

(Re-)Assembling Place in the Global Countryside



MICHAEL WOODS
Aberystwyth University
m.woods@aber.ac.uk
@globalrural





Picture credit: 'The Real Haywain', Neil Chappell & Philip Gooch (2002) Stop Stansted Expansion



“there is a discernable privileging of urban over rural in scholarly accounts of globalization”
Hogan (2004) in *Journal of Sociology*, p 22

The global countryside





Dairy export trade relations

The Global Countryside

- Stretching and multiplication of trade networks and relationships
- International migration in, from and through rural areas
- Growth and increasing reach of transnational corporations in rural economies
- Relocation of rural manufacturing industries and foreign direct investment
- International investment in rural land
- Intensification of international tourism to rural areas
- Extension of global mining, energy and forestry industries into new rural frontiers
- Imposition of transnational conservation reserves and regulations
- Displacement and hybridization of rural cultures by global culture

The Global Countryside

Globalization does not mean that rural areas are all becoming the same

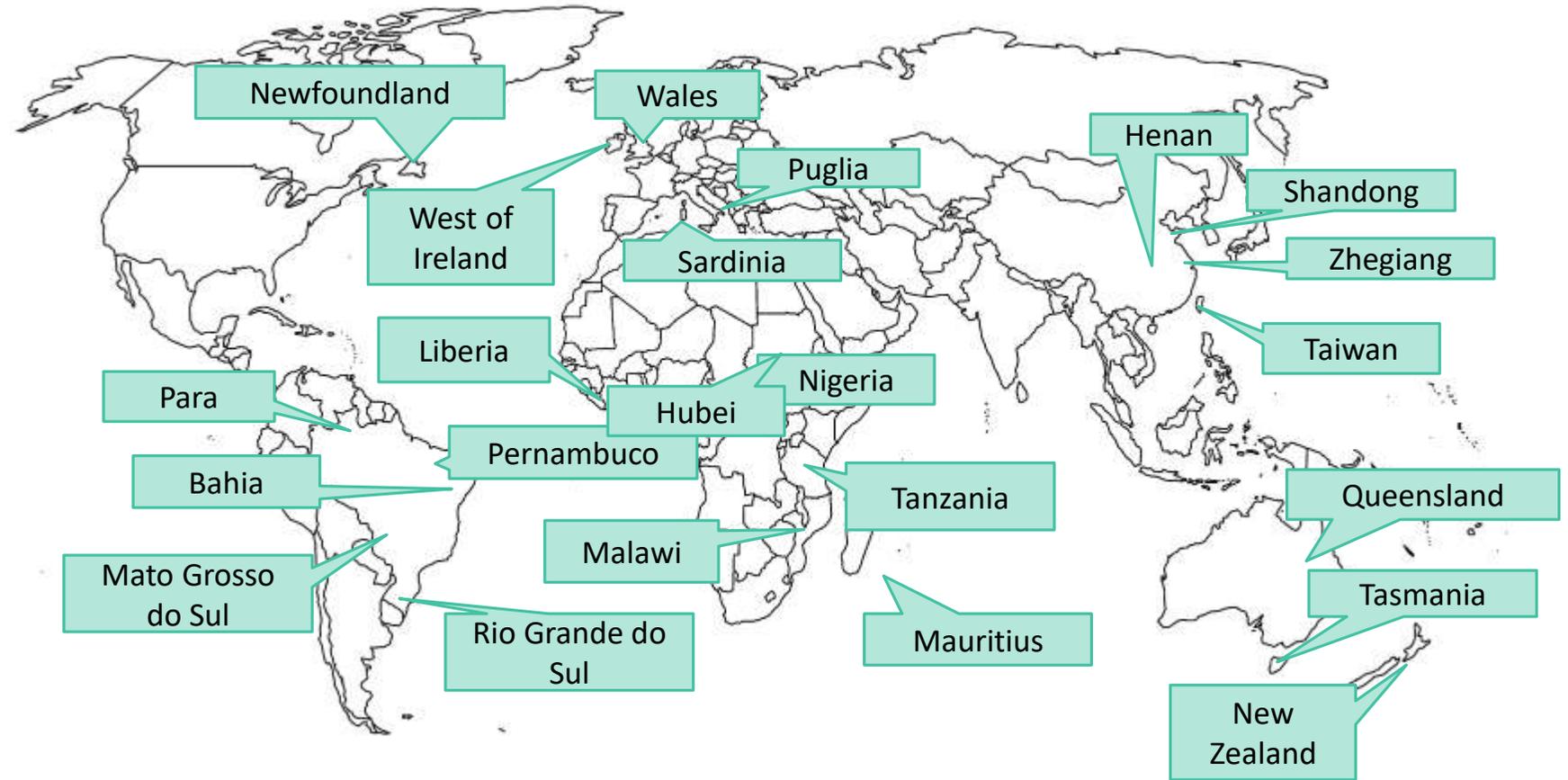
The global countryside is a differentiated space

Key question is how globalization is reproduced through rural places, and why it has different outcomes in different rural localities.

European Research Council
Advanced Grant
2014-2019



Michael Woods, Jesse Heley, Francesca Fois, Laura Jones, Anthonia Onyehialam, Sam Saville, Marc Welsh, Fidel Budy, Beth Saunders, Jack Cook, Reuben Knutson



37 case studies in 14 countries

Over 580 interviews + archival research, surveys, ethnography, field observation, documentary analysis, participatory research methods

“The landscape of the global countryside is inscribed with the marks of globalization”

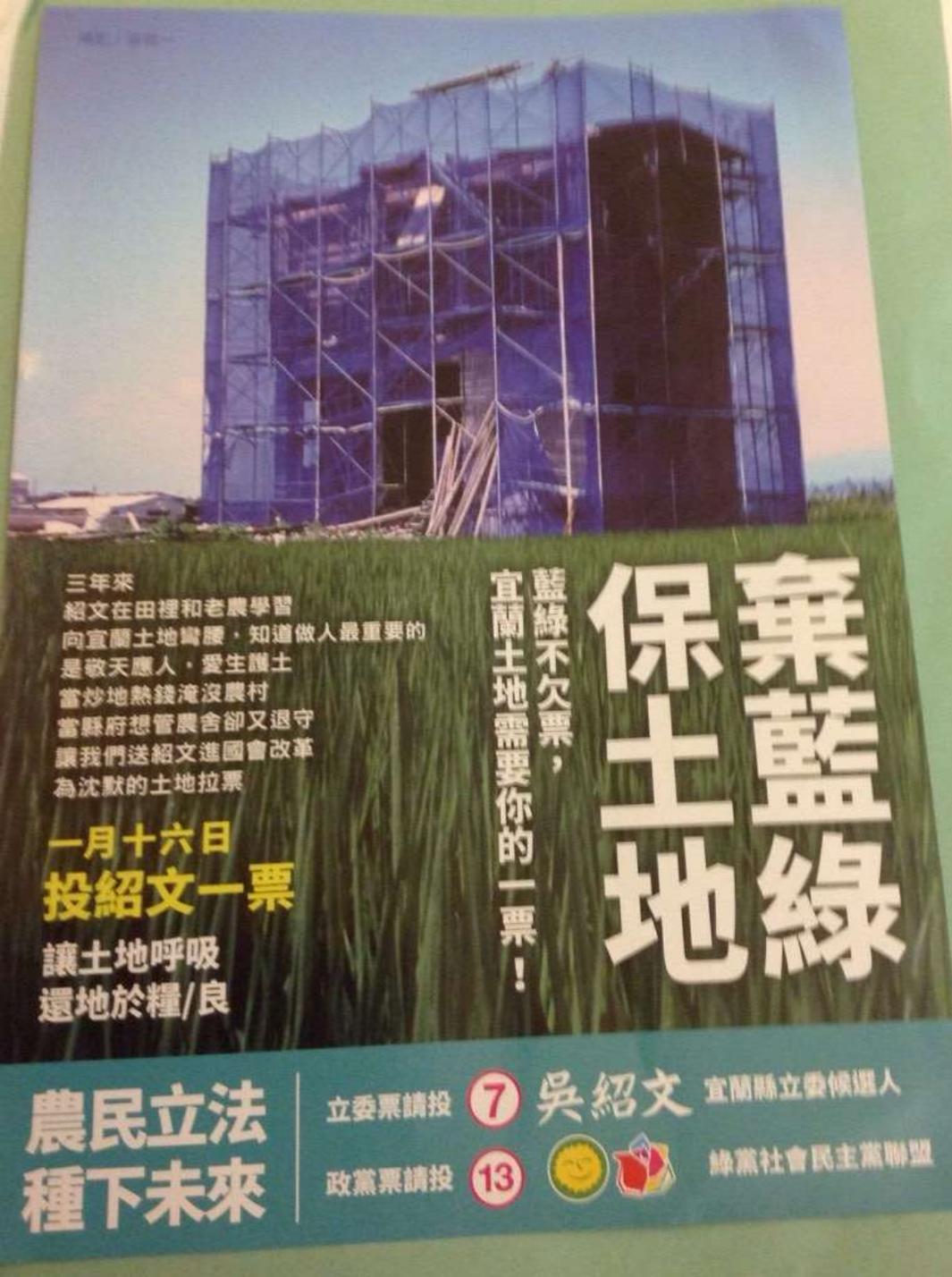
Woods (2007) ‘Engaging the global countryside’, *Progress in Human Geography*, p 493.

I-lan county, Taiwan









Above: New farmers in I-lan county

Left: Green party election leaflet 2016

Tengtou, China





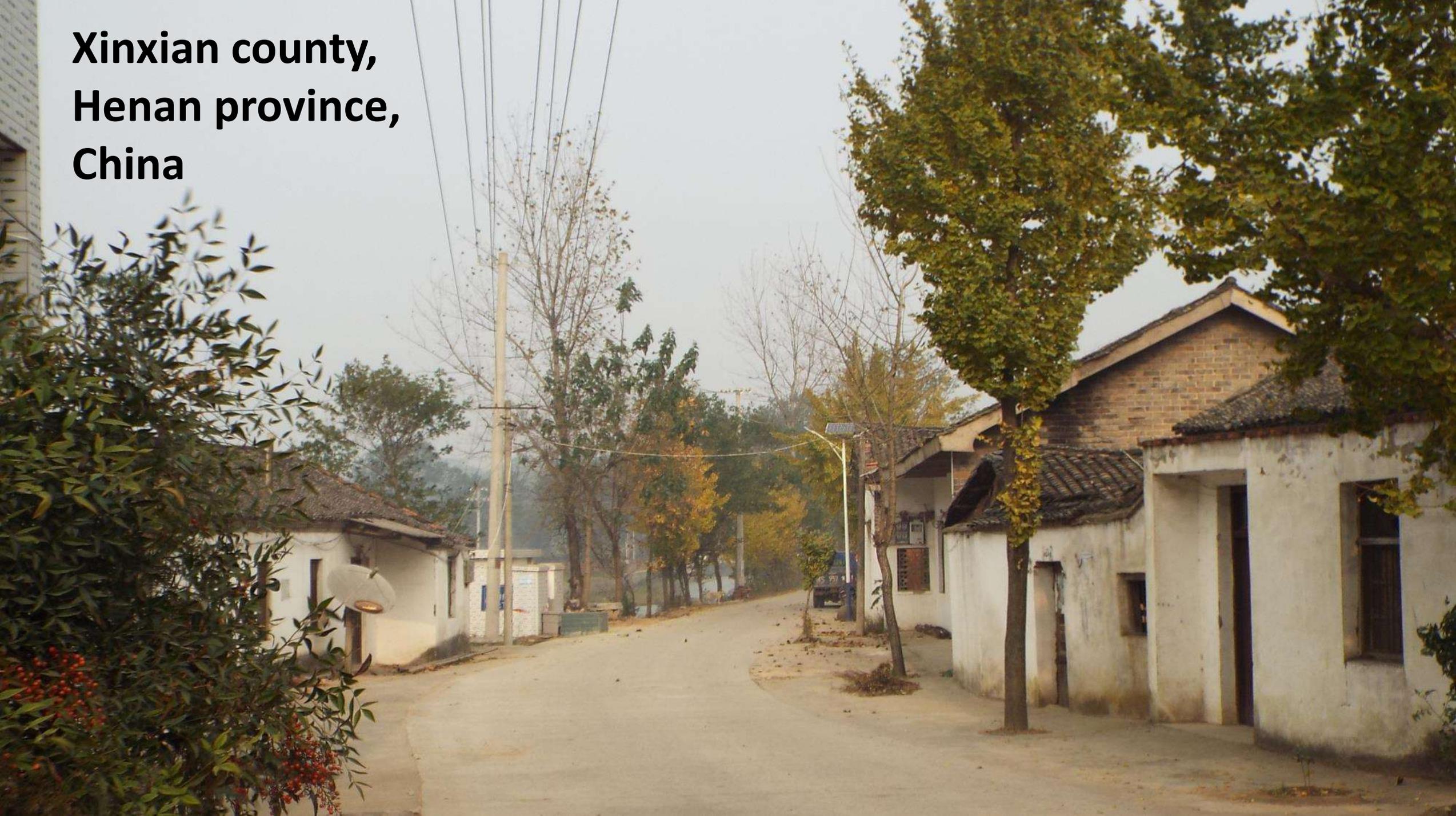








**Xinxian county,
Henan province,
China**



Xinxian County Bureau of Labour
Scheme to place local migrant
workers in employment in Japan
and South Korea



信阳涉外职业技术学院
Xinyang International Vocation Institute



“Chengzhenhua” *‘Townification’*



低首付
电梯房
证件齐
保品质
山城宝地
优良住宅
户户朝南
风景怡然

售楼热线: 0376-3275668
项目地址: 新县发展大道香樟园小区
开发商: 新县富鑫置业发展有限公司

快速钻300米深井
15371286686

Vila Fabril, Brazil





“Before we didn’t even have proper houses. Now we have proper houses.”

Return migrant from Ireland, Vila Fabril

Queenstown, New Zealand



Rockbourne Rural Residential Subdivision, Wanaka

9 exciting 1 acre lifestyle blocks available for private sale



These sections are situated on the Wanaka/Hawea corner and are only 2 minutes drive from the Wanaka township. The sites are zoned rural residential and will have sealed road access. Sites are serviced with water, power and phone. The sections have commanding views of the local mountains, and offer lots of space away from the busy town. Lot 9 has a lovely 3-bedroom house with a large office/workshop/garaging and sleepout.



For further information
or viewing, please contact:
Daphne Morshuis (0274) 336-870
Fax (03) 443-8175
email Rockbourne@actrix.co.nz

NEW RELEASE
Priced from \$195,000

“In effect, Queenstown and the surrounding area has become a global playground with properties attracting global interest ... We have sold to a United Nations of buyers” Estate Agent



In early 2000s, up to 25% of property sales were to overseas buyers



“We don’t want to become the Aspen of the South Pacific. We ... shouldn’t become a community of millionaires and multi-millionaires.”

Warren Cooper, Mayor of Queenstown, *Otago Daily Times*, 09/11/00



“It’s rural butchery.
We came here with
dreams and ideas”

In-migrant from London,
quoted in *Mountain Scene*,
8/11/00

“People go to
Queenstown above
all because of its
unique beauty. It is
unlike anything else
in the world. If you
cover it with
suburbs, then that
will have gone.”

Sam Neill, quoted in *The
Dominion*, 5/12/00

Global Rural Tourism



Ring of Kerry,
Ireland

WE BOOK:

- Fly by Wire
- Rafting
- Jetboating
- Skydiving
- Parapente
- Rafting
- Heli-jet
- Milford Sound
- River Boarding
- Sport Fishing
- Hang-gliding
- Etc.

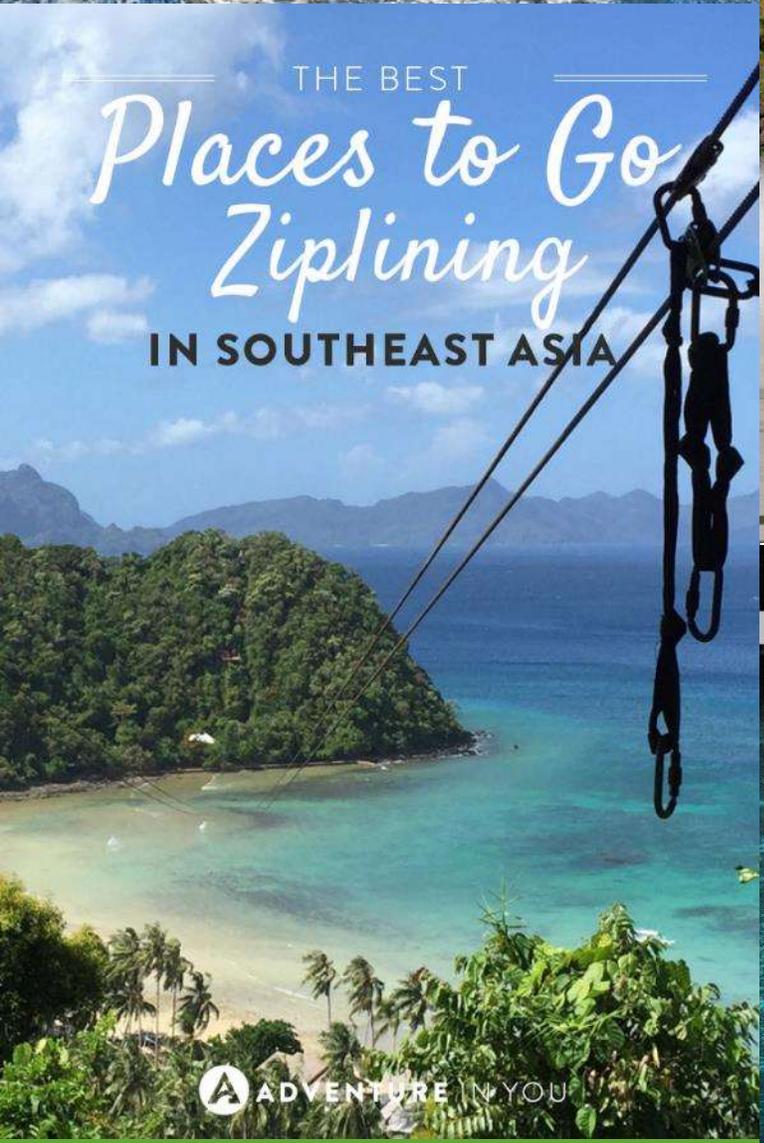
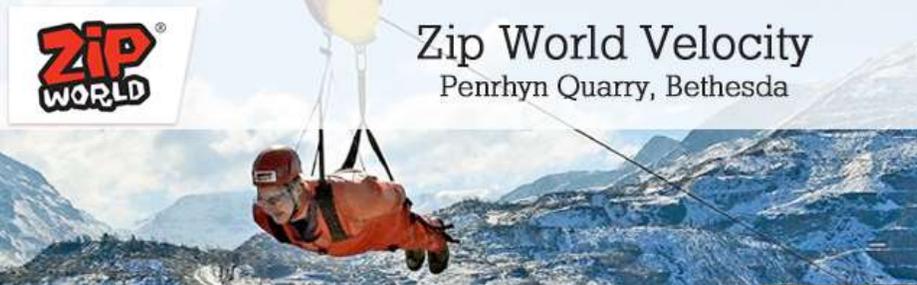


The search for ... adventure

Queenstown, 'Adventure Capital of the World'



Zip World Velocity
Penrhyn Quarry, Bethesda



THE BEST
Places to Go
Ziplining
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA



Aotearoa | New Zealand



India's Highest
BUNGEE JUMPING
in Rishikesh

EXTREME ADVENTURE



The search for ... the exotic

Daintree,
Queensland,
Australia



Alexandra, New Zealand



Southern Poland

Making the exotic familiar

The search for ... authenticity



Mata Pequena, Portugal



Stundars, Finland



Fencible Village, New Zealand



Bog Village, Ireland

Hobbiton, New Zealand









Landscapes of global agriculture

An aerial photograph showing a vast, dense grid of rectangular agricultural fields. The fields are covered in white plastic mulch, creating a 'sea of plastic' effect. The fields are arranged in a regular pattern, with narrow paths and roads separating them. The overall appearance is a highly organized and intensive agricultural landscape.

**'Mar de plástico',
Almeria, Spain**

Picture: Low Orbit Tourist



Crete



Shandong province, China

Manawatu, New Zealand



New Zealand



Tasmania



Kenya



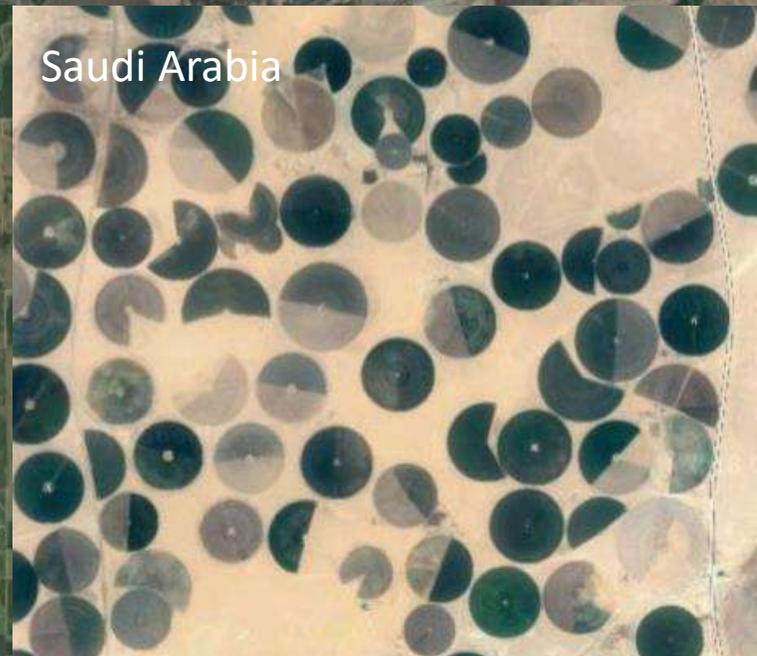
Brazil



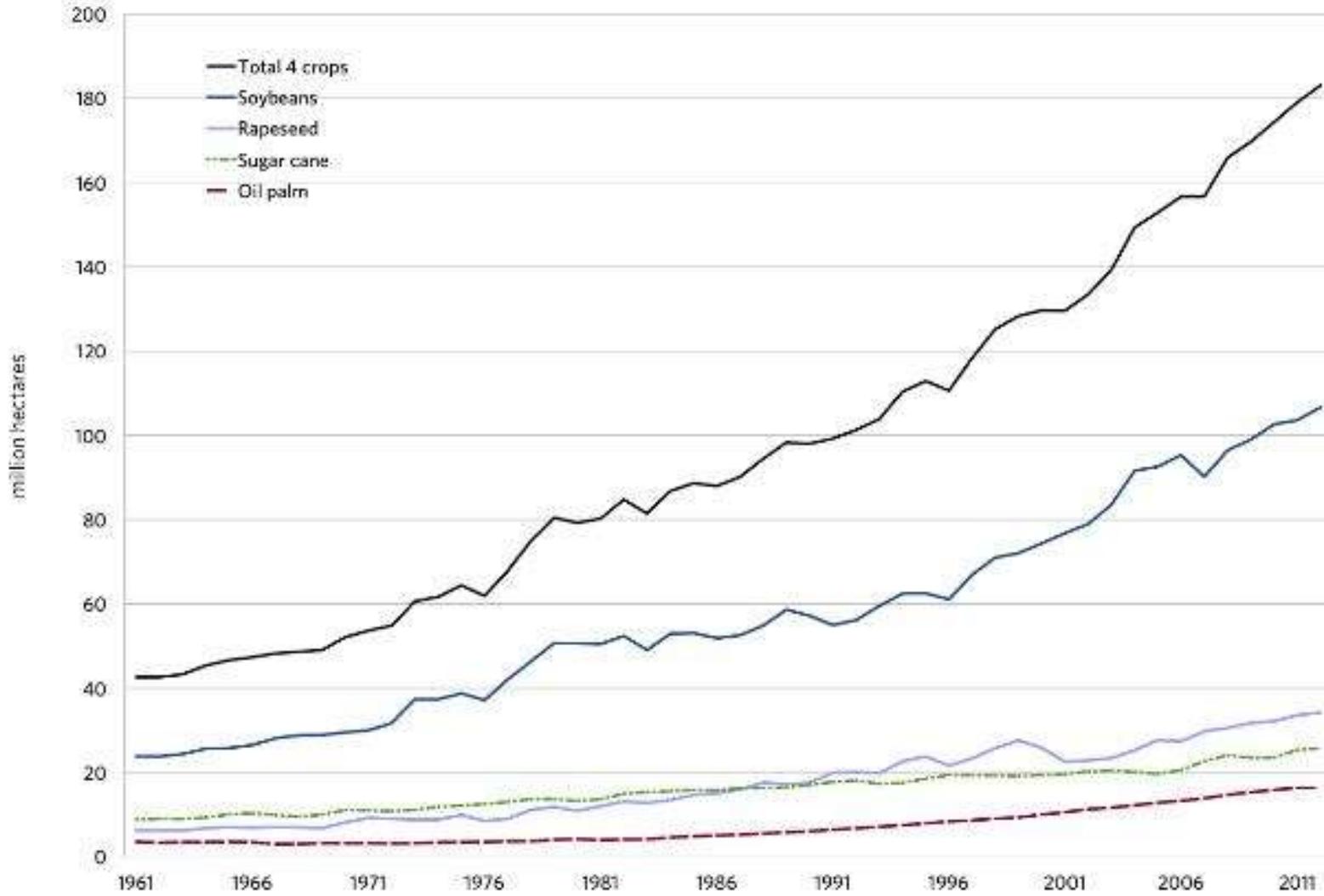
Nebreska



Saudi Arabia



The global encroachment of the industrial crops



Source: GRAIN (2014) *Hungry for Land*.

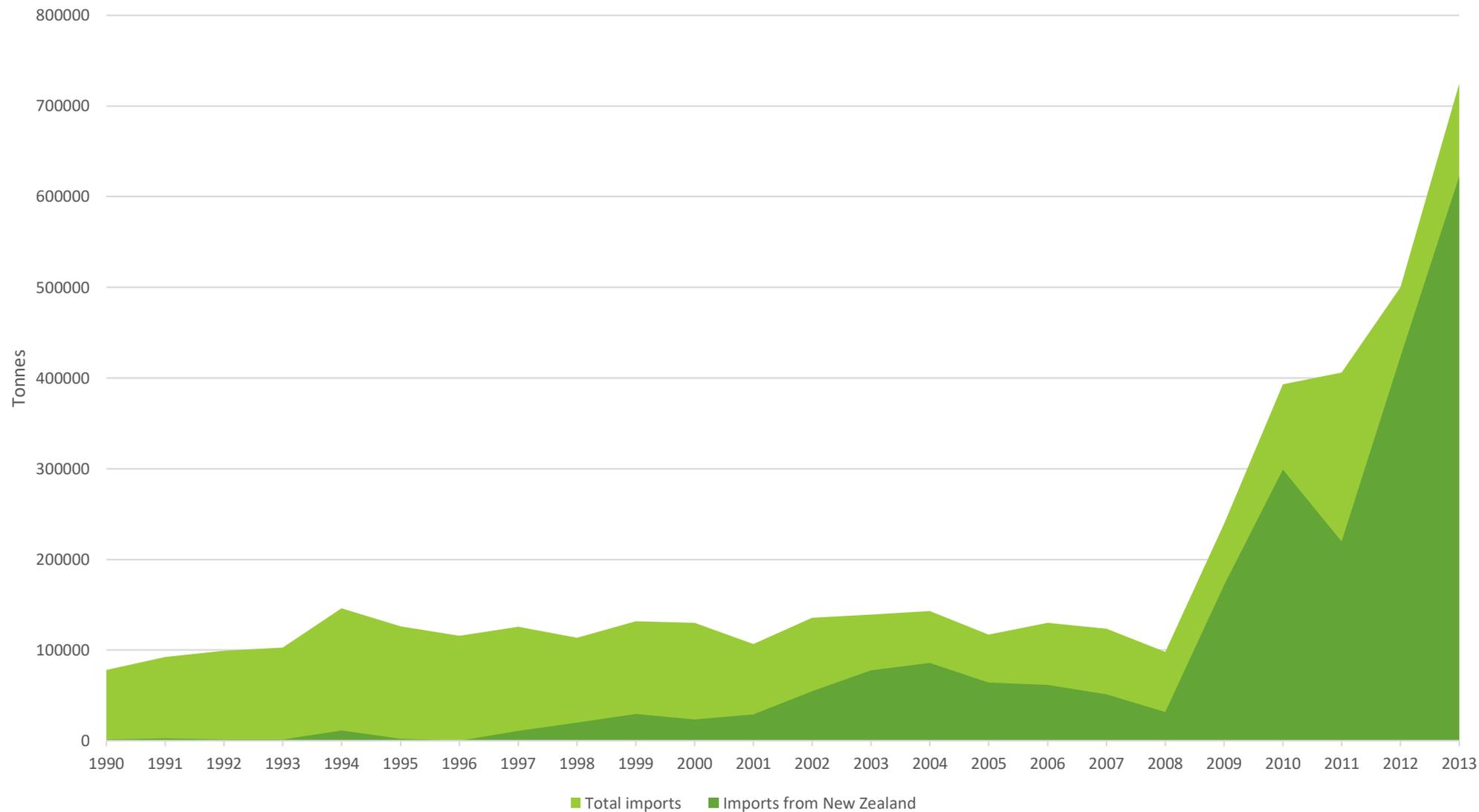
Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil



Manawatu, New Zealand



Imports of whole milk powder to China





Anchor 安佳
源自1886
本真 臻非凡

原草放牧 蕴育本真营养

乳总固体 **11.6g** / 100mL

限定产地 乌兰布和沙漠

圣牧® 全程有机
沙漠有机·自然醇香
有机酸牛奶

限定产自内蒙古乌兰布和沙漠
巴氏杀菌热处理风味酸牛乳

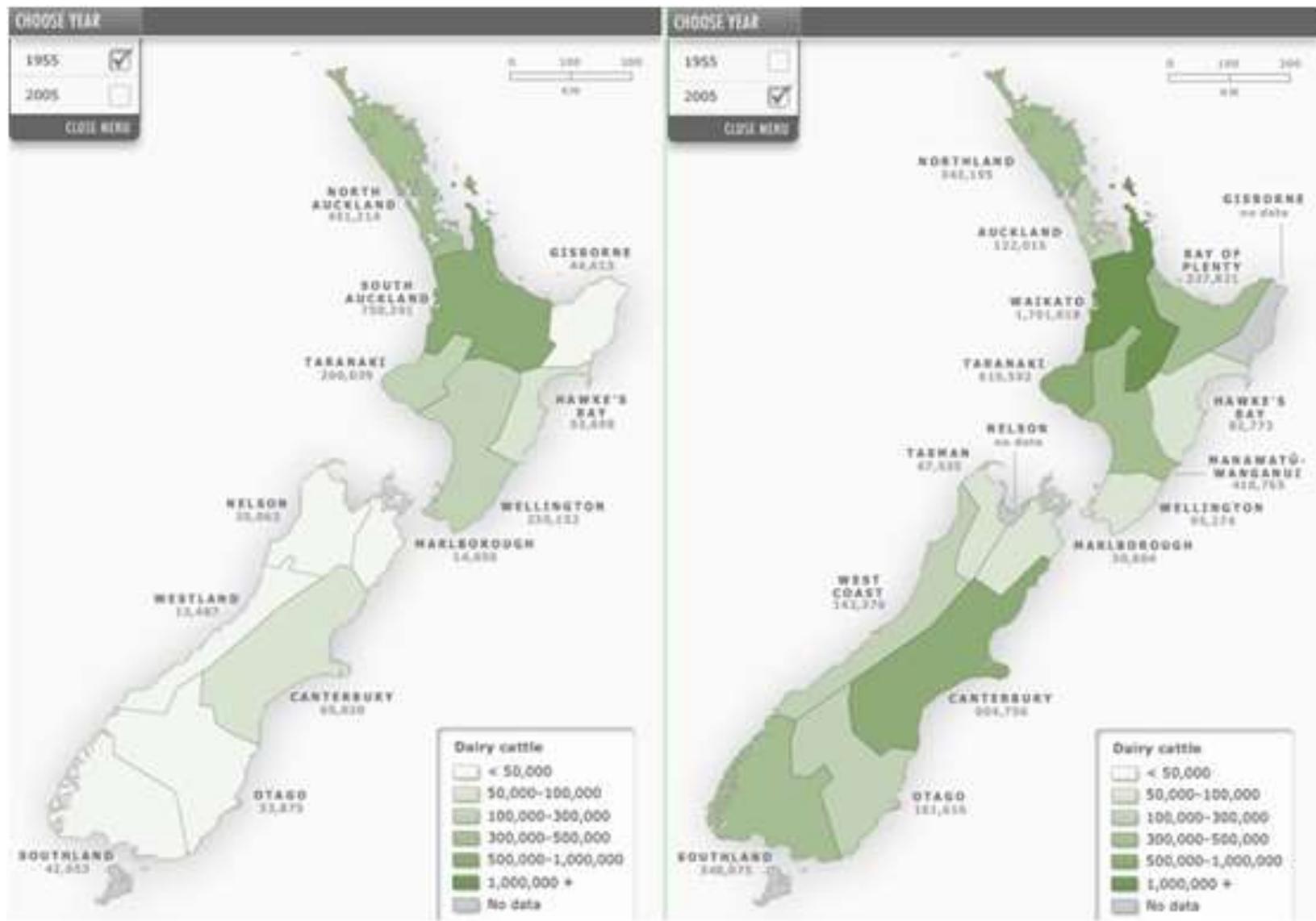
原味

净含量: 205g X 12包

有机奶源 益生元 健益型

天虹

好消息
圣牧原味酸奶
规格: 205g*12



Expansion of dairy industry in New Zealand

Intensification in traditional dairying areas

Expansion of dairy farming into new areas, especially South Island

Conversion of forest and sheep and beef farms to dairy

Numbers of dairy cattle in New Zealand, 1955 (left) and 2005 (right)

Dairy Conversion

New buildings – milking sheds etc

New fencing

Planting of maize for silage

New power lines

Improved roads

New processing plants

Increased irrigation



Germany



Belgium

Manawatu
New Zealand

The landscape is now the wrong colour....

“I feel it would be a catastrophe to see the Mackenzie Basin as green pasture land with herds of dairy cows grazing across the vista with a mountain backdrop. The reason I go to the Mackenzie is to see the different landscape; the barren yet beautiful tussockland is unsurpassed.”

Letter to *Timaru Herald*, 4 June 2009

“Even the colours are changing, the mosaic of tawny wheatfields and sheep country now broken by interloper greens and a more diverse palette of crops.”

New Zealand Geographic, 2010

Mackenzie Basin, South Island,
New Zealand





Cutters Way
Near Nambour
Queensland



Gloucestershire, England

Tasmania, Australia



Germany



Spain



Wales



no more



dim rhagor



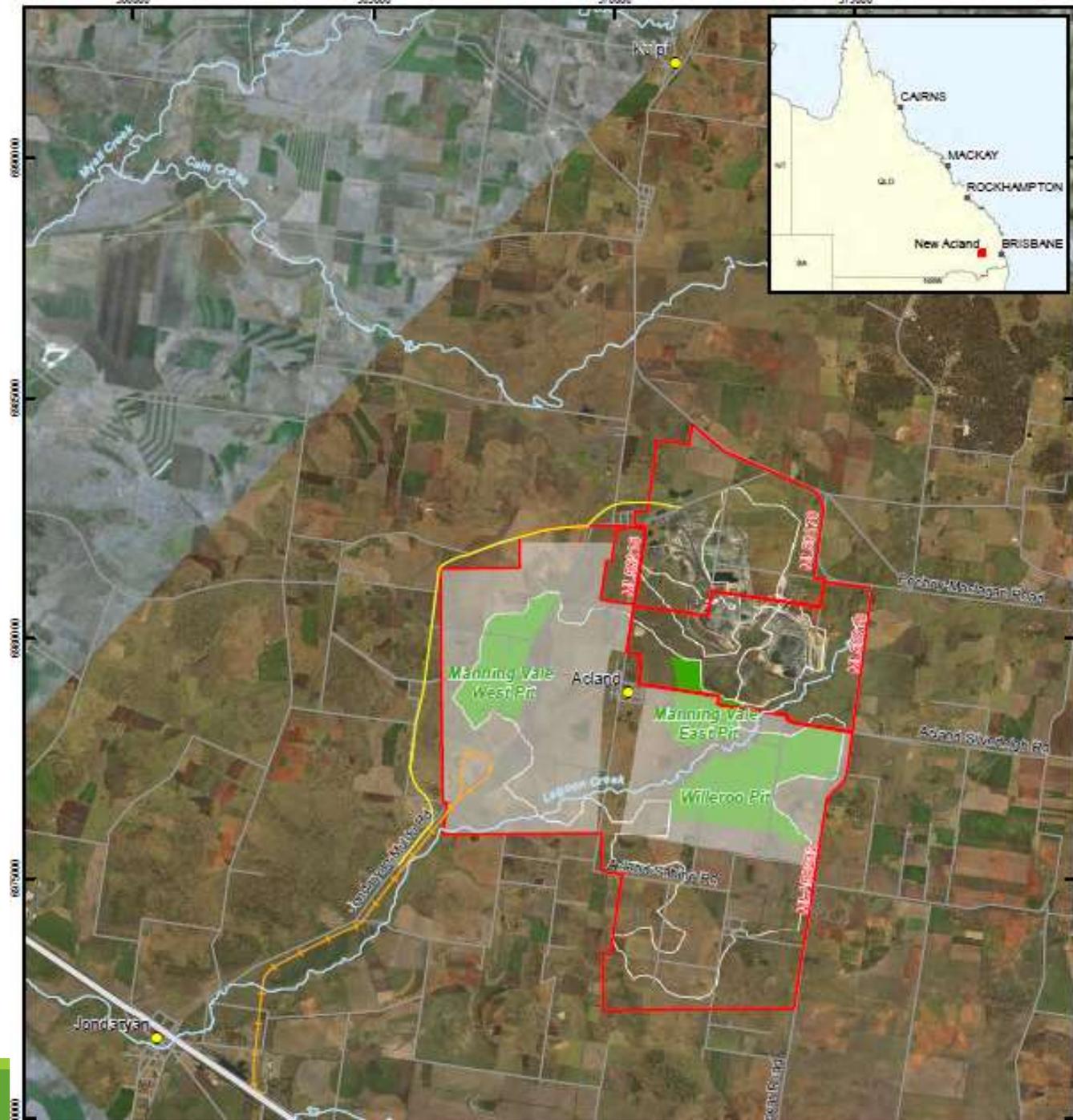
Turek, Poland



Acland, Queensland









ALLANBY BAYMAROO

CANE BR...



CENTRE PARKING







DEMOLITION

**“I haven’t decided
whether to leave yet”**

Acland’s last resident



The Global Countryside

- The interconnection and interdependence of rural areas around the world through transnational networks
- Produce often small-scale incremental changes in rural localities that have a cumulative impact
- Manifest in the landscapes of rural places
- Repeated patterns of similarity in rural landscapes
- But rural places are not all becoming the same, globalization processes have different outcomes in different places

- Reflect a relational view of globalization as described by Doreen Massey and others

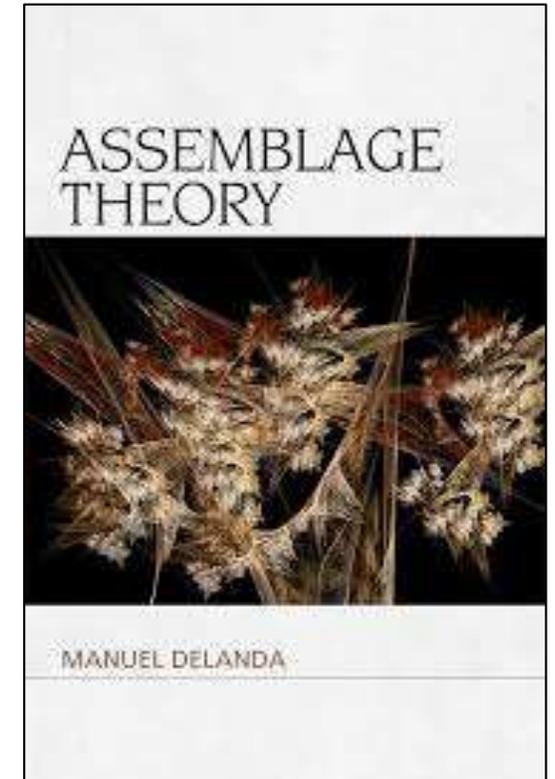
The Global Countryside

“The reconstitution of rural spaces under globalization results from the permeability of rural localities as hybrid assemblages of human and non-human entities, knitted-together intersections of networks and flows that are never wholly fixed or contained at the local scale, and whose constant shape-shifting eludes a singular representation of place. Globalization processes introduce into rural localities new networks of global interconnectivity, which become threaded through and entangled with existing local assemblages, sometimes acting in concert and sometimes pulling local actants in conflicting directions. Through these entanglements, intersections and entrapments, the experience of globalization changes rural places, but it never eradicates the local. Rather, the networks, flows and actors introduced by globalization processes fuse and combine with extant local entities to produce new hybrid formations. In this way, places in the emergent global countryside retain their local distinctiveness, but they are also different to *how they were before*.”

Woods (2007) Engaging the global countryside, *Progress in Human Geography*, 31, pp 499-500

An Assemblage Perspective

- Extending this analysis by drawing on ‘Assemblage Theory’
- Derived from work of Deleuze and Guattari, developed by Manuel DeLanda
- Assemblages are coming-togethers of heterogenous components
- Society as “an assemblage of assemblages” (DeLanda, 2016, Assemblage Theory)
- Globalization as interactions between assemblages of varying type, reach and spatial fixidity



An Assemblage Perspective

Principles for assemblages

- Assemblages can be comprised by **human and non-human components**
- The components of an assemblage can perform **material** and **expressive** roles
- Assemblages are held together by **territorialization** (which can be literal and/or figurative)
- Territorialization describes the tendency of an assemblage towards **homogeneity**; **Deterritorialization** describes divergence and increasing diversity
- Assemblages are given meaning by **coding** (names, maps, statistics, regulations, conventions)
- Assemblages are constantly changing and with each change there are multiple possible forms that an assemblage can take (**'possibility spaces'**)
- Most changes are minor and incremental, but **critical thresholds** may be passed where there is a qualitative change in the nature of the assemblage

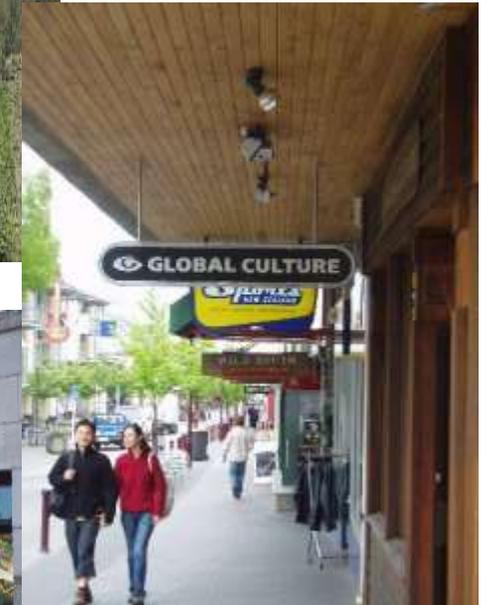
Places as Assemblages

- Places are comprised by **human and non-human components**
- The components of a place perform **material** (e.g housing, employment, transport) and **expressive** roles (e.g. contributing to a sense of place)
- Places have coherence through a territory and a social structure (**territorialization**)
- Places foster a sense of community to promote shared identity (**homogeneity**), but migration, social stratification and economic diversification are all **detritorializing** pressures
- Places are **coded** by place names, maps, planning documents, statistics, by-laws, local cultural conventions etc.
- Places are constantly changing and with each change there are multiple possible forms that a place can take (**'possibility spaces'**)
- Most changes are minor and incremental, but **critical thresholds** may be passed where there is a qualitative change in the nature of the place

Globalization and Place

Globalization impacts on places through the interactions between place-assemblages and the translocal social, economic, cultural, political and technological assemblages that overlap spatially with them, and which act as vectors that connect places with other places.

- Export markets
- Commodity chains
- Transnational corporations
- Migration flows
- Tour operators



Globalization and Place

Globalization effects in translocal and place assemblages are often linked by connective assemblages that both hold translocal assemblages together and provide conduits between places.

- Infrastructure
- Roads, ports, airports
- Technical, legal and financial requirements of vehicles, vessels and operators
- Can facilitate and constrain



Globalization and Place

Globalization proceeds through patterns of deterritorialization and (re-)territorialization in translocal assemblages, which in turn prompt patterns of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in place-assemblages.

- Corporations expanding to new markets
- Corporations imposing standardization
- Migration as deterritorialization
- Multiculturalism as reterritorialization around new hybrid identities and cultures
- Deterritorialization and reterritorialization in the landscape



Globalization and Place

Globalization can prompt processes of de-coding and (re-)coding in place-assemblages, as meanings are re-negotiated and established 'rules' no longer hold effectively.

- Changes in planning regulations and zoning
- New conservation restrictions
- More informal changes to local cultural codes



Globalization and Place

The outcomes of globalization processes in places are not pre-determined. For each change to the place-assemblage there are multiple possible futures.

- Space for local agency
- Most possible futures can be anticipated and planned for
- The capacity of local actors to negotiate between possible futures is dependent on their capacity to enroll, engage and code components
- These capacities may be constrained by the legacy of past assemblage forms and the territorialization of intersecting assemblages



Globalization and Place

When the Moreton Sugar Mill in Nambour, Queensland closed in 2004 there were several possible futures:

- The mill could have been bought as a going concern
- Local sugarcane could have been transported to another mill for processing
- New uses could have been found for sugarcane keeping canegrowers going
- Cane-farming could end and land converted to other uses



Globalization and Place

When the Moreton Sugar Mill in Nambour, Queensland closed in 2004 there were several possible futures:

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-
- Cane-farming could end and land converted to other uses



Critical threshold passed with sugar industry removed from Nambour as a material component

Globalization and Place

The sugar industry lived on as an expressive component in the Nambour place-assemblage

Components of the sugar assemblage attached to new heritage assemblages with new roles



The Global Countryside

- A hopeful ending?
- Rural places are not immune to globalization
- Neither are they inevitably victims of globalization
- A new global countryside is being assembled and re-assembled through the interaction of place- and translocal assemblages and processes of hybridization, fusion and adaptation
- The unfolding of globalization produces multiple possible futures for places, and the ways in which these are negotiated by local actors contributes to the differential outcomes of globalization between places
- We need to better understand how places facing the same globalization pressures diverge in following different possible futures, and capacities and constraints that enable and restrict local actors

View storymaps by theme:

- Migration
- Global Challenges
- Economy and Trade
- Tourism and Culture
- Global Infrastructure & Communications
- Land and Capital
- Civic Society and Social Movement

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Welcome to the public entry-point for a major research project funded by the European Research Council. The study aims to better understand the impact of globalisation in rural regions.

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Woolly Networks - From Sheep to Shop

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Global Challenges in China

China and the New Zealand Dairy Assemblage

In 1973 the entry of UK to European Economic Community meant export of New Zealand's Agricultural produce to Britain would end

Land and Capital in Australia

The (Re)Making of the Global Sugar Countryside

Sugar is one of the most important commodities in the world and it is also the most traded.

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