framework may not yet have been realised.

To begin the paper, the authors provide an overview of the debate surrounding the post-productivist transition noting four main features of the debate, namely its: UK focus, agricultural focus, inclusion of fuzzy definitions and myriad characteristics, and dearth of evidence presented. As such, the authors point out both sectoral and geographical narrowness coupled with a vague definition. Next, the authors provide a useful table which presents the main characteristics of the post-productivist era as devised by three key commentators. Upon reviewing these ideas, the authors then summarise their main objections to current academic understandings of post-productivism (most of which stem from their dissatisfaction with the range of different definitions). They ponder the ways in which the definition could be sharpened, suggesting that more emphasis should be placed on non-commodity outputs while keeping in mind the role of primary production. A case study of trends in forestry and agricultural land-use change provides evidence for their argument.

93. **McCarthy, J. (2005). Rural geography: multifunctional rural geographies - reactionary or radical? *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(6), 773-782.**

In this article, James McCarthy, critically reviews current work in rural geography on 'multifunctionality'. The article is divided into six main parts (part one is the introduction). In part two, the author discusses how the notion of multifunctionality is poised to take over from the post-productivism paradigm which dominated rural studies during the 1990s. To provide context, the author summarises the main points of the productivist/post-productivist argument. "Productivist rural landscapes supposedly centred on high-intensity production of a relatively small range of primary commodities. Increasingly, though, demands on rural areas extend beyond such production and include demands for the provision of ecosystem services, amenities and aesthetics, and preservation of cultural landscapes...rural geographers have characterised these trends as shift towards post-productivism" (p.774). McCarthy then outlines recent criticisms of the post-productivist framework i.e., that production is still important and dominant in many rural areas, that the model may not apply outside Western Europe (where it was devised), and that the

notion of a grand shift in the rural sphere is too general and, therefore, fails to capture the many variations of rural change. Multifunctionality is introduced as "...the idea that rural landscapes typically produce a range of commodity and noncommodity use values simultaneously and that policy ought to recognise and protect the entire range of values..." (p.774). The benefit of this interpretation of rural change is discussed.

In part two, McCarthy traces the origins of the term 'multifunctionality' and notes that a genealogy of the idea "...makes clear that it is a product of neoliberal reforms" (p.774). The author also emphasises that the concept of multifunctionality is a positive term because it focuses on the many new outputs of rural places, as opposed to the post-productivist idea that tends to convey the loss of old productive systems and ways of rural life. Moreover, the author notes the more practical uses of the concept for policy makers and planners. In part three, McCarthy examines other geographies of multifunctionality. Here a comparative review of literature (particularly that which has emanated from the UK, Australia and the USA) is presented. 'Preferences, Indicators and Environmental Science' is the title of part four. Here, the author points out that as multifunctionality becomes an applied concept in policy and planning areas (i.e., 'institutionalised'), quantifiable measures (such as environmental quality indicators) will be needed to ensure new public demands for the countryside are being met. These metrics are further discussed. In part five, McCarthy briefly discusses ways by which the concept of multifunctionality has been theorised in recent social science literature. In part six, the conclusion, three main and 'urgent' areas for future research are outlined: (1) better information is needed to ascertain what public preferences are for the countryside, (2) more data is needed on the physical effects of land moving out of primary production and, (3) ethnographic examinations of multifunctionality are needed, especially from the perspective of agricultural producers. The latter, McCarthy argues, will provide robust 'versions' of multifunctionality.

**94. McCarthy, J. (2008). Rural geography: globalizing the countryside. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(1), 129-137.**

James McCarthy reviews recent progress in rural geography. His main focus is on recent literature which has sought to interpret the countryside as a space shaped by globalisation (comprising global forms and global relationships). In doing so he examines the burgeoning literatures associated with amenity migration and also (sub)urbanisation, two phenomena currently taking place in and transforming rural areas all over the world (so much so that some authors have created new descriptive terms such as the 'global countryside' see Woods – 2007). He defines amenity migration as: "...the purchasing of primary or secondary residences in rural areas valued for their aesthetic, recreational, and other consumption-orientated use values..." (p.130). He notes that while movements of people to the countryside are not a new thing – people have been visiting the countryside for pleasure for millennia – the current extensification and intensification warrants attention from geographers. What is causing or enabling the intensification of amenity migration? Upon a review of the literature, the author offers the following answers: increasing mobility of elites, rapid growth in incomes of certain urban professionals, loosening of restrictions on foreign ownership of land and property, the destruction of distance (transportation and communication), and increased circulation of the representation of prized rural landscapes (all of which have resulted in the emergence of a global market for a small number of rural landscapes meeting the requisite criteria – particularly those adjacent to protected natural areas and former farming regions where large land tracts are able to be purchased). How should we understand or investigate amenity migration and associated phenomena? The author suggests that we must look at the widely circulating imaginaries, meanings and performances which are coded as rural and which likely underpin demand for (and to some extent organise the production and use of) particular rural landscapes. In essence then the author argues that such change is underpinned by the strength of the rural idyll (such as the desire for a detached home, green open space and closeness to nature). McCarthy does point out, however, that the urban is always in the

background; those rural areas that fit the requisites and are close to urban settings are more likely to feel the impact of migration.

McCarthy highlights areas of work on the effects of amenity migration and the globalising of the countryside more generally. He identifies that little work has been done on the ecological effects of amenity migration which are likely to be profound (changing patterns of land use, land cover, and water use, changing mixes of species through planting or stopping and starting hunting or fishing). Social impacts have been of interest – such as the likelihood of increasing property values which may drive out those who rent their accommodation and also the formation of new social relationships rural spaces. Materials aspects of change have also been touched upon, such as new forms of housing and mixes of retail and service providers. In many instances, academics have held negative views – i.e., bad for the environment and bad for the ‘social’ – nevertheless the author suggests we may be entering a new era of rural stewardship as many new rural migrants have high environmental values.

95. **McGranahan, D. A. (1999). Natural Amenities Drive Rural Population Change. *Agricultural Economic Report No. 781*. Washington: Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.**

In this paper the author develops a natural-amenities index (essentially an effort to quantify natural amenities nationwide). The index’s indicators include climate, topography and water area. The author uses the index to empirically explore the possibility of a correlation between rural population growth and high amenity value locations. The author finds a marked correlation between high amenity scores and high population growth, and vice versa. Recreational counties also scored highly on the index, as did popular retirement locations. As such, a counties index score was able to predict that area’s rate of in-migration.

96. **Milbourne, P. (2007). Re-populating rural studies: migrations, movements and mobilities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23, 381-386.**

In this short paper, Milbourne looks at how researchers have written about rural population change. Milbourne notes that place-based accounts of rural population change have tended to examine transformations based on the dualisms between local and incomer, or insider and outsider. Other narratives, he argues, have heavily emphasised life-style led or voluntary movements of middle-class groups to the countryside and related socio-cultural conflicts (which are not always supported by statistics). Milbourne suggests that more care is needed in interpretation so as not to make broad generalisations from these situated, place-based studies. He notes a lack of critical attention given to processes of international migration and rural areas, which perhaps have more to do with economics than life-style. The obvious case here is of low-income international migrant countries moving to rural areas to work in low-wage sectors of the rural economy. The author also notes that little attention has been directed towards new and emergent forms of ‘international’ rural spaces, characterised by national identities and hybrid cultures. Milbourne also notes that in many rural areas there remains a significant flow of young people out of the area, and questions why this has not featured in the research. According to Milbourne, longer term narratives of rural population change are also missing from the research literature (most studies focusing instead on present or recent changes). Milbourne argues further that it is important to account for spatial complexity i.e., while there has been population growth in some areas, there has been population loss in others. He also suggests that studies of short-distance rural migration (re-locations) would also be a legitimate area on enquiry. He is critical of recent approaches for their lack of engagement with recent discourses/theories of mobilities. He is also concerned that those who have engaged in the study of rural population change have failed to see that it is more than just the movement of people, but also reflects something of the shifting meanings of rural places and ruralities. Milbourne suggests that there is a need to combine different methods to reveal the true nature and complexities of the phenomenon.

97. **Mitchell, C. J. A. (2004). Making sense of counterurbanisation. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20, 15-34.**

For the last 30 years in America, rural population growth (and eras of decline) in developed countries has received a great deal of scholarly attention. A plethora of articles have resulted, in which numerous terms have been coined to explain this migratory phenomenon, the most notable of which is 'counterurbanisation.' In this paper, the author argues that despite this term's recurrent use, it has not been applied consistently thereby resulting in a degree of definitional messiness which has made it difficult to compare and contrast population studies and to understand the phenomenon more generally. Some researchers have, for example, viewed counterurbanisation as a migratory movement towards rural or non-metropolitan areas which are either unspecified or ill-defined (e.g., adjacent to the city, remote or somewhere in between in the settlement hierarchy). In contrast, others have used it to describe the movement of people to the countryside and often add emphasis to the motives underpinning their shift – often lifestyle related – by asking the question, what leads people to the rural? For others, it is a process of change that sees the settlement pattern move from a concentrated to deconcentrated state. Given this array of definitions (and also different ways of measuring counterurbanisation), the author argues that it is likely that a single word is insufficient to capture the complexity of rural re-population. In the paper, the author attempts to add clarity by arguing for the use of three interrelated concepts to describe the changing spatial redistribution of the population in non-metropolitan areas, namely: (1) 'counterurban' – a pattern of population distribution that is deconcentrated, or, put more simply, refers to small numbers of people being distributed in different settlements. This is the 'thing' that must be explained, (2) 'counterurbanising' – a process of change whereby a settlement system is transferred from a concentrated to deconcentrated state. This is the process underpinning the manifestation of the counterurban, and (3) counterurbanisation – a more general term to describe one type of migration pattern – a downward migration movement, rather than a pattern or process.

98. **Moon, O. (2002). The countryside reinvented for urban tourists: rural transformation in the Japanese muraokoshi movement. In J. Hendry & M. Raveri (Eds.), *Japan at Play: The Ludic and the Logic of Power*. London: Routledge.**

This chapter provides a rare English language account of contemporary rural change in Japan. The author draws attention to the transformation of the Japanese countryside as it is increasingly arranged to facilitate new consumption-based activities (such as tourism). In Japan, this change is often referred to as muraokoshi or 'the village revitalisation movement'. Similar to events in rural Europe, North America and the Australasia, the author reports that Muraokoshi surfaced in Japan during the 1970s as a consequence of "...decaying rural conditions...[and was described as]...self-help efforts initiated by those living in the countryside to revitalise their economy and society (2002: 228). The author suggests that muraokoshi developed robustly in rural Japan when local rural people realised that anything rural could, in theory, be commodified, including their history and culture. Consequently, rural communities in Japan employed regional character and culture as local attractions for visitors and connected this (through a variety of endogenous strategies) to a myriad of (re)invented 'local' rural tourism products. The outcome is encapsulated in the chapter's title – The Countryside Reinvented for Tourists.

99. **Morris, C. & Evans, N. (1999). Research on the geography of agricultural change: redundant or revitalised? *Area*, 31(4), pp. 349-358.**

During the 1980s, agricultural geography was revitalised as geographers began to apply political economy ideas in their studies of agrarian and rural change (hitherto, interest in rural affairs was waning among academics). While political economy perspectives (which centred on agricultural production and changing food-systems/food-markets) quickly came to dominate discourses of agrarian change and also made a significant contribution to the rural knowledge base, the authors argue that behind the scenes a range of 'other' research streams began to emerge which brought marked diversity to the study of the contemporary countryside, for example: the evolution of agrarian policy, post-productivism, and people, culture and animals. The authors review these



different approaches and then offer suggestions for the future study of the rural. These opportunities for research are evidence that the ‘geography of agricultural change’ – as a field of study – is far from redundant.

In the paper the authors focus in on post-productivism – a major conceptualisation of agrarian change which developed in rural studies during the early 1990s. They argue that the concept first emerged to capture changes in agricultural policy where the emphasis on agricultural (i.e., food) production shifted towards broader rural development and environmental goals. The authors argue that over time, the post-productivist research agenda has moved through three key stages. Firstly, early proponents of post-productivism used the term – somewhat conveniently – to acknowledge the farm-level response to rural restructuring in terms of their production activities. During the late 1990s, academics became more concerned with identifying the key characteristics of post-productivism. The authors review this literature and identify 5 main characteristics of post-productivism: (1) “a shift in emphasis away from quantity towards quality in food production”, (2) the proliferation of non-traditional farm enterprises (or ‘pluriactivity’), (3) changes in policy which promote and support sustainable farming, (4) “the growing environmental regulation of agriculture”, and (5) the rolling back of state support for the agricultural sector. The authors note that the debate has more recently shifted to ‘process-orientated theorisation’ i.e., debates about the timing and exact nature of the transition.

The authors suggest that post-productivism debates could be sharpened by applying notions of structured coherence or post-Fordism. Moreover, the authors state that there has been little debate as to the usefulness of the conceptual division between productivism and post-productivism. Moreover, they dispute the idea that productivism has faded away by arguing that food-production is still a central part of farm activity (despite the obvious shift in policy towards sustainable farming and environmental protection). Upon noting other shortfalls in the conceptualisation of post-productivism – the authors do agree that since the 1980s, a wide array of non-food productive activities have emerged in past agricultural spaces. They question, however, the idea that a complete transition has occurred. Instead they consider that post-productivism might be a ‘myth’ – a controversial idea that could act as the driving force of future debates.

**100. Morris, C. & Evans, N. (2004). Agricultural turns, geographical turns: retrospect and prospect. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20, 95-111.**

This paper argues that while it may seem that the ‘culture turn’ in rural geography is mostly focused with non-agricultural concerns – agricultural geography is more culturally informed than it might first appear. As evidence, the authors highlight four areas of agricultural geography which have drawn on cultural perspectives: representations of agriculture, nature-society relations, heterogeneous agri-cultures and enculturating the agri-food economy.

**101. Moss, L. A. G. (Ed.) (2006a). *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures*. UK: CABI.**

This book comprises a diverse collection of international case studies on amenity migration, with a particular – but not exclusive – focus on the movement of people to mountainous areas for settlement (the case studies taken from five continents and a wide spectrum of cultures, climates and ecologies). The book’s theme is part of a larger discussion about migration from metropolitan to rural areas, focused on the attraction of the natural environment, a pattern of migration that can include retirees and second home owners. In the introductory chapter (Moss, 2006b) provides an excellent introduction to the topic area (including the perceived benefits and threats), while a concluding chapter ties together the main themes of the book. Overall, the book addresses the central issues of amenity migration and its management, the relationship between amenity migration and tourism, and also what is termed ‘economic migration’. Chapters 1 (Moss, 2006b), 4 (Nelson, 2006), 19 (Buckley et al, 2006) and 20 (Hall, 2006) of this book are reviewed elsewhere in this bibliography.

102. Moss, L. A. G. (2006b). *The amenity migrants: ecological challenge to contemporary Shangri-La*. In L. A. G. Moss (Ed.), *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures* (pp.3-25). UK: CABI.

Moss begins this chapter by introducing the reader to the central theme of the book: amenity migration in mountain regions. While a complex phenomenon, Moss begins with a simple definition: “the migration to places that people perceive as having greater environmental quality and differentiated culture” (p.3). He argues that while amenity migration is most obvious in accessible areas of developed countries, it also occurs in remote and less exploited mountain areas of the world – places they are now ‘premier destinations’ (p.15). Moss also suggests that while environmental motives clearly underpin amenity migration, other motives are tangled up in this migratory pattern such as economic gain, personal safety and the pursuit of a ‘simpler existence’ in rural places i.e., migration for socio-cultural as well as economic reasons.

Moss links the origins of the amenity migration concept to a general interest in the causes and consequences of renewed rural growth in the 1970s. It was not, however, until the mid-1990s that Moss developed his preliminary amenity migration construct – although he notes that unbeknown to him the term ‘amenity migration’ was employed by Sofranko and Williams (1980) in a study which explored reasons for rural migration to a North Central region of the US mid-west – involving the movement of (1) ‘amenity migrants’ and (2) job seekers, the former moving to improve their ‘quality of life’. Moss notes that most research on amenity migration has been carried out in the USA and has focused on the attraction of, and impacts on, the rural natural environment/resources. Comparatively, few studies have explored socio-cultural aspects. For clarity, Moss (pp.8-9) provides useful definitions for both environmental amenities and cultural amenities:

“Environmental amenities are the valued natural physical attributes of a place, including terrestrial and aquatic landscapes, distinguishing topographical features, climate, air, water and biodiversity quality and quantity. Cultural Amenities are tangible and intangible manifestations of human groups considered culturally valuable by either their originators or others. Tangible manifestations are artefacts, including the built or significantly altered natural environment. At the more visually perceivable end of an intangibility continuum are the performing arts, spectacles and rites, and toward the other end are audible language, gestures and other shared constructs, such as aesthetic and organisational paradigms.”

These definitions are followed by a discussion of the motives for engraving in amenity migration, including: the attraction of superior environment and differentiated culture, leisure, learning and spiritual opportunities afforded in rural/mountainous areas, and the opportunity for economic gain. The key facilitators of amenity migration – which are part of what the author calls the ‘Late Modern Political-Economy’ – are also discussed, including: discretionary time and wealth, access-facilitating technology, comfort/convenience amenities (available to the middle-to upper-income urban dweller such as libraries, paved roads, hospitals etc) and energy costs. Moss also discusses the difficulty in defining amenity migration, given its close association with tourism and second home ownership.

Moss sketches out some of the effects of amenity migration. He begins with an overview of the key cultural and economic effects. Here, he suggests that because most amenity migrants come from the city they can: ‘upset old rhythms’ and change local values, norms and behaviour, thereby creating a new and complex social milieu comprising conflict or collaboration, convergences or alliances (such as new relations between farmer and environmentalist, or community groups fighting for or against growth and development). Detrimental effects can be heightened by the impermanence of amenity migration i.e., in-migrants can be part-time residents or might leave because their expectations weren’t met or the area changed after their arrival (possibly due to the behaviour of other amenity migrants). In sum they lack commitment or attachment to their new (albeit temporary) place of residence. Amenity migrants are often more wealthy than local residents too, and therefore, have more purchasing power than locals – another catalyst for

tension. Local displacement can also occur as the price of goods and services increase with their presence – particularly real estate prices which can increase phenomenally. The amenity migrants might also assume greater control over resources than locals, done by drawing on their more extensive social networks and political-economic connections with the outside world. The in-migrants might even enter the local political arena. The effects are not all negative, as Moss points out. Amenity migration can create wealth and jobs, and that outmigration might be reduced by new employment opportunities. Improved infrastructure and services might also manifest in places where amenity migrants congregate.

Moss also discusses the principal biophysical (ecosystem and landscape) effects of amenity migration in mountain areas. Soil, water and air degradation are clearly a concern, especially as populations grow in remote areas and housing developments appear in fragile environmental areas (although this is not so in places where regional governments have managed to exert some control over development). Moss ends the chapter with a discussion relating to the planning for and management of amenity migration.

**103. Murdoch, J. (2003). Co-constructing the countryside: hybrid networks and the extensive self. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country Visions* (Chapter 15). United Kingdom: Pearson Education Limited.**

In this book chapter, the heterogeneous qualities of the contemporary countryside are discussed by Jonathon Murdoch (2003); he uses actor network theory to interpret the countryside as a ‘hybrid’ zone comprising multifarious associations between a broadening range of people and their visions and interests, landscape processes, amenities, technologies and other non-human objects. Murdoch (2003) argues that – in a rural context – Actor Network Theory usefully highlights the crucial interplay between ‘social’, ‘technical’ and ‘natural’ entities in the ‘co-construction’ (as he calls it) of the countryside. “The discourse of hybridity” he argues “...is a response to this ‘mixing up’ of things and people in rural processes and events” (Murdoch, 2003, p.279) and works to bridge discussions of rural *natures* with those on the *social* construction of the countryside. In his conclusion he writes:

“The countryside, then, is composed by heterogeneous actors – viruses, mutant proteins, conservative philosophers, farmers, fields, counter-urbanisers, and so on. Yet, despite this heterogeneous composition, it is still possible to talk social constructions of the countryside, just as it is still possible to discuss rural natures. It would be foolish to argue that such words no longer have any utility in making sense of rural arrangements...it has merely been suggested that another perspective might be added to the repertoire – hybridity...the countryside is multiple and therefore requires multiple modes of understanding...In short, while any particular vision of the countryside will continue to focus upon social forms, natural entities or even hybrid objects, it will also need to be aware of the interrelationships that exists between these realms if it is to fully capture the full range of processes currently running through rural areas” (Murdoch, 2003, p.279-280).

**104. Murdoch, J. & Marsden, T. (1994). *Reconstituting Rurality: Class, Community and Power in the Development Process*. London: University College London Press.**

This book builds on previous work by the authors (Marsden et al, 1993 – Constructing the Countryside) which has investigated the recent and ongoing social and economic restructuring of rural Britain. In this book the authors interpret how particular rural localities are being remade under the new social and economic conditions and also through the activities of local agents – an approach which bridges notions of structure and agency.

# N

105. **Nelson, P. B. (2006). Geographic perspective on amenity migration across the USA: national-, regional- and local-scale analysis. In L. A. G. Moss (Ed.), *The Amenity Migrants: Seeking and Sustaining Mountains and their Cultures* (pp. 55-72). UK: CABI.**

The link between amenity and migration is a fascinating and complex area of research, one which (to date) has been dominated by economic perspectives. In this chapter, however, the author attempts to move beyond hegemonic economic perspectives, to include an understanding of the relationship between the environmental and socio-cultural dimensions of place and migration. In this context, the author: examines how amenity migration has changed over the last twenty years in the USA, illustrates how patterns of amenity migration might vary across and within regions, and describes the various dimensions of ‘amenity’ as defined by the amenity migrants themselves. The paper begins with a broad overview of the topic area. Here, Nelson argues that amenity migration is underpinned by (1) recent economic restructuring and associated changes in the nature of employment (such as the growth of the service economy and the decline of manufacturing jobs) and (2) demographic changes, especially the aging population (for whom the decision to migrate to rural areas increases with age). Nelson notes that there has been a great deal of scholarly attention given to the renaissance of rural areas during the 1970s and also the ‘rural rebound’ after a short period of population decline during the 1980s. Nelson notes that most of this attention failed to consider the attractiveness of amenities, with the notable exception of work carried out in the western USA’s Rocky Mountain Counties which experienced exploding growth rates during the 1990s. Here, a decline in extractive industries was met by rapid economic growth based on tourism and commercial recreation and ‘quality of life’ industries (including the amenity migration and retirement sectors).

Against this contextual backdrop, the author presents some empirical analysis including a macro-scale quantitative analysis of amenity migratory flows over time and space in the USA, an analysis of amenity migration patterns within various regions, and the results of interviews with the amenity migrants themselves. To begin, however, they quantify natural amenities (while recognising that this is fraught with issues given the subjective nature of the task). They turn to largely agreed upon characteristics that together comprise a pleasant natural environment including mild climates, presence of surface water and topographic variation. The author notes that the US Department of agriculture has used these characteristics to create an amenity index for each county (measuring endowments of natural amenities). The author draws on this data for quantitative analysis and concludes that (1) amenity is an important predictor of migratory flows, (2) that amenity migration is usually regionally differentiated (some regions showing consistent growth over the last 20 years, others showing recent growth), and (3) that – from the migrants’ point of view – socio-cultural amenities (such as sense of place and adequate social capital) are very important factors in the decision to migrate. Nelson suggests that while quantitative analysis is useful for identifying/classifying environmental amenity areas and mapping migratory flows to these locations, the socio-cultural aspects of amenity are more difficult to quantify, and therefore, he recommends that researchers employ a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods in their future studies.

106. **Newell, J. (1992). *New Zealand Regional Rural Diversity, Part One: A 1986 Profile. MAF Technical Policy Paper 92/14. Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, New Zealand.***

This report – which was prepared for MAF in their bid to ensure “adequate access to basic services for rural communities” – highlights rural regional diversity and the nature of rural communities in New Zealand in 1986 (and also some comparison with 1991 census information). The report maps out the differences that exist between rural locales in different regions of the

country – contrasts which relate to the differing economic and social fabric of each small rural community. Owing to the marked diversity within many rural regions, the author recommends that policies and service structures devised for regional New Zealand must take account of local differences so that they match local service needs and priorities. The author also notes that while some regions are homogenous, other regions are sharply diverse – but national and even regional level statistics, it is warned, mask this local diversity. Therefore, MAF is advised to consider local characteristics. Data is primarily gathered from the Census of Population and Dwellings 1986 and 1991 – population is the main stream of data used for the report. Some statistics from the 1988 and 1991 business directories are presented also. In general, the report presents a New Zealand wide analysis of the census data as it relates to rural regions. It includes information on population density, rural economy and employment, the importance of agriculture and manufacturing and the rural service sector in each region, population structure and dynamics, and other socio-cultural characteristics including changes in the Maori population base, income levels, and household composition.

**107. Ni Laoire, C. (2007). The ‘green green grass of home’? Return migration to rural Ireland. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23, 332-344.**

In an attempt to move beyond the orthodoxies of counterurbanisation, Ni Laoire highlights the complexities of rural in-migration processes through study of return rural migration in Ireland. The study is based on life narrative interviews with some of the 1980s generation of Irish emigrants who, having spent a large part of their lives living in large metropolitan areas in the US and the UK – have, since the early 1990s, returned to Ireland to reside in the countryside. These narratives of return are explored through ideas of rurality, the rural idyll and sense of belonging. The author argues that while ‘classic’ dimensions of counterurbanisation were evident in their stories (i.e., middle-class migration driven by ideas about the rural idyll and lifestyle opportunities, and local tensions between old and the new residents) these elements are mixed with very important notions of family and kinship ties, and childhood memories and familiarity with a setting. The notion of the return migrant therefore challenges the classic local versus incomer dualism so often looked at in counterurbanisation studies. Return immigrants feel at home, but also feel as though they are somewhere new and strange; they are positioned between local and newcomer. The paper highlights the complex nature of rural repopulation processes by showing that it involves both new in-migration and return migration and that the results are more complex than the traditional local-incomer dualism might suggest, i.e., out-moving groups may return.



108. **O'Meara, P., Prendergast, C. & Robinson, A. (2007). Grassroots community engagement: the key to success in a community building program. *Rural Society*, 17(2), 155-164.**

In rural Australia, governments are allocating resources to communities in an effort to promote sustainable development across social, economic and environmental fronts. A key project funded for this purpose was The Gippsland Community Building Program in rural communities in Victoria. A model of governance was devised for the program and a facilitator was appointed for each community. An external evaluation was undertaken to analyse its impact in the communities (indicators of the effectiveness were measured across citizen participation, community structure and development instruments). Results of the evaluation showed that the governance structures were especially important, but that the project was affected by the characteristics of the community, the design of the project and the facilitator's role. Providing a model of governance which encouraged inclusive local grassroots ownership of the projects was viewed as central to success.

109. **O'Toole, K. (2006). Community governance in rural Victoria: rethinking grassroots democracy. *Rural Society*, 16(3), 303-319.**

The author examines the impact of the withdrawal of traditional governance structures – i.e., local government – drawing on the experience of rural Victoria Australia. O'Toole notes that the amalgamation of local governments in Australia has created space within which local community associations have surfaced through which local participation in governance is said or thought to be possible. O'Toole questions whether or not these new institutions offer local citizens real opportunities for democratic participation and also if they provide all the benefits of so-called new governance. The author notes that while these groups often reproduce power relations in rural towns they do – by working alongside and with local councils – create a more enhanced form of local governance.

110. **O'Toole, K. & Burdess, N. (2004). New community governance in small rural towns: the Australian experience. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20, 433-443.**

In rural Australia, local citizens, groups and organisations (public, private and voluntary) have attained greater responsibility for social service provision and also in assuring the social and economic well-being (sustainability) of their community. Indeed overtime, the state in Australia has promoted this form of governance, evidence of which can be seen in policy instruments which are infused with notions (or the rhetoric at least) of social capital, partnerships and community building etc. Under such regimes, rural communities are left to find their own solutions to local issues and resolve their own unique problems. A variety of programmes (at both national and local level) have been introduced in Australia to assist rural communities; the goal of these programmes is to stimulate participation and to enhance a community's capacity to act. As such, a mode of self-governing has emerged which is being 'steered' by higher levels of governance. Resultantly, the authors suggest, we might be witnessing the re-emergence of community.

Following local government amalgamations (and municipal restructuring), many small rural communities in Australia lost local government offices, resources, services and also their sense of autonomy. Since, a variety of local development groups have emerged – some new, others long established organisations but with: (1) an enhanced focus on generating collective benefits for the community and (2) a more diverse set of objectives (i.e. they are not just promoting the interests of local farmers). These community groups are viewed as part of a broader change of governance in Australia; the outcome of: (1) a minimal state philosophy and (2) a desire among local people to ensure their small communities remain viable.

The authors of this (primarily descriptive) paper examine how community groups/organisations operate when local government structures are withdrawn. Primary data were collected from face-to-face interviews with community groups in Victoria – each group involved in some form of self-governing which was aimed at generating positive benefits for their community. In doing so, the authors uncover the various processes and structures which underpin community governance. They find, in many cases, that local private, public and voluntary actors have come together in an effort to replace what was lost when their local government and local services were taken away. Despite having no legally constituted democratic base, they found that the rural groups focused their energy on deriving positive social and environmental outcomes; in this pursuit, many having adopted the position of advocate in other levels of government, a position that (hitherto) was the role of their local council. The groups, they discover however, often lack resources, legitimacy and assured funding (and as such they must raise funds). The authors note that some community groups do gain legitimacy over time, particularly when they integrate themselves with local government and are subsequently recognised by the council. More independent groups, they find, act more like pressure groups. They authors believe that without the efforts of the community groups, many of the small rural towns would not survive.

# P

111. **Panelli, R., Otilie S. & Bedford, R. (2003). The reinvention of Tirau: landscape as a record of changing culture and economy. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 43(4), 379-400.**

This article connects with academic literature concerned with the transformation of rural places as consumption based activities, such as recreation and tourism, become more prevalent in the countryside. In a comprehensive review of the literature, the authors (who are geographers) note that while many recent accounts of rural change and culture economies provide good evidence of new and emerging rural economies – particularly those built on the commodification of a local/territorial identity and cultural markers – they often fail to incorporate analyses of changing landscapes and/or rural townscapes (i.e., the built environment). The authors suggest that “...further attention to the analysis of landscapes can provide additional avenues for documenting and interpreting rural change” (p.379).

To make their point, the authors provide an account of the social, economic and landscape changes in Tirau, a small rural town in the North Island of New Zealand. The case study is presented in two parts, the authors suggesting that each part be imagined as scenes in a play – while the theatre within which this change has occurred can be viewed as the landscape. Part one, or ‘scene one’, reviews the town’s immanent decline during the 1980s as government bouts of economic restructuring destabilised the community’s traditional agricultural foundations. Part two, or ‘scene two’, focuses on the town’s subsequent recovery. It is reported that the local community, (a mixture of long-term and new residents), consciously transformed Tirau from an agricultural service centre to a destination for consumption based activities, such as tourism and recreation. Importantly, the transformation did not mean the end of the community’s rural heritage. Rather, the construction of a large corrugated iron statue of a sheep and farm dog became symbols/icons/markers of the town’s new rural/agricultural (tourism) identity. Primarily, these new and important features of the town’s built environment were erected to prompt tourists to stop, stay and spend. Throughout the article the authors connect with and critique Ray’s (1998) conceptualisation of the rural culture economy.

112. **Pawson, E. & Scott, G. (1992). The regional consequences of economic restructuring: the West Coast, New Zealand (1984-1991). *Journal of Rural Studies*, 8(4), 373-386.**

This article examines implications for rural localities after the New Zealand governments mid 1980s “...response to crisis under global capitalism” (p.383). The government response (of free market policy development) sought to favourably reposition New Zealand in the emerging global economy. The authors – who are geographers – note that while the government had national interests in mind, the resulting bouts of economic restructuring and deregulation were “...carried out without consideration of the impacts of policy on people in places, whose interests were assumed to coincide with the ‘national interest’” (p.373). In the paper, the author’s attempt “...to bring home the human meaning of restructuring” (p.373) by assessing the impact and outcomes of state led restructuring and deregulation on people in specific (rural) places.

The paper has four main parts. Part one provides context for the study. Here, New Zealand’s ‘economic crisis’ and following era of economic reform are described in detail – including coverage of the events leading up to the restructuring. Part two discusses the role of ‘place’ within the restructured economy. For the authors, places are especially relevant because “...they are ‘meeting places’ of networks of interdependent local, national and global forces” (p.375). Here, the case study region is introduced. The case study was conducted on the West Coast: a remote rural area of New Zealand’s South Island. At the time of restructuring, the West Coast was heavily reliant on extractive activities (such as coal mining and forestry) and state sector employment, which hitherto, had been “...shielded by extensive levels of state investment...”



(p.383). In 1987, as part of the restructuring, state investment was withdrawn, leading to a loss of employment across the state sector. Part three examines the impact of the restructuring and corporatisation including the emergence of low wage and insecure employment and the closure of businesses. Part four examines the local population's response to the apparent extra-local forces of change. On the West Coast the response was characterised by intense local protests against relevant government decisions and policy. This very unique local/social response – one of resistance to restructuring – highlights "...the difference that place makes" (p.383). In their conclusion, the authors discuss the options that rural regions (such as the West coast) who are recovering from the impact of restructuring have "...to maintain material well-being" (p.383). They suggest that local authorities must work to attract new forms of investment from outside the region while also supporting new locally owned and operated non-traditional rural enterprises (such as tourism).

In sum, the paper shows that to comprehensively understand the rural response to restructuring, one must consider: the complex interaction of global, national and local forces, how these interrelate and impact differently in specific places, and how local populations are likely to respond differently. In other words, the paper demonstrates that the outcomes of restructuring must be considered in relation to local conditions such as: the traditional economic base and the nature of the community. Finally, the authors call for more research at the scale of community and household "...in order to test the model of 'enterprise' upon which the state now relies to counter disinvestment" (p.373).

- 113. Perkins, H. C. (2006). Commodification: re-resourcing rural areas. In P. Clarke, T. Marsden & P. H. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of Rural Studies* (Chapter 17, pp.243-257). London: Sage Publications Ltd.**

The central argument of this chapter is that commodification is an integral part of the re-resourcing of rural areas. It works itself out in myriad ways across the globe as capital seeks to accumulate and interacts with national and international regulatory arrangements and local production and consumption practices. In this process particular interconnected and overlapping forms of rural commodity are maintained, adapted and created, and so therefore, are rural landscapes, productive processes, technologies, social arrangements, activities and practices. Consequently, the meaning of the rural is also continually changing for residents, visitors and those who view it from afar.

Most obvious among these rural commodity forms are a wide range of products, and these are illustrated using examples of well-established and new agricultural and horticultural commodities; a diverse range of rural settlement types associated with counterurbanisation; short and feature-films incorporating rural landscapes made with the support of regional film commissions and place promoters; and a plethora of recreation and tourism products and activities. These products are integrally linked to commodified forms of production, some of which are well established, but these exist alongside many new ways of doing things. Rural areas are therefore sites in which old and new production practices and technologies are applied, developed and interact with each other. Some of the products and production processes discussed above are closely linked to commodity forms which may best be discussed using the terms attraction and experience. The sale of new and 'boutique' foods and beverages, often at the point of production; the diversification in patterns of counterurbanisation; and providing a significant array of commercial rural recreation and tourism opportunities are based on the re-making of the rural as a set of places which are attractive to those with money to spend on consumption goods and fashionable experiences. It follows, therefore, that land and lifestyles are centrally important commodity forms arising from the process of rural commodification. Particular types of rural lifestyle are available for purchase by those who can afford to do so. Land, perhaps the most basic of rural commodities, and the lifestyles of the people who live on it, or who visit it irregularly, are also subjected to a variety of material and symbolic forces as land is marketed, exchanged, subdivided, regulated, landscaped, ploughed, fertilised, planted, built on and fought over. The changing

meaning of the rural and the ways people make a living in rural areas is intimately tied up with the ways these forces work themselves out.

**114. Phillips, M. (2005). Differential productions of rural gentrification: illustrations from North and South Norfolk. *Geoforum*, 36, 477-494.**

Rural geographers should pay more attention to the process of 'gentrification' in their analyses of rural change. The author suggests that, hitherto, gentrification theory has mainly been used to explain an 'urban' phenomenon – but that the theory has value for rural commentators attempting to understand the processes underlying residential property development in the countryside, rural demographic change and rural building conversion. In the authors words, "...gentrification involves the refurbishment of residential properties and an accompanying change in social composition, ideas which can be seen to circulate in the discursive spaces of both urban and rural gentrification studies, although they have arguably been much more explicitly and extensively circulated in the former" (p. 478). While the author acknowledges that some different processes underlie urban and rural gentrification, he outlines many useful theoretical and empirical connections. Case studies conducted in North and South Norfolk are presented to show how rural places and landscapes are susceptible to, or are being prepared for rural gentrification.

**115. Pini, B. (2006). A critique of 'new' rural local governance: the case of gender in a rural Australian setting. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22, 396-408.**

Since the mid-1990s, rural researchers in Western countries have written a great deal about the changing nature of rural government and the shift towards governance. The author notes, however, that within this now vast literature, gendered aspects of new rural governance are noticeably absent. The author tackles the issue head on, finding that in one small-town/rural setting in Australia, males dominate a 19 member institution charged with local development. The author thus suggests that while there is a lot new about the contemporary rural governance setting, the traditional hegemonic views of local male actors might still dominate in the rural policy-making arena. As such, the author calls for more attention to be paid to gender divisions in the new era of rural governance.

**116. Press, D. & Newell, J. (1994). New Zealand Regional Rural Diversity, Part Two: Rural Change 1986-1991. *MAF Technical Policy Paper 94/14*. Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, New Zealand.**

The purpose of this report was to provide information to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries which could help "in meeting the Department's contracted outcome of 'adequate access to basic services for rural communities' and 'an agricultural industry that is confident, self-reliant, profitable, and forward looking'". The main sources of data are the 1986 and 1991 New Zealand Censuses of Population and Dwelling. Much of the data is presented in census tables. The report details changes in the rural population, migration trends, industry employment figures and statistics relating to employment in rural services. Key findings are presented in the following four categories and include:

1) Population: minor urban and rural areas witnessed a smaller increase in population than urban areas reflecting a longer trend of rural urban migration, a marked loss of persons aged between 15-24 in many rural areas, areas reliant on extensive pastoral agriculture or forestry were particularly prone to population decline, areas surrounding/containing major urban zones experienced considerable increases in their population. The author notes that "between 1986 and 1991, large decreases in the minor urban population of the Clutha-Central Otago region followed the wind down of major construction work" (p.x).

2) Migration: "The different migration history of the rural regions is closely associated with changes in regional employment" (p.x), youth need to go to larger urban centres for higher education, high levels of in migration of those aged 30-44, other differences in age groups in relation to migration flows and final destinations/places of residence.

3) Employment: “The period between 1986 and 1991 was one of economy wide restructuring and recession. Rural areas and also minor urban areas lost a considerable number of jobs as a result. Large loss of jobs in manufacturing industries associated with the rural sector were experienced in minor urban areas, while rural areas suffered major job loss resulting from unfavourable trading in traditional sheep, beef and dairy farming industries” (p.xi). Changes in employment were not uniform throughout the regions (some areas did incur gains). Young adults suffered disproportionately in respect to job losses in rural regions/lack of employment opportunities resulting from the recession. Among his summary of findings he states that: (1) “the relative contribution of agriculture and livestock production to total employment in rural areas declined” (p.xi), (2) “rural area job losses were high in forestry and logging, hunting and trapping, and livestock and agricultural production industries” (p.xi), and (3) “the 15-24 and the 40-60 year old age groups suffered a greater loss of jobs than other age groups in rural areas...” (p.xi).

4) Employment in Services: large increases in per capita employment in welfare services and real estate and business services in rural areas, while the Clutha Central Otago had a high level of per capita employment in agricultural services.

In conclusion, the author argues that between 1986 and 1991: (1) rural regions expressed different degrees of change in terms of their population, employment and levels of service provision, (2) rural areas were affected by continued restructuring and deflated agricultural commodity prices (but there was increased employment in the service sectors and the increasing employment of woman in many industries), (3) some areas suffered disproportionately in terms of employment and population, and (4) the data demonstrates “considerable diversity in the characteristics of rural and minor urban areas, and in the changes occurring within them” (p.xiii).

**117. Price, M. F., Moss, L. A. G. & Williams, P. W. (1997). *Tourism and amenity migration*. In B. Messerli & J. D. Ives (Eds.), *Mountains of the World – A Global Priority* (pp.249-280). New York: Parthenon Publishing.**

This book chapter – a seminal piece in the topic area – seeks to (1) define amenity migration (as something very different to tourism), (2) characterise the amenity migrant, (3) explain why amenity migration exists, and (4) describe the major impacts of the movement. Amenity migration – a globally emerging phenomenon – involves the movement of people to remote/rural places in search for natural beauty and cultural diversity. Amenity migration is most marked, therefore, in areas with ‘rich caches’ of environmental/landscape and cultural amenity resources. Climate, clean air, quietness and the desire to flee the stresses of urban life also draw people (amenity migrants) to remote/rural places. The amenity migrants are generally more affluent than local people and, given their non-metropolitan/middle class origins, tend to have urban expectations and very different attitudes. In their new residence the amenity migrants might earn an income full-time, part time or not at all, or conversely, they might be economically active elsewhere. While amenity migrants usually consider themselves residents of an area, their occupancy can be: (1) permanent (i.e., most of the time), (2) seasonal (i.e., for one or more periods during the year, such as for the ski-season), or (3) intermittent (i.e., move among residences more frequently). Conceptually, amenity migration is driven by six factors which coalesce into two dominant societal forces (p.266):

1. Increasing motivation for amenity migration: (i) higher valuing of the natural environment, (ii) higher valuing of cultural differentiations, and (iii) higher valuing of leisure, learning and spirituality.

2. Greater facilitation for amenity migration: (i) increasing discretionary time, (ii) increasing discretionary wealth, and (iii) increasing access through improving and less expensive communications and transportation technology.

The authors discuss some of the major impacts of amenity migration including: an increase in the use of local amenities and basic resources (such as food, water and fuel), pressure on recreational resources (as the amenity migrants generally have a lot of leisure time and enjoy spending this in

the natural environment), cultural/behavioural change, the alteration of traditional/local power relations, and the creation of uncertainty given that amenity migrants are likely to leave swiftly if they witness change (albeit resulting from the actions of other amenity migrants). More positively, the arrival of amenity migrants can spawn new economic development, including a range of new jobs for indigenous local people (although these are often poorly paid). The authors note five issues which complicate the assessment of amenity migration:

1. The differences between tourism and amenity migration are not clear-cut (e.g., both may visit for similar reasons and use the same resources, and both may visit 'frequently').
2. Amenity migration is unevenly distributed through time and space (i.e., one valley influenced more than the next) and, like tourism, is significantly affected by issues of access).
3. Defining the amenity migrant/tourist population is difficult. At its simplest level, both groups comprise (1) those with a similar culture/economic status to the local culture and (2) those with a very different culture and economic status (mostly amenity migrants). The author notes that a continuum between these two categories of migrant is perhaps more appropriate.
4. Statistics are generally very limited on both tourism and amenity migration, particularly in mountainous regions (owing to the fact that the phenomenon is highly dynamic and difficult to characterise).
5. Both need to be conceptualised as part of the restructuring of rural and mountain areas.

# Q, R

118. Radin, B., Agranoff, R., Bowman, A., Buntz, G., Ott, J., Romzek, B. & Wilson, R. (1996). *New Governance for Rural America. Creating Intergovernmental Partnerships*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

In rural America (which is no longer synonymous with family farming), a new model of governance has emerged. The model involves less top-down federal decision/policy making, in favour of a more collaborative policy-/decision-making environment consisting of intergovernmental partnerships, local citizens and locally situated private agencies. Drawing on case study research, the book examines the different ways in which 16 local councils have sought to operate in this, the new rural governance arena.

119. Ray, C. (1997). *Towards a theory of the dialectic of rural development*. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 27(3), 345-362.

In this paper, Christopher Ray spells out the three main characteristics of endogenous rural development. Firstly, this form of development involves the implementation of activities and initiatives which are within geographical areas or territories, (which are generally small in scale), rather than targeted towards different sectors of the economy. Secondly, endogenous rural development involves the use of locally situated resources (both human and physical). This ensures that the benefits of development activities remain in the community. Thirdly, the development initiatives and also the socio-economic well-being of the community rest in the hands of local actors.

120. Ray, C. (1998). *Culture, intellectual property and territorial rural development*. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 38(1), 3-20.

In this paper, Christopher Ray examines the way local places and people have experienced and responded to broader external processes of change by developing (rural) culture economies. The idea of the rural cultural economy was developed to conceptualise and capture details of the “attempt by rural areas to localise economic control – to (re)valorise place through its cultural identity” (p.3). To do this, Ray develops a typology detailing four possible modes (or strategies) available to, and used by rural residents as they seek to create and maintain a rural culture economy. In a later paper he provided the following summary of the typology: “Mode I occurs as action to commoditise a culture through local products or services, or the incorporation of a territorial identity onto a generic product or service. Mode II involves the encapsulation of cultural identity into a strategic image for the territory. Once constructed, this image is then available to raise the visibility of the territory concerned in the wider policy and political arenas. Mode III similarly involves the construction or re-discovery of a culturally based territorial identity but this time the goal is to cultivate a local solidarity within the territory itself...Taken together, modes I, II and III can themselves be thought of as a kind of repertoire of strategic action available to the territory in question. Mode IV of the Culture Economy Typology, however, focuses attention onto the possibility of a range of paths of development... [i.e., participation, coping and resistance]” (see Ray, 1999b, p.526).

121. Ray, C. (1999). *Towards a meta-framework of endogenous development: repertoires, paths, democracy and rights*. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 39(4), 521-537.

The notion of the ‘bottom-up’ approach to sustainable rural (re)development (i.e., community participation in rural decision-making) has become a common topic in rural studies and popular among rural policy-makers who are seeking alternative ways to address rural issues. Despite this growing interest, few rural commentators have theorised the nature of community based rural development in the current and complex era of globalisation (and, in the case of Europe, Europeanisation via the formation of the EU). Ray’s main aim is to fill the gap by constructing a conceptual “meta-framework for the understanding of endogenous development...” (p.522). Ray

argues that endogenous development (characterised by local agency and autonomy) can only be understood properly if it is considered against the backdrop of globalisation and the complex web of extra-local institutions which exist and participate in the rural marketplace and political arena. Drawing on the work of key sociologists such as Giddens, Ray starts with an introduction to globalisation and rural (territorial) development in the European Union. Here, he points out that globalisation is a complex (perhaps unstoppable) process involving both global and local players. With this in mind Ray considers how states (via regulation) and local actors (via agency) might intervene or participate on the ground in the global economic milieu. Ray's main focus is on the European Union which has assumed increasing influence over economic, social and cultural life in member countries via the introduction common policies, regulation and interventions. Ray suggests that since 1988 the European Union has been experimenting with the endogenous development approach through Objective 5b programmes and the LEADER Initiative. Ray works through three key components of his meta-framework, namely: development repertoires and paths, modes of democratic politics, and development rights. In discussion, Ray "...returns briefly to reflect on the nature of territorial agency in the era of globalisation and 'risk society'" (p.522).

- 122. Ray, C. (2000). The EU LEADER programme: rural development laboratory. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40(2), 163-171.**

This paper is the editorial for a special issue of *Sociologia Ruralis* devoted to research examining the EU LEADER Programme and, perhaps more broadly, conceptualisations of endogenous rural development. In the paper, Ray describes the key characteristics of the LEADER programme and provides some background information regarding its inception. As the title suggests, Ray describes LEADER as a laboratory for local/endogenous development, here alluding to the experimentation that takes place as rural communities search for and develop new and innovative pathways for their own local development.

- 123. Ray, C. (2003). *Governance and the neo-endogenous approach to rural development – Part 1: Essay*. ESRC Research Seminar: Rural Social Exclusion and Governance. London, February 2003.**

Rural development policy is shrouded in the rhetoric of 'participation' and 'local context' – the cornerstones of the concept of neo-endogenous development. These ideas have come to light as a result of sociological analysis of the workings of local/rural development, and also from "extrapolating from non-rural contexts and partly through a process of speculation" (p.2). Upon examining the rhetoric surrounding contemporary rural/local development, Ray provides some new directions for rural development research. The essay has three main sections: (1) an outline of the endogenous development approach to rural development, (2) a consideration of the notion of collective territorial action i.e., how economic and socio-cultural actors might work-together in a territorial initiative, and (3) an overview of "the dynamic relations between local territories and their extralocal economic and institutional environments". The critical role of social and human capital in development is emphasised.

- 124. Ray, C. (2006). Neo-endogenous rural development in the EU. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden & P. H. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of Rural Studies* (Chapter 19, pp.278-291). London: Sage Publications Ltd.**

In this book chapter, Christopher Ray summarises progress made by those in the field of neo-endogenous rural development (or NERD). Here, the word endogenous refers to development action driven by local people (in essence 'participatory' development) utilising local resources. The prefix 'neo' refers to the role played by the extra-local and might include the influence and role of national political groups and regulators and inter-regional markets and businesses. Contextually, the chapter focuses on rural development in the EU where the notion of neo-endogenous rural development has mostly been applied. In terms of policy, NERD calls for the introduction of local intervention initiatives over policy which is focused on individual sectors of the rural economy. In essence, the socio-economic well-being of a rural area becomes the responsibility of the people who live there. The economic rationale is that because local resources

are valorised and exploited so that the benefits are retained in the area. This type of development also focuses on the needs, capacities and the views of locals – an ethical ethos underpinned (or made possible) by the principle of local participation.

In the chapter, Ray introduces the sociological theories which underpin the notion of NERD. He traverses the literature on social economy and culture economy which both conceptualise a new and emerging collective mode of production in civil society. He argues that while these ideas elevate the local/community they do not dismiss the logic of modern capitalism. Rather, it is through collective humanistic endeavours that rural communities are able to fully engage with the current globalising capitalist society (i.e., NERD is still capitalist in nature). Ray moves on to explain the (top-down) politico-administrative circumstances which led to the emergence of NERD in official circles. He then connects with theoretical work by Lash and Urry on the relationship between local cultural identity and economic development. This work suggests that a new mode of production-consumption is emerging involving the production and consumption of signs (or the symbolism of goods and services as opposed to their utility value). In rural 'places' this has involved the valorisation and commodification of the countryside and its resources for new (often niche) markets. It has also involved the production of unique place identities which are then connected to a range of new place-products. Indeed for NERD – many initiatives revolve around the creation/maintenance of a local identity.

The remainder of the chapter examines the way in which NERD operates simultaneously on three planes (or scales): intra-territorial, vertical and inter-territorially. The latter is a relatively new area of scholarship and refers to the increasing complexity between rural places as new relationships and forged with nearby regions or places afar. Ray ends the chapter by linking \*Taylor's (1995, 2000 – see below) work on global cities with the inter-territorial component of the neo-endogenous rural development model. NERD, he argues, may enable rural areas to make transnational connections. While optimistic, Ray highlights possible implications including the rise of a rural development market involving competition between rural areas for niche markets and finance. He also suggests that hierarchy might result from this as rural territories endeavour to position themselves higher than others. Alternatively, it may produce new partnerships and solidarity between rural regions. Ray ends by suggesting that rural places could be or are situating themselves as centres of a number of overlapping networks so that they emerge through connectivity – as the rural equivalent of \*Taylor's global city – albeit on a European or much smaller scale.

\*Taylor, P. (1995). Beyond containers: internationality, interstateness, interterritoriality. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19, 1-15.

\*Taylor, P. (2000). World cities and territorial states under conditions of contemporary globalisation. *Political Geography*, 19(1), 5-32.

**125. Rayner, T. (1990). The Seeds of Change. In R. Sandrey & R. Reynolds (Eds.), *Farming without Subsidies: New Zealand's Recent Experience*. Wellington: GP Books.**

In this book chapter the author describes some of the key events leading up to the liberalisation of the New Zealand economy in 1984. The period discussed stretches from the depression (in the 1930s) to the year of major macroeconomic reform in 1984. While the author's main focus is on the importance and performance of the agricultural sector over time and agricultural policy reforms, the chapter is firmly set in the context of broader (and changing) macroeconomic conditions in New Zealand. The author writes that during the 1930s, the New Zealand government responded to the depression by constructing rigid trade barriers which were aimed at restricting the importation of goods, thereby protecting local production activities. After World War II – and throughout the prosperous years of the 1950s – the government kept these protectionist measures in place. While the good health of the New Zealand economy during the 1950s seemed to be a result of these policies, it was also underpinned by profits generated from the commodity price

boom which was associated with the Korean War. After the Korean War, commodity prices fell and quite logically, New Zealand's terms of (global) trade deteriorated. In an attempt to retain the prosperity of the 1950s, the government installed further interventionist measures. For example, during the 1960s, a raft of production grants and subsidies were made available to farmers (including tax schemes, fertiliser subsidies, and loans at below market interest rates). Further government intervention in the economy occurred during the 1970s via the implementation of new policies which were devised to insulate the nation and the agricultural sector from oil price rises and other detrimental macro-economic forces. By the 1980s it became apparent that the protectionist/interventionist system was (1) unsustainable and (2) unsuccessful at alleviating New Zealand's worsening economic crisis. In 1984 the Labour government took power. Roger Douglas was appointed finance minister and rolled out a dramatic liberalisation programme – one which became known as 'Rogernomics'. The programme involved much less state intervention. For the agricultural sector, this meant the dismantling of the supportive structures upon which had survived and prospered for half a century. A detailed summary of the reforms and their timing is presented at the back of the book.

- 126. Roberts, R. (1995). Guest editorial. Agency, regional differentiation and environment in rural conflict and change. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 11(3), 239-242.**

This paper is the editorial for a special issue of the *Journal of Rural Studies* which attempts to bridge the gap between geographical accounts of rural change based on structure and those focused of agency. The papers which are introduced in this opening piece cut across three main themes: (1) the role of agency and power in the transformation of rural places, (2) processes of regional differentiation and regulation in relation to local, national and global forces, and (3) the rise of environmentalism and its role in the tension that has surfaced around new consumption and more traditional production activities in rural spaces. The author provides a useful/concise summary of how the debate over rural change has moved from a concern with structural determinants of change to matters of individual influence and agency (human dimensions of change) – in essence marking the commencement of the structure-agency debate in research on countryside change.

- 127. Robertson, N., Perkins, H. C. & Taylor, N. (2008). Multiple job holding: interpreting economic, labour market and social change in rural communities. *Rural Sociology*, 48(4), 332-350.**

The authors report research which examined the way in which individuals and rural families in New Zealand have (since restructuring in 1984) used 'multiple job holding' to adapt to and create economic and social change. The research was driven by an observation of increasing 'multiple job holding' over the last quarter century in New Zealand generally, but more particularly in rural communities. Through this lens the authors shed new light on the changing nature of economic and social relations in rural places. The changing work and employment configurations in the Ashburton District are detailed in a case study.

- 128. Robinson, M. (1996). Governance. In A. Kuper and J. Kuper (Eds.), *The Social Science Encyclopaedia – 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (pp.347-348). London and New York: Routledge.**

In this short piece, Robinson provides a concise and very useful definition of governance, as it has been used in the social sciences.

- 129. Roche, M. (2005). Rural geography: a borderland revisited. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(3), 299-303.**

In this short paper, Michael Roche reviews past and recent research by agricultural/rural geographers and identifies some new pathways for research. Essentially, the paper is a 'progress report' on rural geography. A major part of his report "...is given over to recording on the basis of US, UK and European evidence the measured views that have now begun to emerge about post-productivist agriculture..." (p.299). Upon a brief review of this literature, Roche concludes (from



a vantage point in New Zealand) "...that much of the discussion about a post-productivist transition in agriculture over the last several years appears of more significance to the UK than elsewhere..." (p.302).

**130. Rudzitis, G. (1999). Amenities increasingly draw people to the rural West. *Rural Development Perspectives*, 14(2), 9-13.**

Past research conducted in rural areas with high amenity value suggest that in-migrants are making the shift to these areas for social and environmental reasons. The studies also show that in-migrants tend to favour environmental protection over the production of primary commodities. Thus, as the author notes, the potential for conflict over resource is a real possibility and is likely to increase overtime as the 'newcomer' population increases.

# S

131. **Salamon, S. (2003). *Newcomers to Old Towns: Suburbanization of the Heartland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

During the 1990s, the number of people living in rural America increased (by more than 3 million) despite the view that many small towns were in serious decline. In this book, the author (an anthropologist) explores community growth looking at the impact that newcomers have had on the social relationships, spaces and community resources of traditional small-town America. Her approach is ethnographic; she presents six case studies of six small towns/communities in central Illinois (American Midwest). Much of the analysis centres round the notion of 'sense of community'. She explores what community means to people living in these places (both newcomers and oldtimers) and the ways in which these people experience it. A typology was devised and used to investigate four specific community dimensions, as understood by newcomers and oldtimers: (1) public place and space, (2) interconnections, (3) social resources, and (4) cross-age relations. She purports that, to evade the homogenising effect of the forces underpinning contemporary countryside change, new rural migrants must work with 'oldtimers' in a bid to preserve the features of the community that first enticed them to reside in the area. In doing so, she highlights the macro-shifts that have created a post-agrarian rural, one which affects the lifestyles and decisions of the people living in these rural places.

132. **Schnell, S. (2003). *Creating narratives of place and identity in Little Sweden, USA*. *Geographical Review*, 93, 1-29.**

In this article, Schnell illustrates how, in Lindsborg (rural Kansas), a rural industry emerged based upon the valorisation and commodification of the town's Swedish ethnic heritage. Schnell suggests that the town's inhabitants were able to evade ensuing rural decline by capitalising on their 'ethnic roots' – a cultural marker that has since become a valuable tool for rural (re)development.

133. **Seymour, S. (2004). 'Community' – based strategies for environmental protection in rural areas: towards a new form of participatory rural governance? In Holloway & Kneafsey, M. (Eds.), *Geographies of Rural Cultures and Societies* (Chapter 11, pp.214-237). England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.**

The purpose of this chapter is to review government and agency-led initiatives which draw on the community to protect rural environments. Drawing on evidence from Australia, England and the United States of America, the author establishes the similarities and differences between some of these approaches. The first difference identified was that in Australia and England where there was less awareness of social differences amongst rural communities; the main focus was on the 'farming community' (despite evidence existing of other socio-economic groupings in the countryside). A collaborative approach was recognised as being the most promising strategy for the future management of countryside environs, including the development of strong links between government, informed agencies and local communities.

134. **Sheridan, A., Piri, B. & Conway, L. (2006). *Modestly staffed and modestly resourced: an exploratory critique of women's entry to rural and regional governance*. *Rural Society*, 16(3), 271-282.**

The authors critique a recent report on the representation of woman in rural (or regional local) governance. They note that while women may have increased in numbers in terms of occupying elected positions, they remain marginalised. In the paper, they also attempt to identify the range of institutions which are said to participate, or at least are expected to participate, in new processes of decision-making and the new governance setting. They find that these groups are often modestly staffed resourced and also that it is under these circumstances when women are most likely to be welcomed into institutions as participants. In well-resourced institutions which have

significant political power, men continue to retain the positions of authority and the reins of decision-making. While noting the limitations of their study, the authors warn against viewing women's involvement in rural governance as indicative of a shift in gendered power relations in the countryside.

- 135. Shucksmith, M. (1993). Farm household behaviour and the transition to post-productivism. *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 44, 466-478.**

This conceptual paper examines how farm households have responded to the 'reversal' of post World War II productivist farm policy. Evidence is presented from a case study conducted in upland Scotland among 300 farm households. The data spans the period from 1987-1991. The author argues that while the new structural milieu influences the actions of farm households, their behaviour can also be understood via a consideration of their values and motivates – 'their disposition-to-act'. The author presents a model which shows that the so-called disposition-to-act is partly driven by the internal resources of the farm and household, and partly driven by external forces such as: markets policy, and socio-cultural values. The model is then used to (empirically) explore farm change in terms of structure, allocation of labour, sources of farm household income and policy. The results of the study show considerable variation in the way in which farm households have responded to the changes occurring as rural affairs move into the post-productivist era – "with widespread reluctance to adjust to the new imperatives".

- 136. Shucksmith, M. (2000). Endogenous development, social capital and social inclusion: perspectives from LEADER in the UK. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40(2), 208-218.**

In this paper, Mark Shucksmith warns of the 'danger' of embracing (uncritically) the participative rhetoric which shrouds contemporary rural development discourses. He argues that the popular endogenous development model – which tends to valorise community participation – assumes that rural territories are homogenous thereby masking the real possibility of local/internal inequalities and the existence of disadvantaged groups. Shucksmith elaborates through an examination of LEADER programmes in the United Kingdom. He argues that rural development programmes of this nature need to acknowledge the possibilities of social exclusion and include mechanisms which attempt to raise the cultural and social capital of these disadvantaged groups thereby enabling them to participate. The paper is presented in a special issue of *Sociologia Ruralis*, edited by Christopher Ray and devoted to research papers examining the EU LEADER Rural Development Initiative – a programme which aims to find innovative and site-specific solutions to rural problems.

- 137. Shucksmith, M., Watkins, L. & Henderson, M. (1993). Attitudes and policies towards residential development in the Scottish countryside. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 9(3), 243-255.**

This research sets out to increase our understanding of residential development in rural Scotland. The authors have undertaken a study which explored the attitudes of householders, farmers, landowners and builders in regards to their perceptions of house construction in rural areas. This research evolved into a study of the processes underpinning policy formation at both local and national level with regard to the attitudes and perceptions. The findings recognised that at a national level much of the policy was dominated by 'professional ideologies of the civil service elite', whereas at a local level it was a battle between local councillors acting on behalf of high-status home / land owners and planning officials acting in accordance with professional planning ideals of opposing rural housing development. The research was conducted over a two year period and used two case study districts of Kincardine and Deeside District and Perth and Kinross District.

- 138. Slee, R. W. (2005). Centenary review. From countrysides of production to countrysides of consumption? *Journal of Agricultural Science*, 143, 255–265.**

The United Kingdom's rural economy is shifting from one based on traditional primary productive land use(s) to one characterised by a range of consumption based interests. Greater

wealth and mobility, and also tourism related demands, are key factors contributing to the transition. In this paper the author uses current economic research findings and also anecdotal evidence to highlight the growing importance of growing rural consumption demands. Given this, the author argues that new and appropriate strategies are needed to buttress sustainable rural development – strategies which recognise and support the multifunctional nature of the rural economy rather than supporting diversification in the traditional agricultural sector.

**139. Smailes, P. (2002). From rural dilution to multifunctional countryside: some pointers to the future from South Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 33(1), 79-95.**

Agricultural restructuring and the shedding of farm workers has brought about ‘rural dilution’ – a decrease in the proportion of the community population who are directly dependant on traditional land-based productive activities and an increase in in-migration of people less dependent (if at all) on the land to survive (i.e., retirees, commuters, and lifestyle migrants). The author argues that the degree of rural dilution will vary from place to place and is likely to be influenced by four key factors, namely: distance to nearest city, proximity to the coast, perceived amenity value and rural population density.

The term ‘rural dilution’ was used in the UK during the 1950s to describe a particular social phenomenon; when “...falling numbers and proportion of the ‘primary’ rural population (those directly dependant on the land) are offset by rising numbers and proportion of an ‘adventitious’ element (those who live in the countryside by choice, rather than by necessity of employment)” (p.79). The author notes that over time two other notions of demographic change have surfaced and become popular in the rural studies literatures, namely repopulation and counterurbanisation. The author, however, prefers the use of the original term: “In discussing demographic and social change, the original term ‘rural dilution’ is used here in preference to ‘repopulation’, which implies a preceding demographic void, or ‘counterurbanisation’, which implies a particular motive for migration”. The author also notes that as all these debates have progressed, a parallel discussion regarding the emergence of post-productivist rural space has occurred of which these demographic changes are a part.

In the paper the author presents a case study of rural dilution in one rural area in Australia, Southern Yorke Peninsula (which is located 2 to 3 hours from Adelaide). This area was once involved exclusively in primary production but is now undergoing rural dilution. For data, the author draws on two rural population surveys (1984 and 2000) and identifies the social impacts of the migration flows including: changing community identity, shopping and business patterns, and the recent uptake of telecommunications.

In conclusion the author assesses the extent to which these trends are likely to continue, how they might shape other similar communities in the coming decades, and how they might change the nature of the countryside in Australia. The author aligns the debate with recent notions of emerging post-productivist rural spaces. The author argues that: “There is no suggestion that the countryside in the study area will become post-productivist in the foreseeable future, with broad-acre farms continuing to dominate the landscape, though the spread of coastal retirement and holiday subdivisions and the advent of smaller (but still productive) hobby or part-time farms in a variety of enterprises will warrant the use of the term ‘multifunctional countryside’” (p.93).

**140. Smith, M. D. & Krannich, R. S. (2000). “Culture clash” revisited: newcomer and longer-term residents’ attitudes toward land use, development, and environmental issues in rural communities in the Rocky Mountain West. *Rural Sociology*, 65(3), 396-421.**

This paper looks at three rural communities in the rocky mountain west and seeks to understand attitudinal differences between long term residents and newcomers. Their findings contradict what is being portrayed from media accounts. Data was collected through examining responses to the following topics: environmental concern, population growth, economic development and tourism development. Researchers found that despite socio-demographic differences between long term

residents and newcomers, attitudes to the aforementioned topics were not significantly different. The authors offer the following reasons as to why their findings differ so markedly from the media findings: the media is likely to exaggerate the differences between newcomers and residents, and portrayals of differences between groups in the community are likely to be from more extreme members within the groups. The overall finding concludes that newcomers to a rural community may actually have more in common with existing community members that first anticipated, hopefully leading to greater community-building and redressing of issues.

This article builds on a paper presented at the 16th annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society (August 1997). It examines "...attitudes about environmental concern, population growth, economic development, and tourism development" (p.396) among newcomers and longer-term residents living in rural regions with high amenity value, which therefore, have attracted many urban migrants who are seeking a better quality of life. The authors claim that as a result of this migration, many rural places are experiencing unprecedented change as they transform from areas organised for primary/extractive industries activities, to popular destinations for domestic residency, tourism and recreation experiences. The aim of the article is to question the commonly held view – one that is particularly evident in media reports on rural change – that as new residents move into rural communities, they bring with them ideas and ways of doing things that clash with those of long-term residents. Evidence is provided to demonstrate that media reports often suggest that rural newcomers are at odds with local people; they do not want to see development occur as it might destroy the bucolic landscape that they came to enjoy.

Three rural communities in The Rocky Mountain West area serve as case study sites. Descriptions of the communities follow a concise review of literature relating to issues surrounding rural in-migration. Research methods are also described; "...surveys were administered in July, August, and September 1995 to randomly selected samples of 160 households in each community" (p.405). Results suggest that urban in-migrants differ significantly from long-term residents when socio-demographic dimensions are considered. For example, it was found that newcomers are more likely to be university educated, female and significantly younger. The attitudinal analysis, however, indicates that despite stark socio-demographic differences, the groups have similar concerns for the environment.

This article reports research which was conducted in the Rocky Mountain West in three communities which were experiencing population growth associated with amenity demand. In each community, the authors explored attitudes regarding environmental concerns, patterns of growth and development trajectories. Contrary to common/media belief, the authors found little difference between new and long-term resident attitudes around the issues explored. Some differences were found, however, in the attitudes towards economic development, tourism and population growth. Long-term residents wanted to limit these processes. The researchers claim that this finding was in contrast to the media view that long-term rural residents are pro-development and that migrants wish to limit this process. The authors speculate on likely reasons for this finding. One reason offered is that many newcomers are employed in the recreation/tourism industries (characterised by low wages and seasonal work) and therefore, view growth in these areas as a way to improve their economic quality of life. In contrast, long-term residents may view growth and development as a threat to the traditional structure of the community, despite the wealth it may generate. The researchers suggest that overall, the two groups have more 'common ground' than was previously thought opening up future opportunities for enhanced rural-community building.

# T, U, V, W

141. **Walford, N. (1999). Geographical transition from productivism to post-productivism: agricultural production in England and Wales 1950s to 1990s. In N. Walford, J. C. Everitt & D. Napton. (Eds.), *Reshaping the Countryside: Perceptions and Processes of Rural Change* (Chapter 3). United Kingdom: CABI Publishing.**

In this book chapter, Nigel Walford attempts to identify changes in patterns of agricultural land-use in England and Wales over the period dating from the 1950s – the beginning of the productivist agricultural regime (i.e., policy and practice) – to the mid 1990s. He states that academic attention seems to have shifted away from exploring changing farm practices and more towards examining macro and structural processes of change. To bring agricultural practice back into view (a more applied stance), Walford draws on agricultural land-use survey data and looks for evidence of a shift towards a so-called post-productivist agricultural regime. He asserts that the data did not indicate that all farmers had responded to the policy-level (macro/structural) shift towards post-productivism, although he does note that something of a post-productivist regime has taken hold in a specific area in which changing agricultural land uses was playing a part in creating a new geography of agriculture. In the chapter he recognises that many farmers have begun to engage in multiple activities and that this calls for a reconfiguring of current theoretical understandings of what a farm is and how it functions.

142. **Walford, N. (2003). Productivism is allegedly dead, long live productivism. Evidence of continued productivist attitudes and decision-making in South-East England. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 19, 491-502.**

In this paper Walford examines the policy origins of the productivist agricultural regime that was implemented in the UK after World War II and then the policy changes brought about during the 1980s to amend over-production and encourage farmers to adopt alternative approaches to running their farm. This shift in policy has been theorised as a structural transition from a productivist to post-productivist era in agriculture. Walford, however, is not convinced that a post-productivist transition has taken place and via case study research searches for evidence of the transition. He also reviews the work of other sceptics. His empirical evidence (derived from survey work and documentary sources) of large scale commercial farming activities in the southeast of England supports the view that a post-productivist transition at the farm level is less than conclusive. He reports that intensification and specialisation has continued on farms in South-east England as well as the concentration of farm resources through accumulation and expansion. His findings do demonstrate, however, that while large-scale commercial farming has changed, productivism remains a primary objective. He also concludes that although many farmers have participated in agri-environmental schemes, few had changed their behaviour to what could be described as post-productivist.

143. **Wallington, T. J. & Lawrence, G. (2008). Making democracy matter: responsibility and effective environmental governance in regional Australia. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24(3), 277-290.**

In regional Australia, changes to policy have transferred resources and responsibility for environmental governance from the state to regional communities. As such, responsibility for the sustainable development of environmental resources – or natural resource management (NRM) – is now shared among regional actors i.e., there is collective/social liability. Underpinning this idea is that regional communities are able to respond better to local environmental problems. In this paper, the authors critically examine the notion that the passing of responsibility for NRM to regional communities results in better environmental outcomes.

**144. Ward, N. (1993). The agricultural treadmill and the rural environment in the post-productivist era. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 33, 348-364.**

The term 'treadmill' has been used in a variety of ways (particularly by environmental groups lobbying for agricultural reform) to describe the development of agriculture in capitalist societies. The term 'treadmill' has been used, for example, by social scientists examining different dimensions of agricultural change employing phrases such as: the labour treadmill, the technological treadmill, the treadmill of farm management, and the financial treadmill. In this paper, Neil Ward questions if all these treadmills are in fact elements of one single phenomenon – a 'macro-treadmill'. He asks whether or not the notion of the treadmill – when its definition is broadened – can assist in developing an enhanced understanding of the relationship between agriculture, the environment, society and the labour process. Ward suggests "that the treadmill can best be conceptualised as a set of structural conditions, which have been shaped by international political and economic processes and became embodied in agricultural and food policies across the advanced capitalist world. In turn, these conditions have played an important role in transforming how farmers 'see the world' and organise their production, such that the intensification or production through the application of science and technology has become a 'logic' of production at the farm level" (p.349).

In the paper, Ward describes the evolution of the notion of the treadmill – one which was influential in Britain during the 1980s among researchers examining the changing nature of farm business within a political economy framework. In this part of the paper, Ward introduces the notion of the 'productivist era' in agriculture, a regime of state supported agricultural development (lasting from World War II until the 1980s) which aimed to maximise food production via the use of a range of new technologies which evolved out of extensive research and development programmes. Next, Ward describes how the productivist model of agricultural development entered a period of great uncertainty during the 1970s and 1980s; structural conditions had changed, the government was not willing to underwrite agriculture, and the farming sector was left facing a crisis. Ward points out that across the developed world a greater social consciousness towards the environment and food quality was also developing. Ward describes the new and emerging era as 'post-productivist'. Here, he writes (p.359): "As the technology/policy model of agricultural development associated with the Fordist regime of accumulation has experienced this crisis of legitimacy, and the plausibility of productivist ideology has been undermined, so today's farmers have found themselves in a very different position from that of their parents. Shifts in the global political economic order have been compounded by a changing perception of the purpose of rural which includes demands for rural space, recreation and conservation".

In his conclusion, Ward writes that the productivist agricultural regime entered a period of crisis during the 1980s. A post-productivist era was beginning within which the policy goals were much different. Governments could be seen moving towards a model of free trade thereby withdrawing from their earlier role as regulator of consumption and production, and financial supporter of agricultural production. At the same time, he argues, economic and social restructuring in rural space was increasing the array of demands being made of the countryside. These 'new structural conditions' he suggested, could produce a 'two-track' countryside consisting of intensive agriculture production in some areas and protected conservation areas in other more sensitive rural spaces. Ward ends by recommending that researchers focus on farm businesses and individual actors to understand how these new pressures of the post-productive era are being felt on the ground.

**145. Ward, N., Jackson, P., Russell & Wilkinson, K. (2008). Productivism, post-productivism and European agricultural reform: the case of sugar. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 48(2), 118-132.**

Drawing on primary interview material and secondary sources, the authors of this paper examine the factors underpinning policy change in the European agricultural sector. The authors note that

past studies of agricultural reform have been charged with being overly structuralist; to make improvements, the authors employ a commodity-specific approach (focusing on sugar) in their study of agricultural reform. The study is set in the context of the debate over the supposed post-productivist transition in agricultural policy – one which in Europe has involved the gradual ‘dismantling’ of the productivist regime. The research highlights the growing importance and role of global trade regimes and international development issues in the (re)formulation of agricultural policy in the European Union.

**146. Welch, R. (2002). Legitimacy of rural local government in the new governance environment. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 18, 443-459.**

Debates which have taken place over the last 15 years associated with the regulation and (new) governance of contemporary capitalistic activities in rural space have occurred with little mention of the legitimacy of local government. Local government institutions do, however, have to operate day-to-day within the new governance setting and therefore the question of their legitimacy is one of significant importance. The challenge to local government’s legitimacy stems from the boosting of private and voluntary sector involvement and influence in areas in which local government has long controlled and managed (such as service provision). This is a result of recent neo-liberal rural restructuring. In this paper, the author reports the findings from research conducted in 2000 in New Zealand (Central Otago) and Australia (Victoria), a study which examined the ‘interface’ between the theory and practice of local government, and also the notion of legitimacy in the new governance environment (i.e., it brings together the academic discourse of governance and the perceptions of local government/state actors). Both case study local authorities were created via the process of amalgamation and both were rural in character. The two areas both experienced significant economic change, including the diversification and intensification of primary production, lifestyle block development, tourism and service provision – indicators of ‘post-productivist’ activity. Key decision-makers in the two districts provide insights into the impact of new governance and also how they endeavour to retain legitimacy. Prior to presenting the case study, Welch outlines and draws on theories of governance and legitimacy to develop an investigative framework that can be used in the field as a (useful) tool to examine the authority of local government. The framework is used in the two case study settings. The author discusses both the usefulness of the approach/framework and also how the findings of the research may contribute to the debate regarding legitimacy in the new rural governance setting.

**147. Willis, R. (1991). Farming market forces and the welfare state: New Zealand in the 1980s. *Pacific Viewpoint*, 32(2), 163-170.**

The author provides an overview of changes to agricultural policy from the 1970s to 1984. In 1984 the then newly-elected Labour government set about restructuring the national economy and the impact of this restructuring is discussed. The author reports that considerable land-use change and shifts in the type of livestock farmed occurred during the period 1984-1989; more deer and goats and less sheep is given as an example. Also a reduction in: farm labour, land-prices and net income was reported to have occurred during the years following the economic restructuring.

**148. Willis, R. (2001). Farming. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 42, 55 – 65.**

The author puts forward the view that since the 1980s the New Zealand agricultural sector has, in a sense, moved towards a ‘post-productivist’ form of agriculture. The evidence for this includes decreasing levels of government support for farming, a reduction in the number of farms and an increase in farmland being converted for urban and recreational uses. Traditional land uses such as sheep farming have been replaced in certain areas by dairying and forestry. These forms of farming are not ‘post-productivist’, as they are still primarily concerned with increasing production. Overall this article serves to set the scene for the agriculture industry in New Zealand at this point in time, and has been primarily based upon Statistics New Zealand data and New Zealand Agricultural Statistics.



- 149. Wilson, G. A. (2001). From productivism to post-productivism...and back again? Exploring the (un)changed natural and mental landscapes of European agriculture. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 26, 77-102.**

In contemporary debates about rural change, the idea that agriculture has moved from a productivist to post-productivist regime has been uncritically accepted by many rural researchers. Recently, however, some academics have criticised the concept on the basis that it lacks consideration of actor-orientated research findings and that the concept has been developed from the British experience and academic point of view.

In the paper the author reviews the theory of the post-productivist transition in agriculture, shedding light on its weaknesses (including time-lag and spatial inconsistencies). Overall, the paper has four main aims: (1) to provide a critique of the notion of the post-productivist transition, (2) to broaden the current understanding of post-productivism by injecting actor-orientated research, (3) to discuss the applicability of the term beyond the UK, and (4) to offer some alternative terminology/concepts to the notion of post-productivism.

In his review of the literature, Wilson identifies seven inter-related dimensions of productivism which, when reversed, characterise post-productivism, namely: ideology, actors, food regimes, agricultural production, agricultural policies, farming techniques and environmental impacts. These seven dimensions show, he argues, that post-productivism has largely been defined via an analysis of exogenous/structural forces of agricultural change (thereby generating an over-emphasis on political economy). It is from this observation that Wilson argues that the debate would benefit from some consideration of actor-orientated perspectives.

Wilson also argues that different rural areas will differ in the degree to which they have become post-productivist (some not moving this way at all). Indeed, in some rural areas, blends of productivist and post-productivist regimes will co-exist. In light of this, the authors suggest that the notion of multifunctionality might better capture the "...diversity, non-linearity and spatial heterogeneity that can be observed in modern agriculture and rural society" (p.77).

- 150. Wilson, G. A. & Rigg, J. (2003). 'Post-productivist' agricultural regimes and the South: discordant concepts? *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(6), 681-707.**

In this paper the attempt to export the notion of the post-productivist agricultural transition from the UK (where it has been developed and mostly applied) and test its applicability in the developing world. The authors have three main aims: (1) to review the debate on the shift towards post-productivist agricultural regimes (thereby identifying the key indicators of change), apply the concept beyond its usual application in advanced economic settings, and (3) to bridge theories of contemporary agricultural change which have been developed in the North and South, thereby providing a framework and way forward for understanding global agricultural change.

They begin by reviewing the ways in which the notion of the post-productivist transition has been discussed and applied. Here they note that the idea has largely been developed in the context of agricultural change in the UK, with a few examples of application in other advanced economies. They also identify 6 main indicators of the shift to post-productivism – indicators which are often seen as a 'mirror image' of the previous 'productivist' agricultural regime: (1) policy change, (2) organic farming, (3) counterurbanisation, (4) involvement of NGOs in environmental policy development, (5) consumption of the countryside, and (6) on-farm diversification or pluriactivity.

Based on these indicators, the authors find it difficult to apply the conceptual model in the South. As such, they argue that in search of post-productivist agricultural regimes one should not be 'seduced' by mere appearance. In other words, the use of indicators when examining shifts towards post-productivist regimes may mask the fact that productivist and post-productivist (or indeed any other regime) could be operating together. They also take issue with the linearity of the transition; they are not convinced that the post-productivist transition necessarily entails a rigid sequence of events. To further develop the theory, the authors introduce the notion of de-

agrarianisation – a term that has been developed to describe recent rural changes occurring in the South. The authors believe that it would be beneficial to link this concept with the notion of the post-productivist transition, a combination that would provide an interesting pathway down which the debate could progress. To end the paper, the authors suggest that the term multifunctional agricultural regimes might be a better term to describe the current mode of agricultural production and use of rural space. Post-productivism, they argue, might best be theorised as the transition phase.

- 151. Wilson, O. (1994). "They changed the rules": family farm responses to agricultural deregulation in Southland, New Zealand. *New Zealand Geographer*, 50(1), 3-13.**

In New Zealand, the economic and social environment within which family farms traditionally operated was seriously altered following the New Zealand government's decision in 1984 to deregulate the agricultural sector. In this article Wilson investigates the impact of the deregulation on family farms in New Zealand and the way family farms responded. A case study was conducted in the Gore District, Southland, New Zealand; 65 family farms (involved in sheep/beef production) answered a questionnaire and 11 of the participating families were interviewed. Among the range of themes looked at were: levels of farm debt, farm size, production strategies (including marketing and commodity mix), farm development and pluri-activity. Wilson reports a common response to deregulation but suggests that the impact of the deregulated milieu varied on family farms, largely shaped by the level of farm wealth prior to the era of deregulation. For many farmers the response was characterised by diversification into a range of new productive land-use activities such as: dairying, deer farming and forestry. Another common response was to self-exploit.

- 152. Wilson, O. (1995). Rural restructuring and agriculture – rural economy linkages: a New Zealand study. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 11(4), 417-431.**

In this paper the author explores the effects of rural restructuring (i.e., the deregulation of the agricultural sector) and macro economic reforms (i.e., floating of the exchange rate and the removal of import licences) on the local economy of a rural service town in Southland (Gore). The deregulation of the agricultural sector involved the removal of farm subsidies and tax policies which hitherto protected the farmer from potentially destructive market forces. At the outset the reforms were welcomed and necessary, but soon led to reduced incomes for farmers, decreased land-values and debt for many primary producers. The rural community also felt the pinch of the reforms – losing many local rural services to larger centres. The town examined in this paper experienced a recession soon after the government deregulated the agricultural sector, primarily because of a resultant decrease in local farm expenditure. Through discussions with local businesses and farmers, the author concludes that despite the recession causing lower levels of spending in the primary sector, the importance of the link between agriculture and the local rural economy (albeit altering) remained important. The paper provides a good overview of the rural recession that was caused by deregulation in New Zealand.

- 153. Wilson, O. J. & Wilson, G. A. (1997). Common cause or common concern? The role of common lands in the post-productivist countryside. *Area*, 29(1), 45-58.**

The productivist era in Western Europe – a time when agricultural production was the primary concern of rural policy – has, since the 1980s, given way to an era of post-productivism. In this new era it is recognised that policy needs to be devised which recognises (and attempts to balance) a much wider array of demands for the use of rural space, including conservation and recreational use. The main belief of contemporary policy makers is that farming, recreational activity and conservation interests should be able co-exist in the countryside. The emerging multi-functional role of rural space is particularly important in regards to the development of policy for rural common lands (or 'commons') in both England and Wales; the amenity and recreation value of these areas has increased in recent times – however, the prevailing economic use of these land tracts has and still is sheep grazing. One way in which the government has responded to these

changing demands is to encourage farmers to participate in agri-environmental schemes – the main scheme in Wales and England being the Environmentally Sensitive Areas (ESA) scheme. The ESA scheme was set up “...to encourage a balance between farming and conservation on commons within designated areas” (p.46).

The main aims of the paper are: to investigate the current place of ‘commons’ as a rural land resource in the UK, and to explore if these land tracts have a discrete role to play in the post-productivist countryside. Four more specific aims are to: (1) investigate the legal status of commons, (2) assess the economic importance of commons in the farm economy, and their management, (3) to see if the ESA scheme has been successful in targeting commons, and (4) “...to consider to what extent agri-environmental policy can address the problems of common land management and achieve a suitable balance between farming, conservation and recreation” (p.46).

A case study of commons within the Cambrian Mountains (Wales) ESA is presented. The authors discover that control and ownership status over commons is a complex (and often contested) legal issue, one which acts as a barrier to establishing and enacting management legislation which might balance farming, recreation and conservation interests in the post-productivist countryside. The paper also highlights other “...problems involved in achieving a multifunctional role for these lands in a post-productivist countryside” (p.46).

- 154. Wilson, R. (2005). Narratives of community-based resource management in the American West. In S. J. Essex, A. W. Gilg, R. B. Yarwood, J. Smithers & R. Wilson (Eds). *Rural Change and Sustainability: Agriculture, the Environment and Communities* (Chapter 22, pp.342-357). United Kingdom: CAB Publishing.**

Community-based resource management (or CBRM) is discussed in this chapter as an approach used to enhance public land management and planning. CBRM “...refers to efforts to increase local participation in public land management discussions in order to improve decision-making, cultivate local support for monitoring and implementation and avoid or anticipate land use conflicts” (p.342). The author highlights the complexities that exist when utilising this approach, which include understanding the complexity and fluidity of places and the related associations that people place on them. More specifically, they argue, it is important to recognise that people bring with them their own interests and biases to collaborative discussions, often making it difficult to achieve compromised decisions.

- 155. Wilson, R. (2006). Collaboration in context: rural change and community forestry in the Four Corners. *Society and Natural Resources*, 19, 53-70.**

In recent decades, the rural American West has witnessed dramatic socio-economic change characterised by a loss of traditional primary based industries and a “...rise of amenity-based service sector economies, increasingly urbanised landscapes, and a steady influx of new ex-urban migrants”. These rural regions have become known as the “New West”. As one result, the relationship between rural communities and their local rural environment (public land and resources) has been reshaped. The new relationship is highlighted by the emergence of a new approach to resource management and planning in these areas known as community-based collaboration. The approach aims to increase the amount and quality of rural community involvement in public land management and planning by providing a forum for frequent and open dialogue between the rural/local community, entrepreneurs who use the land for business purposes, and the government agencies that ultimately shape rural land-use policy. “The goal is to establish some common ground among participants, leading to resource management decisions that balance ecological health with local economic development concerns, increase local support for the implementation and monitoring of management projects, and cultivate social cohesion through stronger community-state and intracommunity relations” (p.54).

The author suggests that while there is a great deal of literature on rural change in America and also on community-based collaboration in natural resource management, few studies have

attempted to bridge these two discussions. In an attempt to build the missing bridge, the author examines rural change and the subsequent rise of the community-based collaboration through a comparative case study analysis of four community forest projects on national forests in the rural “New West”. The author sets the scene by providing a summary of key themes in studies that have examined the socio-economic transformation of the “New West” and research that has helped conceptualise the notion of community-based collaboration. The research method is also described; mixed methods were used in a comparative case study research design. By examining socio-economic data, the author found that all four case study regions experienced dramatic change in the 1990s including population growth, a decrease in primary industry, a rise in service sector employment, a marked decrease in farm income, and a clear increase in overall income from new forms of employment such as the service sector. The author notes, however, that these developments have not occurred evenly throughout the American west. Some communities, have for example, experienced a greater degree of unemployment and poverty than others.

- 156. Wilson, S., Fresenmaier, D. R., Fresenmaier, J. & van Es, J. C. (2001). Factors for success in rural tourism development. *Journal of Travel Research*, 40, 132-138.**

In this article the authors identify factors important for the successful development of tourism in rural areas. The research makes an additional contribution to the rural development/tourism literature by including rural tourism ‘entrepreneurs’, a group which they suggest has been overlooked in past studies. In order to do this, a focus group method was employed. Six Illinois communities were selected – three that had been ‘successful’ at developing tourism and three that had been ‘unsuccessful’. Two focus groups were conducted in each community, one comprising community leaders, and the other comprising local business people who were involved in tourism. After analysing the focus group commentary, the researchers identified 10 factors/conditions central to the successful development of rural tourism: (1) a complete tourism package, (2) good leadership, (3) the support and participation of local government, (4) sufficient funds for tourism development, (5) strategic planning, (6) coordination and cooperation between businesspersons and local leadership, (7) coordination and cooperation between rural tourism entrepreneurs, (8) information and technical assistance for tourism development and promotion, (9) food convention and visitors bureaus, (10) widespread community support for tourism. One of the key findings of the research was that cooperation between local business people is important for successful rural tourism development. Tourism requires different types of businesses working together, such as service providers, accommodation providers, restaurant and attraction managers. The important role of rural tourism entrepreneurs (and small businesses) is also highlighted in the study. It was found that a core group of entrepreneurs had usually invested time, money and energy to make tourism work in the rural area. Examples of cooperation between tourism entrepreneurs included: working as a group to be open on Sundays and holidays, all painting their buildings to a particular standard or theme, tourism operators forming a group to organise and promote local tourism, and tourism businesses being willing – as a group – to give money to promote tourism.

- 157. Woods, M. (1997). Discourses of power and rurality: local politics in Somerset in the 20th century. *Political Geography*, 16(6), 453-478.**

In this paper, which is based on PhD research, Michael Woods examines the changing cultural and political terrain in one rural county of the UK (Somerset). Here he outlines the way in which traditional power structures – long dominated by local agricultural elites – have been eroded as new non-agricultural interest groups have assumed an enhanced role in local rural politics. The new political actors (notably middle class in-migrants) are concerned with environmentalism, conservation and lifestyle matters – a cultural discourse (centred on a particular understanding of rurality) – and these concerns are much different to those of the landed agricultural elite. In essence, a restructuring of local politics has occurred; the dominance of a single group has ended, replaced by a more fragmented political structure comprising of local factions with competing

interests. In part, this shift has come about as a result of a transition from rural government to rural governance – a key aspect of the evolution of rural politics in the UK.

**158. Woods, M. (1998). *Advocating rurality? The repositioning of rural local government. Journal of Rural Studies, 14(1), 13-26.***

As a result of ‘Thatcherite’ restructuring in the late 1970s, the power of elected local government in Britain has weakened. Concurrently, a new system of local governance has surfaced “...characterised by self-organising networks embracing the state, private and voluntary sectors” (p.13). This type of governing has forced many local governments to respond – to discover a new role and purpose for themselves, and a new sense of legitimacy/power in local politics. Woods suggests that some councils in Britain have assumed the role of ‘pressure groups’ “...lobbying external actors on behalf of local interests” (p.13). He argues, that in doing so, these local governments have also found themselves “advocating particular discourses of rurality” – as demonstrated in a case study which examines the strategic planning for a housing development in Somerset.

**159. Woods, M. (2005a). *Rural Governance. In M. Woods (author), Rural Geography: Processes, Responses and Experiences in Rural Restructuring (pp.160-171-90). London: SAGE.***

In this book chapter, geographer Michael Woods provides a broad overview of the shift in advanced capitalist countries from a system of rural government to one of rural governance. Woods writes that rural government and associated administrative structures have undergone significant changes in the last few decades, and that understanding these shifts is critical to fully understanding rural restructuring. The changes in question, he argues, also have major implications for understanding contemporary rural policy and planning processes, rural regulation and economics, rural landscapes and land use, and the current distribution of power in rural communities. Woods (p.160) describes a three stage transition in that way rural areas have been governed overtime, namely: “...a paternalist era in the early twentieth century, to a statist era in the mid-twentieth century, to a new era of ‘governance’ at the turn of the twentieth century”. He also provides a concise definition of governance which is suitable for the rural context (p.164):

Governance: New styles of governing that operate not only through the apparatuses of the sovereign state but also through a range of interconnecting institutions, agencies, partnerships and initiatives in which the boundaries between the public, private and voluntary sectors become blurred. The actors and organisations engaged in governance exhibit differing degrees of stability and longevity, take a variety of forms and operate at a range of scales above, below and co-incident with that of the nation-state.

Woods moves on to describe the key characteristics of the term governance, noting that it was first developed by urban researchers who, in the 1980s, were witnessing the increasing involvement of the private sector actors in urban policy making. By the mid-1990s, he argues, similar changes were evident in the rural domain; both administrative structures had changed along with the style, rhetoric and discourse of rural governing.

For Woods, two ‘interlocking components’ support the proposition of the emergence of a new system of rural governance, namely: partnerships, and community engagement and active citizenship. These two components are described in detail. To this end, Woods outlines six key issues relating to rural governance. Firstly, exclusivity about the structures of rural governance (i.e. it may provide room for small groups of established organisations and individuals to assume a disproportionate level of power and influence in a rural area). Secondly, questions have been raised regarding legitimacy and accountability within the new system of governance. Thirdly, while partnership is a central component of the concept, issues can arise relating to the unequal resources and therefore to the level of influence of different partners. Fourthly, the lifespan of partnerships which are supported by programmes of funding may be short. Fifthly, new territories and scales of rural development might create tension/confusion between overlapping institutions

and over geographical jurisdictions. Lastly, rural governance may be creating geographical unevenness between partnership-rich and partnership-poor communities.

- 160. Woods, M. (2005b). Social and demographic change. In M. Woods (author), *Rural Geography: Processes, Responses and Experiences in Rural Restructuring* (pp.72-90). London: SAGE.**

Over the last 200 years, rural populations have fluctuated. In Britain for example, depopulation of the countryside occurred during industrialisation (higher wages and employment opportunities, independence and freedom) drew massive waves of rural people to the city during the late 19th and early 20th century. The early stages of agricultural modernisation had reduced the number of farm workers. That flow was reversed in the 1960s and 1970s as people began to move back into rural spaces. American researchers were first to observe these trends and coined the term ‘counterurbanisation’ to describe the emerging trend of urban to rural migration; researchers in other countries confirmed similar trends through a number of studies in the 1970s. In contemporary times, a further change to the composition of rural populations has taken place – associated with a range of complex factors. On balance, the book chapter provides a broad overview of these changes. The chapter starts with a short history of rural population change and the processes which, at different times, have influenced these migratory flows. The second part of the chapter investigates class recomposition in rural areas noting the rise of the middle classes in the countryside. The effect of middle-class colonisation on rural property markets is also discussed.

- 161. Woods, M. (2005c). Rural Development and Regeneration. In M. Woods (author), *Rural Geography: Processes, Responses and Experiences in Rural Restructuring* (pp.145-158). London: SAGE.**

In this book chapter, Michael Woods provides a broad overview rural development and rural regeneration. He first outlines the differences between the two terms. Rural development, he argues, refers to large scale government/state investment in large projects usually associated with the development and/or maintenance of rural infrastructure, the aim of which is to ensure rural areas and populations remain prosperous, functional and continue to modernise. Governments have a long history of involvement (and intervention) in rural development, providing and maintaining for example: electricity, technology and infrastructure in the countryside. As such, the notion of rural development is more concerned with top-down (or state) approaches and strategies. Rural regeneration, on the other hand, is a cyclical process involving local action and initiatives which aim to restore lagging rural economies (which were once vibrant). For example, local initiatives might be initiated provide employment in rural places which have experienced job losses.

Woods suggests that we are witnessing a transition from top-down approaches to rural development towards bottom-up/community-led initiatives which look to enhance and capitalise on locally situated resources. He provides a critique of the two sides of the transition. Top-down approaches, he argues, are usually dependent on external investment. As such, profits are often exported away from the local/rural areas, rural places become susceptible to wider economic trends which dictate global investment patterns and flows of capital accumulation, and democratic deficits can be found (such as limited local participation in programmes). Bottom-up rural regeneration – which involves changes in the way rural development is managed and also the types of activities promoted through initiatives – is a form of development led by the local/rural community. Here the state’s new position is facilitator of rural development (as opposed to provider). This type of development is also referred to as endogenous development and is less associated with attracting external capital as it is with the enhancement and exploitation of local/endogenous resources (both human and physical). The focus is generally on enabling the community to act as opposed to focusing on economic growth. Such schemes have received support from neo-liberals who support the shifting of social and economic responsibility from the state to civilians. Woods notes that endogenous development is often associated with adding value

to existing landscapes, environments and products e.g., re-packaging rural places to attract tourists or new approaches to agriculture such as focusing on the production of local food and selling these products direct to the public. Community-led initiatives generate growth according to the priorities and preferences of local people – a form of empowerment and a step towards sustainable economic development.

Woods ends by suggesting that, despite the positive rhetoric surrounding endogenous development – and indeed obvious success stories, not all rural areas are able to enhance endogenous resources and successfully compete for funding for initiatives. Thus he writes (p.158) “...the paradigm shift in rural development can, in fact, be argued to have contributed to the production of a new geography of uneven rural development.”

- 162. Woods, M. (2006). Aspirational ruralism, boosterism and the global countryside: Amenity-led development and the hybrid reconstitution of Queenstown Lakes district, New Zealand. Paper presented to the session on ‘Amenity Migration, Exurbia and Emerging Rural Landscapes I: Nature in the geographical imagination’, Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting, Chicago, March, 2006.**

In this conference paper, Michael Woods argues that rural space is increasingly being shaped by global actors and processes giving rise to what he calls a ‘global countryside’. The spaces of the global countryside, are where the capacity of locals to act has been challenged (but not eroded) by the growing presence of new amenity migrants and significant levels of ‘non-domestic property ownership’ (and also other forms and flows of foreign investment, including tourism). While this proposition appears to highlight the loss of local autonomy, Woods suggests that it is better to think of the global countryside as a series of reconstituted and hybrid spaces which involve interactions between local, regional, national and global actors. For Woods, the notion of the global countryside captures the idea that rural space is – more than ever before – a place of ‘negotiation, contestation and conflict’ between local and non-local actors.

In a bid to explore and understand this phenomenon and the associated processes more fully, and to further develop the theoretical notion of the ‘global countryside’ Woods reports a case study of the Queenstown Lakes district, South Island, New Zealand. In the case study he focuses on amenity migration and property development and how these processes are producing new rural spaces. As the title suggests, Woods discovers an interesting interplay between the ‘aspirational ruralism’ of new amenity migrants and the ‘pragmatic boosterism of local entrepreneurs and investors in both driving the reconstitution of the locality and generating conflicts over the type and scale of development and issues of social and environmental justice’. He begins the case study with reference to celebrity singer Shania Twain’s (a Canadian) purchase of a large sheep station in the area. Woods notes that the purchase of the iconic station was welcomed by the local community board, just as they had reacted to other property purchases by foreign investors. But the sale of the high amenity station also had its critics, including the Green Party who emphasised that rural New Zealand was becoming something of a ‘playground’ for part-time residents. Woods argues that much of the Queenstown Lakes District has been shaped by similar developments i.e. the inward investment of global capital attracted to the area because of its high (natural) amenity value and associated opportunities for rural living. Woods suggests that through this process of foreign investment, the area is inextricably linked to a vast network of actors including international tourists, non-local investors, ‘boosterist local politicians and developers’ and savvy entrepreneurs. Woods is quick to emphasise that while it appears that the locality is now dominated by global actors and processes, it is astute to view such places around the world as hybrid constitutions involving both local and international actors (both human and non-human) who – whether in agreement, partnership or pitted against one another – comprise in a new and emerging rural politics.

- 163. Woods, M. (2007). Engaging the global countryside: globalization, hybridity and the reconstitution of rural place. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(4), 485-507.**

In this article the author argues for more place-based accounts of globalisation as experienced in rural localities. The author organises the paper around Massey's space/place thesis which calls for a 'relational understanding of space that can challenge aspatial readings of globalisation'. In the paper the author introduces and develops the notion of the 'global countryside' – a conceptual framing of (rural) space which highlights the degree to which many contemporary countryside spaces reflect the processes of globalisation. More simply, using the idea of the global countryside Woods seeks to answer the question: how is globalisation (re)making rural places? Through his theorising Woods draw attention to the interaction (and interrelatedness) of local, national and global actors (human and non-human) which together create 'new hybrid forms and relations'. The result of this intensifying phenomenon, Woods argues, is not a countryside dominated by 'global' actors and shaped by globalisation, but one which features an emerging 'politics of negotiation and configuration' between local and global actors.

- 164. Woods, M. (2009). The local politics of the global countryside: boosterism, aspirational ruralism and the contested reconstitution of Queenstown, New Zealand. *GeoJournal*, DOI 10.1007/s10708-009-9268-7.**

In this article Michael Woods sharpens his earlier thoughts about the emergent hybrid and global countryside (Woods, 2006, 2009). He again draws on Queenstown, New Zealand, to show how this place which has been shaped – with exceptional speed – by globalisation processes, particularly amenity migration and an associated local rural property development boom and population growth. The role of increasing international tourism in this rural area is also considered. The paper addresses his earlier call (Woods, 2007) for researchers to explore the micro-politics and processes through which rural places are currently being reconstituted. This, he argues, will help those with an interest in rural change to understand the uneven geographies and hybrid nature of the contemporary global countryside.

- 165. Woods, M. & Goodwin, M. (2003). Applying the rural: governance and policy in rural areas. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country Visions*. Harlow: Pearson Education.**

This chapter reviews the evolving literature on new rural governance. The authors consider the impact of recent social, economic and political change on rural policy and also the ways in which rural areas are governed. Woods and Goodwin include the details of international experiences of rural governance and policy change and in doing so, identify six broad trends: (1) a move away from sector-specific policy towards integrated rural policy, (2) wider participation (or more inclusive involvement) in rural decision-making, (3) new means of co-ordination for policy delivery i.e., the re-organisation of state institutions and the development of partnerships between state agencies, (4) the scaling back of state activities in rural governance – the most extreme example given is the New Zealand experience of de-regulation, (5) the rise of bottom-up/local initiatives put into action by newly empowered active citizens, and (6) in some sectors, a withdrawal from specifically rural institutions in favour of regional initiatives which encompass both urban and rural areas. Together, these trends have resulted in new patterns and processes of rural governing.