

# Assemblage, Place and Globalization

## Researching the Global Countryside



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MICHAEL WOODS  
Aberystwyth University  
[m.woods@aber.ac.uk](mailto:m.woods@aber.ac.uk)  
@globalrural





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



## Engaging the global countryside: globalization, hybridity and the reconstitution of rural place

Michael Woods\*

Institute of Geography and Earth Sciences, University of Wales,  
Aberystwyth, Aberystwyth SY23 3DB, UK

**Abstract:** This article applies Massey's (2005) call for a relational understanding of space that can challenge aspatial readings of globalization to the study of globalization in a rural context. Critiquing existing rural research for tending towards studies of global commodity chains and overarching processes of globalization, it argues for more place-based studies of globalization as experienced in rural localities. The concept of the 'global countryside' is introduced as a hypothetical space that represents the ultimate outcome of globalizing processes, yet it is noted that the characteristics of the 'global countryside' find only partial articulation in particular rural spaces. Understanding this differentiated geography of rural globalization, it is argued, requires a closer understanding of how globalization remakes rural places, for which Massey's thesis provides a guide. The article thus examines the reconstitution of rural places under globalization, highlighting the interaction of local and global actors, and of human and non-human actants, to produce new hybrid forms and relations. As such, it is argued, the politics of globalization cannot be reduced to domination or subordination, but are instead a politics of negotiation and configuration.

**Key words:** global countryside, globalization, hybridity, politics, rural.



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“As this emergent global countryside is not a uniform, homogenous space, but rather is differentially articulated, and contested, through particular rural places, so the question... **how are rural places remade under globalization?...** becomes central to our understanding of the global countryside.”

Woods (2007), p 51



## The Global Countryside: Rural Change and Development in Globalization

European Research Council Advanced Grant  
February 2014 – January 2019

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



### **Work Package 1: (Re-)Assembling the Global Countryside**

Focused case studies of globalization in rural localities in advanced economies

*Michael Woods, Sam Saville, Laura Jones, Francesca Fois*

### **Work Package 2: Mapping and Narrating the Global Countryside**

Analysis and mapping of global secondary data, GIS analysis of case study data, Storymaps

*Anthonia Onyehialam, Jack Cook*

### **Work Package 3: A Countertopography of Everyday Globalization**

In-depth 3-year case study of 'everyday globalization' in Newtown, Wales

*Jesse Heley, Laura Jones, Marc Welsh, Sam Saville, Michael Woods*

### **WP4: Differential Global Engagements in Emerging Rural Economies**

Focused case studies in Africa, Brazil and China

*Michael Woods, Francesca Fois*

**PhD: Land & Biofuels in Liberia**

*Fidel Budy*

**PhD: Faith-based international volunteering in Tanzania.** *Beth Saunders*

### **Work Package 5: Rural Assemblages and Grounding Global Challenges**

Case studies of 'global challenges' e.g. energy, water resources, food security, climate change

*Michael Woods, Francesca Fois, Marc Welsh*





Newtown exhibition



Website, Storymaps & social media



Presentations



ESRS Autumn School



Media



En Route documentary film



The Conversation



# An assemblage approach

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**Central question for GLOBAL-RURAL is ‘how are rural places remade under globalization?’**

To answer this question we have adopted an assemblage approach

An assemblage approach involves enquiring into “the circumstances in which things happen: in what situations, where and when does a particular things happen, how does it happen, and so on.” (Gilles Deleuze, 1995, *Negotiations*, p 25)

Assemblage thinking emphasizes “emergence, multiplicity and indeterminacy, and connect to a wider redefinition of the socio-spatial in terms of the composition of diverse elements in some form of provisional socio-spatial formation” (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011, in *Area*, p 124)

# An assemblage approach

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Assemblage thinking draws in different iterations from Michel Foucault, Bruno Latour (assemblage urbanism) and Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, notably via Manuel DeLanda

We primarily follow DeLanda's articulation of assemblage thinking in *A New Philosophy of Society* (2005) and *Assemblage Theory* (2016)

DeLanda describes society as “an assemblage of assemblages” (2016, p 37)

Assemblages include... *commodity chains, markets, industries, corporations, transport networks, diasporic communities, NGOs, states, governments, social movements, farms, factories, villages, towns, cities, households ...* and much more

# Characteristics of assemblages

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- 1) Assemblages are **individual entities comprised by multiple parts**, which interact with other assemblages. As “the ontological status of all assemblages is the same, entities operating at different scales can directly interact with one another, individual to individual” (DeLanda, 2016, p 19)
- 2) Assemblages are always composed of **heterogenous components**, both human and non-human. People are components of a community, but so are “the architecture of the buildings that house them; the myriad different tools and machines used in offices, factories, and kitchens; the various sources of food, water and electricity; the many symbols and icons with which they express their identity” (DeLanda, 2016, p 20). Components can have **material and/or expressive roles** in an assemblage.

# Characteristics of assemblages

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3) Assemblages can be **component parts of larger assemblages**. “Communities can form alliances or coalitions and become a larger assemblage, a social justice movement, for example, and organisations can form industrial networks and complex governments” (DeLanda, 2016, p 20)

4) Assemblages act as a **source of limitations and opportunities for their components**. “The capacity of a close-knit community to enforce local norms, and the capacity of an organization to impose rules and obedience to commands, are clearly a source of constraints to their human components. But a close-knit community also tends to be solidary, an emergent property that provides a resource when it comes to political mobilization” (DeLanda, 2016, p 21)

# Characteristics of assemblages

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5) Assemblages are given shape by **territorialization and deterritorialization**, which refers not only to spatial boundaries and organization structure, but also the degree of homogenization of an assemblage. Territorialization describes increasing homogeneity or coherence, deterritorialization describes increasing diversity or fragmentation.

6) Assemblages are given identity by **coding and decoding** performed by expressive components. Coding can include language, naming, mapping, statistics, laws, regulations, informal conventions, accounting and prices.

# Characteristics of assemblages

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7) Assemblages are **dynamic and constantly changing** as they interact with other assemblages; lose, gain and exchange components; and undergo processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, decoding and recoding.

Each change to an assemblage has **multiple possible outcomes**. A multiplicity encompasses all the possible forms that an assemblage could take: past, present and future.

In most cases, possible futures can be anticipated and planned for and changes to the form of an assemblage do not alter its identity.

However, if **critical thresholds** are passed an assemblage experiences fundamental qualitative change, altering or losing its identity or dissolving entirely

# The farm as an assemblage



Heterogenous human and non-human components: farm family, farm workers, livestock, crops, machinery, buildings, feed, agrochemicals etc

Material components (machinery, buildings, fences, inputs etc) and expressive components (landscape, architecture, farm and field names, sound of livestock etc)

Farms are parts of larger assemblages (e.g a supermarket supply chain, the dairy industry, the local community)

Farms interact with and exchange components with other assemblages (e.g. suppliers, buyers, neighbouring farms, ecosystems)

# The farm as an assemblage



Farms constrain their components, e.g. livestock are constrained in their movement, diet, lifespan etc

Farms are also constrained by their place in larger assemblages, e.g. contracts with supermarkets

Farms may have a strong territorialization e.g. around a single crop or single buyer, or may deterritorialize with diversification and multifunctionality

Farms are coded by daily routines, farm accounts, and over-coded by legislative regulations (e.g. health & safety) and buyer requirements

# The farm as an assemblage



Farms are dynamic, constantly losing, gaining and exchanging components, with multiple possible futures

But when critical thresholds are passed they may lose their identity and cease to function as an independent, operational farm

# Globalization and Assemblage

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Globalization as “processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant” (Steger, 2003, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, p 13).

## **Globalization proceeds through interactions between assemblages**

Argument developed in ‘Assemblage, Place and Globalization’, paper currently under review for *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*.

# Globalization and Assemblage

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1) Globalization involves the rearrangement of components in assemblages, as components are added, removed or exchanged between components



Subsidiary companies and plants sold between transnational corporations  
*Edith Creek dairy, Tasmania, sold by Australian Murray Goulburn to Thai-owned Dutch Oven*

International land investments  
*Woolnorth property, Tasmania, bought by Chinese-owned Moon Lake Investments*



Migrants moving between countries and introducing new foods and cultural practices  
*Shop serving Syrian community in Ballyhaunis, Ireland*

# Globalization and Assemblage

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2) Globalization occurs through recurrent interactions between assemblages and fusing into larger assemblages



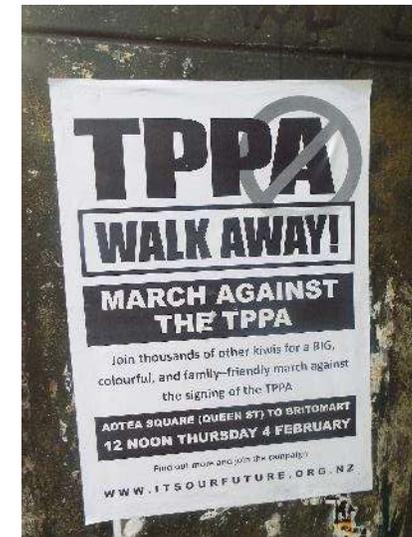
Takeover of local companies by transnational corporations  
*Laura Ashley, Newtown, bought by Malaysian-owned MUI*



Social movements uniting in transnational alliances

*World Social Forum meeting, Salvador*

Trade agreements expanding market  
*Opposition to the Trans-Pacific Partnership,  
New Zealand*



# Globalization and Assemblage

3) Globalization advances through the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of assemblages, as they overspill boundaries, expand and extend



Households and communities deterritorialize when members leave to work in other countries

*An estimated 70 per cent of the population of Vila Fabril, Brazil, has lived and worked in Ireland*

Communities deterritorialize as immigration produces a more diverse population

*Multi-lingual shop sign in rural community in New Zealand*



# Globalization and Assemblage

4) Globalization is fostered by the 'territorialization' of assemblages towards increasing homogeneity, including the imposition of standard codes



Standardization of quality standards through a commodity chain  
*Quality standards for UK retailer Marks and Spencer followed in a clothing factory, Tengtou, China*

Proliferation of global brands as everyday globalization  
*McDonalds and KFC in Newtown, Wales and Fielding, New Zealand*



Market dominance of a handful of transnational seed companies  
*Pioneer maize from US transnational DuPont planted in New Zealand*

# Globalization and Assemblage

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5) Globalization is not a linear process as cycles as local components can be cut from translocal assemblages and connections rearranged



Advances in transport technology leave redundant stopping-points less well connected

*Gander Airport in rural Newfoundland, Canada, once described as 'The Crossroads of the World' as an obligatory refueling point for TransAtlantic flights, now has no scheduled international flights*



# Globalization and Assemblage

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## 6) Globalization is a more-than-human phenomenon



Technological components enable translocal assemblages to transcend space

*Recharging mobile phones in rural Malawi*



Invasive species and pathogens circulate as the unintended consequences of global assemblage

*Olive trees in Puglia, Italy, threatened by the spread of Xylella fastidiosa*



# Globalization and Place

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*Interactions between place-assemblages and translocal assemblages and how these produce changes in rural places*

1) Globalization impacts on places through 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 place

Place-assemblages share components with translocal components, but the roles performed by a component in each assemblage may be different

# Manufacturing FDI in County Mayo, Ireland

Foreign Direct Investment by manufacturing and healthcare companies in County Mayo, Ireland in 1970s and 1980s

As new components in place-assemblages new factories transformed the local economy by providing non-agricultural jobs

Factories also part of transnational corporate assemblages, with different roles and coding

Decisions made in corporate HQs in USA or Japan had impacts back in County Mayo

Job losses or factory closures removed components from place-assemblages



# Manufacturing FDI in County Mayo, Ireland

Foreign Direct Investment by manufacturing and healthcare companies in County Mayo, Ireland in 1970s and 1980s

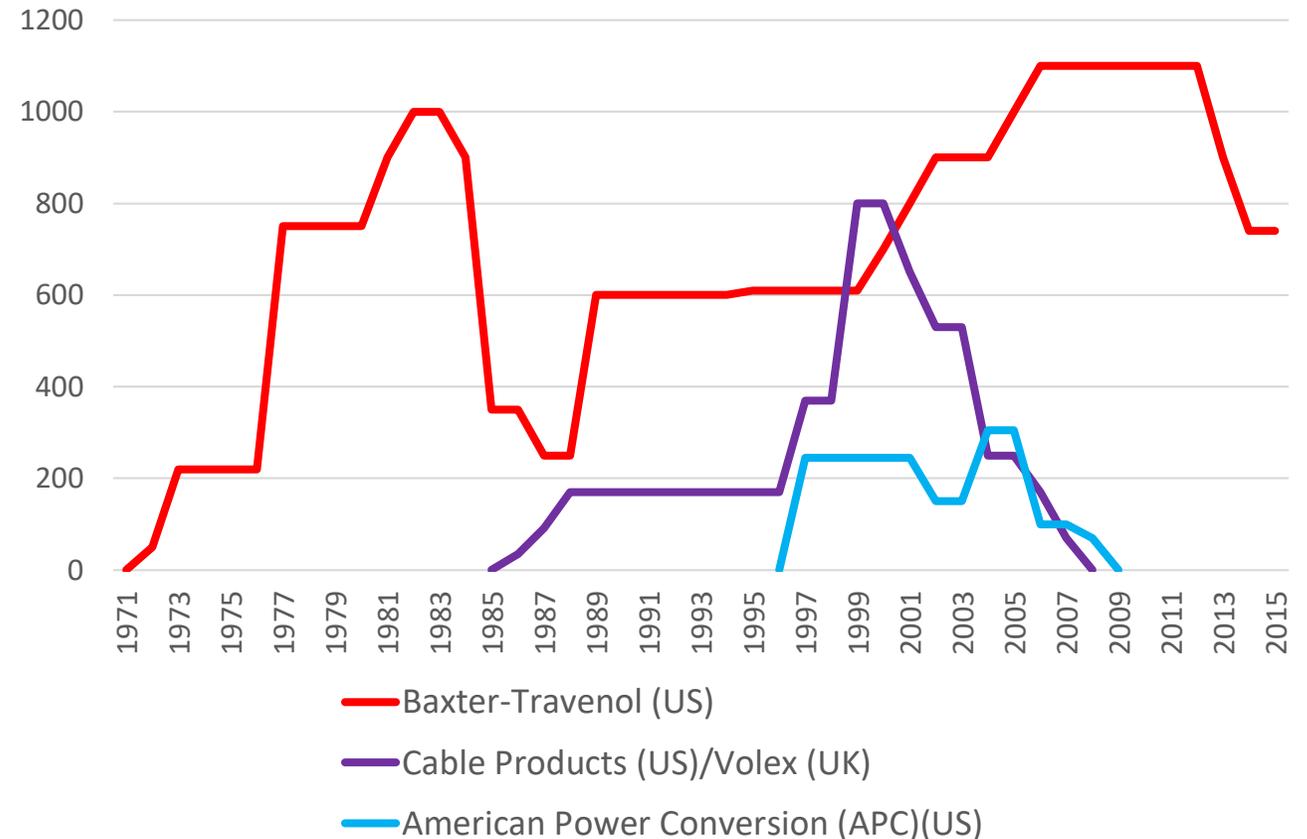
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Employment in Castlebar, Co Mayo by Major Foreign Firms



# Globalization and Place

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*Interactions between place-assemblages and translocal assemblages and how these produce changes in rural places*

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

The characteristics of connective assemblages can create constraints and opportunities for place-assemblages and their engagement in global networks

# Soy Cultivation and Transport in Brazil

The expansion of soy cultivation in Central Brazil has been facilitated by developments in transport infrastructure to speed up exports to Europe and Asia

Cargill port facilities at Santarem, bringing large cargo ships further into the interior and removing the need for transshipment at the coast

Improvements to internal waterways and highways permitting quicker, cheaper transit of soy from plantations to ports

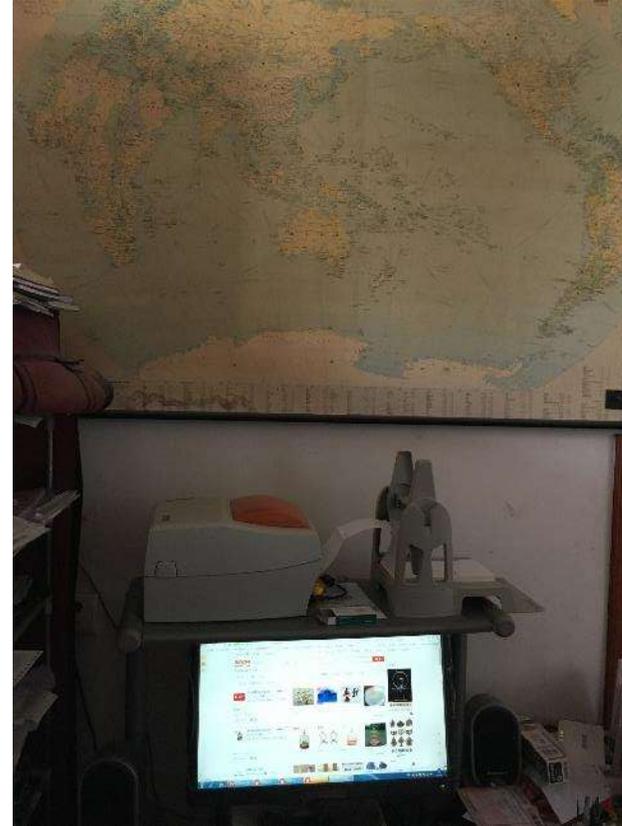


# E-Commerce in Rural China

New business and trading opportunities for rural communities in China have been opened up by communications networks allowed access to the internet

Growth of e-commerce using new online platforms to access domestic and international markets, especially Taobao and Alibaba

In communities such as Da'ou village in Shandong province, e-commerce is changing gender roles and reshaping local economic assemblages





## Tasmanian Fresh Milk Exports to China

10% of milk from Moon Lake's Woolnorth farms in Tasmania is exported to China as fresh milk

Made possible by food processing technology and transport networks

Capacity also constrained by transport infrastructure

Hobart airport runway too short for large planes for direct flights to China

# Globalization and Place

*Interactions between place-assemblages and translocal assemblages and how these produce changes in rural places*

3) Globalization can involve over-coding of components in place-assemblages by translocal assemblages, and can prompt the recoding of place-assemblages as meanings are renegotiated and established 'rules' no longer hold effectively



Designations according to international conversation models restricting conventional local uses of natural resources

New local laws or land use planning regulations to respond to challenges of interactions with translocal assemblages



# Globalization and Place

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*Interactions between place-assemblages and translocal assemblages and how these produce changes in rural places*

4) Globalization proceeds through patterns of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in translocal assemblages which in turn prompt patterns of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in place-assemblages

Foreign direct investment and divestment, trends in international tourism, out- and in-migration are all deterritorializing pressures on places

Reduce homogeneity of local communities and economies and/or transgress the spatial boundaries of places

Places respond by reterritorializing with new material and expressive components

# Ballyhaunis, Ireland

Immigration over three decades has produced a very diverse population

In 2011, 49% of the town's residents were born outside Ireland, with 42 different nationalities represented

Reterritorialization in the form of initiatives to bring the community together

Work by the local Gaelic sports club to reach out to immigrants and promote inclusion and integration



# Globalization and Place

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*Interactions between place-assemblages and translocal assemblages and how these produce changes in rural places*

5) The outcomes of globalization are not pre-determined. Each new interaction between a place-assemblage and a translocal assemblage produces multiple possible forms that the place-assemblage could take.

Creates space for local agents to influence the outcomes of globalization, but within constraints.

Globalization Processes	Possible Futures for Place-Assemblages
<b>Immigration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Immigrants assimilated into community</li> <li>• Increasing ethnic segregation</li> <li>• Cosmopolitan, multi-cultural society develops</li> <li>• Immigrants return home or move on</li> </ul>
<b>Industrial relocation from place</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of industry weakens local economy and feeds high unemployment</li> <li>• Local economy diversifies into new sectors</li> <li>• Remaining businesses in sector restructure to become more competitive</li> </ul>
<b>Expansion of export crops</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Export crops become dominant in locality, stimulating economic growth</li> <li>• Export crops become dominant in locality but associated with changes in landownership and displacement of small farmers</li> <li>• Expansion of export crops restricted or reversed due to unfavourable market or local environmental conditions</li> </ul>
<b>International land investment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land substantially transferred into foreign ownership, but with limited change to farming type or role in place-assemblage</li> <li>• Land substantially transferred into foreign ownership, with significant changes to farming type and/or role in place-assemblage</li> <li>• Land ownership remains mixed between local and foreign owners</li> <li>• International interest in land not sustained and holdings sold</li> </ul>

# Globalization and Place

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*Interactions between place-assemblages and translocal assemblages and how these produce changes in rural places*

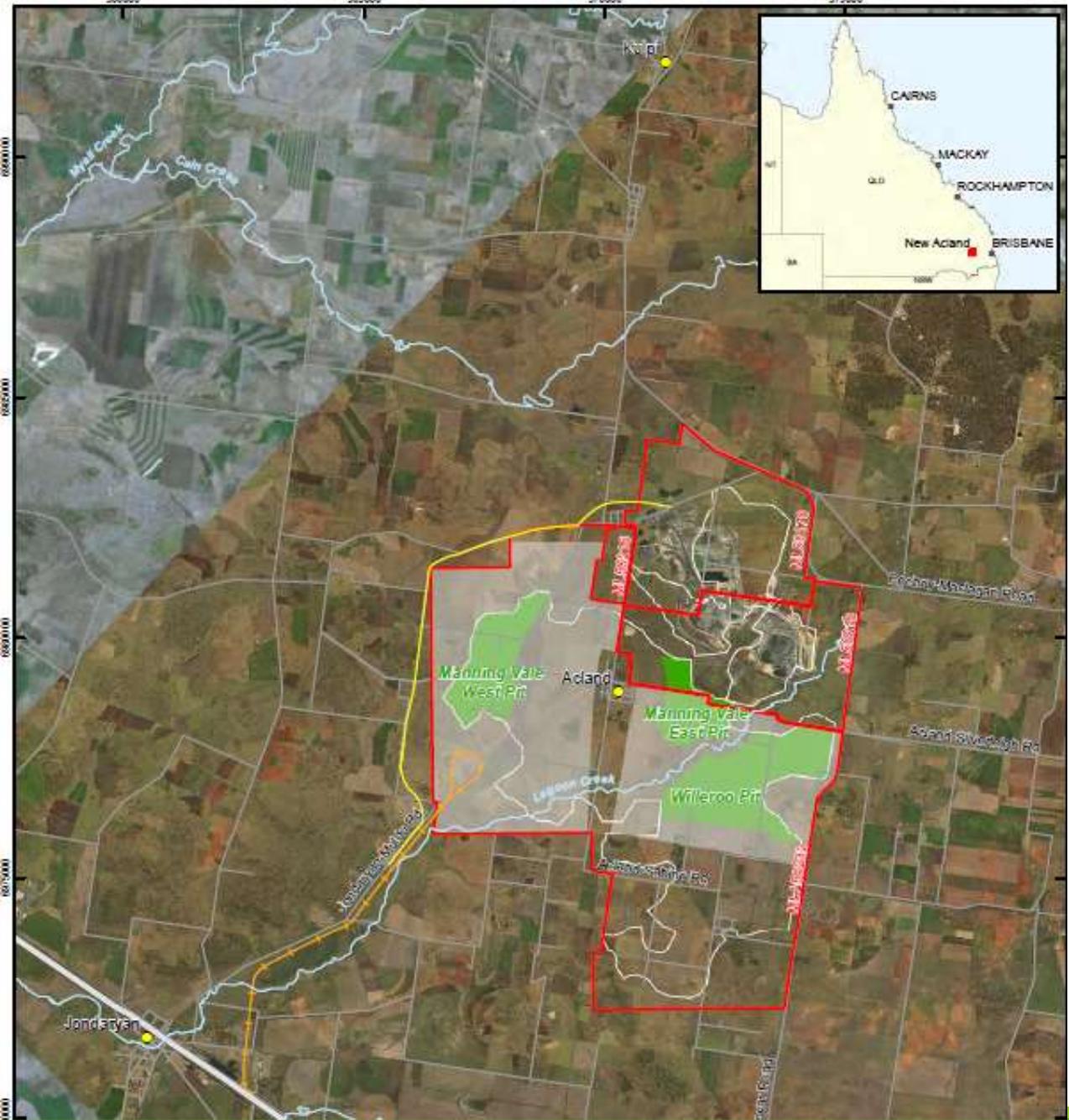
5) The outcomes of globalization are not pre-determined. Each new interaction between a place-assemblage and a translocal assemblage produces multiple possible forms that the place-assemblage could take.

Creates space for local agents to influence the outcomes of globalization, but within constraints.

Place-assemblages change shape and adapt in response to globalization impacts without usually losing their coherence or identity.

Some impacts are so severe that critical thresholds are passed.

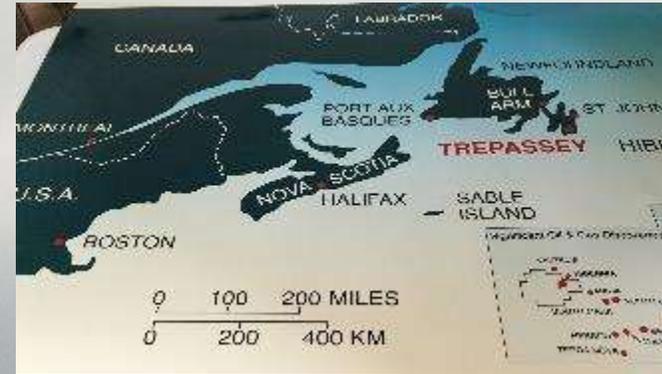
# Acland, Queensland, Australia





# Trepassey

Newfoundland, Canada



# Components in the Trepassey Place-Assemblage

People

Fog

Landscape

Equipment

Sea

Household items

Buildings

Community events

Boats

Church services

Wharf

Fish

Wildlife

... and more



TOWN



OF

# TREPASSEY

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE HON. WALTER CARTER  
MINISTER OF FISHERIES OF NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR  
BY THE TOWN COUNCIL OF TREPASSEY  
ON HIS MEETING WITH FISHERMEN AND INTERESTED  
PEOPLE OF THE FISHERIES IN TREPASSEY JANUARY 14, 1977

THIS BRIEF OUTLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FISHERIES TO OUR TOWN.

Francis Curtis - Mayor  
Francis Corrigan - Deputy Mayor  
Victor Pennell  
Jerome Devereaux  
Michael Myrick  
Ronald Sutton

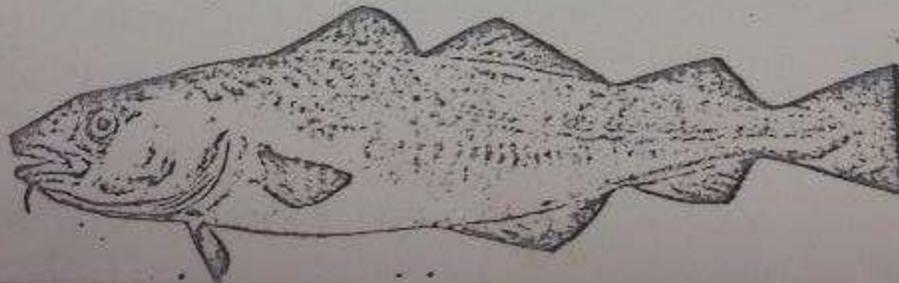


TREPASSEY TOWN COUNCIL

Bernice Bennett - Town Clerk

Nfld.

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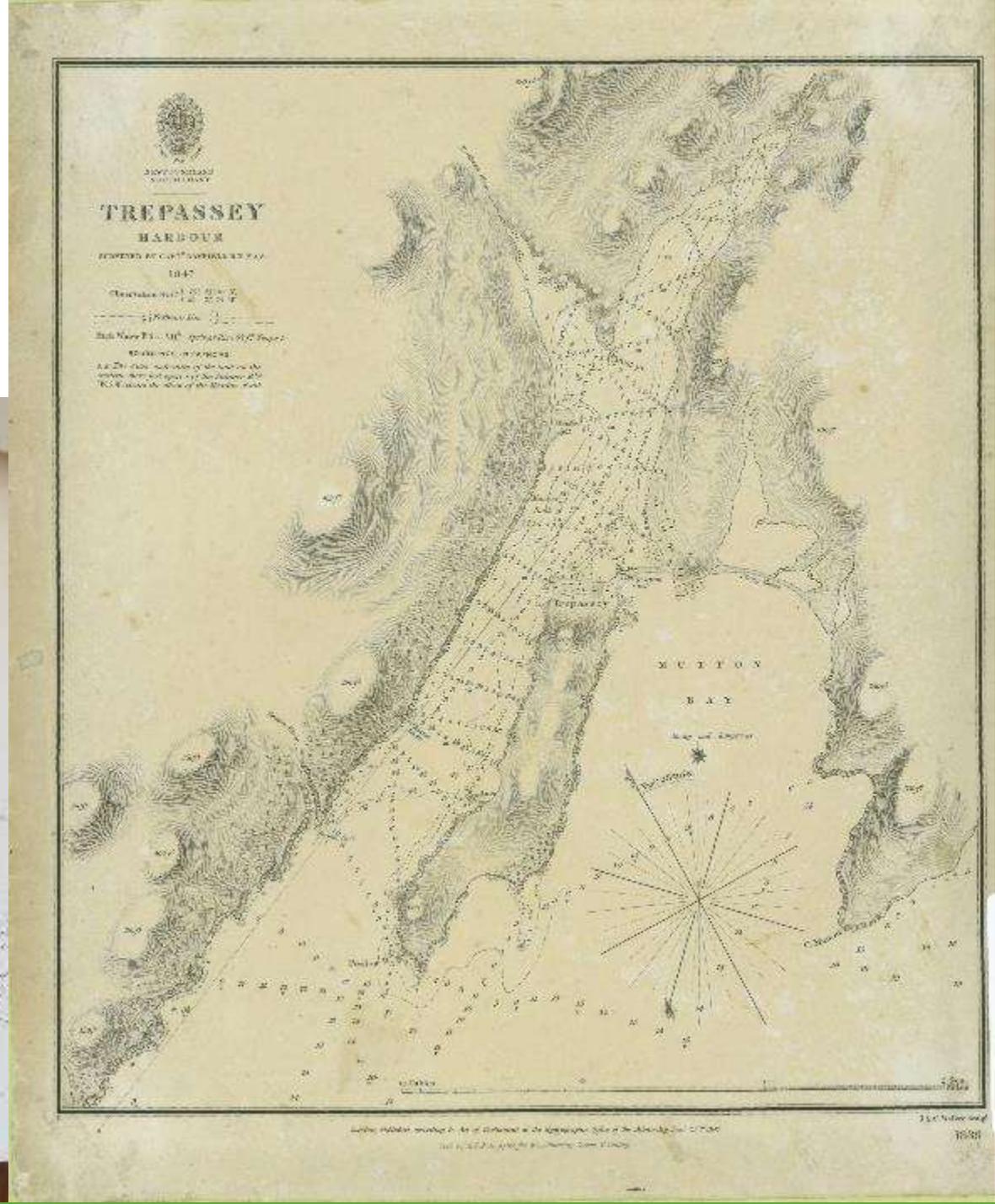
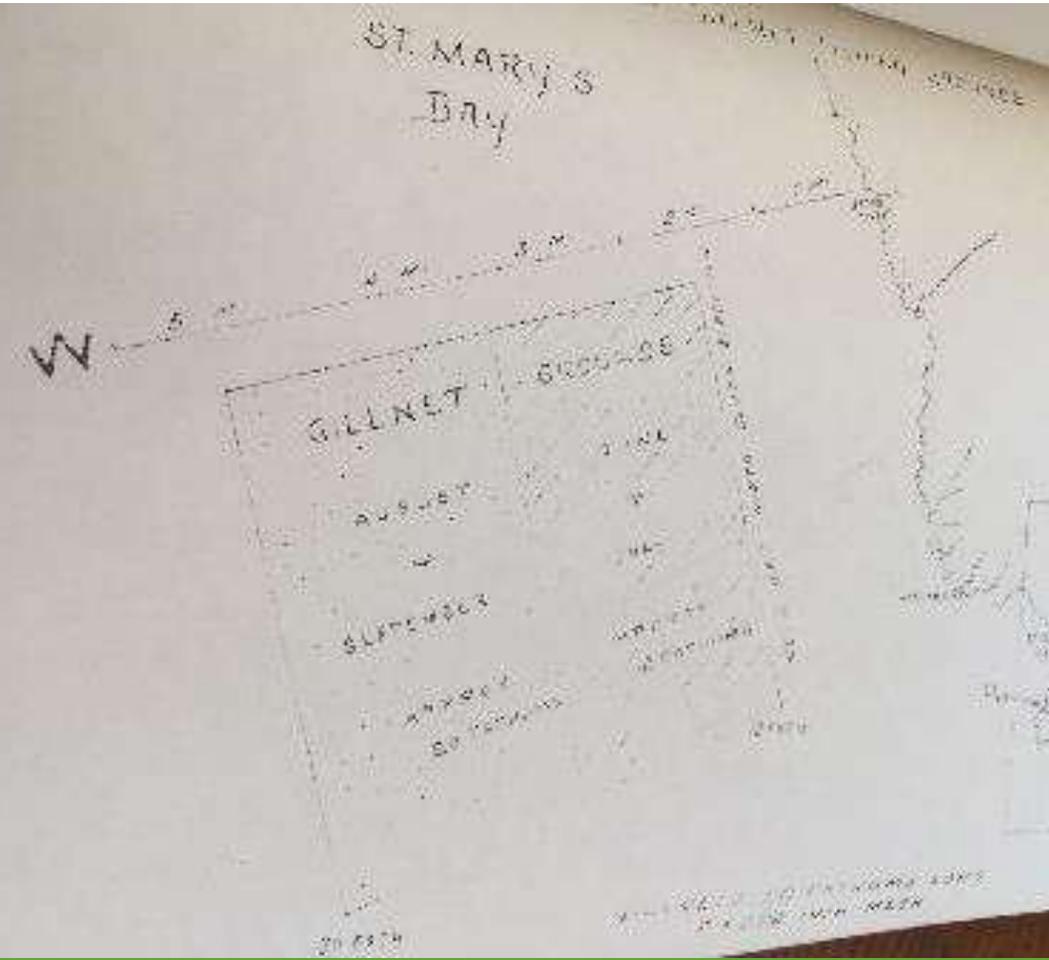
# Territorialization around fishing



Trepassey 1911



# More-than-terra territorialization





# The Barrens



# The Barrens

**Territorialisation as temporal as well as spatial**

Wood, berries, game etc collected from Barrens accordingly to calendar of subsistence transhumance living

Month	Activity	Notes	Remarks
Jan	Preparation		
Feb	Preparation		
Mar	Preparation		
Apr	Preparation		
May	Preparation		
Jun	Preparation		
Jul	Preparation		
Aug	Preparation		
Sep	Preparation		
Oct	Preparation		
Nov	Preparation		
Dec	Preparation		

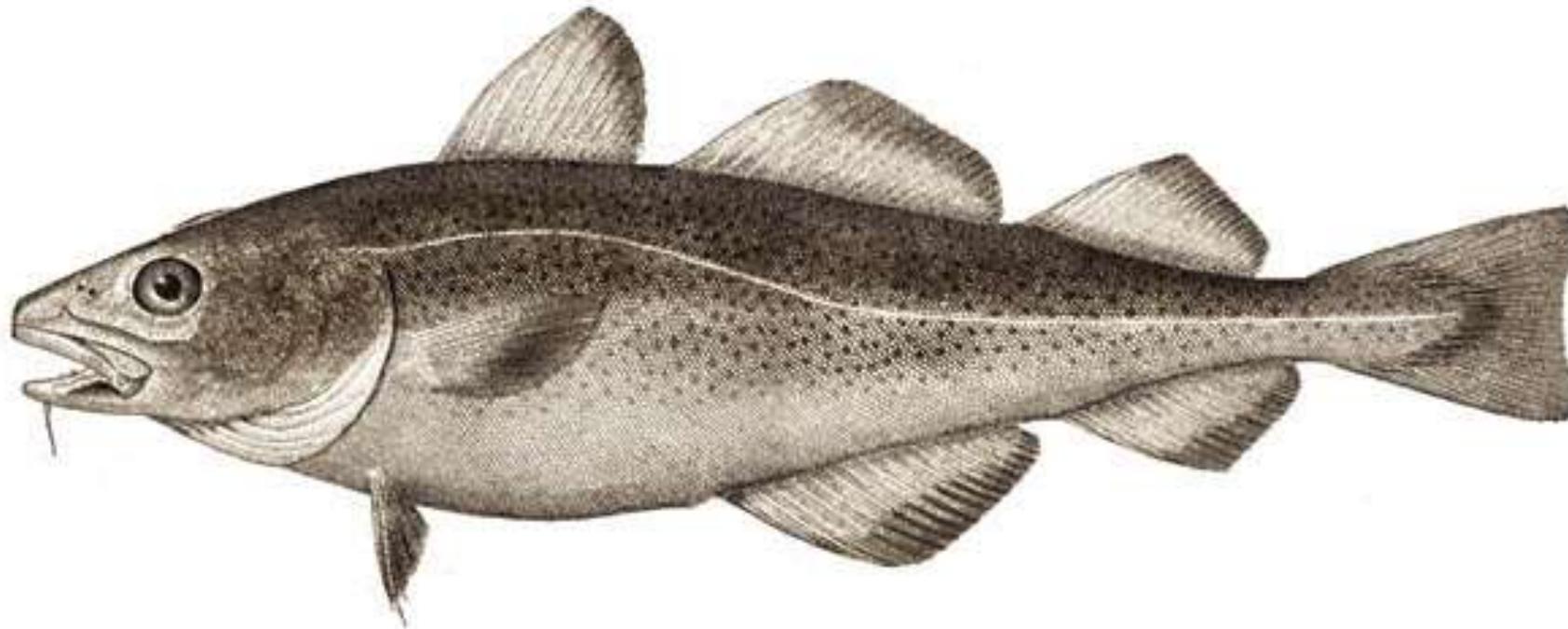
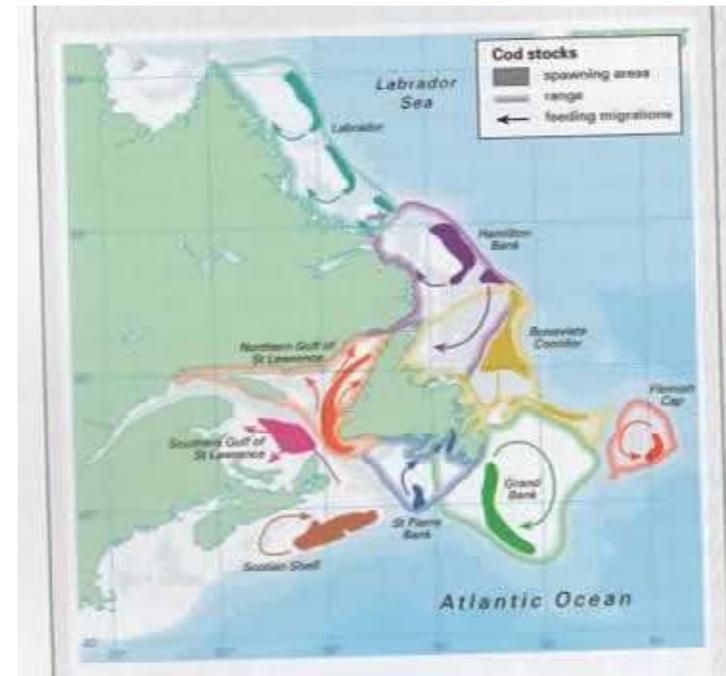
From Newfoundland Settlement Survey 1954

# The Atlantic Cod

Cod were a component in the Trepassey place-assemblage but cod shoals were also an assemblage with their own territorialization and coding

## Cod mobilities

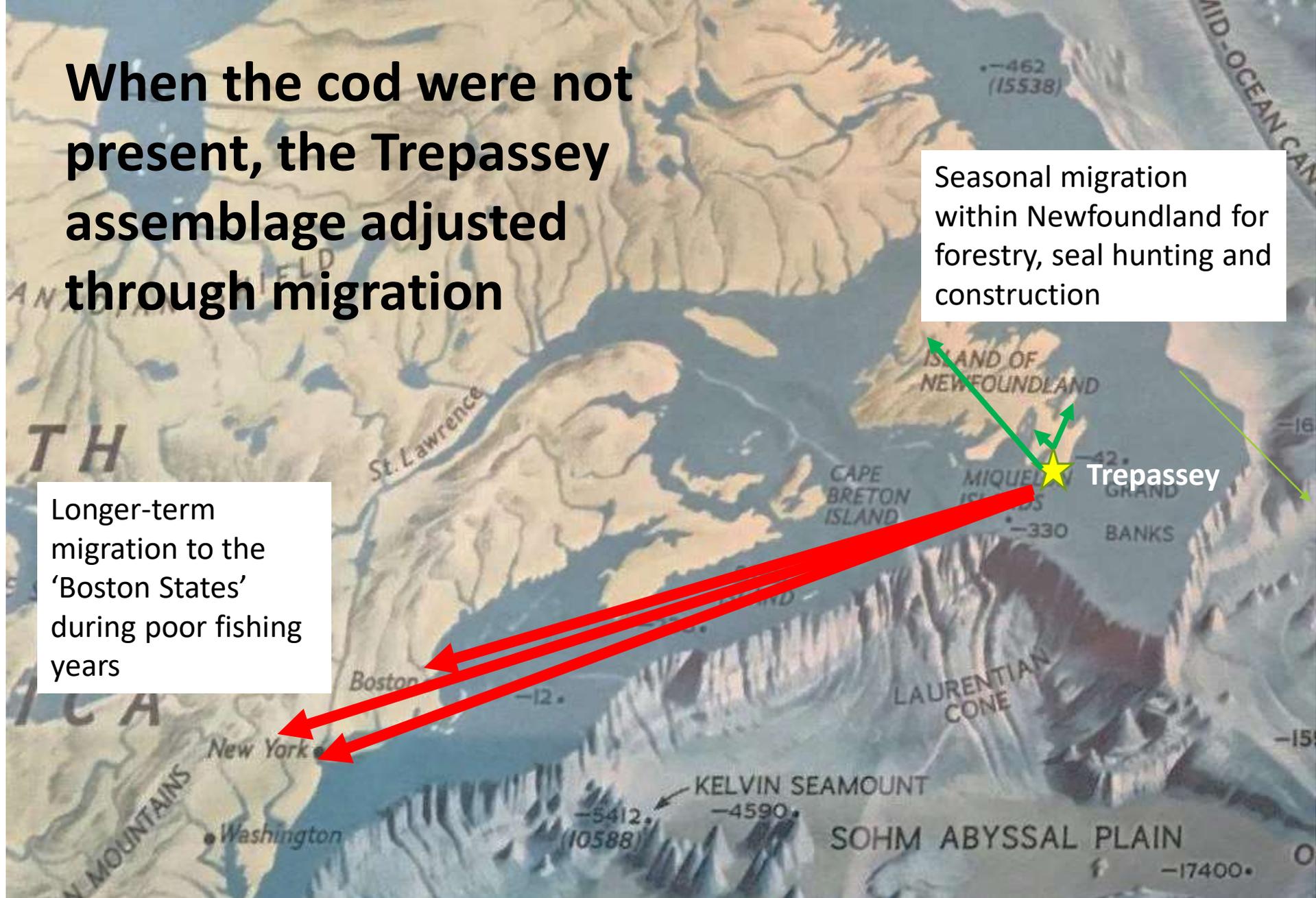
From Rose, G (2007) *Cod: The Ecological History of the North Atlantic Fisheries*.



# When the cod were not present, the Trepassey assemblage adjusted through migration

Seasonal migration within Newfoundland for forestry, seal hunting and construction

Longer-term migration to the 'Boston States' during poor fishing years



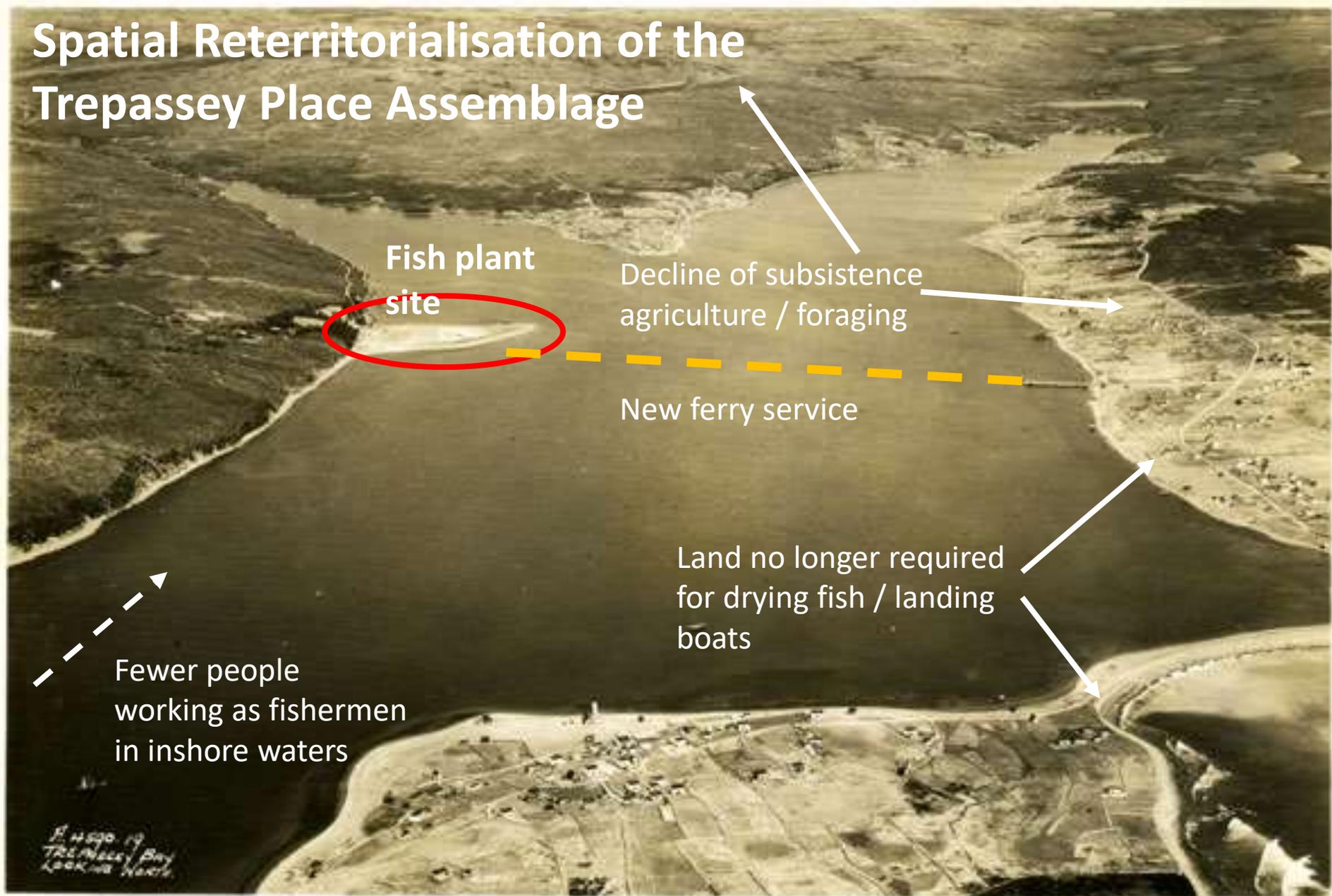
# 1954: Opening of the FPI fish processing plant

A new component in the  
Trepassey place-assemblage

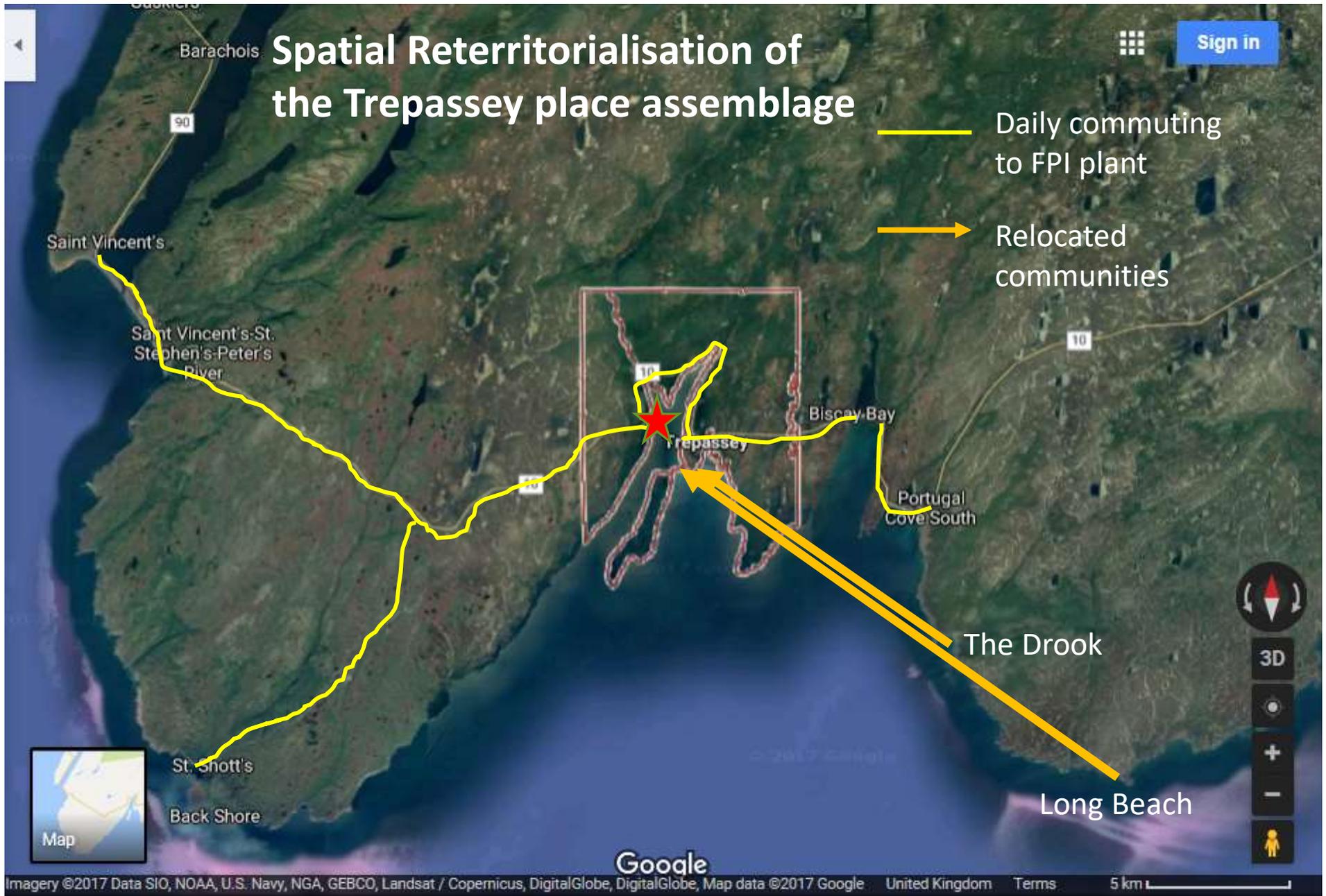
Reterritorialised the local fishing  
assemblage

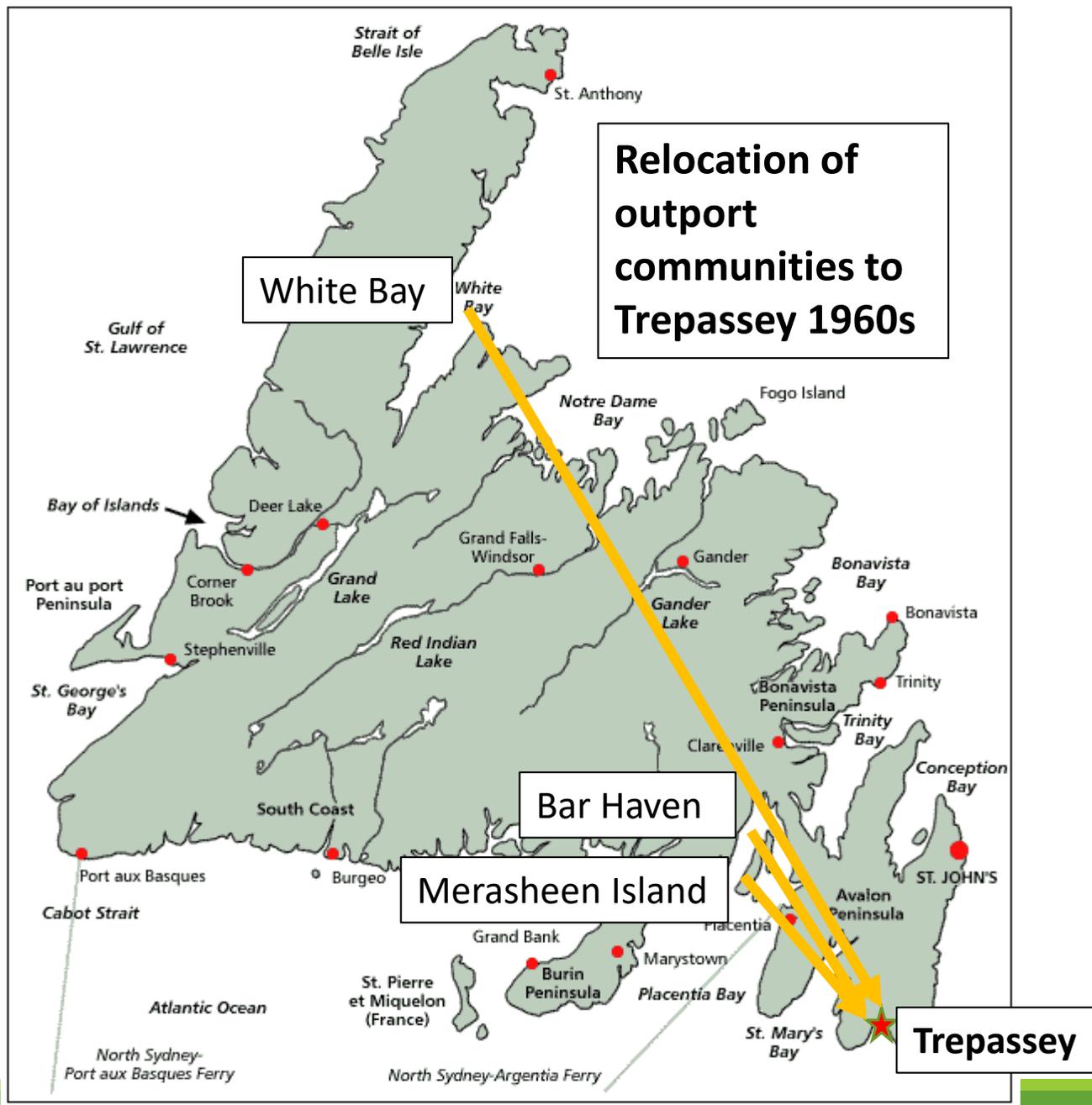


# Spatial Reterritorialisation of the Trepassey Place Assemblage



# Spatial Reterritorialisation of the Trepassey place assemblage





New migrants to Trepassey weakened the homogeneity (territorialization) of Trepassey as a community

Protestants relocated from White Bay in particular disrupted the coding of Trepassey as a Catholic community

Led to the posting of the first police officer in Trepassey in 1968

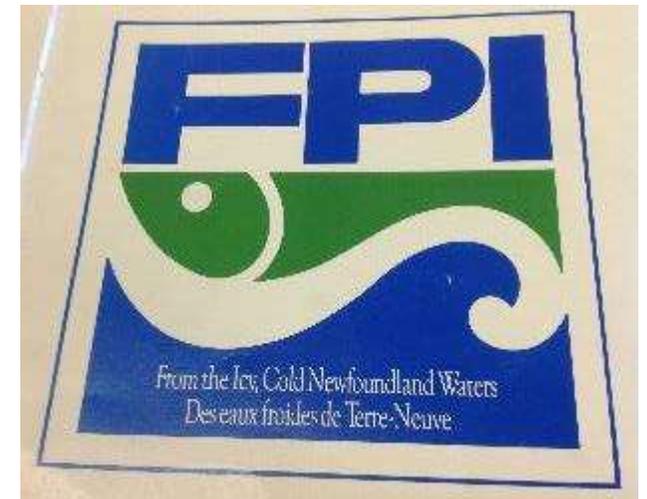
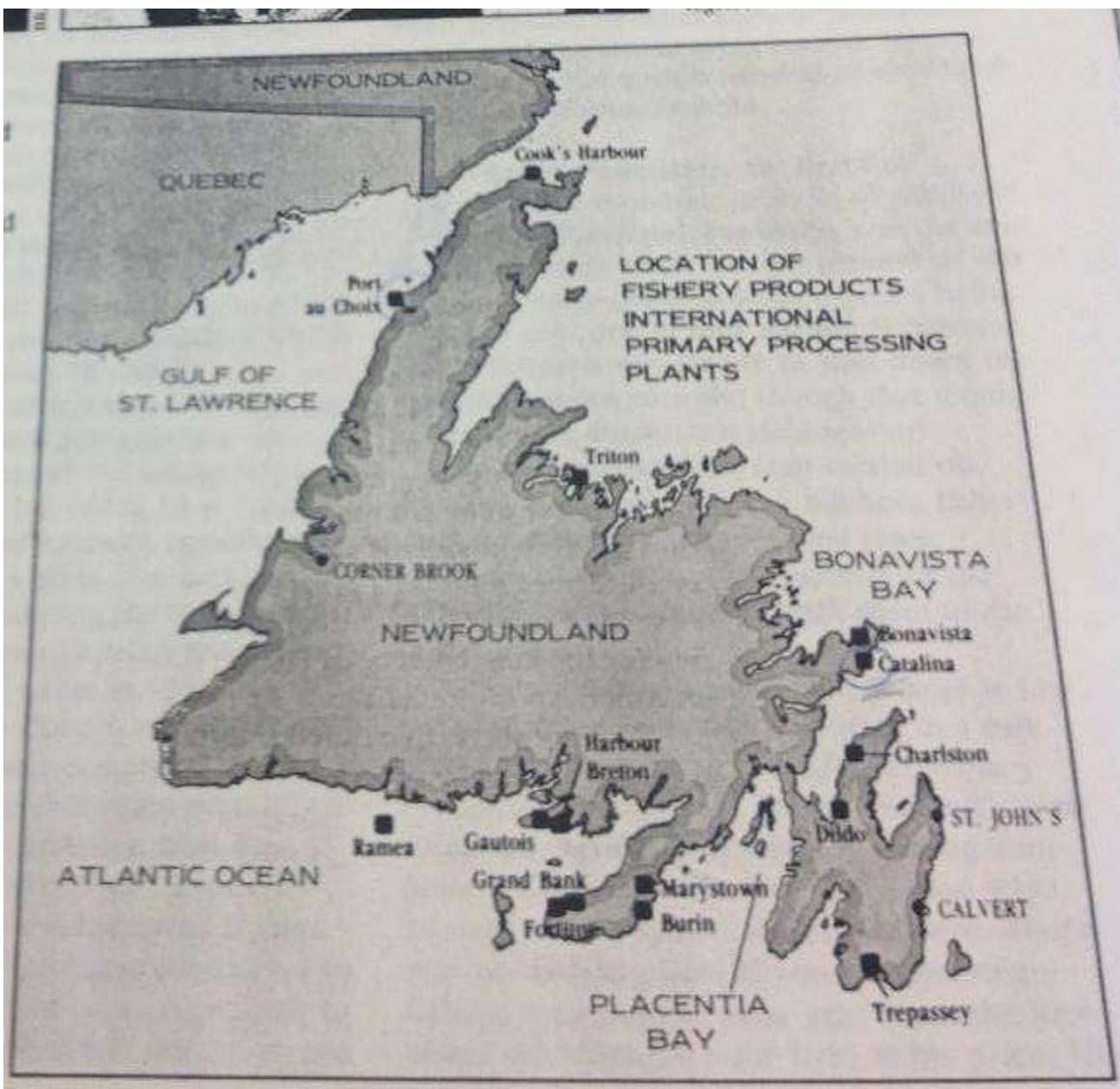
**Increased prosperity and stability led to the introduction of new housing and other new components into Trepassey**



**New services/facilities:** Shops, taverns, night clubs, hardware store, drugstore, cinema, supermarket, service station, taxi service, ambulance service, off licences, paved roads

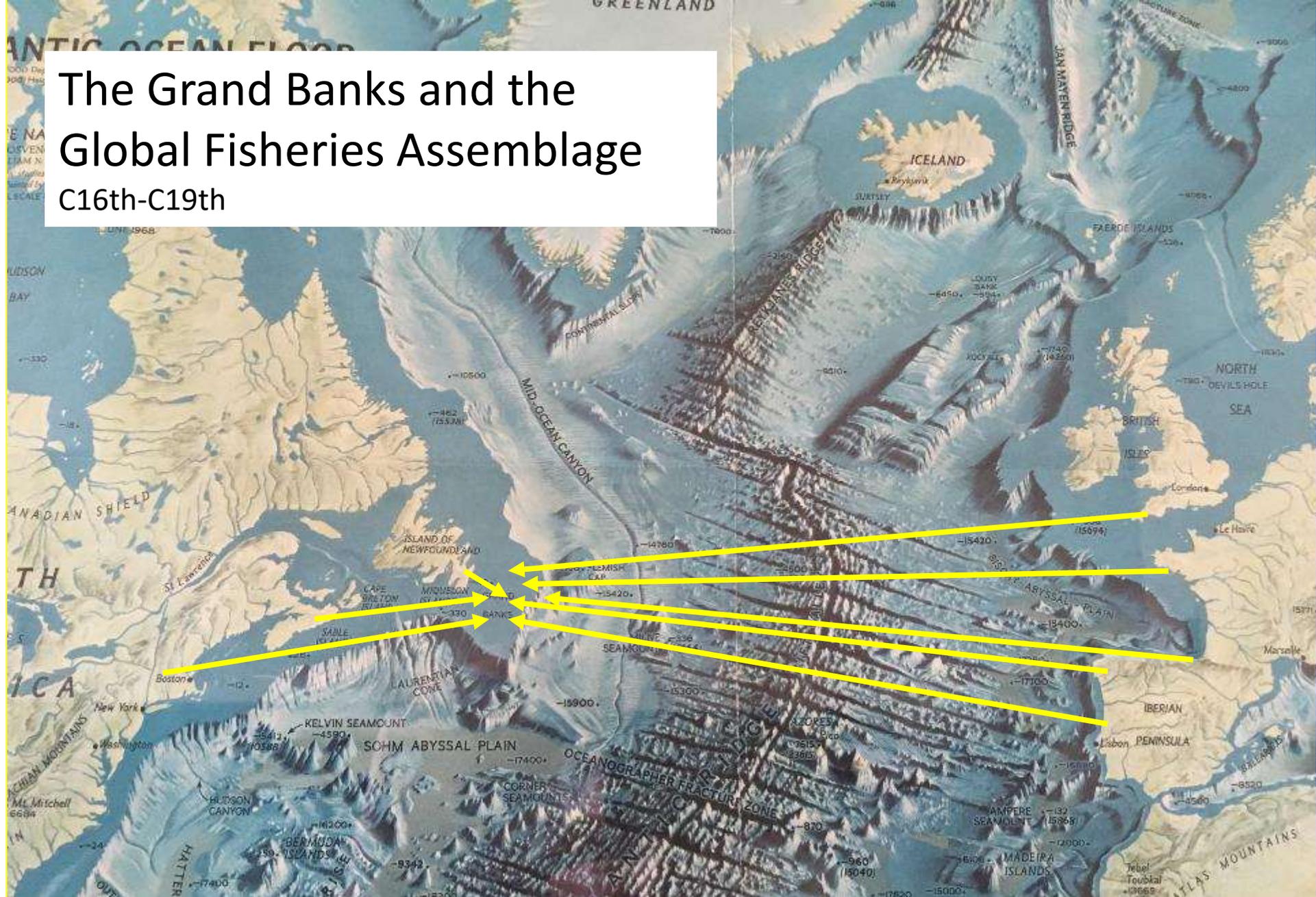
# Attachment to the FPI corporate assemblage

Exports to:  
Mainland Canada  
United States  
Europe  
Japan

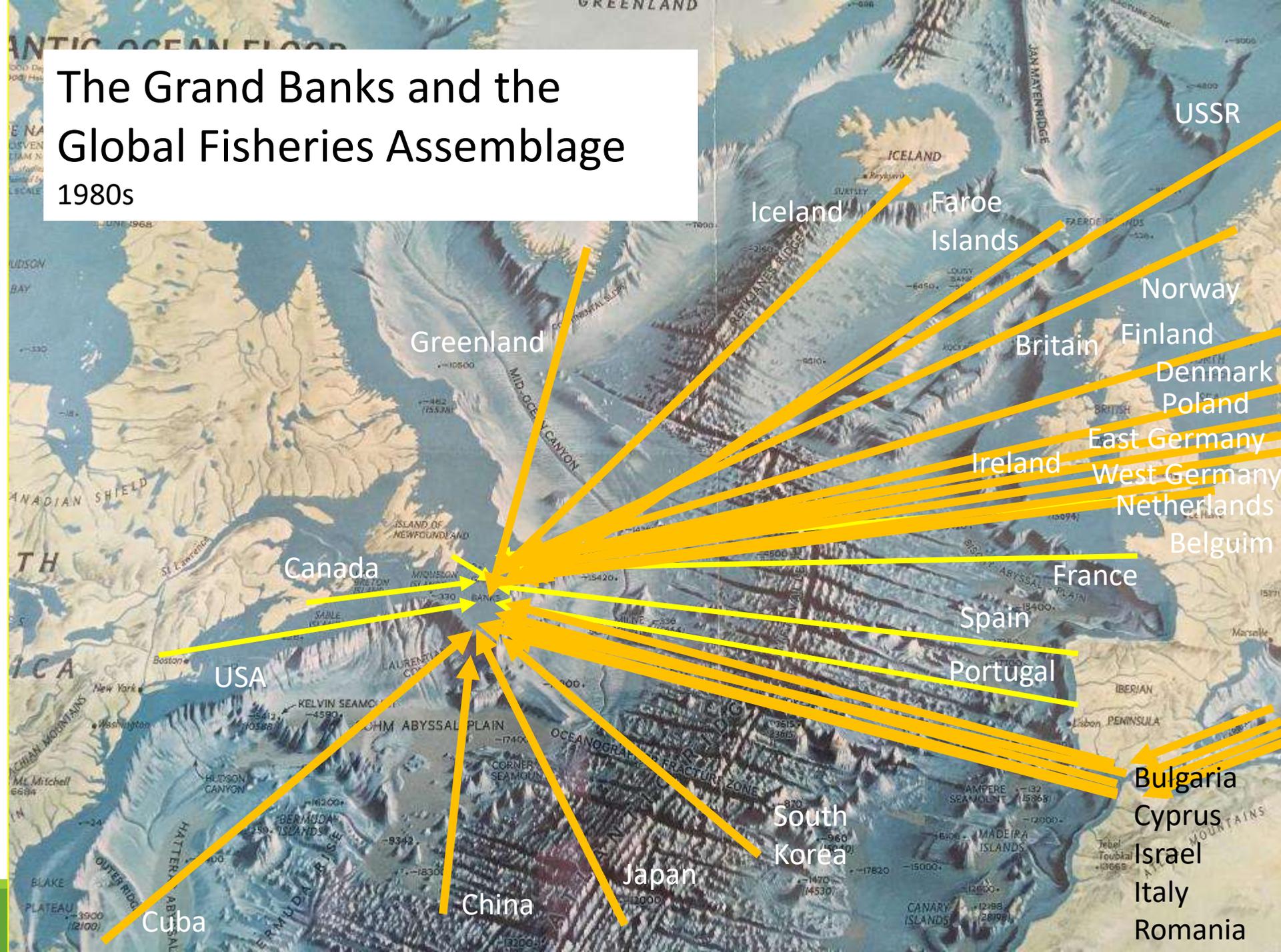




# The Grand Banks and the Global Fisheries Assemblage C16th-C19th



# The Grand Banks and the Global Fisheries Assemblage 1980s



# the insight page

## Plundering the depths

By LINDA STROWBRIDGE  
Special London Report

Scientists fear that stocks off Newfoundland's coast will collapse unless Atlantic nations assemble a high seas police force to ward off fish pirates from Europe, Mexico and North America.

Two years after Ottawa attempted to crack down on overfishing through a campaign which allowed judges to levy excessive fines and fisheries officers to board fish merchant ships, trawler operators are still flouting fisheries regulations and plundering Atlantic stocks.

Over the last two seasons, foreign trawlers operating just outside the 200-mile limit have exceeded total allowable catches set by the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization (an international fisheries agency) by more than 200,000 tonnes.

### STOCKS DWINDLING

In areas such as the Flemish Cap, "the cod stock has been overfished to the point that for the last couple

of years, the scientific recommendation has been to stop fishing altogether — 2000 TAC," said Richard Wallis, a stock analyst with the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans.

"The cod stock on Flemish Cap is in hard shape. So for the love and honor of goodness, stop fishing and let the stock build up to 180."

Already, 150,000 tonnes of cod are being landed in 2000 of 2000 tonnes. Trawlers are being forced to report hauls from the fishery to the coast guard. In some cases, trawlers are being fined for exceeding their quotas, sources say. President Vic Young and vice president Gus Enchegary did not return repeated phone calls from the Sunday Express last week.

According to Michael Conroy, acting director of the corporate and regulatory division of Fisheries and Oceans, if trawlers "continue to fish at F-max (the largest annual catch which can be taken before fish stocks suffer significant losses), you could end up with a situation like the one that has been created in the North Sea... where there is no fish

anywhere."

Fears about the effect of overfishing, pollution and excessive harvesting of unstable fish stocks have led "some scientists to believe if the trawlers continue to overfish, we could be faced with total stock collapse," Mr. Conroy said.

**REGULATIONS POWERLESS**  
But while the nations of the world have agreed to set up a new international body to regulate the world's oceans, the trawlers have not agreed to stop fishing. The new body, the International Maritime Organization, is expected to be established in 2002.

And according to industry experts, exploitation of Atlantic stocks will continue until the traditionally powerless Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization develops some effective way of policing trawler activities.

Established to protect rich Atlan-

tic fish stocks from excessive harvesting, NAFO has degenerated into a forum for "philosophical discussions" about the principles of stock control, says a fisheries expert at the University of British Columbia's Fisheries Centre, said by an international fisheries expert.

NAFO's main task is to set quotas for each nation's fleet and to monitor the catch. But the trawlers have been exceeding their quotas for years.

Since 1986, trawlers from Europe and Central America have capitalized on NAFO's weakness and heavily exploited northern fish stocks.

For example, in 1987 NAFO set the total allowable catch at 23,120 tonnes. The European Economic Community which blasted NAFO for undermining the interests of

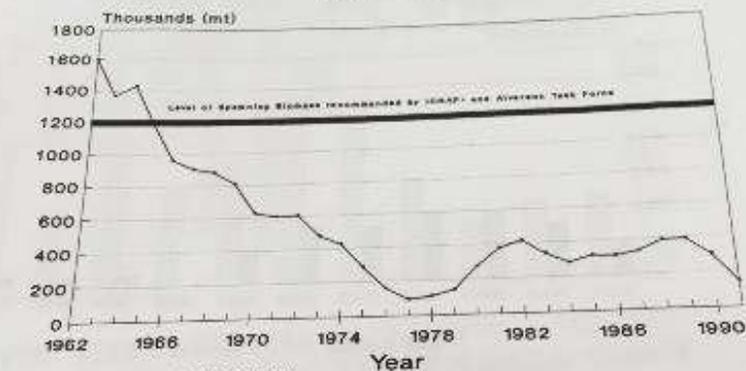
Continued on page 20



Fisheries officers have had to get tough, flying helicopter patrols and carrying heavy weapons, to run down overfishers such as the captain of the Spanish trawler *Amelia Meirama*, (photo at right, centre), who was brought by force into St. John's harbor two years ago. If such measures aren't used, Newfoundland fishermen harvesting catches legally will be the ones to pay as stocks decline. (Sheldon LeGrow photos)

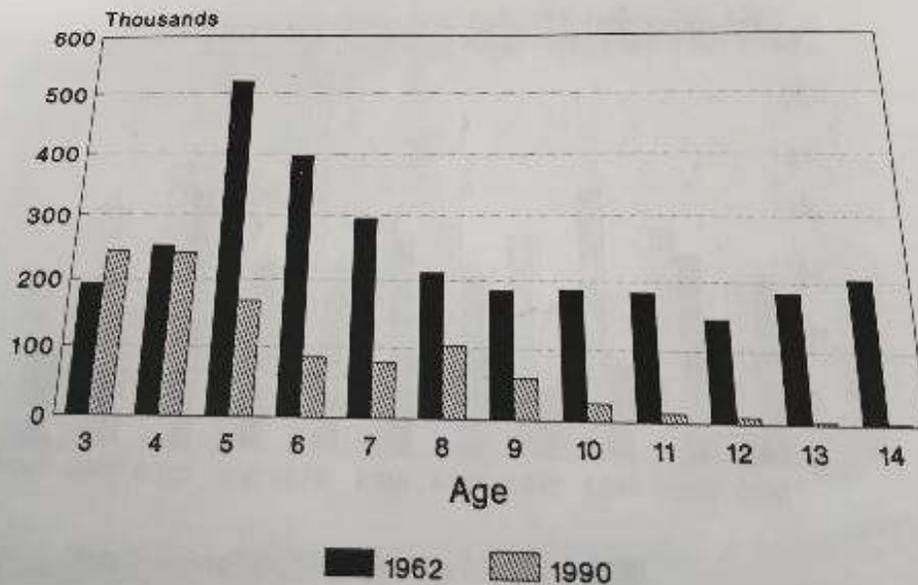


Northern Cod Spawning Biomass 1962-91  
Age 7 & Over

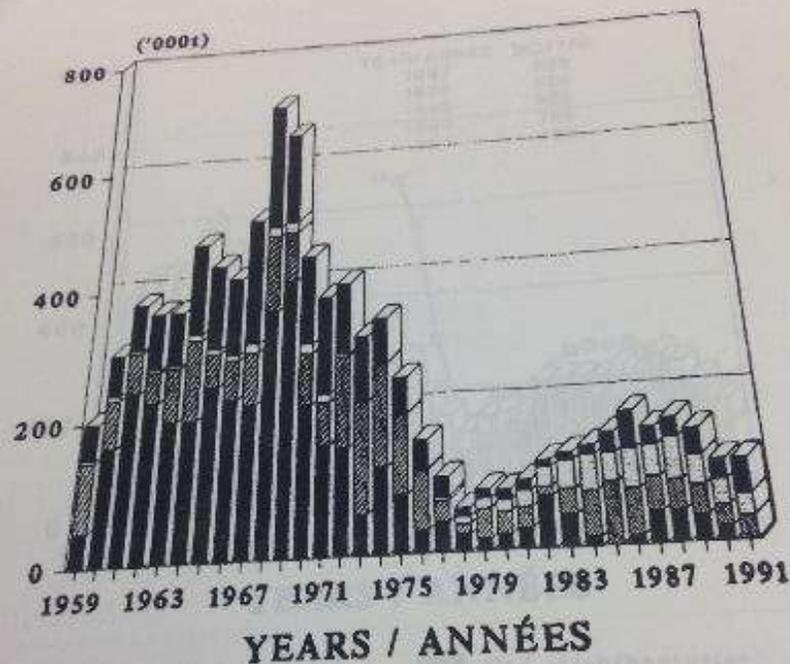


International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries

Northern Cod Population Biomass  
Ages 3 - 14



Offshore Catch  
Prises hauturières



MORUE 2J3KL COD

Coding of the Atlantic fish stocks by scientists and regulators

Recoding of northern cod as an endangered species

# Closure of Trepassey FPI fish processing plant - September 1991

## The Weekend Evening Telegram

Volume 111 - Number 269

St. John's, Newfoundland - Saturday, January 6, 1991

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The \$1.25 value

# Three FPI plants to be closed

BY JOE WALSH  
Telegram Staff Writer

Fishery Products International Ltd. has dropped the axe on three of its processing plants, but thanks to a \$11.5 million injection by the provincial government the final chop won't be delivered until 1991.

Vic Young, FPI's chairman and chief executive officer, ended a month of speculation Friday when he announced the permanent closure of the company's plants in the southern Avalon town of Trepassey and the south coast towns of Grand Bank and Gaultois. There will be 1,170 plant workers and 100 trawlermen laid off.

Along with that, Hanes, an island on the south coast, will lose its three trawlers but will retain its processing plant. Thirteen of the company's trawlers will be retired.

Barring a miracle and an unexpected rejuvenation in the northern

### Province will invest \$11.5 million in short-term, seasonal operations

cod stocks, the FPI chairman said the plants won't be reopened. He also warned other layoffs will occur because of severely reduced fish quotas.

"When a fishing company loses raw material in the order of 100 million pounds over a five-year period -- 74 million pounds, or 25 per cent, in just the past two years -- significant action has to be taken for it to remain viable," Mr. Young said.

Given that the resource situation will not significantly improve over the next several years and indeed may get worse before it gets better, there is no action plan which can produce a magic formula. In the current situation the only solution is more fish and clearly there is no more fish available.

He said the plant closures will save

FPI more than \$10 million.

FPI had planned to close the plant this spring, but an 11th-hour decision by Premier Clyde Wells, who less than 24 hours before had rejected

outright subsidizing the operation, will keep Grand Bank and Gaultois open until May 31, 1991, and Trepassey until Aug. 31, 1991.

See THREE, Page 2

### Detailed coverage inside

- MHA for Trepassey area says plant closure will compound local economic problems ..... Page 2
- Residents of towns that follow vow to fight closures ..... Page 3
- While the provincial government's decision to provide aid to FPI was generally welcomed, most observers agreed the pending plant cuts will create hardship in many areas ..... Page 2
- Editorial analysis ..... Page 4
- Evening Telegram political columnist Peter Boswell says verbal attacks against federal Fisheries Minister Tom Siddon are both rude and misdirected ..... Page 5

### newswatch

## Supporters of ousted dictator still at large

PANAMA CITY (AP) -- The commander of U.S. invasion forces said Friday about 200 hardcore supporters of deposed dictator Manuel Antonio Noriega re-

## Gorbachev cancels to deal with mounting

LONDON (AP) -- Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has postponed all contacts with foreign leaders to concentrate on growing unrest in the Soviet Union.

A spokesman for Britain's Opposition Leader Jerry Ford the Soviet Ambassador in London, Leonid Zamy-

Loss of 700 jobs, C\$13 million in wages, and C\$500,000 of local taxes

could happen to the world scenario would be for Gorbachev to drop from sight," Chris Schreiber, an investment analyst with New Japan Securities, said in Tokyo.

The market reactions show how closely Gorbachev is linked by many

A sombre-looking FPI Chairman Vic Young announces the closure of three company plants at a press conference in Friday.

## Auto sales continue



The closure of the FPI plant removed the factory as a material component in the Trepassey place-assemblage, but there were several possible futures....

- The plant could have been bought by another company, attached to their corporate assemblage, and kept open
- Local fishing crews could transport and sell their catch to other fish processing plants
- The downturn in fishing could have been temporary whilst fish stocks recovered followed by a revival of fishing
- The plant site could be redeveloped for other industries maintaining employment for local workers
- Fishing could disappear from the local economy
- People could migrate away, removing themselves as components in the place-assemblage
- The economic downturn could lead to the removal of shops and services as components in the place-assemblage
- The community could die



· Moratorium on North Atlantic Cod Fishery introduced July 1992

# Deterritorialization

Plant site sold to company in Italy

Plant equipment dismantled and transported to Tanzania

Plant site after demolition



# Deterritorialization

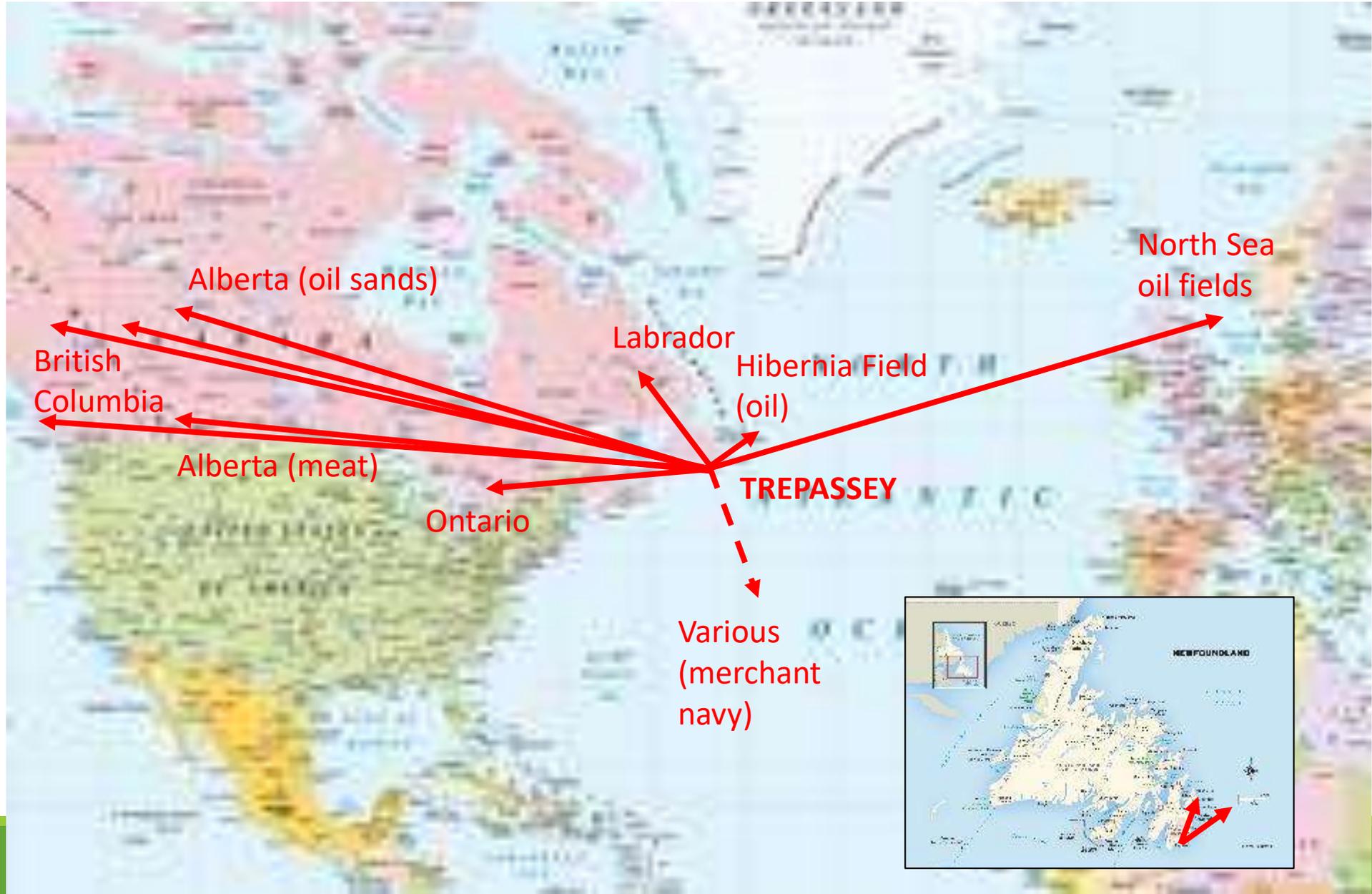


Trawlers Zebulon,  
Zeven, Zory and  
Zweloo sold to Peru

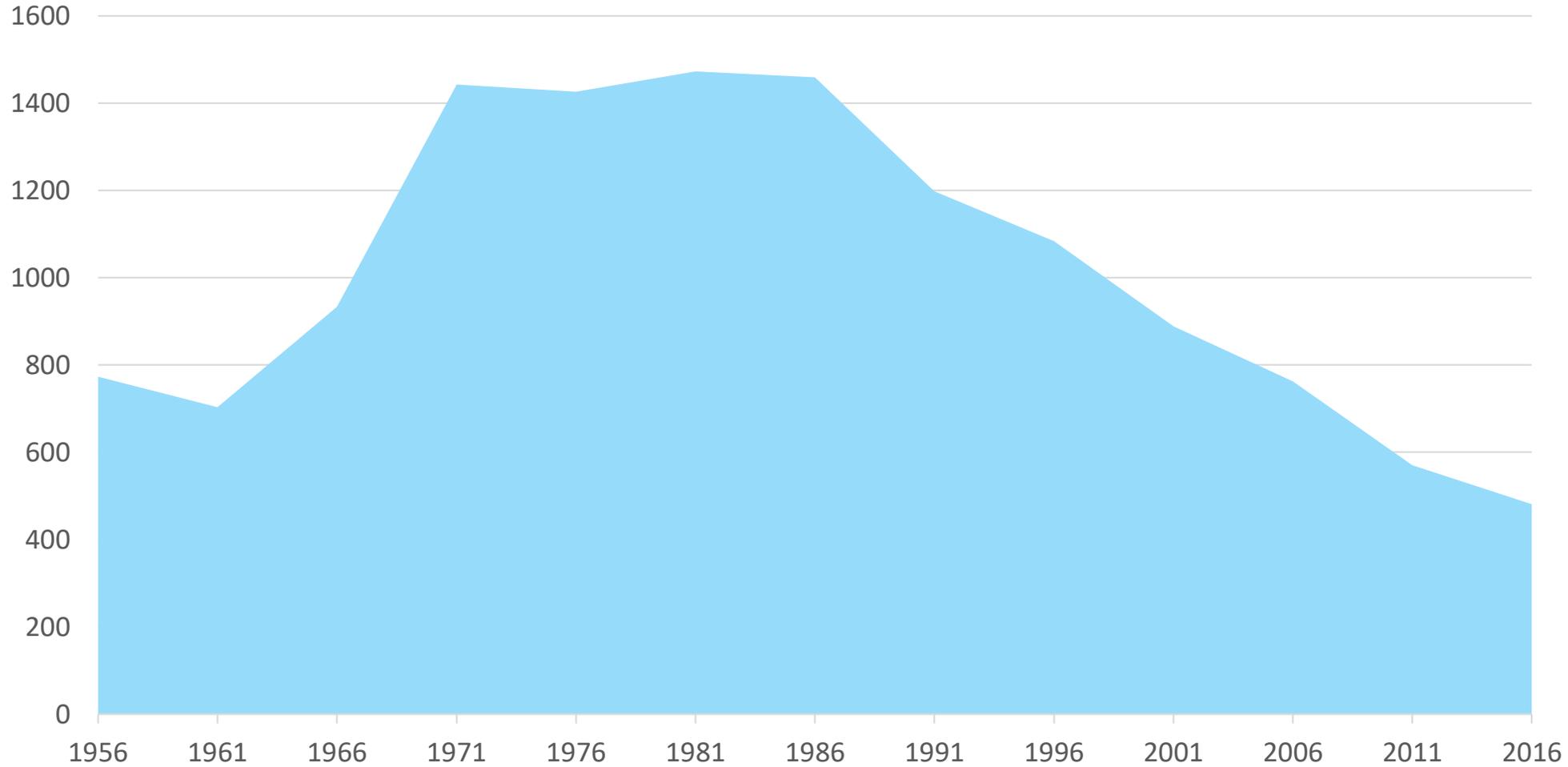
Trawler Zinder sold to  
South Africa

Trawlers removed from Trepassey as material components  
but remain as expressive components in the names of  
meeting rooms in the community business centre

# Deterritorialization through migration



# Trepassey Population



**60%**  
population  
decrease  
1991-2016

## Deterritorialization but not removal?

“He’s an off shore crane operator, okay, and making money like, you know, they would never make on the plant. He’s been, like, to different parts of the world for training. Me and him went to Scotland because when he training in the middle of there ... Louis would never think about leaving Trepassey. Never and he’s gone half a year. You know, he works three weeks. He’s off three weeks.”

Trepassey Resident, Interview, Aug 2016

“A lot of people commute back and forth to work, like to the Canadian west and offshore and stuff like that, but they maintain their homes here.”

Development Officer, Interview, Aug 2016

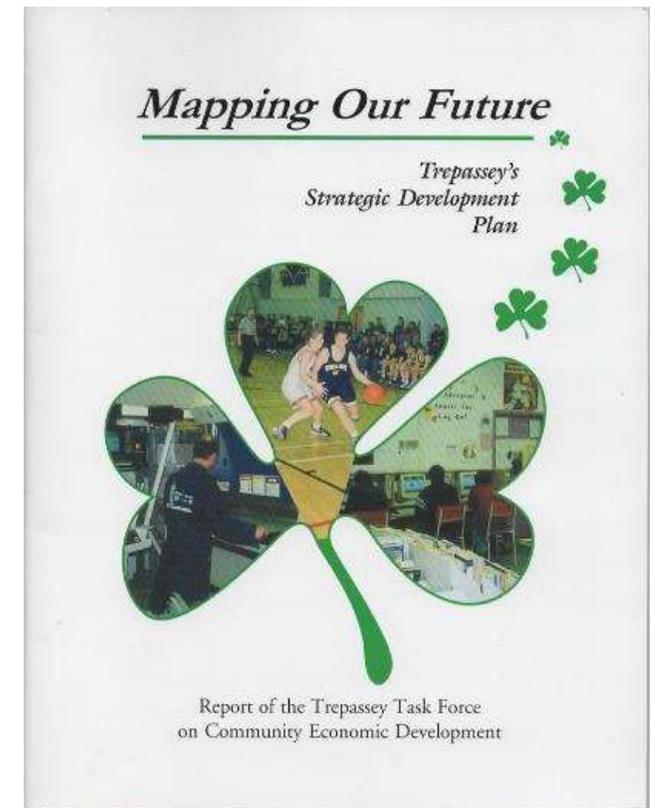


# Reterritorialization

Various agencies and programmes established by government to manage adjustment:

- Atlantic Fisheries Adjustment Programme
- Trepassey Community Development Fund
- Trepassey Management Corporation
- Trepassey Task Force
- Southern Avalon Development Association
- Irish Loop Development Board

***Local residents realised that they needed to mobilize themselves to avoid the irrevocable decline of the community***

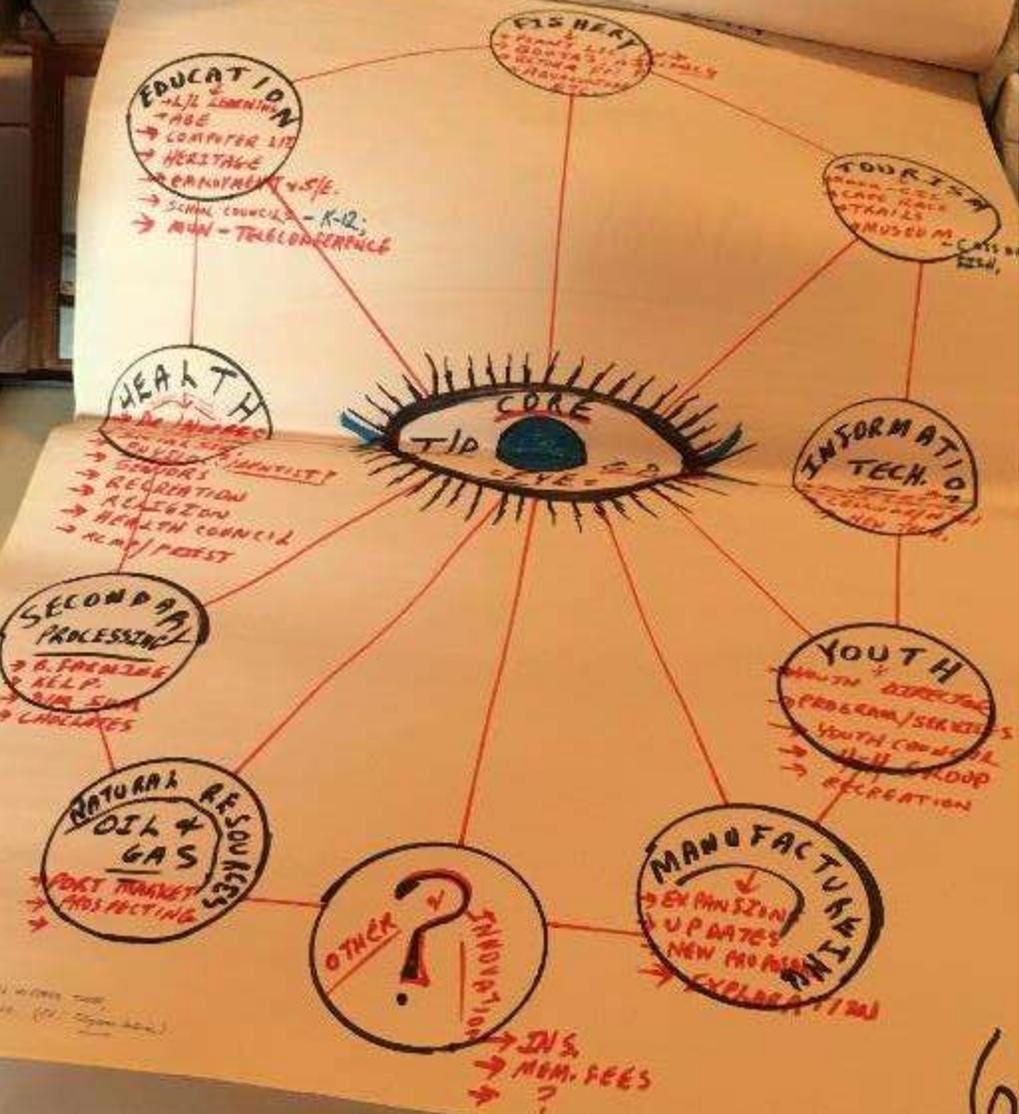


*"If we're going to try anything let's try to bring the committees together, together and see if we can talk about where we're to and where we're going as a community, and to do it in such a way that every person who wanted to have a say would have a say."*

Trepassey Resident, interview Aug 2016

# Community Workshops

WHH!  
WHEN - ?  
WHERE - ?  
WHY - ?  
HOW - ?



Mapping out possible future forms of the Trepassey place-assemblage

Trepassey's assets include abundant, inexpensive land, low property taxes, and a strong, stable labour force.

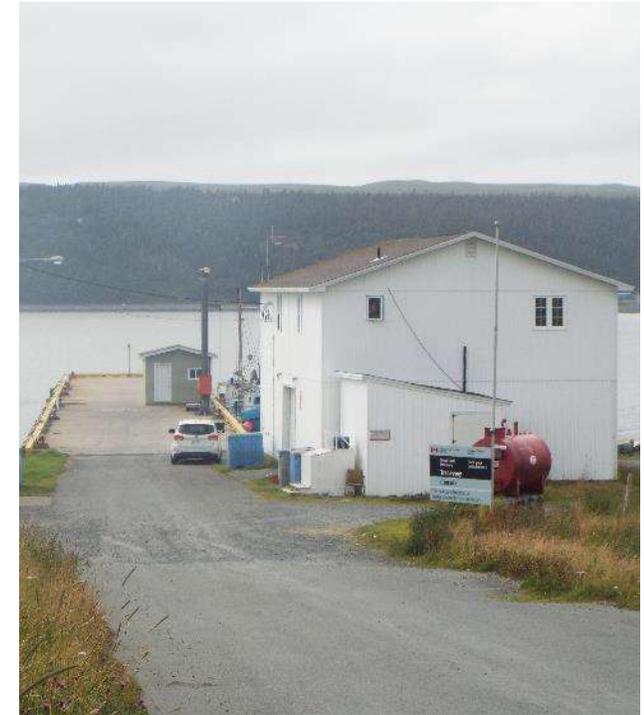


Recoding and mobilisation of material and expressive components of place to attract inward investment

## Tapping into diasporic network to help the community attach to external funding assemblages

“I don’t know if you’ve heard of the Aviva Community Fund? They give away \$2m a year to communities. You know, you’re putting your proposal in and you have to vote. So it’s an online contest and you had to vote every day, blah, blah, blah. There we were, we’re like 400 people. We ran in 20,000 votes ... It was a really, really, really great community building, and even our expats were there. Like I had one girl in Ontario working at the hospital. She had ten people... you know in Ontario would be voting for us ... [Another man] was in Spain voting for us.”

*Development Officer, Trepassey, interview Aug 2016*



# Iceberg Industries

Bottled water from icebergs

Exported to US

Adapted barge Borelas II imported from New Orleans

30 employees

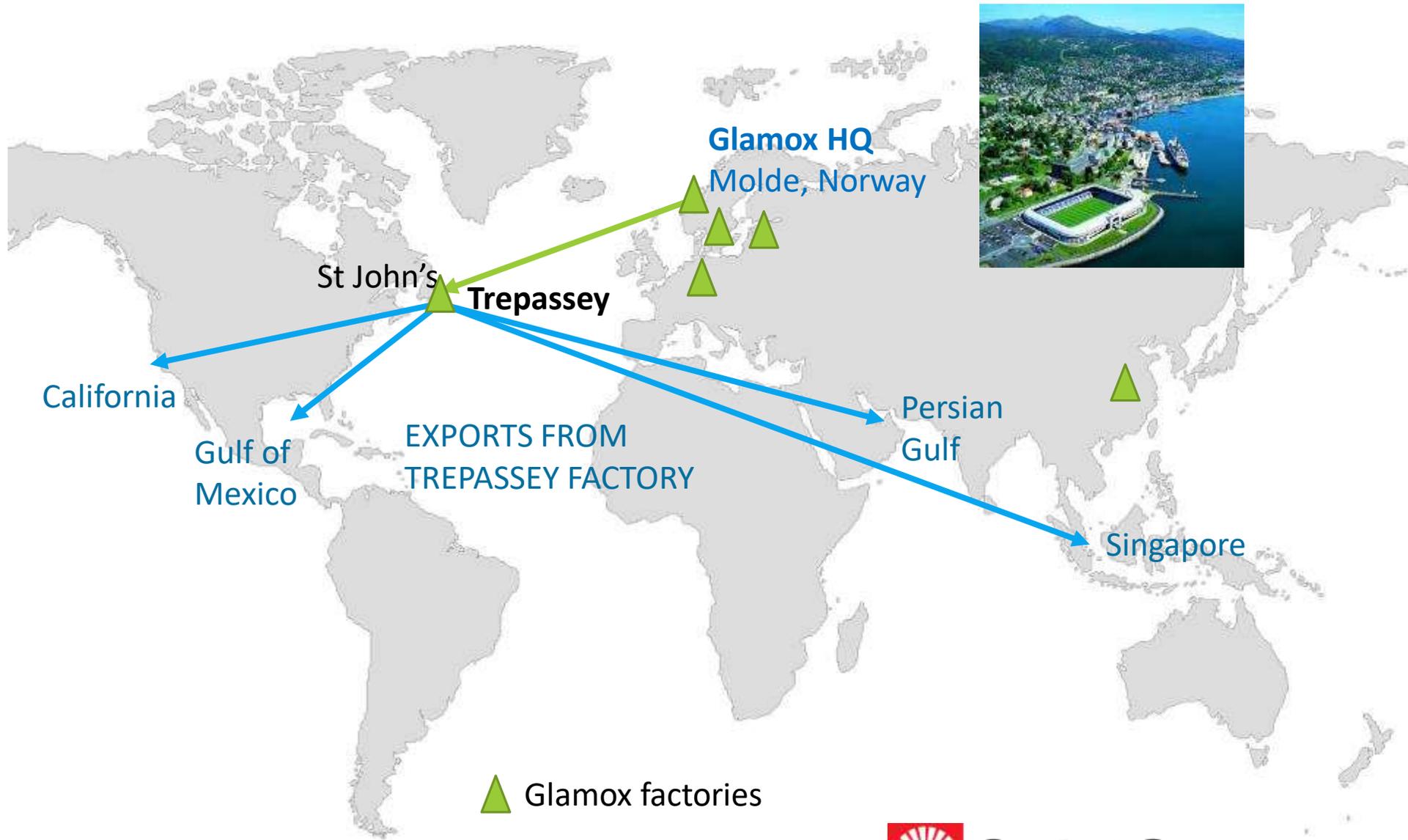
Business failed 2002 because it did not correctly anticipate the constraints from other assemblages on its business model



# Glamox

Norwegian company  
Manufacturing maritime lighting  
for oil rigs, cruise ships and naval  
ships





# Not a fishing village anymore?

*In accepting the end of fishing, Trepassey passed a critical threshold with a qualitative change in its sense of place*

Q: Do people still think of Trepassey as being a fishing community?

A: Might be some. I would never say the people... I think there's a community trying to find itself

(Development officer, Interview – August 2016)

“I don't think of Trepassey as a fishing community. I don't see it as a fishing community. Nine chances out of ten if you're going to see a vessel coming up the harbour in any part of the months of the year since the plant closed it's a transport red vessel coming in to do maintenance of the boiler.” (Resident, Interview – August 2016)

“We have a good many fishers here, but it's not really considered as a fishing community anymore, although the people here are really still thinks if it don't come in on the waters it's not going to happen here” (Former mayor, Interview – August 2016)



# The Global Countryside

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## **What does an assemblage approach tell us about how rural places are being changed by globalization? (1)**

Globalization proceeds through small, often incremental, changes in rural localities and the responses of rural communities

Globalization is pervasive, affecting rural communities around the world, and is the continuation of historic patterns of relational place-making

Because globalization happens through small exchanges, interactions and adjustments in places, it will be experienced in different ways by different rural communities

There are however repeated, common objects and motifs that can be found in the global countryside (such as chain hotels, shops and restaurants; tourism experiences; seeds and crop varieties; cultural references, etc.) due to the tendency of global assemblages towards homogeneity and standardization, and the reproduction of globalization through imitation

# The Global Countryside

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## **What does an assemblage approach tell us about how rural places are being changed by globalization? (2)**

Globalization can involve the insertion of new people, crops, livestock, buildings, objects and activities into rural localities, creating new relationships within localities and introducing new connections to other places and to translocal networks

Globalization can also involve the removal of people and things from rural localities, in some cases through relocation to other places, which can make rural communities less well connected than they were previously

Examining how some entities (e.g. farms and factories) are both part of rural places and part of translocal corporations, industries or networks, with different functions in each, can help to reveal where and how rural communities are vulnerable to events and decisions happening elsewhere

# The Global Countryside

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## **What does an assemblage approach tell us about how rural places are being changed by globalization? (3)**

Globalization can stretch rural communities over larger distances as people migrate for work, education or security, but do not fully leave, and as new part-time residents and regular visitors buy into the community

Transport and communications infrastructure both facilitate and constrain connections between rural places and global networks and markets, helping to shape the differentiated impact of globalization on rural areas

Changes from globalization reduce the homogeneity or coherence of rural communities, but communities commonly respond by reorganizing around new economic activities, cultural practices or ideas that can underpin a sense of identity

# The Global Countryside

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## **What does an assemblage approach tell us about how rural places are being changed by globalization? (4)**

Globalization involves both material and discursive elements.

Globally-circulating discourses, for example about nature conservation or free trade, may be imposed on rural landscapes or rural economies, changing their material use

New local discourses may be articulated in rural communities in response to the challenges of globalization, including new local laws and regulations, but also political campaigns and movements

Even as industries or other objects disappear from the material life of rural communities as a consequence of globalization, their symbolic significance to the local sense of place can live on, with memories, representations and remnants enrolled into heritage assemblages

# The Global Countryside

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## **What does an assemblage approach tell us about how rural places are being changed by globalization? (5)**

The outcomes of globalization are never pre-determined. With each change there are multiple possible futures that could result.

Local actors, including local governments, have some capacity to anticipate, plan for and negotiate between possible futures, and thus can influence the outcomes of globalization, but within constraints

The capacity of rural communities to respond to the challenges and opportunities of globalization may be constrained by their place in other translocal formations, state power and laws, the natural environment, and the legacies of past industries and cultures.

Rural communities adapt and change in response to globalization, but in extreme cases thresholds are passed which fundamentally alter the identity or threaten their sustainability.

# The Global Countryside

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## **But, there are also limitations to the assemblage approach**

The assemblage approach is better at describing how things happen, rather than explaining why they happen

Our analysis of globalization and the global countryside needs to combine an assemblage framework with explanatory theories from other perspectives, e.g. political economy or political ecology

# The Global Countryside

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## Further Research:

- More research on how and why globalization changes specific rural places in different ways
- More research on why some possible futures prevail over others
- More research on questions of power and agency
- More research on experiences of globalization by different groups within rural communities
- Combination of assemblage framework with political economy, political ecology, feminist and other perspectives

## Practical Lessons:

- How do we translate the insights from an assemblage analysis into policies and practical action?
- What lessons and examples of good practice can we draw?

# Thank you

[www.global-rural.org](http://www.global-rural.org)

@globalrural

The logo for Global-Rural, featuring the text "Global-Rural" in a stylized, cursive font. The word "Global" is in a dark blue color, and "Rural" is in a lighter blue color. The text is set against a white background with a thin blue border.