Luís Silva
Elisabete Figueiredo *Editors*

Shaping Rural Areas in Europe

Perceptions and Outcomes on the Present and the Future

Springer

Shaping Rural Areas in Europe

GeoJournal Library

Volume 107

Luís Silva • Elisabete Figueiredo
Editors

Shaping Rural Areas in Europe

Perceptions and Outcomes on the Present and the Future

Springer

Editors
Luís Silva
Centre for Research in Anthropology
(CRIA/FCSH-UNL)
Lisbon, Portugal

Elisabete Figueiredo
DCSPT
University of Aveiro
Aveiro, Portugal

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1
What Is Shaping Rural Areas in Europe? Introduction

Luís Silva and Elisabete Figueiredo

In recent decades, most rural areas in Europe have undergone socioeconomic decline and restructuring, shifting from densely populated spaces dominated by primary sector-based economic activities, particularly agriculture, to sparsely populated and multifunctional spaces of production and consumption. In these new spaces, agriculture and forest production are combined with other functions and economic activities linked in particular to environmental or nature conservation concerns, or to the tourism industry (e.g. Cuddy 1992; Cloke and Goodwin 1993; Cloke et al. 2006; Figueiredo 2003, 2008; Halfacree 1997, 2007; Hoggart et al. 1995; Jollivet 1997; Jollivet and Eizner 1996; Marsden et al. 1990; Newby 1979; Woods 2005, 2011).

These transformations have multiple causes, including the mechanisation of agriculture and the more recent implementation of policies and measures of the European Union aiming to achieve a more sustainable agriculture (e.g. Black 1992; Mendras 1967; Mormont 1994) and to develop tourism for the purposes of economic diversification and growth (e.g. Jenkins et al. 1998; Silva 2009). Additional causes are the urbanisation of most European countries and societies – about 75 % of the European Union' population live in urban areas (European Environmental Agency 2006: 5), despite the existence of cases of counter-urbanisation in some countries (e.g. Boyle and Halfacree 1998; Champion 1989; Halfacree 1994; Newby 1990; Rivera 2007a, b); the increased mobility facilitating rural–urban relations (e.g. Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry 2002, 2007); and global environmental concerns (e.g. Ramos-Real 1995).

L. Silva (✉)
Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA/Faculdade de Ciências
Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa), Lisbon, Portugal
e-mail: luis.silva98@gmail.com

E. Figueiredo
Department of Social, Political and Territorial Sciences,
University of Aveiro, Aveiro, Portugal
e-mail: elisa@ua.pt

Another factor to take into account in these rural restructuring processes is the high symbolic value of the countryside, mainly within the urban imagery, portrayed in the cultural media (art, literature, film, television, magazines, etc.). All this contributed to the creation of an idealised portrait of country life as the last stronghold of traditional values against modern city life (e.g. Bunce 1994; Cloke 2003; de Hann and Long 1997; Halfacree 2007; Ilbery 1998; Marx 1964; Mingay 1989; Murdoch 2003; Silva 2009; Williams 1973) and used as resource for national identity-building (e.g. Bell 2006; Dupuis 2006: 129–130; Lowenthal 1991, 1996, 2007; Short 1991: 34; Sobral 2004; Woods 2005: 280–282).

These transformations have been well documented and debated over the last decades (see also Brito et al. 1996; Cavaco 1999; Chevalier 2000, 2002; Figueiredo et al. 2011; Marsden et al. 1993; Murdock et al. 2003; Oliveira Baptista 1995; Portela and Caldas 2003; Pratt 1995). Despite diverse theoretical and methodological approaches to the subject and the heterogeneity of rural areas, there is a general consensus amongst the researchers on the universality and direction of such changes, particularly regarding peripheral or remote rural areas. In these areas in fact, the decline of agriculture or, in other words, the marginalisation of the role of agriculture in the local economy has been particularly dramatic (e.g. Figueiredo 2011; Figueiredo and Raschi 2012). The changes observed are both material and symbolic, since they promote new ways of conceiving rurality as well as social and economic restructuring, while attributing new roles, functions and meanings to the rural territories. Remote rural territories are, nowadays, as Oliveira Baptista (2006: 99) states, summarising much of the post-productivist theories, 'beyond agriculture' (e.g. Marsden 1995, 1998; Woods 2005: 54–57).

Although some dimensions of the post-productivist theories might be contested (Evans et al. 2002), it is increasingly evident in the political and social perceptions, the transformation of peripheral rural areas of Europe into leisure spaces and the growing demand for rural tourist destinations, particularly from urban populations (e.g. Bell 2006; Hall et al. 2003; Lowe 1989; Rogers 1989a, b; Silva 2009; Woods 2011). As Halfacree (2006: 57) demonstrates, many rural areas in Europe are, nowadays, often considered as 'consuming idylls' directly opposing 'super-productivist' spaces, where 'key spatial practices are consumption-oriented, notably leisure, residence and attendant migration (counter-urbanization)'. In other words, in many regions of Europe, remote rural areas have shifted from production spaces to consumption spaces (e.g. Horáková and Boscoboinik 2012; Woods 2005: 62–71).

While there is a vast literature on the transformations of rural territories in recent decades in Europe and on the perceptions about rurality, little attention has been paid to the consequences of *external* representations and demands on rurality as major conditioning factors of the present and future of rural territories in Europe. This volume aims to contribute to bridge a knowledge gap in this field. The core aim is to provide a scientifically sustained contribution over the transforming effect of urban perceptions and demands on rurality. The argument to be presented throughout the volume is that most rural areas in Europe are dynamic spaces, where the hegemonic urban culture projects its own counter-image, thereby shaping the lives of rural dwellers and the ways of living and perceiving the rural in various ways, particularly through the promotion of social and economic

restructuring, mainly tourism activities, and the fostering of cross-cultural contacts or encounters.

Born out of a conference session included in the 10th Congress of the *Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore*/International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF) held in Lisbon, Portugal, in 2011, this volume assembles eight papers of the 12 presented at the session, together with three chapters written by the editors and four chapters by invited authors. The book is divided into two parts. After this introductory section, contributions in Part I – *Living in the Rural: New and Old Actors and Their Visions on Rurality* – focus on the images and conceptions of rurality of the 'new' and 'old' rural dwellers and of development agencies or agents, taking into consideration neo-rural in-migration processes and their consequences, as well as development strategies and their implementation, and social representations of the rural mainly as a living space.

In Chap. 2, Halfacree discusses the need for a theoretical rebalancing in the understanding of the processes and outcomes of neo-rural in-migration. Taking into consideration evidence from the Global North, the author provides a theorisation of any migration as a longitudinal rather than a punctual event and an understanding of rural in-migration as being related to the more-than-representational aspects of the daily life, as this allows novel interpretations of the relationships between person and place in the context of migration and counter-urbanisation.

In Chap. 3, Rivera also discusses neo-rural in-migration. Based on a set of in-depth interviews in Northern Spain, the author explores how the ex-urban dwellers help to create new rural lifestyles and ruralities, and discusses this residential trend from a holistic approach, which combines the study of the representational dimension of rurality and the new rural dwellers' experience of daily life. Rivera concludes that behind the search for a better quality of life, rural in-migrants have expectations about life in rural areas and they contribute to create a new type of rurality and rural way of life.

In Chap. 4, Dabezies and Ballesteros-Arias analyse the social construction of space ('landscape') in the island of Ons in Galicia, Spain. Using multiple techniques of data collection, the authors show that this is an arena of social conflict between individuals and groups with diverging perceptions, interests and rationales over the same resource, including public authorities, tourists and residents. For the authors, although historically rooted, the process is closely associated with two modernising periods, namely, Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975) and the classification of the island as part of a National Park in 2001.

In Chap. 5, Uusitalo and Assmuth also address the tensions over the rural, by analysing local inhabitants' responses to development measures promoted by external contractors. Based on long-term anthropological fieldwork in rural Finland, the authors examine the ways in which locality and local identity are being constructed in a conflicting context, pointing out the emergence of a village divided between tourists sights and attractions and the daily practices of local residents, on the one hand, and between those who are involved in tourism activities and those who are not, on the other.

In Chap. 6, Szőke discusses rural development in post-socialist Hungary. Drawing on fieldwork in a rural village in Northern Hungary included in a bottom-up initiative for the most disadvantage regions of the country, the author reveals the

existence of a gap between external and inner perceptions of 'disadvantage' that result from different geographical and scale positions, knowledge and connections with the territory. Szőke argues that the new frames of development create room for the emergence of new development actors in rural areas that are part of a new elite class, the 'project class'.

Contributions included in Part II – *Consuming and Representing the Rural* – focus on the urban imageries and consumptions of the rural areas, particularly through the analysis of tourism-related activities and other displays of culture, but also through examining the role of literature, of mass media and of nationalist ideologies in the social construction of the rural and rurality.

In Chap. 7, Silva examines the fictional literature of the nineteenth century and current rural tourism practices to highlight the persistence of the pastoral ideal in Portuguese culture. He argues that the accommodation sector known as *TER* (Tourism in Rural Areas) is both a reflection and an instrument of the middle-class appropriation of and active involvement in a practice associated with a sentimental form of pastoralism, while landscape, social relations and authenticity are three key elements used by tourists to build an idyllic image of the rural.

In Chap. 8, Prista examines the representations and experiences of guests at a high-quality type of tourist accommodation in rural Portugal, *Pousadas de Portugal* (Inns of Portugal). The author uses a combination of methods of data collection to argue that *Pousadas* have become heritage attractions in themselves that disclose a postmodern understanding of the past and confirm tourism as a learning activity closely linked to social differentiation purposes. Prista also sheds light on the importance of rurality, history and exclusivity in the guests' representations and consumptions of *Pousadas*.

In Chap. 9, Figueiredo addresses rural reconfiguration processes based on the content analysis of promotional materials of the Portuguese Schist Villages Network. In the process, the author advocates that remote rural areas in Portugal are, currently, being recreated and reinvented to satisfy external needs and desires, following the hegemonic and global images of rurality and rural territories, and promoting a *McRuralisation* of the countryside, in which heritage, authenticity, tradition, folk architecture and natural beauty occupy prominent positions.

In Chap. 10, Truninger explores the marriage of food with the rural amongst Portuguese urbanites and British rural dwellers. Based on a set of in-depth interviews conducted in three contexts, she reveals the connections between the rural and the urban foodscapes, through examining the memories associated with, and the meanings of, organic and local food, concluding that, in both countries, food memories contribute, to a certain extent, to overcome the rural–urban divide and, at the same time, to reinforce it.

In Chap. 11, Szabó analyses how rurality is (re)constructed in the context of rural–urban encounters in Transylvania. Based on qualitative materials, the author unravels the unequal power relations of urban and rural dwellers in defining rurality and, thus, in determining rural economies and development. In his view, urban dwellers do not consume the 'real' rural, but rather an ideological and hegemonic version of it, which ultimately reproduces the distance and social inequalities between city and countryside.

In Chap. 12, Hämeenaho analyses lay and official perceptions of rurality in Finland. The aim is to understand the conception of the rural as a living space on the

ground and to compare it with the urban and political discourses on the 'residential rural'. The author argues that, although lay and official visions of rurality have much in common, there is a gap between the respective descriptions of rural areas as an everyday living space: while potential rural residents dream of the rural idyll, rural dwellers wish to solve the economic and infrastructural problems existing in their living space.

In Chap. 13, Kennedy examines how perceptions of nature and culture are shaped in a variety of social contexts in which people go out into the countryside in search of mushrooms, including a television programme, a tourist day course, a conservation ramble and a foray with a local fungi enthusiast in Britain. Drawing on media representation analysis and ethnographic fieldwork, Kennedy sheds light on the effect of different structures of experience on the ways people imagine and engage with the natural world and create diverse cultural and social meanings for it.

In Chap. 14, although examining also the urban representations of rurality, Fernandes takes a different approach. Instead of analysing rural contexts, the author explores ethnographically two urban rural projects in the city of Oporto, Portugal, in order to identify and decode the urban discourse on rurality and its materialisations. In both projects, the author found a sanitised and idyllic version of rurality, in which the urban comforts are guaranteed and the discomforts of rural life are avoided, in which nostalgia and utopia, simulation and dissimulation are blended and balanced.

In Chap. 15, Pereiro and Prado analyse the relationships between rural and urban representations of rurality in Galicia, Spain. Combining research literature analysis and empirical materials collected through anthropological fieldwork, the authors conclude that nationalist ideologies and newcomers play critical roles in shaping and re-signifying the 'old' rural, and that the rural–urban divide has vanished from the physical world but persists in collective imaginaries.

Chapter 16 by the editor Luís Silva summarises the research results presented by the authors, highlighting trends and contradictions, and relating them to rural change and policy development concerns.

References

Bell, D. (2006). Variations on the rural idyll. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 149–160). London: Sage.

Black, R. (1992). *Crisis and change in rural Europe. Agricultural development in the Portuguese mountains*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Boyle, P., & Halfacree, K. (Eds.). (1998). *Migration into rural areas: Theories and issues*. Chichester: Wiley.

Brito, J., Baptista, F., & Pereira, B. (orgs.). (1996). *O Voo do Arado*. Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Etnologia.

Bunce, M. (1994). *The countryside ideal*. London: Routledge.

Cavaco, C. (coord.). (1999). *Desenvolvimento Rural. Desafio e Utopia*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Universidade de Lisboa.

Champion, A. (1989). Counterurbanisation in Europe. *The Geographical Journal, 155*(1), 52–80.

Chevalier, P. (2002). *Dynamiques Tertiaires de l'Espace Rural*. Montpellier: Publications de l'Université Paul Valéry.

Chevalier, D. (org.). (2000). *Vives Campagnes. Le Patrimoine Rural, Projet de Société*. Paris: Éditions Autrement.

Cloke, P. (Ed.). (2003). *Country visions*. Essex: Pearson.

Cloke, P., & Goodwin, M. (1993). The changing function and position of rural areas in Europe. *Nederlandse Geografische Studies, 153*, 19–36.

Cloke, P., Marsden, T., & Mooney, P. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of rural studies*. London: Sage.

Cuddy, M. (1992). Rural development: The broader context. In M. O'Cinneide & M. Cuddy (Eds.), *Perspectives on rural development in advanced economies* (pp. 65–77). Galway: Centre for Development Studies, University College Galway.

de Hann, H., & Long, N. (Eds.). (1997). *Images and realities of rural life: Wageningen perspectives on rural transformations*. Assen: Van Corcum.

Dupuis, E. M. (2006). Landscapes of desires? In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 124–132). London: Sage.

European Environmental Agency. (2006). *Urban sprawl in Europe. The ignored challenge*. Copenhagen: EEA.

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.

Figueiredo, E. (2008). Imagine there's no rural – The transformation of rural spaces into places of nature conservation in Portugal. *European Urban and Regional Studies, 15*(2), 159–171.

Figueiredo, E. (2011). Um rural cheio de futuros? In E. Figueiredo et al. (Eds.), *O Rural Plural – Olhar o Presente, Imaginar o Futuro* (pp. 13–46). Castro Verde: 100luz Editora.

Figueiredo, E. (2003). *Um Rural Para Viver, Outro Para Visitar: O Ambiente nas Estratégias de Desenvolvimento Para as Áreas Rurais*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Aveiro, Aveiro.

Figueiredo, E., & Raschi, A. (2012). Immersed in Green? Reconfiguring the Italian countryside through rural tourism promotional materials. In K. Hyde, C. Ryan, & A. Woodside (Eds.), *Field guide for case study research in tourism, hospitality and leisure* (pp. 17–44). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Figueiredo, E., Kastenholz, E., Eusébio, M. C., Gomes, M. C., Carneiro, M. J., Baptista, P., & Valente, S. (Eds.). (2011). *O Rural Plural – Olhar o Presente, Imaginar o Futuro*. Castro Verde: 100luz Editora.

Halfacree, K. (1994). The importance of 'the rural' in the constitution of counterurbanization: Evidence from England in the 1980s. *Sociologia Ruralis, 34*, 164–189.

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.

Halfacree, K. (2006). Out of place in the country: Travellers and the 'rural idyll'. *Antipode, 28*, 42–71.

Halfacree, K. (2007). Trial by space for a 'radical rural': Introducing alternative localities, representations and lives. *Journal of Rural Studies, 23*(2), 125–141.

Hall, D., Roberts, L., & Mitchell, M. (2003). Tourism and the countryside: Dynamic relationships. In D. Hall, L. Roberts, & M. Mitchell (Eds.), *New directions in rural tourism* (pp. 3–15). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hoggart, K., Buller, H., & Black, R. (1995). *Rural Europe: Identity and change*. London: Arnold.

Horáková, H., & Boscoboinik, A. (Eds.). (2012). *From production to consumption: Transformation of rural communities*. Berlin/Zürich: Lit Verlag.

Ilbery, B. (1998). Dimensions of rural change. In B. Ilbery (Ed.), *The geography of rural change* (pp. 1–10). Harlow: Longman.

Jenkins, J., Hall, C., & Troughton, M. (1998). The restructuring of rural economies: Rural tourism and recreation as a government response. In R. Butler, C. Hall, & J. Jenkins (Eds.), *Tourism and recreation in rural areas* (pp. 43–65). Chichester: Willey.

Jollivet, M. (1997). Des campagnes paysannes au rural 'vert': naissance d'une ruralité postindustriel. In M. Jollivet (Ed.), *Vers un Rural Postindustriel – Rural et Environnement en Huit Pays Européens* (pp. 77–126). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Jollivet, M., & Eizner, N. (Eds.). (1996). *L'Europe et ses Campagnes*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale de Sciences Politiques.

Lowe, P. (1989). The rural idyll defended. In G. E. Mingay (Ed.), *The rural idyll* (pp. 113–131). London: Routledge.

Lowenthal, D. (1991). British national identity and the English landscape. *Rural History, 2*(2), 205–230.

Lowenthal, D. (2007). Living with and looking at landscape. *Landscape Research, 32*(5), 635–656.

Lowenthal, D. (1996). Paysages et identités nationales. In M. Jollivet & N. Eizner (orgs.), *L'Europe et ces Campagnes* (pp. 245–274). Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale de Sciences Politiques.

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

Marsden, T. (1998). Economic perspectives. In B. Ilbery (Ed.), *The geography of rural change* (pp. 13–30). Harlow: Longman.

Marsden, T., Lowe, P., & Whatmore, S. (Eds.). (1990). *Rural restructuring – Global processes and their responses*. London: David Fulton.

Marsden, T., Murdock, J., Lowe, P., Munton, R., & Flynn, A. (1993). *Constructing the countryside: An approach to rural development (restructuring rural areas)*. London: Routledge.

Marx, L. (1964). *The machine in the garden: Technology and the pastoral ideal in the America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mendras, H. (1967). La fin des paysans, innovations et changement dans l'agriculture française. *Revue Française de Sociologie, 8*(4), 577–579.

Mingay, G. E. (Ed.). (1989). *The rural idyll*. London: Routledge.

Mormont, M. (1994). La agricultura en el espacio rural europeo. *Agricultura y Sociedad, 71*, 17–49.

Murdoch, J. (2003). Co-constructing the countryside: Hybrid networks and the extensive self. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 263–282). New York: Pearson.

Murdock, J., Lowe, P., Ward, N., & Marsden, T. (2003). *The differentiated countryside*. London: Routledge.

Newby, H. (1979). *Green and pleasant land? Social change in rural England*. London: Hutchinson.

Newby, H. (1990). Revitalizing the countryside. The opportunities and pitfalls of counter-urban trends. *Royal Society of Arts Journal, 138*, 630–636.

Oliveira Baptista, F. (1995). Agriculture, rural society and the land question in Portugal. *Sociologia Ruralis, 35*(3/4), 309–325.

Oliveira Baptista, F. (2006). O rural depois da agricultura. In M. Fonseca (Ed.), *Desenvolvimento e Território – Espaços Rurais Pós-Agrícolas e os Novos Lugares de Turismo e Lazer* (pp. 85–100). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Geográficos.

Portela, J., & Caldas, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Portugal Chão*. Oeiras: Celta.

Pratt, J. (1995). *Rationality of rural life: Economic and cultural change in Tuscany*. Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Ramos-Real, E. (1995). De la crisis a la regeneración rural. In SPER (org.), *Actas do III Colóquio Hispano-Português de Estudos Rurais* (pp. 125–149). Lisbon: Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Rurais.

Rivera, M. J. (2007a). Migration to rural Navarre: Questioning the experience of counterurbanisation. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 98*, 32–41.

Rivera, M. J. (2007b). *La Ciudad No Era Mi Lugar. Los Significados Residenciales de la Vuelta al Campo en Navarra*. Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra.

Rogers, A. (1989a). A planed countryside. In G. E. Mingay (Ed.), *The rural idyll* (pp. 91–102). London: Routledge.

Rogers, A. (1989b). People in the countryside. In G. E. Mingay (Ed.), *The rural idyll* (pp. 103–112). London: Routledge.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A, 38*(2), 207–226.

Short, J. (1991). *Imagined country: Environment, culture, and society*. London: Routledge.

Silva, L. (2009). *Casas no Campo. Etnografia do Turismo Rural em Portugal*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Sobral, J. (2004). O *genuíno*, o *espúrio* e a identidade local: um estudo de caso das políticas de património em meio rural. *Etnográfica, 8*(2), 243–271.

Urry, J. (2002). *The tourist gaze* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. London: The Hogarth Press.

Woods, M. (2005). *Rural geography: Processes, responses and experiences in rural restructuring*. London: Sage.

Woods, M. (2011). *Rural (Key ideas in geography)*. Oxon/New York: Routledge.

Part I
**Living in the Rural: New and Old Actors
and Their Visions on Rurality**

Chapter 2
Running Wild in the Country?: Mobilising Rural In-Migration

Keith Halfacree

2.1 Introduction

> I imagined myself dying inside so I came to this village to find my health. My wholeness. That is what I am here. It was not my village but to say that I returned to it seemed a true way of describing what had happened to me. Suffolk amazed me – the great trees, the towering old buildings soaring out of the corn. I have in fact been re-born. I have escaped into reality… In spite of machines and sprays, I still find Nature with a capital N in this valley… The twentieth century… has produced great alienation experiences. People need the seasonal design of country time to remind them of what they are. … They say that I have opted out. That is what they say. ('The Poet', quoted in Blythe 1969/2005: 266–8)

I recently came across this quote when rereading Ronald Blythe's celebrated 1969 account of the diverse lives being lived in the late 1960s in the small village of Akenfield in Suffolk, Southeastern England. The book powerfully articulates the great changes then taking place across rural England, not least in terms of the consequences of the productivist post-1945 agricultural revolution, with its promotion of intensification, concentration and specialisation within the industry (Bowler 1985). Thus, according to Rayner Creighton of the local Agricultural Training Centre, for the young rural farm worker, the experience around Akenfield in the late 1960s was increasingly '[f]actory farming, mechanization, *everything his father understood turned upside-down'* (quoted in Blythe 1969/2005: 167, emphasis added).

Nevertheless, the late 1960s was also a time when significant numbers of people were starting to move into the English countryside to live, including into predominantly rural Suffolk, primarily for so-called quality-of-life reasons. This period was the beginning in England of that broader socio-demographic development now present across much of the Global North, generally known as counterurbanisation,

K. Halfacree (✉)
Department of Geography, Swansea University, Swansea, Wales, UK
e-mail: k.h.halfacree@swansea.ac.uk

that involves a strong perception that rural life is in some ways better than the urban equivalent (compare Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Boyle and Halfacree 1998; Gosnell and Abrams 2011). This is where the opening quote from Blythe's respondent – actually his friend James Turner – comes in. However, this quote also provides us with a sense of migration and a sensibility towards migration that is, it will be argued in this chapter, somewhat different from how human migration, and counterurban migration in particular, is predominantly presented within the academic literature.

The chapter is structured as follows. Following this introduction, the main section is divided into four parts. First, and refracted through the idea that we are now living in an era of mobilities, the predominant framing of migration as an immediate, instrumental and bounded action is presented and then deconstructed to arrive at the proposition that migration may be regarded as, instead, a longitudinal, elusive and incomplete event. Second, such a framing then requires us to see migration not just representationally but also more-than-representationally as it is lived out, a sense illustrated with a turn to counterurban migration in particular. Third, sources of evidence to support the value of taking this different perspective are briefly introduced. Fourth, some key themes from these sources regarding the impact of the more-than-representational on rural in-migrants are outlined. The chapter then concludes through re-engaging with the opening quote to demonstrate just how well James Turner actually expressed what is belatedly being brought together here over 40 years later.

2.2 Migration as Event and the Importance of the More-Than-Representational: The Case of Counterurbanisation

2.2.1 Beyond a Sedentarist Understanding of Migration

Within the social science literature, a wide range of writers have recently elevated 'mobility' to the status of a general existential *zeitgeist* condition within everyday life (compare Clifford 1997; Bauman 2000; Cresswell 2006). For Sheller and Urry (2006: 207), '[a]ll the world seems to be on the move', both literally with flows of people and things, real and virtual, that inscribe the bonds of globalisation and in a more metaphorical sense of flux as near ubiquitous within everyday consciousness (Urry 2007). Humanity may, thus, be said to have entered an 'age of mobility' (Rolshoven 2007), an 'era of mobilities' (Halfacree 2012).

Within the substantial body of work to date on this era of mobilities – comprising a 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry 2006) even – it is perhaps unsurprising that 'migration or other kinds of semi-permanent geographical movement' (Urry 2007: 8) are granted a prominent position (Cresswell 2006). The 'systematic movements of people' feature numerous times in the works of John Urry and

colleagues, in particular. There is clear recognition of the increased frequency and diversity of migratory experiences within everyday life. And yet, somewhat surprisingly but in part reflecting how mobility is broader than human migrations or even 'corporeal travel' (Urry 2007: 47), the focus in much of this scholarship has been on novel forms and expressions of mobility rather than on human migration per se. Indeed, this relative neglect has paradoxically left academic understanding of human migration rooted within an assumption about human life that the era of mobilities fundamentally challenges, that of 'sedentarism'.

Sedentarism is recognised by authors such as Cresswell (2006), Malkki (1992) and Urry (2007) as being a core underpinning of social scientific thinking. It is an expression of 'the place-fixated paradigm of the modern age' (Rolshoven 2007: 21). It articulates an essentialist assumption that stasis, boundedness and authenticity-in-place are foundational features of human life. In contrast, from a sedentarist perspective, mobility is regarded with suspicion, as somehow inauthentic and deviant, requiring sociopolitical scrutiny and control (Cresswell 2006: 55).

However, the mobilities perspective does not simply seek to replace a sedentarist metaphysics with any equally essentialist 'nomadic' alternative. This would go too far both in assuming the possibility of 'freedom' and in naive celebration of the supposed freedoms that come from a lack of ties to place. The aim, instead, is to transcend 'sedentarist *and* nomadic conceptualisations' (Sheller and Urry 2006: 214) by acknowledging stability-within-movement and movement-within-stability; what Clifford (1997) earlier had termed roots *and* routes.

In looking at migration through a mobilities lens, traces of sedentarism become readily apparent. They come through, for example, in the illegitimacy accorded to seminomadic lifestyles (e.g. Halfacree 1996) or the 'pathologization of uprootedness' (Malkki 1992: 32) for the 'home-less' refugee. Sedentarism is also apparent in treating migration as simply movement or what Cresswell (2006: 2) called 'abstracted mobility'. Such an abstraction and, in consequence, migration's further metaphysical illegitimacy is apparent in how it is embedded within the institutional networks of everyday life, whereby:

> the act of 'moving house', notwithstanding the vagaries of both the housing market and the economy generally, has become a relatively mundane practice… to be undertaken as efficiently and painlessly as possible so as to minimise disruption to the emplaced normal condition. (Halfacree 2012: 212)

To counter such dismissive readings of migration requires bringing it much more fully into the light of analytical focus, not as a problematic transient state but as a sociocultural practice full of diverse and multiple meanings (Cresswell 2006; Halfacree 2004), significant in its own right. For the migrant, one sees 'a search, a project, rather than an act' (Benson and O'Reilly 2009: 610), something that 'must be recognised as inextricably and constitutively entangled' (Halfacree 2012: 212) with variously contextualised lives or biographies (Halfacree and Boyle 1993).

Thinking of migration through the critical mobilities lens has, further, led to the suggestion that migration may be seen as not only simply richly meaningful and existentially legitimate but as an example of the still more alive 'event' (Halfacree and Rivera 2012). This interpretation is influenced by the often complex understanding

of this term expressed within so-called non-representational theory (Anderson and Harrison 2010; discussed further below). For the present author, the event (re)presents a kind of metaphorical gateway or portal to a potentially radically different set of everyday experiences and lives for those it impacts upon. As with a basic tenet of non-representational theory, it imagines the person as an 'inhabitant' (Ingold 2008: 1802) making 'decisions… for the moment, by the moment' (Thrift 2007: 114) within an 'open world… a world-in-formation' (Ingold 2008: 1801–2). Events provide 'new potentialities for being, doing and thinking' (Anderson and Harrison 2010: 19, emphasis removed). This radical unpredictability means that an 'event does not resemble, conform, or reproduce a set of *a priori* conditions. It does not *represent* those conditions. Rather, and in different ways, events break with their extant conditions, forcing or inviting us to think and act differently' (Anderson and Harrison 2010: 22, emphasis in original).

Put in the context of migration, an event perspective leads to a migration being seen as 'distributed' into the future (as much as it is rooted in the past; Halfacree and Boyle 1993), in contrast to the tightly and discreetly bounded act – relocation from point A to point B-, which it is usually seen as being (Halfacree and Rivera 2012). This radical rescripting of migration makes it hard – if not impossible – to determine when a migration is 'over'. How this perspective plays out in the specific case of counterurbanisation will now be considered, although it is a perspective that can potentially be applied to all forms of migration.[1]

2.2.2 The More-Than-Representational Within Counterurbanisation

> A clear distinction is often drawn between places and those travelling to such places. Places are seen as pushing or pulling people to visit. Places are presumed to be relatively fixed, given, and separate from those visiting. The new mobility paradigm argues against this ontology of distinct 'places' and 'people'. Rather, there is a complex relationality of places and persons connected through performances. (Sheller and Urry 2006: 214)

In contrast to the focus of most topics studied through non-representational theory, migration in general and counterurban migration in particular appears to be a very *representational* action. In other words, 'moving house' *is* a form of human action that is usually strongly 'contemplative' (Thrift 2007: 114). It may rarely resemble the consequence of the extremely 'logical' decision-making processes that feature within behavioural models (Halfacree and Boyle 1993), but it is for most people a very big deal and is treated accordingly. This is not to argue that migration is wholly representational, however, as what makes a person move may also have hidden causal currents buried deep in the unconscious or may relate

---

[1] Thanks to Richard Yarwood for this observation.

to affective 'pushes' experienced within everyday life (Thrift 2007). Nonetheless, simply moving 'on a whim' is relatively rare and may be seen as somewhat irresponsible or even pathological within cultures such as our own, where a sedentarist norm is assumed.

The representational underpinning of counterurban expressions of migration appears to be especially significant (Benson 2011; Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Halfacree 1994). Accorded special prominence within such moves have been contrasting sociocultural constructions of space, notably imagined differences between the rural and the urban, and their associations with particular qualities of everyday life and experience. Whilst the urban that migrants are supposedly leaving behind residentially is typically described in negative terms, rurality is presented positively, not least via the importance attached to an associated strong rural 'moral geography' (Woods 2003, 2005). It provides what Benson (2011: 1) – referring to British people moving to rural France and following Ong (1999: 5) – terms 'the cultural logic that makes migration "thinkable, practicable, and desirable"'.

This moral rural geography revolves around what Cloke (2003: 2) characterised as the 'centripetal force' of various forms of the 'rural idyll', which 'emphasise the attraction of the category "rural" or "countryside" in the discourses of everyday life'. Bell (2006: 150) recognises three types of rural idyll – 'the pastoral ("farmscapes"), the natural ("wildscapes") and the sporting ("adventurescapes")'. Idylls may vary considerably geographically, culturally and socially both between and within themselves, but they interpolate rurality as a place where one can live more relaxed and rooted lives within a scenic yet human scale, organic and natural environment. The result is, as Benson and O'Reilly (2009: 612) succinctly express it, '[r]ural locations… imagined to offer… a sense of stepping back in time, getting back to the land, the simple or good life, as well as a sense of community spirit' (see also Bunce 2003; Dirksmeier 2008; Gosnell and Abrams 2011).

Thus, migration to rural areas can be 'explained', although it should also be noted that lifestyle concerns do not underpin *all* such moves. Others may be related more or even exclusively to economic or work considerations, for example (Fielding 1998; Halfacree 2008; Paniagua 2002), whilst counterurbanisation being associated with a 'retirement transition', whereby 'expectation of retirement is alleged to act as a catalyst for change, including a change in residential preferences as well as changing attitudes to work, health, and lifestyle' (Stockdale et al. 2012: 3), indicates how multiple reasons and priorities are frequently implicated within any specific move (Halfacree and Boyle 1993). However, this still leaves 'migration', as conventionally understood, largely as a representational act.

It is only when we no longer see migration as simply 'moving house' but as more an eventful life opening that this representational importance becomes (increasingly) qualified. Here, and stimulated both by the era of mobilities concept and the widely noted fact that rural locations are often not as 'idyllic' as their representations might lead counterurban migrants to expect (Benson 2011), the question becomes less one of 'why did you come to live in this rural area' and more one of 'why did you stay' (Halfacree and Rivera 2012). Approaching the issue this way leads to an appreciation of how any 'particular migration may escape the confines

Table 2.1 Moving into and staying within a (changing) rural place

Migration as bounded action	1. Representational and anticipatory fit	Calculating subject
	2. Locational inertia and post hoc rationalisation	
	3. Perseverance, struggle and unwillingness to admit defeat	
	4. Changing life-course biographies	
	5. The unanticipated	
Migration as event-like	6. Refocused lives	Contextual subject

Source: Redrawn from Halfacree and Rivera (2012: Table 2)

of the action of relocation and become both elusively indistinct yet of sustained potential significance' (Halfacree and Rivera 2012: 96).

Table 2.1 presents an 'exploratory framework' (Benson and O'Reilly 2009: 621) to enable us to begin to organise and investigate the post-relocation fates of counter-urban migration. It is *not* a typology of migrants, as frequently a combination of the categories presented in the table will apply to the migrant concerned, and the relative importance of each category will probably change considerably over time. It can be used in total – as in Halfacree and Rivera (2012) – to account for why subsequent out-migration does not occur when 'life following migration does not… conform to its imaginings' (Benson 2011: 1), even when the requisite resources and opportunities to do so are present.

Table 2.1 is organised in such a way that as one proceeds through the categories the migrant becomes less the 'calculating subject', carefully weighing up the pros and cons of different places in determining where to live, and more the 'contextual subject', emplaced and entangled within their new residential environment of fellow residents, landscapes and views, wildlife and plants, weather and topography, sense of space and place, etcetera. In short, attention increasingly shifts towards the existential importance of the in-migrant's interactions – both exceptional and mundane – with the rural environment. This multifaceted environment is no passive 'preformed surface' (Ingold 2008: 1802) but exerts active presence.

Also proceeding through Table 2.1, the issue of mismatch between migrants' spatial imaginary and actual experiences at their destination (as in the category 'Perseverance, struggle and unwillingness to admit defeat') becomes of less and less relevance. Instead, both new representations of everyday life, such as those related to family priorities and changing places ('Changing life-course biographies'), and the 'more-than-representational' come to the fore. It is the latter, expressed in the categories 'The unanticipated' and 'Re-focused lives', that is of particular interest here and merits further introduction.

The idea of the more-than-representational (Lorimer 2005) is taken from what has been termed 'non-representational theory' (Thrift 2007) or NRT. This perspective sees in much scholarship a problematic separation of '[t]he world and its meaning' (Anderson and Harrison 2010: 6), with undue emphasis paid to the latter at the expense of the former. This is done through undue priority accorded to

representations within everyday life which, for example, by placing people into neat categories, takes humans out of the world rather than see them as embedded within it. NRT strives to overcome this separation and enables us to obtain a better sense of the 'sensuous, corporeal, lived experience' (Carolan 2008: 412) of life.

In order to gain an appreciation of how we 'feel life' (Thrift 2003: 319), NRT gives particular importance to affect. This refers to the feelings, sensations and even results brought about through everyday engagements with the materiality of the world (Blackman and Venn 2010). Returning to rurality, thinking affectively shifts attention from a 'detached' and (always) distanced focus on rurality's expression through representation or the perspective of what Bunce (1994: 37) terms the 'armchair countryside'. Instead, primary focus becomes what it is like existentially and sensuously to be 'in' the rural. This inevitably combines representations – how we think about where we are – with a non- or pre-conceptualised more-than-representational additional element. Rather than assume that all experience and knowledge is (ultimately) channelled through the 'intelligent' human individual, the desire is to take rurality seriously on its own terms. This includes acknowledging not just the role of culture and the social generally – although this is clearly vital – but also the diverse agencies of non-humans: animals, plants, inanimate objects, physical forces and so on.

How, then, might the more-than-representational impact on the counterurban migrant as their migration plays itself out through time and across space? First, such impacts might be expected to be more or less unanticipated, but, second, they may prove significant enough to bring about considerably altered, even refocused lives (Halfacree and Rivera 2012). In short, the migrant may end up going native, feral, running to some extent 'wild in the country'.

2.2.3 Running Wild in the Country: Sourcing the Ideas

This chapter will shortly suggest some of the themes that emerge when thinking in terms of how living in the rural, *due to the 'nature' of and within the rural itself –* rather than other life-course changes, for example – may affect, entangle and impact upon the counterurban migrant. It will do this through stating a number of themes that have been inspired from a range of sources, now briefly introduced.

First, there was work on a research project entitled *Rooted in the Earth? Going back-to-the-land in millennial Britain*.[2] This involved the author and co-workers Lewis Holloway and Larch Maxey investigating the extent, characteristics and significance of consubstantial (deep, mutually reinforcing) relationships formed with the land within contemporary British back-to-the-land experiments. Fieldwork focused,

---

in particular, on eight case studies located in two parts of England and Wales. We argued that through varying degrees of working on and with the land, people are trying to live everyday lives much more connected to that land and its natural rhythms and priorities than is the case for most of us today (Halfacree et al. 2010).

Second, there are three main sets of secondary sources. The first is the more ethnographic and anthropological work on rural lifestyles which, through their immersed style, attempt to present a fuller sense of all aspects of the lives lived by people in rural areas than does more narrowly concentrated social scientific scholarship focusing, for example, on why people move to rural areas. Excellent recent examples of this more anthropological work include Brian Hoey's exploration of middle-class relocators to the Grand Traverse region of Michigan in the USA (e.g. Hoey 2005, 2006), Michaela Benson's investigations into the lives of British migrants to the Lot *department* of rural France (e.g. Benson 2009, 2011) and María Jesús Rivera Escribano's examination of migration into rural Navarre, Spain (e.g. Rivera 2007a, b).

The second secondary source is what has been labelled the 'new nature writing' (Cowley 2008), a body of work especially sensitive to the rural more-than-representational. These writings 'put centre stage the interconnections between nature and human beings' (Bunting 2008: 292). For David Matless (2009: 178) they represent '"nature voices" in their speaking (up) for things animal, vegetable or mineral, and their foregrounding of the authorial voice'. This is achieved through 'a patient attentiveness, a kind of waiting that is so often derided as a waste of time in an age obsessed with purpose, targets and goals' (Bunting 2008: 293). Key authors in this tradition range from those with natural science backgrounds (e.g. Richard Mabey, Mark Cocker) to those directly rooted in the arts (e.g. Kathleen Jamie, Robert Macfarlane).

The third secondary source consists of children's rural or nature-based literature. Whilst such literature is widespread and widely recognised as a prime site (re)producing idyllic ruralities (Horton 2003, 2008; Jones 1997), it also frequently expresses a more subversive dimension. This is reflected, for example, in the prominence given to disordered spaces that 'offer children an opportunity to unleash potential to become themselves, or to become other than their normal regulated selves' (Cloke 2006: 452; Jones 1997). A key theme is contact with nature, 'seen as bringing not only joy and entertainment, but also physical and spiritual health' (Jones 1997: 163), and as challenging representational dominance with an alternative emphasis on the lived and felt (Halfacree forthcoming).

2.2.4 Running Wild in the Country: Initial Indications

Drawing – albeit often implicitly here due to space constraints – on the diverse sources introduced above, one can recognise at least five themes that emerge in terms of how one might 'run wild in the country'. Importantly, these themes must themselves be seen as intricately interconnected, overlapping and entangled.

Together, however, they build up a very *active* picture of the contemporary affective rural experience for the counterurban migrant.

First, there is a strong sense of *slowing down*. Given that one of the key experiential features of the rural is that of low density, distance/space and a general sense of dispersion – of people, services, jobs –, one might expect a rural life to be one that requires somehow speeding up. This would be needed to attain a rich networked sociability and may be seen, for example, in statistics that suggest traffic volume on British rural roads has been increasing faster than in the cities (Commission for Rural Communities 2005). However, at a more existential level, the dominant feeling seems to be one of slowing down, adjusting or attuning to a less frenetic lifestyle. A good example comes from one of Hoey's subjects:

> it became a completely different life, different pace. [At first] I would stand in line at the bank, tap my foot, snap my fingers and say "Come on, come on, I've got somewhere to go". Everybody is chatting so you couldn't do anything fast. *I was forced to slow down* (quoted in Hoey 2006: 353, my emphasis).

Second, and it would be easy to suggest clear causal linkages with the previous theme, there is the sense of increasingly *feeling life* (after Thrift 2003: 319). The idea here is of the person becoming more attuned to the rhythms of nature and the seasons. It is not so much that the person is feeling life for the first time, since the city very much has lives and rhythms of its own, as numerous commentators have attested (e.g. Crang 2001), but that it is the life of the natural world, a world that goes on in spite of humans, that is increasingly foregrounded. One of the respondents from the back-to-the-land project illustrates this sense of new attunements:

> *I* still have to go out and milk the goats… and I have to get the hay in and I have to cut the greenery… I *insist* on going out and actually made a New Year's resolution… that I would spend more than 50 % of my life, besides sleeping, outside and I'm doing it and its been a real conscious effort… In the beginning it was really hard but now I feel physically quite sick if I spend too much time indoors… I love being out… (quoted in Halfacree and Rivera 2012: 108).

Third, living in the rural highlights the importance of the diverse *connectivities* of which one is part, whether with plants, animals, inanimate objects or other people. In opposition to either the armchair countryside of books (Bunce 1994) or to life more generally through the Internet running through a single point or terminus, the sense is of belonging as a connected part of the spread-out – spatialised – networks of the lived environment. And such distributed networks are also made more 'visible'. Mabey (2005: 225) illustrates this sense when he describes:

> a sense of being taken not out of myself but back *in*, of nature entering me, firing up the wild bits in my imagination. … I really did have to listen, and look up. … And I've become oddly attracted to the idea of "vegetativeness", to trying to tune in with other kinds of mind that operate on the earth without the privilege of self-consciousness… Not vegetative retreat… [but] to work at gently joining our ancient, shared senses more closely with our actions….

A fourth theme contrasts with the previous rhizomatic sense of connectedness. Here, attentiveness, feeling and awareness come together in a heightened importance given to embeddedness or rooted *place-based dwelling* (Ingold 1995).

Dwelling emphasises the practical activity of living – which we all do – but rural residence appears to foreground this within a relatively clearly defined place.[3] Cocker (2008: 18, 24) expressed this sense of dwelling and its implications very well when reflecting on his own migration to rural Norfolk:

> I felt truly home. … The space all around seems a part of such close encounters. It particularises the moment. Things seem special. I could be wrong. The background conditions may be far more prosaic. It may be that I am simply trapped by the sheer impediment of the river, and I am just making the most of the wildlife that's to hand. But I don't think so. In the Yare valley so many of the things that I had once overlooked or taken for granted were charged with fresh power and importance. It gave rise to a strange and fruitful paradox. I had come home to a place where everything seemed completely new.

Fifth, and linking back strongly to the distinction between the representational and the more-than-representational, in contrast to our highly credentialised times of certification and formal qualifications, the rural existential experience promotes *learning by doing* over book learning – Dionysus over Apollo. Again, at first sight given that the rural is so scripted and written of and about – so represented –, this may be somewhat surprising but rural residence goes 'beyond' books if the in-migrant succumbs fully to the previous four senses, at the very least. This emphasis on felt practice is very well put in the popular children's book *The Secret Garden* by Frances Hodgson Burnett, first published in 1911 (Halfacree forthcoming). Within the book, practical tending of the eponymous garden transforms both the physically sickly boy Colin and the emotionally troubled girl Mary. However, whilst 'Colin had read about a great many singular things' (Burnett 1911/2007: 258), he 'is symbolically expelled from the garden… [being] inimical to nature, expounding about Western science and logic' (Parsons 2002: 265). In contrast, Mary 'has aligned herself with the forces of nature' (Parsons 2002: 266). For her, '[t]he garden is… liberating, wild, and health-inducing and egalitarian. It is also anarchic, Dionysian, and… the scene of [her] sexual awakening' (Wilkie 1997: 79). Through thorough practical engagement with more-than-representational rural nature, in other words, Mary's life is fundamentally refocused (Table 2.1).

2.3   Conclusion: Recognising an Active Rural Experience

> '[L]andscape'… is not the passive object of our gaze, but rather a volatile participant – a fellow subject which arches and bristles at us, bristles into us. … I prefer to think of [landscape] as a noun containing a hidden verb: landscape scapes, it is dynamic and commotion causing, it sculpts and shapes us not only over the course of our lives but also instant by instant, incident by incident. … Landscape and nature are not there simply to be gazed at; no, they press hard upon and into our bodies and minds, complexly affect our moods, our sensibilities (Macfarlane 2012: 254–5, 341).

---

[3]This takes us back to the idea of sedentarism, of course, but it is a sedentarism attained rather than assumed; it is a stability-within-movement (Sheller and Urry 2006). Together with the previous theme, we have both roots and routes (Clifford 1997).

This short conclusion returns to the quote by poet James Turner that opened the chapter. As was promised, Turner can now be seen to have expressed all those years ago the overall message of this chapter very well. This message is that whilst the rural is strongly representational within culture, its everyday 'performance' (Edensor 2006) for those who engage with it, including rural in-migrants, is itself not just representational, following a defined script, and does not simply take place on a blank canvas or across a passive space. Turning rural dreams into everyday realities is not just an active matter for the people involved – although such people strive hard to succeed of course, as the work of Benson and Hoey clearly demonstrates. Instead, by recognising, in particular, an affective more-than-representational dimension to the rural and by also recognising that a counterurban migration is never simply 'over' once spatial relocation has taken place, one can see this rural as itself very much alive and a 'volatile participant', as Macfarlane puts it. Indeed, countering perennial 'morbid thoughts about the rural' (Bell 2008: 6), rurality has an active voice and presence within the shaping of *any* rural future. Lastly, though, for counterurban migrants specifically, engaging with and welcoming the direct experiences that come from this lively and engaged rural suggest very much that, as with James Turner, rural in-migration becomes not a matter of 'opting out' or seeking an idyllic repose. Instead, to a greater or lesser extent, it can see them 'reborn' through running wild in and with the country.

References

Anderson, B., & Harrison, P. (2010). The promise of non-representational theories. In B. Anderson & P. Harrison (Eds.), *Taking-place: Non-representational theories and geography* (pp. 1–34). Farnham: Ashgate.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bell, D. (2006). Variations on the rural idyll. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 149–160). London: Sage.

Bell, M. M. (2008, March). *Mobilizing the countryside: Rural power and the power of the rural*. Paper presented at Agrarian Studies Seminar (Online document). http://www.yale.edu/agrarianstudies/colloqpapers/22bell.pdf. Accessed 10 Aug 2012.

Benson, M. (2009). A desire for difference: British lifestyle migration to southwest France. In M. Benson & K. O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle migration: Expectations, aspirations and experiences* (pp. 121–136). Farnham: Ashgate.

Benson, M. (2011). *The British in rural France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (2009). Migration and the search for a better way of life: A critical exploration of lifestyle migration. *The Sociological Review, 57*, 608–625.

Blackman, L., & Venn, C. (2010). Affect. *Body and Society, 16*, 7–28.

Blythe, R. (1969/2005). *Akenfield*. London: Penguin.

Bowler, I. (1985). Some consequences of the industrialisation of agriculture in the European Community. In M. Healey & B. Ilbery (Eds.), *The industrialisation of the countryside* (pp. 75–98). Norwich: Geo Books.

Boyle, P., & Halfacree, K. (Eds.). (1998). *Migration into rural areas. Theories and issues*. Chichester: Wiley.

Bunce, M. (1994). *The countryside ideal. Anglo-American images of landscape*. London: Routledge.

Bunce, M. (2003). Reproducing rural idylls. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 14–30). Harlow: Pearson.

Bunting, M. (2008). We need an attentiveness to nature. In R. Petrie & M. Wainwright (Eds.), *The Guardian Book of the countryside* (pp. 292–295). London: Guardian Books.

Burnett, F. H. (1911/2007). *The secret garden*. London: Walker Books.

Carolan, M. (2008). More-than-representational knowledge/s of the countryside: How we think as bodies. *Sociologia Ruralis, 48*, 408–422.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cloke, P. (2003). Knowing ruralities? In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 1–13). Harlow: Pearson.

Cloke, P. (2006). Rurality and otherness. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 447–456). London: Sage.

Cocker, M. (2008). *Crow country*. London: Vintage.

Commission for Rural Communities. (2005). *The state of the countryside 2005*. Wetherby: Countryside Agency Publications.

Cowley, J. (2008). The new nature writing. In J. Cowley (Ed.), *The new nature writing. Granta 102* (pp. 7–12). London: Granta.

Crang, M. (2001). Rhythms of the city: Temporalised space and motion. In J. May & N. Thrift (Eds.), *Timespace: Geographies of temporality* (pp. 187–207). London: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the move. Mobility in the modern western world*. London: Routledge.

Dirksmeier, P. (2008). Strife in the rural idyll? The relationship between autochthons and in-migrants in scenic regions of Bavaria. *Erdkunde, 62*, 159–171.

Edensor, T. (2006). Performing rurality. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 484–495). London: Sage.

Fielding, T. (1998). Counterurbanisation and social class. In P. Boyle & K. Halfacree (Eds.), *Migration into rural areas. Theories and issues* (pp. 41–60). Chichester: Wiley.

Gosnell, H., & Abrams, J. (2011). Amenity migration: Diverse conceptualizations of drivers, socioeconomic dimensions, and emerging challenges. *GeoJournal, 76*(4), 302–322.

Halfacree, K. (1994). The importance of 'the rural' in the constitution of counterurbanization: Evidence from England in the 1980s. *Sociologia Ruralis, 34*, 164–189.

Halfacree, K. (1996). Out of place in the country: Travellers and the 'rural idyll'. *Antipode, 28*, 42–71.

Halfacree, K. (2004). A utopian imagination in migration's terra incognita? Acknowledging the non-economic worlds of migration decision-making. *Population, Space and Place, 10*, 239–253.

Halfacree, K. (2008). To revitalise counterurbanisation research? Recognising an international and fuller picture. *Population, Space and Place, 14*, 479–495.

Halfacree, K. (2012). Heterolocal identities?: Counter-urbanisation, second homes and rural consumption in the era of mobilities. *Population, Space and Place, 18*, 209–224.

Halfacree, K. (forthcoming). *Magic of The Secret Garden?: Acknowledging more-than-representational rurality*. Paper available from author.

Halfacree, K., & Boyle, P. (1993). The challenge facing migration research: The case for a biographical approach. *Progress in Human Geography, 17*, 333–348.

Halfacree, K., & Rivera, M. J. (2012). Moving to the countryside… and staying: Lives beyond representation. *Sociologia Ruralis, 52*, 92–114.

Halfacree, K., Holloway, L., & Maxey, L. (2010). *Rooted in the Earth? Going back-to-the-land in millennial Britain*. Leverhulme Trust Award F00391H, Final Report.

Hoey, B. (2005). From pi to pie: Moral narratives of noneconomic migration and starting over in the postindustrial Midwest. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 34*, 586–624.

Hoey, B. (2006). Grey suit or brown carhartt: Narrative transition, relocation, and reorientation in the live of corporate refugees. *Journal of Anthropological Research, 62*, 347–371.

Horton, J. (2003). Different genres, different visions? The changing countryside in postwar British children's literature. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 73–92). Harlow: Pearson.

Horton, J. (2008). Producing postman pat: The popular cultural construction of idyllic rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies, 24*, 389–398.

Ingold, T. (1995). Building, dwelling, living: How people and animals make themselves at home in the world. In M. Strathern (Ed.), *Shifting contexts: Transformations in anthropological knowledge* (pp. 57–80). London: Routledge.

Ingold, T. (2008). Bindings against boundaries: Entanglements of life in an open world. *Environment and Planning A, 40*, 1796–1810.

Jones, O. (1997). Little figures, big shadows. Country childhood stories. In P. Cloke & J. Little (Eds.), *Contested countryside cultures* (pp. 158–179). London: Routledge.

Lorimer, H. (2005). Cultural geography: The busyness of being 'more-than-representational'. *Progress in Human Geography, 29*, 83–94.

Mabey, R. (2005). *Nature cure*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Macfarlane, R. (2012). *The old ways. A journey on foot*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Malkki, L. (1992). National geographic: The rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees. *Cultural Anthropology, 7*, 24–44.

Matless, D. (2009). Nature voices. *Journal of Historical Geography, 35*, 178–188.

Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationalism*. London: Duke University Press.

Paniagua, Á. (2002). Counterurbanization and new social class in rural Spain: The environmental and rural dimension revisited. *Scottish Geographical Journal, 118*, 1–18.

Parsons, L. (2002). 'Otherways' into the garden: Re-visioning the feminine in The Secret Garden. *Children's Literature in Education, 33*, 247–268.

Rivera, M. J. (2007a). Migration to rural Navarre: Questioning the experience of counterurbanisation. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 98*, 32–41.

Rivera, M. J. (2007b). *La Ciudad No Era Mi Lugar. Los Significados Residenciales de la Vuelta al Campo en Navarra*. Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra.

Rolshoven, J. (2007). The temptations of the provisional. Multilocality as a way of life. *Ethnologia Europaea, 37*(1/2), 17–25.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A, 38*, 207–226.

Stockdale, A., Macleod, M., & Philip, L. (2012). Connected life courses: Influences on and experiences of 'midlife' in-migration to rural areas. *Population, Space and Place, 19*(3), 239–257. doi:10.1002/psp.1709.

Thrift, N. (2003). Still life in nearly present time: The object of nature. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 308–331). Harlow: Pearson.

Thrift, N. (2007). *Non-representational theory: Space, politics, affect*. London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Wilkie, C. (1997). Digging up the secret garden: Noble innocents or little savages? *Children's Literature in Education, 28*, 73–83.

Woods, M. (2003). Deconstructing rural protest: The emergence of a new social movement. *Journal of Rural Studies, 19*, 309–325.

Woods, M. (2005). *Contesting rurality. Politics in the British countryside*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Chapter 3
Translating Ex-Urban Dwellers' Rural Representations into Residential Practices and Rural Futures

María Jesús Rivera

3.1 Introduction

The increasing arrival of ex-urban population to rural areas in order to live and engage in a rural – or rural-like – lifestyle has been a widespread residential trend in many countries on the Global North from the 1970s onwards (Berry 1975; Champion 1989; Fielding 1982; Kontuly 1998; Vining and Pallone 1982). Parallel to the spread of this residential trend, the interest in some aspects of this type of migration has also increased amongst scholars. This interest has taken root in different disciplines such as Rural Sociology, Rural and Human Geography and Planning. The differing aspects stressed by scholars across the diverse disciplines have result in the emergence of many concepts that aim to grasp key aspects of this trend, such as drivers (Roseman and Williams 1980; Halfacree 1994), implications for the local community (Stockdale et al. 2000) and relations between local and new population (Dirksmeier 2008).

Hence, the academic literature provides scholars with a myriad of terms related to particular aspects of the trend, amongst others, amenity migration (Gosnell and Abrams 2011), rural gentrification (Phillips 1993; Solana-Solana 2010; Stockdale 2010), lifestyle migration (Benson and O'Reilly 2009) and pro-rural migration (Halfacree and Rivera 2012). Although these concepts differ in their nuances, emphasis and the issues they tackle, they have generated a vast range of terms and approaches that help us to more fully understand this phenomenon. However, some of these terms, such as counterurbanisation, are far away from being unproblematic or having a crystal-clear definition (Dean et al. 1984; Mitchell 2004).

M.J. Rivera (✉)
Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Basque
Country (UPV/EHU), Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain
e-mail: mjesus.rivera@ehu.es

This chapter has a double aim. The first is to contribute to the discussion of the approach to study the urban-to-rural migration phenomenon. In order to do this, the chapter will raise the issue of the relevance and appropriateness of looking at this residential trend from a holistic approach. That is, it will be argued that, to more fully comprehend the emergence of new rural lifestyles and ruralities, the analysis of the representational dimension of this type of migration should be complemented with the analysis of the new rural dwellers' experience of everyday life. The second is to look at how ex-urban people recreate and practice a rural(-like) lifestyle once they have moved to live in the country.

Having these aims in mind, this chapter is structured as follows. The following section deals with some of the characteristics defining, to a great extent, the study of urban-to-rural migration. In particular, the relevance of the representational dimension and the unconnected compositional character of urban-to-rural migration study are explored. Both characteristics entail some limitations in the study of this trend. In order to overcome this difficulty, as much as possible, a holistic approach to the phenomenon is suggested at the end of the section. Next, the result of a piece of research focused on the study of urban-to-rural migration in a Northern region of Spain is expounded. This study aims to unravel the different rural lifestyles that may arise from a shared representational background and the diverse rural futures they may shape. Finally, there is a brief concluding section as recapitulation.

3.2 The Study of Urban-to-Rural Migration

3.2.1 The Relevant Role of the Representational Dimension and the Unconnected Compositional Perspective

As mentioned above, the study of urban-to-rural migration has led to a wide range of perspectives, terms, nuances and emphasises. Focusing on the reasons that people may give for moving to a more rural location to take up permanent residence, the debate was initially established between the different influences of the so-called pull and push factors. Whereas the latter refers to the factors that may expel people from cities such as lack of jobs, lack of affordable houses and urban pace of life, the former refers to the capacity of rural localities to attract new residents, namely, new jobs, increasing amenities, picturesque character and cheaper housing. Thus, many studies have interpreted urban-to-rural migration as a trend linked to the search for a different lifestyle (Halfacree 1997), especially in relation to middle classes (Cloke et al. 1998). However, the increasing assumption of this notion of middle-class urban-to-rural migration has partially contributed to neglect the existence of different types of migrations to the rural (Bijker and Haartsen 2012; Halfacree 2008). Moreover, the translation of this interpretation and categories of analysis to different countries might have overlooked different experiences of this trend, such as the relevance of a job or the proximity to family, as an argument for the move

(Camarero et al. 2009; Grimsrud 2011), as well as the coexistence of migrants' different expectations beyond a shared self-definition as 'urban-to-rural migrants' (Rivera 2007a).

This widely held perspective on the phenomenon has led to an intertwined double characteristic in the study of urban-to-rural migration. On the one hand, it has focused on the reasons for the move from an unconnected compositional perspective. That is, migrants are supposed to report the reason(s) of the move as if they were unconnected. On the other hand, the relevance of the role played by the representational dimension of the rural (Halfacree 1995) seems widely accepted. This representational dimension tends to recreate the pastoral and romantic imagery and enhances positive values of the rural idyll, such as the community spirit, tranquillity, harmony and picturesque environment. This dimension seems to resist even after evidence of studies suggesting that those idyllic realities are hard to find. Current countryside is not any more a space of harmony, simplicity and happiness – if it has ever been. Some of these characteristics might be present, but they may coexist with less bucolic rural realities: lack of transport for children to attend to out-of-school activities, isolation (especially in long winter days), lack of amenities, remoteness of shops, time wasted commuting and in traffic jams, opposition from local people and deprivation.

3.2.2 The Holistic Approach: From an Unconnected Compositional Approach to a Holistic Perspective

This author considers that the approach based on an unconnected compositional perspective and the emphasis on the representational dimension of the rural limits the comprehension of this phenomenon to some extent. First, humans are not just a collection of overlapping social representations. Social representations help us to give a meaning to the world, to reduce the social complexity surrounding us, to build our preferences (Jodelet 1984). However, representations do not act in a vacuum. They take place in a material world where people's economic resources, amenities, housing policies, labour conditions and requirements, spatial needs, well-being conditions, access to mobility, networks of road and public transport, and so on differ greatly between people and from place to place.

Second, and closely related to this limitation, all these elements inform and affect each other. This is clearly observed in the case of urban-to-rural migration as, to become a fact, it needs the confluence of many factors, in different degree though: a place that matches, at least minimally, migrants' representations; the labour conditions and transport networks that allow the required commuting; or other types of travels between the destination place and other places in order to get access to amenities, leisure activities and so forth.

Furthermore, migrants may embrace the pro-rural migration in search of more than one aim: living in a rural place and having a different job, getting away from

the hustle and bustle of life in big cities, and being closer to family, having bigger house space and a domestic kitchen or recreational garden, and so on (Grimsrud 2011; Rivera 2007b). Studies have often tried to differentiate the reasons of the move by looking at them as disconnected factors, neglecting the fact they are intrinsically intertwined. Consequently, migrants are often expected to identify and separate the factors. Nevertheless, when many of the factors converge, the hierarchy amongst drivers is not always evident.

Finally, very often the decision to move home implies a family decision. In the case of urban-to-rural migration, the decision of moving to a rural area represents an important residential venture. As such, urban-to-rural migration should be analysed as a family life project that brings, and will bring, important changes for the whole family: time for commuting, job change, new schools and leisure activities or new consumption patterns, etc. These changes are assessed in relation with migrants' expectations about family life in the rural in the short, medium and long term.

In order to overcome the limits of an unconnected compositional and/or representational dimension of urban-to-rural migration, migration should be considered from a 'holistic perspective'. This approach looks at urban-to-rural migration as the outcome of a family life project for the future instead of the act of moving one's home to a more rural area. This is clearly in line with the contributions from the 'biographical approach' to migration (Halfacree and Boyle 1993) and the consideration of migration as a 'major' and 'cultural event' (Fielding 1992). The holistic perspective is also in line with the 'more-than-representational approach' (Halfacree and Rivera 2012), as it conceives the migration as the complex connection of diverse factors: economic circumstances, spatial representations about the rural and the urban, expectations about rural life and the new community, spatial and labour needs and restrictions, and so forth. The relevance and interconnection of these factors vary according to the family life project that guides the move to the given rural place (Rivera 2004, 2007b). Therefore, it is important to explore both the way these factors contributed to motivate the decision of moving to the countryside and the way ex-urban dwellers try to realise their expectations about their life in the rural community. Nevertheless, in order to grasp the complexity and interconnections of factors, it is important to avoid the 'conceptual purification' that could derive from too narrow taxonomic categories (Halfacree 2001) that would restrain migrants' discourses to be freely expressed, first, and interpreted, later.

Additionally, it should be pinpointed that the residential venture behind urban-to-rural migration implies a threefold change for the migrants. First, they change 'house' itself. This change is especially significant in places where urban-to-rural migration entails moving from a block of flats to a cottage, chalet or a country house. Second, migrants are exposed to a new social milieu: new local networks and social relations; new patterns of social life, leisure and social control; new unwritten rules of behaviour; and so forth. Third, migrants are placed in a new environment that may match to a greater or lesser degree with the mainstream representations of nature and the countryside: mountains, forest, agricultural landscapes, and so forth. In the case of urban-to-rural migration, this threefold change gains in

meaning if it is considered in relation with the urban life migrants left behind. It is important to stress that whereas the two last dimensions of the change have been extensively studied, the home change has often been overlooked in the study of urban-to-rural migration.

3.3 From Representations to Rural Lives

3.3.1 Research Question and Methods

The discussion developed in this chapter is based on a research project undertaken in Navarre, a Northern region of Spain. The construction of the research question and methodology was, to a great extent, grounded on the appropriateness of looking at 'lay discourses of the rural' as well as on the representational approach to the study of rural idyll and pro-rural migration (Halfacree 1994; Jones 1995; van Dam et al. 2002). Nevertheless, the research also took into consideration the diversity and connection of a multiplicity of moorings underlying migration (Moon 1995). With the aim of overcoming the limits noted in the previous section, the research moved to a holistic perspective in order to achieve a fuller picture of this residential trend. In so doing, the research aimed to broaden the research question from restrictive research questions, such as 'What spatial representations about the rural are held by ex-urban dwellers?' and 'Which are the main reasons for urban-to-rural migration?', into wider ones, such as 'How spatial representations came together with other factors to motivate and made possible the move?' or 'At what extent does migrants' everyday life in the new rural destination match the expectations and plans for the future they had when the decision to move was taken?'[1]

The methodology of this study was based on the analysis of the discourse expressed in some in-depth interviews undertaken with 19 people who had decided to move home from Pamplona – the capital city of the region – to a rural area in the region (see Fig. 3.1).[2] Eleven interviewees were individually interviewed, while in four cases the interview was conducted with both members of the couple. In the case of individual interviews, they lasted about 80 min.

---

[1]At the time of printing this book, the author is in the final stage of a research project that looks back at the research that gave birth to this chapter. In this second project, interviewees from the previous study have been revisited and interviewed again in order to analyse how ex-urban populations' representations, expectations and everyday lives evolve according to their transformation into rural dwellers.

[2]The original project complemented the analysis of data obtained through in-depth interviews with the content analysis of a sample of 376 advertisements of private estates in Navarra (excluding urban areas) (Rivera 2004, 2008). This part of the research has not been included in the discussion of this chapter.
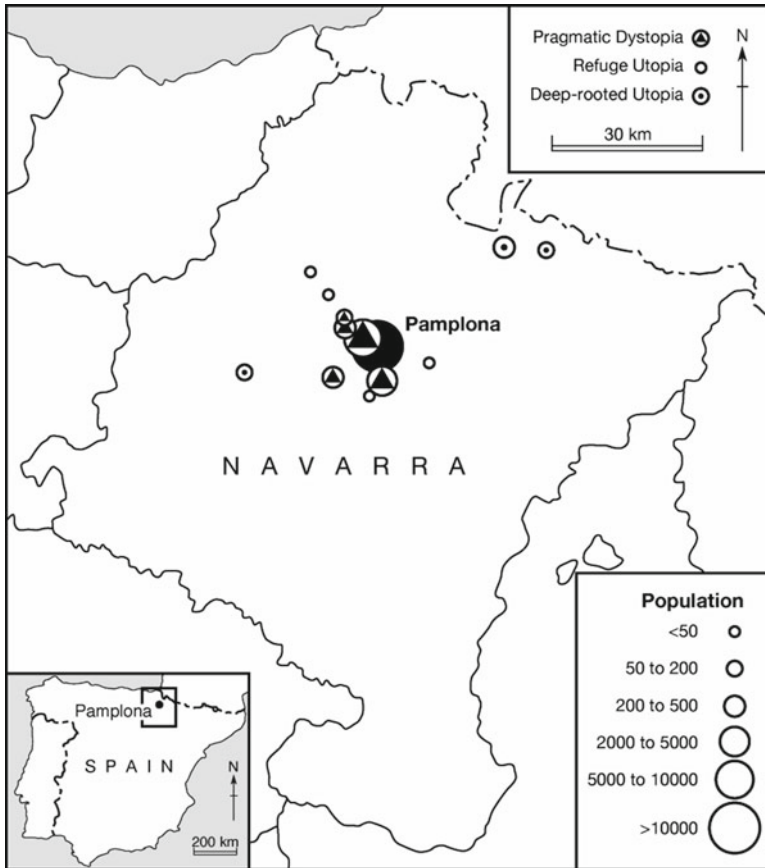
Fig. 3.1 Study area in Spain

Interviews where both members of the couple were present lasted about 120 min. The majority of interviewees reported the migration had taken place within the previous five years. Only in two out of the 15 cases analysed, the migration had taken place over 10 years preceding the interview. Through the interviews, new rural dwellers drew their own narratives – both personal and family ones – in order to give sense to and legitimise the residential choice they took in the past.

In order to open up the scope of the study to the complexity and intertwined factors, the research sought to avoid an exclusively representational interpretation of the move and to look simultaneously at symbolic and material aspects. In so doing, along with the exploration of rural representations, the interviews also included different elements and circumstances of migrants' (family) life. Therefore, amongst others, issues of economic resources and restrictions, the changing spatial needs of the family, the lifestyle they had prior to the move, labour activities, mobility patterns, previous knowledge of rural lifestyles, leisure and socialising activities, residential biography and consumption were also explored in the interviews.

The subsequent analysis of interviews comprised two stages. Firstly, the analysis of shared elements and representations was made. This stage helped to establish to what extent migrants started their rural venture from a common imagery and expectations about rural life. Secondly, interviews were analysed in search of differing everyday practices, such as participation in local activities and politics, local consumption and everyday social networks and the role the move played in the family's life project for the future. This analysis allowed unravelling the representational broad homogeneity to give rise to different conceptions of rural lifestyles as well as different interactions and level of commitment with the new community. Starting from these differences, three ideal types of urban-to-rural migration were defined: 'pragmatic dystopian', 'refuge utopian' and 'deep-rooted utopian'. They represent three residential trends related to different migrants' necessities, desires and aspirations, as well as economic and labour limitations. They also reflect three main projects for family life in relation with the rural that move from an essentially pragmatic and instrumental choice towards an intrinsically existential search (Rivera 2007b). Likewise, they contribute to shape and consolidate three different rural spaces and rural futures in Navarre (Rivera and Mormont 2006).

3.3.2 Representations of the Rural, Quality of Life and Rural Futures

First of all, it must be noted that interviewees' discourse reflected the complexity of decisions and the difficulty of separating the interrelated elements that led to the migration and to the choice of final destination: expectations about future, memories of childhood, economic resources, job-distance-related necessities and so forth. Of course, the combination and relevance of involved elements varied amongst interviewees. In some cases, the migration represented a natural step in the migrants' life. However, in many cases, the migration took place at a turning point in the family's life, such as the unexpected arrival of new family members and the consequent need for bigger space, the foundation of a new family or the imminence of a new labour scenario. In these cases, families took advantage of the new circumstances to embark on a move that was mainly referred to as an action congruent with their wishes. Furthermore, even those who felt themselves compelled to an urban-to-rural migration reported the move as a possibility in line within the family's preferences – or at least within some family member's preferences. As expressed in an interview,

> Suddenly, we had a problem because my mother-in-law had to come to live with us and we had no space. […] So, we started looking for flats in town. My husband had always been looking forward to having a [country] house. (female, 53 years old)

In so doing, the pursuit of a higher 'quality of life' appears as a good reason to adopt and explain the given migration. At the representational level, the higher quality of life provided by the rural place reposed on representations of the rural congruent with those of the rural idyll and shared by all interviewees (with a few nuances, though). In first place, 'nature' – as the main reported feature of the new

environment – was related to a feeling of freedom, inner calm and tranquillity. It was assessed by its regenerative potential and the evasion therapy it conveys. This dimension of the new place is essentially appropriated through migrants' aesthetic experiences. In fact, the contemplation of a landscape as an art painting while walking in rural surroundings or the contemplation of living things outdoors is sometimes enough to get a sense of oneness with nature.

A second major dimension, the 'community' – as the result of the social environment of the rural locality –, represented a space where a community atmosphere could be experienced. It is an idealised community where all of its members are known and embraced by strong relationships. This ideal unconflictual atmosphere is believed to make life easier and more gratifying, specifically in relation to childrearing. Hence, the safety of the place, the close contact with nature and the confidence with neighbours lead to the village to be considered by the ex-urban dwellers the ideal place for upbringing.

Finally, the 'country house' was the third dimension involved in the assessment of quality of life achieved by the move. The country house is believed to be the natural home of the rural place. The convergence of interviewees' discourse is also evident in their representation of the country house as a source of identity that transmits a sense of belonging. This representation is related to migrants' renovation of the house with neo-archaic elements such as timbered ceilings and stone walls (Morin 1995). The idealised country house becomes, therefore, a worship element whose aesthetic has to be kept and recreated by ex-urban dwellers. Thus, living in a country house instead of in a flat is said to bring several advantages to everyday life, both material and symbolic, such as privacy and independence. Furthermore, the additional space in country houses – if compared with flats in town – was related to a sense of freedom as it is going to allow activities that were impossible before such as playing music with friends, having parties and using space for personal hobbies: in sum, a higher quality of life. As an interviewee summarised,

> In our case, moving from a flat to a house will always be a better quality of life, won't it? You'll always have bigger space to live as you want. (female, 39 years old)

Nevertheless, this shared representational dimension of 'the rural' was compatible with very different expressions of urban-to-rural migrations that emerged from apparently similar discourses. Differences were established taking into account migrants' expectations about life in the rural place, practices related to everyday mobility, shopping and sociability, level of involvement in the social and political life of the place, and commitment to the community. Starting from these differences, three types of urban-to-rural migration were identified. They embrace a diversity of experiences ranging from migration conceived as a purely pragmatic and instrumental choice to an experience of migration as an essentially existential decision. They represent three flexible ideal types rather than fixed and mutually exclusive categories. In one extreme, the so-called pragmatic dystopia embraced migrations based in decisions taken somehow forced or driven by needs and restrictions of that moment that made the move to be considered as the best alternative to the given circumstances. This type of migration takes place over a peri-urban area with easy access to Pamplona.

This is relevant as migrants keep their daily relation with the city for everyday life: job, leisure activities, socialising with friends and relatives, main shopping and so on. According to one interviewee,

> Most of my friends live there, don't they? My family… […] Well, you've got there everything, haven't you? To go shopping, to have a drink, if you fancy going to the cinema or to an exhibition. There is a little bit of everything, isn't there? It's more complete than a village. (female, 28 years old)

However, even if pragmatic dystopians tend to emphasise the not so idyllic character of rural living such as social control and lack of amenities, it should be remarked that they do share some idyllic representations of the rural: tranquillity, harmonious place, nice views and so on. Occasionally, they also enjoy aesthetic recreation and strolling the local paths. As expressed by an interviewee,

> You got the mountain very near, which is gorgeous to go for a walk. Towards to nearby village there are also very nice paths. […] The High Mountain makes the surroundings very nice, doesn't it? That is … well … that … And it is a very pleasant to stroll, and there are animals, you got horses. (female, 49 years old)

In the case of pragmatic dystopia, migrants do not have any expectation related to their rural life in the future; neither do they have a model of rurality they wish to keep. Even if migrants referred the migration as a choice to some extent in line with their preferences, they assessed the place according to its residential possibilities (mainly bigger and cheaper housing). Accordingly enough, migrants are not particularly interested in expanding their social networks in the new locality, as they hardly feel attached to it or wish to develop a sense of belonging to the new community. Because of that, although their arrival to rural areas in the outskirts of the city may be of relevance for the population revival of certain settlements and the prices in housing market, their influence on local economy is scarce, except for occasional shopping visits to local shops. Similarly, from the point of view of migrants' influence on local life, again, its influence is not very important as they do not usually take part in the activities and social life of the place. In sum, this type of migration conveys the transformation of rural space into a residential one, with the subsequent risk of inhibiting other uses of rural space.

In the other extreme, 'deep-rooted utopia' takes place in remoter rural areas. In this case, migrants conceived their move not just a residential change but essentially a global change of life. As summarised by an interviewee,

> When I went to live in the village, I went to live there as I thought it is the rural way of living. I did not go there just to sleep. If so, there is no big difference between living in a village and living in Pamplona. (female, 29 years old)

In so happening, the move to the rural aimed to allow a better match a migrant's everyday life and self-identity and to break, as much as possible, with previous urban life. This migration clearly represents for ex-urban dwellers the pursuit of an old dream. An interviewee expressed,

> We had for a long time dreamed of buying a cottage. We had always spoken about it in the flat we shared. That is, to buy a cottage in a village… It is the dream that is always there but you never believe it will come true. (female, 31 years old)

Achieving this dream conveys a new everyday life in many aspects. A main change derives from the fact that migrants sought a new job in the locality or the region, mainly outside the farming sector and, sometimes, with no previous experience: activities related to rural tourism, selling of organic and traditional products, running small business such as painting or hairdressing. A second major change results from migrants' wish to root their lives in the new place. This desire makes migrants to establish new social relations in the area and to initiate a new socialising pattern with neighbours. At the same time, they stop daily mobility to the city, spending most of their time in the rural place.

Obviously, the migrants' impact in the community is greater than in the previous case as it is the change of life pursued by migrants. Inasmuch as migrants take a new job in the area, the economic tissue of the place is strengthened and diversified. Furthermore, migrants' desires to join a true rural life and become a part of a rural community lead them to take part in the economic, social and political life of the locality in many different ways: regular consumption in local shops; regular participation in sociocultural activities for children, young and middle-aged people; and becoming candidates in local elections. In this way, migrants contribute to shape the future of their rural area as a space for self-identity, belongingness, sociability and local development instead of the purely residential character imposed by pragmatic dystopia or the mixture of residential and recreational uses enhanced by refuge utopia, the following way of experiencing urban-to-rural migration.

Between these two types of urban-to-rural migration, a third type of move was observed, namely, refuge utopia, in which migration was also conceived as a way of changing everyday life and achieving an old dream. Nevertheless, in contrast to deep-rooted utopians, refuge utopians do not wish to break with urban life or to achieve a total change of their life. They may modulate the way they live, but they openly admit their wish of combining urban and rural places and experiences. An interviewee noted,

> I love city. Well, I don't know… as a place to escape to. To be with your friends. If you want to go to the cinema, go for a stroll, have some drinks. Although I've come to live here, I am also urban. I like it. […] I can't do it without the town. No, no, no. I don't want to. (female, 45 years old, refuge utopian)

The necessity to combine both spaces compels refuge utopian migrants to sprawl over rural areas further away from Pamplona than peri-urban villages, but still with an easy reach to it. On the one hand, migrants kept in city jobs, social relations and use of services. On the other hand, they benefited from the regenerative and recreational aspects of the rural. Within this combination of spaces in everyday life, rural residence represents the refuge where migrants can recover at the end of the day from the pace of city to which they often commute daily. As expressed in an interview,

> You come here and you get rid of the problems you may have in work, the nightmare, the tiredness… […]. And you go for a walk in the green to take breath, to oxygenate. (female, 37 years old)

Similar to the case of pragmatic dystopia too, refuge utopians do not have a great impact on the local economy, although they are very important in the renewal of

populations, as they tend to migrate to settlements with an aged population in which many of the young and adult local population had migrated to Pamplona in the past and who visited the rural place occasionally during weekends and holidays. However, in contrast to the case of pragmatic dystopia, migrants expressed their wish to take part in the local life and develop a sense of commitment. Participation in local politics is, now, conceived by migrants as a way of helping to achieve the rural place that will fulfil their expectations: a nice and bucolic place to live in apart from the stress of the city life. As an interviewee stated,

> We got planted a small walnut tree, didn't we? Behind it you put a deck chair … you read there. It is a fantastic. You take out your afternoon snack. You take out the tea. Today not because it is a grey day, but you going down there to have the tea … it is a pleasure. (female, 45 years old)

If deep-rooted utopian projects fostered a rural place of belongingness and local roots, the gradual outcome of this migration is a rural space shaped by a double function: residential and recreational. Even if migrants take part in the life of the locality, their involvement is only partial when compared with the level of participation and commitment of deep-rooted utopian. At what extent the double function of rural space will remain compatible after an increasing arrival of refuge utopians and the foreseeable exhaustion of current 'local rurality', that is, the lure of the place for refuge utopian migrants – small population, green and scenery, residual farming and forest activities of aged local people, etc. – has still an uncertain answer.

From the above, it can be deduced that these types of urban-to-rural migration derive from the different expectations migrants hold about the rural but also that they imply three different rural lifestyles. First, 'pragmatic dystopians' seek a place in the rural that fits some given needs (i.e. bigger space, cheaper housing or a place close to job), but they are not really willing to join the life of the destination place. Thus, despite the fact that they sporadically enjoy realising activities congruent with recreational components of their representational dimension, such as walking local paths and working a domestic garden, they still kept most of their everyday life in Pamplona. In so doing, they acknowledge themselves as urban-to-rural migrants but refuse to make big changes in their lifestyle. For their part, 'refuge utopians' develop a rural lifestyle resembling that held by professional middle classes in counterurbanisation studies. They recreate a private refuge where they can feel safe from urban life without giving up the city and the services it provides. They take up a rural lifestyle defined, to large extent, by its recreational potential and aesthetic assets with a limited involvement in local life. This partial involvement becomes stronger in the lifestyle taken up by 'deep-rooted utopians'. Although their move was closely linked to more existential needs (i.e. becoming one with nature) and enjoying recreational and aesthetic practices, such as walks and views, these migrants have paradoxically a more material engagement with 'the rural'. They expect to make a livelihood from the rural, even if they bring new activities not related to farming. Similarly, they make an effort to be integrated into the community and make an important emotional investment not just in the house but also in the community and the environment. Therefore, even if they take up a lifestyle different from the local one, it is defined in terms of the rural place and local place.

3.4 Conclusion

The arrival of ex-urban populations in rural areas has become a challenging transformation of rural space in an increasing number of countries. The reason for this phenomenon has become a core research topic on the academic agenda of diverse disciplines and under many umbrellas (counterurbanisation, pro-rural migration, urban-to-rural migration, amenity migration, etc.). Studies have often looked at this trend from an unconnected compositional approach, that is, trying to establish the drivers of the move as if they were clearly separated and mutually exclusive. In addition, the study of this tendency has been largely based on the analysis of its representational dimension through looking at the spatial representations about the rural held by ex-urban dwellers.

Undoubtedly, this representational dimension is an issue central to understanding how and why ex-urban people constructed the idea of moving to the rural. Nevertheless, the representational approach allows us to look just at one part of the phenomenon. It gives us relevant information about the imagery that led migrants to consider the move a desirable action. However, it does not allow us to comprehend how such a desire might become true at a given moment and in a given place. In order to grasp the full potentiality of this representational dimension, it is necessary to look at it in a wider context. Similarly, representations, practices and materiality need to be put into mutual dialogue if we aim to get a fuller picture of this residential trend.

Therefore, this chapter has stressed the need for the so-called holistic approach in order to achieve a fuller picture of this residential trend. This approach has allowed us to observe how, behind the shared legitimation through the pursuit of a better quality of life, there is a diversity of expectations about life in the rural. In fact, when urban people move to a rural place as the result of a freely adopted decision, they often legitimise their choice as the pursuit of achieving a better quality of life. In so doing, they develop a range of expectations about their new life based not only on spatial representations of the rural but also on relevant – often even determinant – aspects such as previous residential experience, economic and distance restrictions or the current situation of the housing market.

Thus, this approach has allowed us to observe that beyond the majority representation of the rural as the location of the rural idyll and community spirit, the inner driving force of the move varied. Data showed that the reasons of the migration varied from a pragmatic instrumentality to the fulfilment of migrants' existential needs. According to the different positions between these two poles, differing hopes and expectations about the new community, as well as about the extent they wish to become engaged and committed to the new place, are also observed in the ex-urban population. As a result, ex-urban migrants interact differently within the new place and 'put into practice' their different visions of rural life (rustic aesthetic, local consumption, recreation, job and so on).

In particular, the data have shown three different ideal types of migrants that, starting from a shared representational dimension, respond to three corresponding projects of family life in relation with the rural and, consequently, to the expectations

migrants had about their new life. Clearly, this typology of migrants represents three differing ways of translating rural representations into practice, taking up new lifestyles and shaping the future of the region in order to reach the expectations held about the new rural life. In so doing, they also contribute to shape current ruralities as well as the development of rural areas in the future. This contribution may be of different nature: it can be an active contribution – participation in local political life to foster certain local politics, participation in local groups, etc. – as well as it can be the result of a life delocalised from the rural locality.

Nevertheless, these ideal types are not isolated from each other. Even if they tend to take place in different areas (with distance and access to Pamplona as relevant elements of the choice), they may also conflict with each other on the ground, giving rise to a symbolic battle about the future shape of that rural space. This is especially the case for refuge utopian migrants as they may share the space with pragmatic dystopians at one extreme and with deep-rooted utopians at the other. In both cases, the potential conflict becomes evident. For instance, the residential space shaped by refuge utopians – that is, a residential and recreational one – may undermine the rural space which is the aim of deep-rooted utopians, namely, a rural space for community involvement, belonging and local roots.

In sum, this chapter has attempted to show how the hegemonic representations of the rural may lead to very different ruralities if we take into account more elements of the migration. These differing ruralities are the reflection of migrants' expectations for the future. Therefore, migrants will act accordingly in order to shape the rural place to match their expectations in the longer term. Of course, the rural future does not depend only on migrants' desires, but they constitute a strong social actor in the territory and their impact in shaping rural futures should be taken into account.

References

Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (2009). Migration and the search for a better way of life: A critical exploration of lifestyle migration. *The Sociological Review, 57*(4), 608–625.

Berry, B. J. (1975). The counterurbanization process: Urban America since 1970. In B. Berry (Ed.), *Urbanization and counterurbanization* (pp. 17–30). Beverly Hills: Sage.

Bijker, R., & Haartsen, T. (2012). More than counter-urbanisation: Migration to popular and less-popular rural areas in the Netherlands. *Population, Space and Place, 18*(5), 643–657.

Camarero, L., et al. (2009). *The rural population in Spain. From disequilibrium to social sustainability*. Madrid: Obra Social La Caixa.

Champion, A. G. (Ed.). (1989). *Counterurbanization, the changing pace and nature of population deconcentration*. London: Edward Arnold.

Cloke, P., Phillips, M., & Thrift, N. (1998). Class, colonisation and lifestyle strategies in Gower. In P. Boyle & K. Halfacree (Eds.), *Migration into rural areas. Theories and issues* (pp. 166–185). Chichester: Wiley.

Dean, K. G., Brown, B. J., Perry, R. W., & Shaw, D. P. (1984). The conceptualisation of counter-urbanisation. *Area, 16*(1), 9–14.

Dirksmeier, P. (2008). Strife in the rural idyll? The relationship between autochthons and in-migrants in scenic regions of Bavaria. *Erdkunde, 62*, 159–171.

Fielding, A. (1982). Counterurbanisation in Western Europe. *Progress in Planning, 17*, 3–52.

Fielding, A. (1992). Migration and culture. In A. Champion & A. Fielding (Eds.), *Migration processes and patterns: Vol. 1. Research progress and prospects* (pp. 201–212). London: Belhaven.

Gosnell, H., & Abrams, J. (2011). Amenity migration: Diverse conceptualizations of drivers, socioeconomic dimensions, and emerging challenges. *GeoJournal, 76*(4), 303–322.

Grimsrud, G. M. (2011). How well does the 'counter-urbanisation story' travel to other countries? The case of Norway. *Population, Space and Place, 17*(5), 642–655.

Halfacree, K. (1994). The importance of 'the rural' in the constitution of counterurbanisation: Evidence from England in the 1980s. *Sociologia Ruralis, 34*(1/2), 164–189.

Halfacree, K. (1995). Talking about rurality: Social representations of the rural as expressed by residents of six English parishes. *Journal of Rural Studies, 11*(1), 1–20.

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.

Halfacree, K. (2001). Constructing the object: Taxonomic practices, 'counterurbanisation' and positioning marginal rural settlement. *International Journal of Population Geography, 7*(6), 395–411.

Halfacree, K. (2008). To revitalise counterurbanisation research? Recognising an international and fuller picture. *Population, Space and Place, 14*(6), 479–495.

Halfacree, K., & Boyle, P. (1993). The challenge facing migration research: The case for a biographical approach. *Progress in Human Geography, 17*(3), 333–348.

Halfacree, K., & Rivera, M. J. (2012). Moving to the countryside… and staying: Lives beyond representations. *Sociologia Ruralis, 25*(1), 92–114.

Jodelet, D. (1984). La representación social: fenómenos, concepto y teoría. In S. Moscovici (Ed.), *Psicología Social* (pp. 469–494). Barcelona: Paidós.

Jones, O. (1995). Lay discourses of the rural: Developments and implications for rural studies. *Journal of Rural Studies, 11*(1), 35–49.

Kontuly, T. (1998). Contrasting the counterurbanisation experience in European nations. In P. Boyle & K. Halfacree (Eds.), *Migration into rural areas. Theories and issues* (pp. 61–78). Chichester: Wiley.

Mitchell, C. (2004). Making sense of counterurbanisation. *Journal of Rural Studies, 20*, 15–34.

Moon, B. (1995). Paradigms in migration research: Exploring 'moorings' as a schema. *Progress in Human Geography, 19*, 504–524.

Morin, E. (1995). Ciudad de luz y ciudad tentacular. In *Sociología* (pp. 338–347). Madrid: Tecnos.

Phillips, M. (1993). Rural gentrification and the processes of class colonisation. *Journal of Rural Studies, 9*(2), 123–140.

Rivera, M. J. (2004). *Las Representaciones Sociales del Habitar en la Sociedad Metropolitana*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in sociology, Public University of Navarre, Pamplona.

Rivera, M. J. (2007a). *La Ciudad No Era Mi Lugar. Los Significados Residenciales de la Vuelta al Campo en Navarra*. Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra.

Rivera, M. J. (2007b). Migration to rural Navarre: Questioning the experience of counter-urbanisation. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 98*(1), 32–41.

Rivera, M. J. (2008). De la concentración a la dispersión urbana: la ciudad y la vivienda en la publicidad. *Sociedad y Utopía, 32*, 233–250.

Rivera, M. J., & Mormont, M. (2006). Neo-rurality and the different meanings of the countryside. In C. Bessiére et al. (coord.), A*ctes du colloque international: Les mondes ruraux à l'épreuve des sciences sociales* (pp. 34–45). Dijon: Quae/Symposcience.

Roseman, C., & Williams, J. (1980). Metropolitan to nonmetropolitan migration: A decision-making perspective. *Urban Geography, 1*(4), 283–294.

Solana-Solana, M. (2010). Rural gentrification in Catalonia, Spain: A case study of migration, social change and conflicts in the Empordanet area. *Geoforum, 41*(3), 508–517.

Stockdale, A. (2010). The diverse geographies of rural gentrification in Scotland. *Journal of Rural Studies, 26*(1), 31–40.

Stockdale, A., Findlay, A., & Short, D. (2000). The repopulation of rural Scotland: Opportunity and threat. *Journal of Rural Studies, 16*, 243–257.

van Dam, F., Heins, S., & Elbersen, B. (2002). Lay discourses of the rural and stated and revealed preferences for rural living. Some evidence of the existence of a rural idyll in the Netherlands. *Journal of Rural Studies, 18*(4), 461–476.

Vining, D., & Pallone, R. (1982). Migration between core and peripheral regions: A description and tentative explanation of the patterns in 22 countries. *Geoforum, 13*, 339–410.

Chapter 4
Perceptions and Appropriations of Discourses in the National Park Island of Ons (Galicia, Spain)

Juan Martín Dabezies and Paula Ballesteros-Arias

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines a number of historical and contemporary processes that compare different urbanity and rurality models over time in the life of the people in the island of Ons, belonging to the Ons Archipelago (Galicia, Spain). This Archipelago is located opposite to the Rías Baixas, at the entrance of the Pontevedra estuary, in Bueu County (Galicia, Spain). It is made up by the Ons and Onza Islands (in the South) and the O Centolo and Freitosa Islands (in the North and in the Southeast, respectively). The archipelago is six kilometres long and 1.5 kilometers wide and comprises a total land area of 414 ha. It is lying from North to South, perpendicular to the Pontevedra estuary. It has been part of the Sea-Land National Park of the Atlantic Islands of Galicia since 2001.

Although several traditional agricultural practices have remained stable in the island, they do not comprise the main source of income. Tourism is, currently, the main activity and the service sector has gained significant ground. The landscape of the island is mostly rural, although there is a small urban area associated with the port. Within the urban area of the island, there are several types of tourist services (hotel services and information facilities or booths); in the rural area, there are no services whatsoever except in the camping area, which has a capacity for 200 people.

J.M. Dabezies (✉)
Centro Universitario de la Región Este,
Universidad de la República, Rocha, Uruguay
e-mail: jmdabezies@curerocha.edu.uy

P. Ballesteros-Arias
Instituto de Ciencias del Patrimonio, Consejo Superior de
Investigaciones Científicas, Santiago de Compostela, Spain
e-mail: paula.ballesteros-arias@incipit.csic.es

This relationship of landscape use projects, which brings together rurality with urbanity, is the place where multiple actors with a series of representations and interests converge and, many times, they are in conflict. We argue that this scenario is part of a complex process for the proposal of different occupational models, management and use of the landscape that happened to take part in the island. We analyze two key modernization shifts that propose different models that are at the basis of the present situation and that go through the representations and interests of the different actors that are linked, spatially and symbolically, to the island. One is the period of the Franco's dictatorship (1936–1975), and the other is the official designation as national park.

The research questions raised in the work presented in this chapter were the following[1]: Who are the social actors on the island today? What are the conflicts on the island? Who is involved? How to explain the existence of conflicts on the island now? To answer these questions, we followed a multidisciplinary approach based on the Rural Archaeology that is based on Landscape Archaeology which proposes understanding the landscape as a product and as a part of human activity in relationship with the physical surroundings. It is an approach with structural foundations and the subject is understood as an agent of his world (his/her landscape) (Criado-Boado 1999).

Rural Archaeology points to reconstruct processes of structure and meaning of the territory and understands it as a domesticated landscape with a structuring effect upon the very societies linked to it. It is an approach that focuses on the study of material structures on the landscape at a ground as well as underground level, through photo-interpretation, archaeological excavations, historical document reading and oral memory recovery (Ballesteros-Arias 2010). The oral memory is very important to comprehend perceptions of the landscape as well as memories related to the use and management of the landscape itself.

With the objective of comprehending the landscape use, on the Archaeology side aerial photo-interpretation of the island was done, using US flights (1956–1957) as well as current flights. Further along, fieldwork was carried out on the island. To this end, a team of archaeologists and anthropologists worked on the island for two weeks. During this period, an archaeological prospection of the island was conducted, which sought to understand the use and management of the landscape on the island.

At the same time, 12 informal interviews with the resident population of the island were carried out (all recorded with camcorder), as well as informal discussions with tourists and administrative managers, together with direct observation of

economic activities of local settlers and their participation in local celebrations or festivities. The objective of this anthropological dimension was to understand the map of current actors of the island, related to their representations and conflicts.

4.2   Focus and Approach: Modernity, New Rurality, Protected Areas and Tourism

A fundamental characteristic of modernity is the stressing or highlighting of reason, upon which the modern project is supported. It is about a project based on the development of an objective science, a universal morality, self-guided law and art regulated by its own logic. Moreover, this project intended to free the cognitive potential of each one of these fields from any esoteric form to discover nature laws, imposing and controlling them (Habermas 1992).

At a basic level, modernity can be defined as an opposition to that based on tradition; in fact, it stands as opposed to tradition, understood as a nonobjective knowledge embedded in theological ties. But certainly, modernity needs tradition in two ways: to deny it and to constitute itself as the opposite, to be transformed into it, in the tradition of what is new, change itself (Domenach 1995). Something similar takes part in nature, because reason sets it apart from what is human, it denies it, but it needs it. Nature is the place where reason arises, and it is also the place where it is applied. Within the project of modernity, the first world, industry and the city appear as the physical and structural place in which the project will be consolidated. The rural space (as well as the third world) is considered a space that is lagging behind, economically relegated to supplying raw materials.

What was rural was associated with agriculture and livestock, and what was urban was associated with industrial activity. Urban would attract rural, economically as well as spiritually. Reason was to be found in the civilization that lived in the city, while savagery and barbarism, where reason was not dominant, was to be found outside the cities, logically, in what was rural. In this context, dominated by the Fordist model, leisure and free time was a privilege of the aristocratic classes and green spaces were reserved for raw materials. In Europe, in the beginning of the twentieth century, free time started to have a role in the workplace. Since 1930, paid holidays were extended by labor legislation to all workers. Leisure and free time activities started to emerge as economic development spaces. These new types of activities were oriented to enjoying the sun and the beach on one side, and on the other to visiting monuments, museums and outstanding historical sites. By the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, different factors are brought to bear changes in the tourist trade: demand begins to outstrip supply of traditional touristic destinies, the need to offer new and different tourist products emerges, and the concern for the environment and other cultures grows stronger (Riveros and Blanco 2003).

The shift from the perception of the rural space as the place for the production of raw materials to the space of the reservation of raw materials, to the space of

biodiversity, has been long and complex. But longer and more difficult yet has been the management of protected green spaces, initially conceived as forbidden spaces for human beings, precisely the opposite to nowadays, where we have a large variety of management models where the presence of human beings is considered beneficial.[2]

In a general climate of modernity in crisis, postmodernity is established. It is an attempt to set aside some dichotomies that we have previously mentioned, as in the case of modern/traditional, culture/nature, urban/rural and work/leisure time. Many of them are articulated, thus it is impossible to locate them ontologically at the same level (Touraine 1994). In the case of the dichotomy urban/rural, since four decades ago, a new rurality concept is being discussed. While it is a comprehensive insight, it tries to de-marginalize 'rural' from urban. But more than a theoretical movement, it is about a reality in which urban intrudes into the rural, imposing some productive approaches that are economically post-Fordist and culturally postmodern. In this framework, tourism as a postmodern type of production is close to this new rurality and even promotes it. The protection of nature and culture is promoted and consumed by the tourists thus promoting the breaking up of another dichotomy.

But this intention of postmodernity of not reproducing these dichotomies (that, at the same time, are part of the foundation of new productive forms, of new types of tourism, of new knowledge and even of new development models) has to confront the established tradition: modernity. This tradition is represented by interests and modern values that, far from disappearing, utilize fragments of these dichotomies as arguments to reproduce them.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Economic Models: From Rural to Urban Landscape

Although it has not been examined in depth, due to the scarce evidence available, during the first stages of prehistory, the first settlers of the island belonged to the chronic cultural period of the Bronze Age, between 2500 and 900 BC. In general terms, these communities lived in houses made out of perishable materials, they practiced farming and they took care of small cattle. Sea and land food gathering was essential in their diet, even though they also went hunting and fishing along the continental coast. At a later point in history, we find a fortified settlement known locally as *Castelo dos Mouros* (Moorish Castle), which is related to the Iron Age (800 BC–100 AC). This type of settlements was inhabited by sedentary farmers that farmed the land and bred cattle. They gathered shellfish and caught fish in the near coast and kept in

---

[2]There are studies that indicate the existence of a positive relationship between the increase of biodiversity and human management (Erickson 2008) and, in a lot of cases, of economic benefits linked to ecosystemic services and tourism (Fagetti 2001).
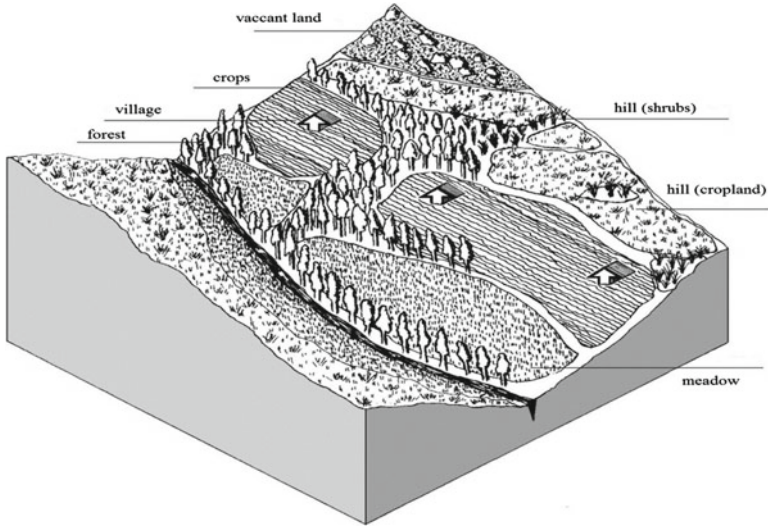
Fig. 4.1 Theoretical model of the traditional farmer landscape of Galicia

contact with other peoples of the coastal areas through trade. They were also craftsmen that made pottery as well as metal and stone objects. Roman presence is made evident through the ruins of what was likely a facility for fish salting located along a bay type of opening along the coast and closely related to the fishing and commercial activity of the island, which was very prosperous, with the rest of the islands and with the continent (Ballesteros-Arias 2009). The island was also occupied by monastic orders during the Middle Ages (centuries V–XV). At the beginning of the second millennium, it became property of the Church and it was leased to the nobility; moreover, it was attacked and used as an operation base for the Norman Incursions. In the same manner, during ancient times, it was possible to identify a very irregular population dynamics.

The present economic management of the agricultural environment that we could observe follows the general model of occupation and exploitation of the Galician rural landscape. This landscape is constituted by two different types of productive spaces: scrubland and cropland (see Fig. 4.1). This landscape model made up by these two spaces operates by complementing each other (Bouhier 2001) to the point that one change in the exploitation and management of one of the spaces affects the other one.

The productive systems adopted by the inhabitants of the island are based on the complementing approach because they perform several activities in a rotating and interconnected manner. One particular case is that of the rotation of crop fields. Each person is the landlord and user of an amount of crop fields whose boundaries are not clearly established for outsiders, but for the locals of the island, they mean discrete units of landscape that are clearly identifiable. Each one of these plots presents a particular nomenclature that was orally passed from generation to generation.

Fig. 4.2 Comparison of infrastructures before and after the creation of new forms of landscape management. (**a**) A new zone concentrated on the southern limit of the island, across the port; (**b**) island traditional settlement spread on the southern limit; (**c**) traditional building for grain storing (*Hórreo*); (**d**) community-owned building for grain storage; (**e**) old church located close to the old downtown; (**f**) new church located in the civic center

This traditional model that was kept in essence up to these days suffered an important change during the Franco's dictatorship (1936–1975), when several modernizing projects were proposed in the island aimed to centralize public spaces, create new infrastructures and a shift in the exploitation of the farm land through reforestation with exotic plant species. Within these projects, we find changes in spatial order and in traditional architecture, proposing a new approach to urban design, centralizing specific spaces. This plan was supported in a series of new constructions, such as the creation of a civic center in which the school for boys and girls would be built, a new church and individual homes for the priest, the teacher and the doctor, as well as a community-owned grain barn (see Fig. 4.2).
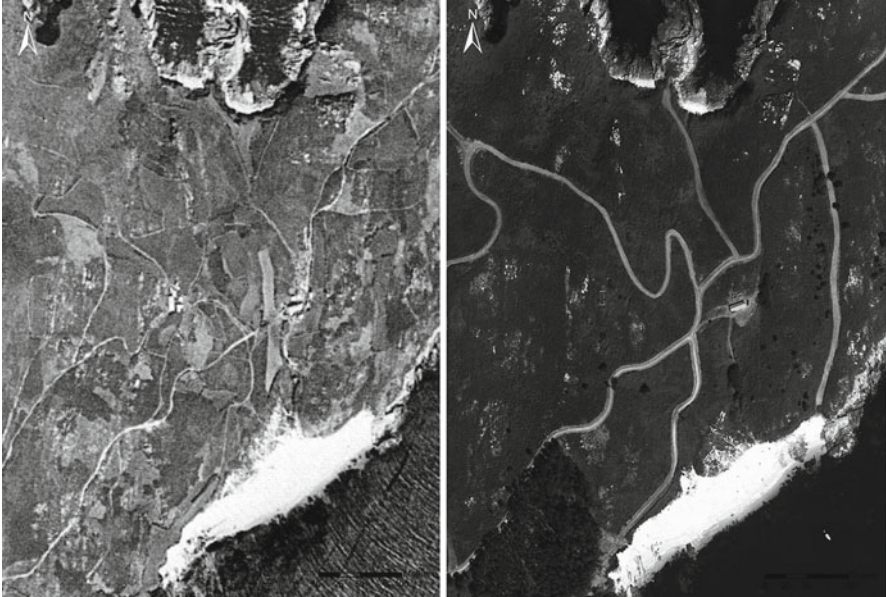
Fig. 4.3 The comparison in detail of two aerial photographs in which changes between 1956 (*left*) and 2003 (*right*) can be seen

Another material and symbolic management model of the island that had a strong impact on the population dynamics was the one generated by the designation of it as a national park in 2001, which, among other things, brought about the tourism industry. This new model suggests a use of space which we could measure to some degree by comparing the aerial photographs of a US flight in 1956 with more recent pictures taken in 2003. In general terms, this comparison allows us to observe that the island of Ons presents a series of structural changes that match the exploitation and use of the traditional space in Galicia, which also occurs in the 1960s (even though it has been evolving since the 1950s), as a consequence of policies applied in this decade that eliminated old practices in favor of the 'modernization' and industrialization of the country. The mechanization of the countryside, plot concentration, the abandoning of scrubland and planting exotic species were some of the consequences. Scrubland and cropland stopped being complementary spaces and they become dissociated spaces: croplands were fertilized with chemical products instead of plants from the scrubland, and the scrubland turned into forests planted with fast-growing species.

If we carry out this comparative analysis at a lower scale and we focus on a given area of the island, we see that these changes in the scrubland are truly drastic (see Fig. 4.3). In this image from 1956, we can see the generation of micro-plots in the scrublands in much enlarged straps, set longitudinally as well as transversally, on the field and with different types of use (slash and burn farming, fallowing, scrubland). In the same area, in 2003, a standardization of the territory can be seen; the previous mosaic becomes a total uniform space, devoted to low scrubland, but this time associated with the vacating of the countryside.

Another element that draws attention in the observation of these two photographs is that the road network has changed drastically. In the photograph from 1956, we see a multiple network associated with the communication between areas of cropland and of the sea products industry; in 2003, that landscape no longer exists and in its place there are roads designed with a double purpose: being able to arrive in a 4×4 vehicle for a quick view of the territory, for scrubland maintenance work done by rangers or other officials and to direct tourism toward more likely interesting places, such as beaches or locations with broad and beautiful sights of the island and its surroundings.

4.3.2   Actors, Representations and Conflicts

While anthropological work was done in conjunction with archaeological fieldwork which was performed during a two-week period, it is worthwhile mentioning that some team members had several years of involvement with the island. This allowed us to have a set of social contacts that provided access to the various places, identifying stakeholders and determining social perceptions regarding the conflicts in the island. Moreover, considering the small number of local people, it was not difficult to approach the most qualified spokesmen who are well versed regarding our problems. These spokesmen were selected according to the method of saturation and were perceived as relating to each stakeholder group. Basically, we worked with local people over 60 years old, with various types of tourists and managers of the reserve.

Based on fieldwork in the area, we identified five groups of social actors. A type of key actors is the group of residents, who are mostly elderly people that continue with the traditional productive systems connected to fishing and agriculture. This group of actors consider the island as the place to live and they feel proud of 'being from the island'.[3] Within this group, there are two different subgroups: the ones that want tourism to increase in quantity and quality (regarding money spending), and the ones that do not want an increase in tourism. The first group of people is economically bonded to the tourism industry, while within the second group, some of them live off of tourism, specially renting their homes or rooms. This last group of people has almost no relationship with the 'urban' area of the island, but they are not bothered by having people around during the summer time.

On the other hand, there are public managers that perceive the island as a natural and cultural space that should be protected and kept in its 'original' state. The management model used in the island focuses on the conservation of nature and the proposed attractions are basically natural, even though the need for showing the cultural history of the islands has been gaining ground.

---

[3] *Ser da illa* is an expression that aims to vindicate the belonging to the island, often used in the iconography and the local discourses.

Another group of actors are tourists, within which we find two subgroups: ecotourists and mass tourists.[4] Ecotourists are mostly from Galicia and from the rest of Spain, even though there is an increasing flow of visitors coming from countries of the European Union (Mediavilla García et al. 2011). This group of people conceive the island as a distant place to be in close touch with nature and the 'Galician culture'. The vast majority stay overnight on the island and they are repeat visitors. The mass tourists, coming from diverse backgrounds, visit the island, but the great majority do not stay overnight. They perceive it as a place for recreation and enjoyment of the summer sun and beach.

Recently, the tourist model wanted for the island has been disputed. Until 2009, when this research was done, the entrance to the Natural Park was subject to certain regulations, while visits to the island were not regulated at all regarding the number of tourists, the staying in accommodations of a permanent nature and, admission to the public camping ground.[5] For example, during our fieldwork, we could see different disputes regarding the free touristic model that is currently used and another that had more regulations proposed by a sector of the population. In this alternative model, the privatization of the camping area is proposed, and under this framework there are diverse discourses and appropriations of the island. These disputes have been part of the conflicts that have approached and confronted the various groups of actors.

To analyze the relationship between actors in a more detailed way, we have cross-checked the various interests of each one of the actors. We have defined a set of interests and analyzed how they relate with the interests of other actors.

• National parks

  – Heritage protection: the need for protecting heritage against real or potential dangers.
  – Public order control: security measures and community order.
  – Infrastructure construction control: refers to one of the regulations for protected areas regarding the construction of infrastructures.
  – Tourist infrastructure maintenance: various types of tourist infrastructure are under the administration and management of national parks (viewing platforms, public restrooms, camping areas, etc.).
  – Tourist flow regulation: several protected areas have limited capacity, thus tourist flow systems will be implemented. This parameter shows that intention.

• Ecotourists

  – No massive tourism: it refers to one of the main intentions of ecotourists that is the no-development of a mass tourism strategy.
  – Allowing freedom (not much police control, no privatization).

---

[4]According to the latest survey of visitors conducted by National Parks, from January 2012 to September 2012, there were a total of 72,636 people (Parques Nacionales 2012).

[5]In this sense, it is worth noting that this is the only free public camping in Galicia.

– Conservation of culture and nature: these are two of the fundamental values that these actors advocate.

- Mass tourists

  – Improving touristic food and accommodation services: this is one of the main interests to be able to enjoy the prevalent model of sun and beach.
  – Improving accessibility: a strong interest oriented toward increasing mass tourism.

- Traditional permanent population

  – Living peacefully: it consists in being able to live as they have been doing it up to now, without interference from the other actors in their private space or in economic practices.
  – Being able to have social relationships: the island is the ideal environment for the social relationships of these settlers, and they do this in given places, such as homes, bars and the church. Being able to keep developing their social activities is fundamental for their well-being in the island.

- Permanent pro-tourism population

  – Producing consumer goods and trade in goods: relates to being able to derive economic benefit out of tourism.
  – Increase tourist infrastructure: it is really bonded to the previous interest and it aims to increase the supply of tourist services.

To analyze in detail the relationships between the interests of all the actors, we have carried out an interconnection between them. Each interest may have three types of relationships with the other actors: positive, neutral and negative. Then, based on the frequencies on the type of relationships, we elaborated relative frequency charts that allow us to visualize comparatively clearer and in detail the relationship between all the actors. Then, we explain the results of the interconnection of interests per actor.

- *National Parks* (Table 4.1). They present a good relationship with the 'ecotourists' and with the 'traditional residents' and a greater conflict with the 'mass tourists' and with the 'pro-tourism permanent population'. This is because the island control proposed by national parks goes against the proposal of free construction and the increase of the touristic flow held by tourism sponsors. The affinity between actors is due to the existence of closer positions regarding the protection of heritage values, whether they are traditional or natural.
- *Ecotourists* (Table 4.2). They show a greater affinity with the 'national parks' and the 'permanent traditional population'. The reasons for their good relationship with the 'national parks' are the same as the ones mentioned in the previous paragraph and, as it is the case with the 'traditional population', there is a similar motive linked to the intention of 'ecotourists' of protecting traditional lifestyles, of which the 'traditional population' is representative. Their greatest conflict is linked to mass tourists and to the 'pro-tourism population', because 'ecotourists' propose quantity-regulated tourism, safekeeping the 'natural' and 'cultural' values of the island.

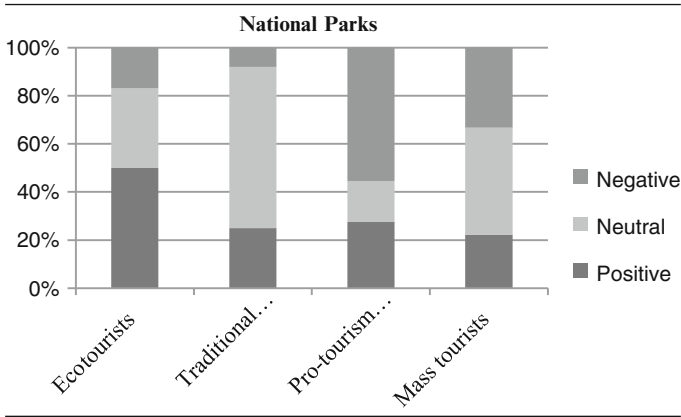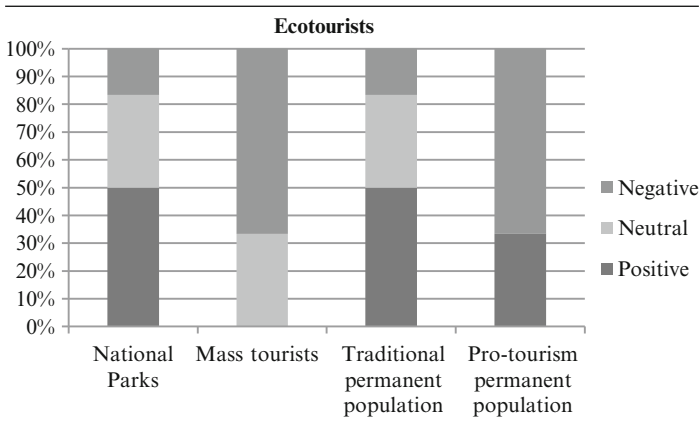**Table 4.1** Relationship of national parks with the other actors

Table 4.2 Relationship of ecotourists with the other actors

- *Mass tourists* (Table 4.3). They present a better connection with the 'pro-tourism population' because they share the island modernizing project that aims to promote tourism and generate higher incomes. The island protection is based not on values as such, or on its heritage dimension, but rather on the protection of the economic potential of those values. The worst relationship to be found is the one between 'ecotourists' and 'national parks' because they are seen as the 'brakes' for the economic development of the island.
- *Traditional permanent population* (Table 4.4). It is a group of actors whose relationship with the rest of the actors is very neutral. It almost does not show a conflict with the other actors and they manage neutral values that speak about a set of interests that aim to keep the situation as it is. Their project is to be permanent. The result should be analyzed carefully because, and as it seemed to us, an

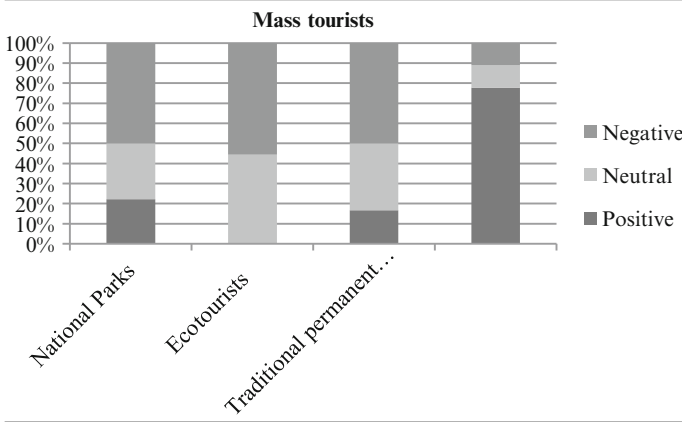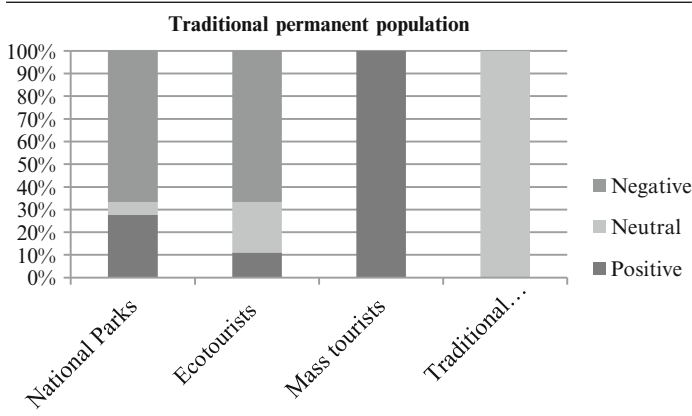**Table 4.3** Relationship of mass tourists with the other actors

Mass tourists

Table 4.4 Relationship of traditional permanent population with the other actors

Traditional permanent population

ethnographical study in depth was not carried out, by now, as to address a more profound conflict, present in a type of private discourse. The discourses at an oral, material and spatial level proposed by the other actors are very visible discourses in the public space.

- *Pro-tourism permanent population* (Table 4.5). These actors have a truly major conflict with the 'national parks' and with the 'ecotourists', something that is reciprocal, because the island management models are conflicting in several points that have been listed previously. They present a greater affinity with the mass tourists and a neutral relationship with the 'traditional settlers' because these actors have no major conflicting views on these issues.

Table 4.5 Relationship of permanent pro-tourism population with the other actors

Pro-tourism permanent population
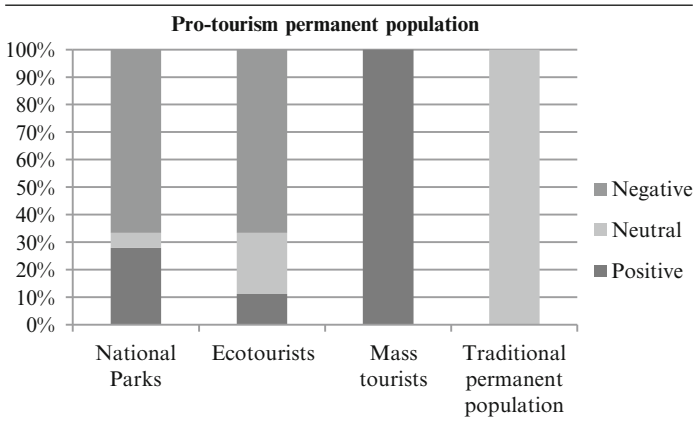
4.4   Conclusions

In this chapter, we examined a number of historical and contemporary developments that compare different urbanity and rurality models through the passage of time and in the life of the people in the island of Ons. The depth and the population dynamics of the island have been part and product of the interaction of diverse projects for setting up rationalities that, nowadays, keep appearing, at a more reduced scale, and can be described as social conflicts among the social actors involved in the island. The premodern rationalities from the past proposed a way to connect with the environment, of managing spatiality and materiality and, thus, define a determined cultural landscape. Over time, the blueprints of each landscape were material and symbolic inputs of the structuring of other landscapes.

Modern rationality proposed another model for landscape management that generated very important changes that have resulted in a new wave of conflicts. This has happened because of the different management options existing in the island. Two recent events had a major impact regarding the island management, one has been the project carried out by Franco, and the other the designation of it as a national park. Both processes resulted in a strong change in the structure of the territory that, nowadays, constitutes the cultural landscape of the island. The current conflicts that exist between some actors of the island show the marks of these projects and put them into action as elements of arguments that swing between the urbanity and rurality models.

Thus, the ecotourist actors aim to support processes toward a more traditional, rural and natural island, while the pro-tourism population and the mass tourists aim toward modernization and urbanization. The modern dichotomies that are behind these representations espoused by the distinct current actors (tradition/modernity, urban/rural, natural/artificial) create tense situation where the different projects and interests of each group, many times, are in conflict. It is likely to observe that a new

rurality is being established in the island that insists on taking urbanity into rurality, work into leisure time and culture into nature.

The local settlers are situated in the middle of these dichotomies and frequently are affected by these tensions in their daily life, since management decisions on the cultural landscape are marked by the relationships between all stakeholders. Currently, it is impossible to think about the existence of traditional or premodern lifestyles isolated or outside the tensions present among the multiple actors of social life.

From studying the relationships between actors linked to a more traditional rationality, we could see one that is less conflictive. Besides the feeling of nostalgia for the past, intertwined with that of misery and poverty, portrayed in the expression *traballábamos como esclavas* ('we worked as [female] slaves'), which is in the memory and feeling quoted by the elderly people of the island. Therefore, tradition is framed in a nostalgic perspective that sometimes may be totally functional for those modernizing projects, supporting Touraine's (1994) hypothesis, in which what is traditional, in modernity, more than challenging the project, works as an input for its replication.

At an economic level, traditional agriculture and traditional fishing are the activities less seen around the island of Ons. Nonetheless, the youngest people are the ones that support the service sector promoted by the growing tourism in the area and this may become an important income source for the local economy.

References

Ballesteros-Arias, P. (2009). O aproveitamento do mar ao longo do tempo. A documentación do xacemento romano de Canexol (Illa de Ons, Bueu). *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos, LVI*(222), 67–90.

Ballesteros-Arias, P. (2010). La arqueología rural y la construcción de un paisaje agrario medieval: el caso de Galicia. In H. Kirchner (Ed.), *Por una Arqueología Agraria. Perspectivas de Investigación sobre Espacios de Cultivo en las Sociedades Medievales Hispánicas* (pp. 25–40). Oxford: BAR Internacional Series.

Bouhier, A. (2001). *Galicia: Ensaio Xeográfico de Análise e Interpretación dun Vello Complexo Agrario*. Santiago de Compostela: Consellería de Agricultura, Gandería e Política Agroalimentaria Caixanova.

Criado-Boado, F. (1999). Del terreno al espacio: planteamientos y perspectivas para la arqueología del paisaje. *Criterios y Convenciones en Arqueología del Paisaje, 6*, 1–82.

Domenach, J.-M. (1995). *Abordagem à Modernidade*. Lisbon: Instituto Piaget.

Erickson, C. (2008). Amazonia: The historical ecology of a domesticated landscape. In H. Silverman & W. Isbell (Eds.), *The handbook of South American archaeology* (pp. 157–184). New York: Springer.

Fagetti, C. (2001). *Turismo de Naturaleza. Una Opción para la Conservación y el Desarrollo Sustentable en Establecimientos Rurales de la Reserva de Biosfera Bañados del Este. Rocha, Uruguay*. Rocha: PROBIDES.

Habermas, J. (1992). Modernidade: um projeto inacabado. In O. Arantes & P. Arantes (Eds.), *Um Ponto Cego no Projeto Moderno de Jürgen Habermas* (pp. 99–123). San Paulo: Brasiliense.

Mediavilla García, C., Hierro, J. S., & Navarro, R. S. (2011). *La red de parques nacionales en la sociedad. Estudio explicativo sobre la percepción social de la red de parques nacionales* (Cuadernos de la Red de Parques Nacionales Nº 1). Madrid: Grafos.

Parques Nacionales. (2012). *Datos del Informe de Uso Público en el Parque Nacional m-t de las Islas Atlánticas de Galicia. Año 2012*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, Alimentación y Medio Ambiente.

Riveros, H., & Blanco, M. (2003). *El agroturismo, una alternativa para revalorizar la agroindustria rural como mecanismo de desarrollo local* (Serie de Documentos de Trabajo PRODAR Nº 18). Lima: IICA-PRODAR.

Touraine, A. (1994). *Crítica da Modernidade*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Chapter 5
Having, Loving, Being in the Periphery: Interpretations of Locality in the National Landscape of Koli, Eastern Finland

Eeva Uusitalo and Laura Assmuth

5.1 Introduction

The Koli hills in Eastern Finland, a region of North Karelia, have been an important tourist destination from the late nineteenth century, ever since Finnish artists, especially the painter Eero Järnefelt, the novelist Juhani Aho and the composer Jean Sibelius, in their search for the 'authentic' Finnish folk and landscape 'found' it, perpetuated it in their work and contributed to Koli becoming one of the so-called national landscapes of Finland. It has been immortalised especially by Eero Järnefelt's painting *Syysmaisema Pielisjärveltä* (An autumn landscape from Pielisjärvi, 1899) which has become a symbol of Finnishness, autonomy and independence (Waenerberg 2000: 104; see Fig. 5.1).

Koli has been given multiple meanings ever since, and it has represented various interests: a sacred site of sacrifice and worship, a landscape which has benefited from slash-and-burn culture, a symbol of Finnish identity, a region for tourism, a development potential within the regional economy and an object of environmental protection. In other words, there have been, and are, several interests struggling over the various meanings attached to Koli. In this struggle, one thing tends to be overlooked, namely, that Koli is not only a tourist destination but also a village of 300 inhabitants, who have their own memories, stories and images of their village. They may be in conflict with those of 'outsiders', but there is no single and unanimous 'native' interpretation of Koli either. For a researcher, Koli is a challenging object of

E. Uusitalo (✉)
Ruralia Institute, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland
e-mail: eeva.uusitalo@helsinki.fi

L. Assmuth
Department of Social Sciences, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland
e-mail: laura.assmuth@uef.fi

Fig. 5.1 Eero Järnefelt: *Syysmaisema Pielisjärveltä* (An autumn landscape from Pielisjärvi), 1899, 61×198 cm (Photo: Finnish National Gallery, Ateneum Art Museum, Hannu Aaltonen)

study in the sense that tourism is so all-encompassing and visible that it is difficult to see past, over or behind it, as the rhythm of life of the village seems largely to be defined by tourism, which by no means is void of economic importance: in 2009 visitors to Koli spent 5,3 million Euros, and about 70 persons are employed annually within tourism (Tahvanainen et al. 2011: 23). Over time, one starts to see other things as well, such as the everyday life of the village and the villagers on their own terms.

This chapter examines what kind of locality and local identity is constructed in a village that seems, to a large extent, to be defined by tourism. A related aim is to explore the tensions and conflicts that arise in relation to the exploitation of nature, development plans and overall future prospects of the village, on one hand amongst the villagers themselves and, on the other hand, between locals and 'outsiders'. Furthermore, a theoretical framework addressing and explaining the dimensions of well-being on an individual level is applied to the village's locality, and the interconnections of local identity and individual well-being are explored.

5.2   Rural Fringe Areas of Finland

Eastern Finland is a European fringe area both in geographical and socioeconomic terms. The Finnish government has implemented regional policies in Finland since the 1960s that were specifically designed to prevent regional disparities in wealth, services and opportunities. As a consequence of such policies and efforts, differences between urban and rural areas with regard to income and living standards are quite small in Finland in international comparison. Differences in rural and urban lifestyles are also relatively small. Still, there is widespread migration from outlying rural areas to cities and towns, as well as high levels of unemployment and underemployment amongst those who have stayed behind. On the other hand, Eastern Finland is constructed as a source of folklore and as the cradle of the national epic, the *Kalevala*, which gives it added importance both culturally and symbolically for Finns.

Local tourism and tourism-related activities have benefited from the commercialisation of this cultural heritage through advertising and marketing. Because of the widespread practice of visiting summer cottages and second homes in rural areas, urban residents in Finland also tend to retain a personal relationship to the

countryside. This, sometimes, translates into return migration from cities back to rural areas, but not to any great extent. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the opening up of the border with Russia have brought about significant changes for Eastern Finland, the expansion of tourism from Russia being by far the most significant for rural areas. In 2011 there were 3,261,000 visitors from Russia to Finland, making up 45 % of the total number of foreign visitors and an increase of 27 % from the year before. A large number of these visitors benefit the rural areas and small towns in Eastern Finland close to the border (Statistics Finland, Border Interview Survey 2011).

Finland has been a member of the European Union (EU) since 1995, and its membership has brought far-reaching changes to the Finnish countryside in the form of agricultural, rural, regional and fringe-area subsidies, controls and programmes. Opposition to joining the EU was strongest in the rural and peripheral areas of the country and amongst less educated people and farmers. In a national referendum about membership held in 1994, in which 57 % of the population voted in favour of joining, the no-votes were concentrated in rural areas and the eastern and northern parts of the country. A large percentage of the rural population has continued to be critical of the EU, although people increasingly take Finland's membership for granted.

Apart from the external influences of the EU, the presence and role of the Finnish state in its peripheries is also undergoing a quite dramatic transformation. For decades, there was a widespread consensus in Finland that it was vitally important to keep peripheral, sparsely populated areas settled and provide the same standard of living there as in other, more populous parts of the country. At the moment, it is debatable whether the state will continue to be able and willing to provide services in the peripheries. Furthermore, recent government policy emphasises competitiveness between rural areas in terms of demand instead of equal distribution of regional subsidies in terms of well-being.

People living in rural peripheries, now, face a situation where they have to choose between staying in their slowly declining home villages and moving to larger villages or nearby towns where services are increasingly being transferred. As traditional rural livelihoods, agriculture and forestry can no longer provide the kind of livelihood they used to, people must seek alternative ways of making a living in the peripheries. They must find new uses, inventions and practices for their old, traditional resources, such as nature, forests, landscape and occupations including food production. In challenging the trend towards centralisation, we must also take seriously the existence and importance of a local way of life and a local identity in familiar surroundings, a sense of belonging to one's location. In the following, we will trace and analyse such developments in the particular case of the village of Koli in Eastern Finland.

A place like Koli is defined and understood as a periphery: a far-away sparsely populated rural location close to the country's eastern border with Russia. The terms in which places like Koli come to be defined by outside agents show that periperality is not just about remoteness, being situated on the fringes and far away from population centres, but also about being poor and backward. Indeed, since a periphery only exists in relation to a centre, its qualities are constructed in opposition to

those of the centre, and the defining criteria necessarily become negative (Knudsen 1992). However, in the globalised world, the successful future of peripheral regions does not rest solely or even primarily on material resources like jobs, funds and subsidies. On the one hand, a material resource like forests or lakes can have multiple meanings and uses: Koli's key resource is its natural scenery, its forests and lakes. On the other hand, a non-material entity like local identity can be seen and understood as an important resource in its own right, not as an impediment to development. Our study region figures prominently in the national imagination. Consequently, the region has also become important in the national strategies to promote tourism in Finland.

As anthropologists, we feel it is of the utmost importance to study and take seriously local understandings of peripherality; in fact, different levels and kinds of counter-discourses to the dominant view are evident in Koli. For example, when we complained to a villager during our first fieldwork trip in 2008 about how far Koli was from the capital Helsinki (and consequently how arduous the travel had been), the villager quickly challenged us by ironically turning the issue the other way round: 'Yes, Helsinki is indeed far from here; isn't it unfortunate that you have to live so far from Koli'. Another way to deconstruct the meaning of remoteness is to turn it into a series of positive, desirable conditions, namely, a good quality of life, peace and quiet, beautiful unspoiled nature or an independent way of life.

Such ideas and meanings of peripherality and geographical remoteness can also be turned into effective tools for tourism; the imaginative and apt tourist motto of Salla municipality in Lapland is 'Salla: in the middle of nowhere'. Likewise, regional actors in eastern Finland have tried to change the negative association of peripherality that closeness to the Russian border entails into a positive opportunity for cross-border tourism and have been quite successful in this regard. Many ordinary people living in peripheral areas have become keenly aware of the unique subjective worth of their culture and location. They have realised that local traditions, landscapes and livelihoods constitute valuable resources. At the same time, products and services based on the notions of 'local' and 'Karelian' increasingly form the backbone of entrepreneurial activities that allow people to make a living in the periphery (see also Yanagisako 2002; Koski 2004).

5.3 Theoretical Framework: Having, Loving, Being in the Periphery

As our key analytical tool in understanding the village community of Koli, we have used the framework developed by the Finnish sociologist Erik Allardt, who compared people's experiences of well-being and happiness in the Nordic countries in his classic study *Att ha, att älska, att vara* ('Having, loving, being') (1975). According to Allardt, an individual's well-being consists of three interlinked dimensions: material (having), social (loving) and personal-cultural (being). Having is about basic human needs like housing, food and an adequate standard of living; loving is about close mutually supportive social ties and networks; and being

is about personal fulfilment and development. In the comparative village study on which this chapter derives, Allardt's framework helps us to understand why residents in some relatively well-off rural areas describe their home as 'a dying village' or 'a village without hope', whereas inhabitants of some objectively poorer areas feel much more optimistic about their future and the future of their village. The 'loving' and 'being' dimensions are the significant factor in these different perceptions. In short, there are different opportunities for social and personal well-being, self-fulfilment and the development of one's capacities in villages or other types of rural communities (cf. Allardt 1973). Although Allardt's framework was originally designed for and used in a survey, it can be applied equally well to a qualitative, ethnographic approach. The insights of his 'having, loving, being' framework are still highly topical and valid in research and public discussion into the relationship between well-being and happiness on the one hand and to economic growth and sustainability on the other.

The concept of locality in particular is used as a tool for analysing the ethnographic data. In this study, locality is approached in the context of tourism and understood not so much as an indicator of a harmonious community but rather as a means for the locals to make sense of a changing everyday life of their village. Peripheral areas cannot be studied as simple localities composed of traditional, stable and fixed communities with little interaction with the surrounding world. Nor can they be represented as reservoirs of tradition, continuity and history, falling apart under the pressure of modern life (Frykman et al. 2009: 8–9). Contrasting the local and the global perpetuates the belief that the local is to global what continuity is to change. Instead, it is important to see that local processes also contain global aspects, such as movement across the world, transnational connections and worldwide interconnectedness (Hannertz 1996: 6, 19). Global is present in local processes, and together they constitute a rural locality (Andersson 2010: 193–194). Locality also contains change and flexibility, relativity and a context-bound character. Localities are no longer simply geographical places or a reflection of the small in scale, but a part of complex global processes (Appadurai 1998: 178). As Anna Tsing (2005: 1–18) has noted, one can study and grasp the evasive 'global connections' by a careful ethnographic analysis of local frictions, which are, for example, evident, and increasingly so, in environmental matters.

5.4   Koli: A National Landscape and a Global Village

This chapter is based on several sets of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in the North Karelian village of Koli by the authors during 2008 and 2009.[1] The authors worked and stayed in Koli separately, thus expanding the networks of acquaintances and respondents gradually. Our research data were in-depth thematic interviews

---

[1] As part of the research project Rural Futures: Ethnographies of transformation from Finland, Estonia, Russia and Ukraine, funded by the Academy of Finland, 2007–2010. The other researchers besides the authors were Dr. Marina Hakkarainen, Dr. Tuula Tuisku and Eeva Pääkkönen, MA.

with the villagers, of which 12 were recorded. We had numerous other informal discussions with villagers and visitors and participated in family and village events. The observations were documented in both authors' extensive field journals. As background data, we used local and regional newspapers and other media coverage on Koli. Our micro-perspective on a peripheral rural location draws specific attention to the agency and practices of the subjects under study.

The Koli hills are known to every citizen already from school and reproduced in countless books, images, paintings and films. The fame of Koli is such that town of Lieksa (12,650 inhabitants) even defines itself with the help of Koli, one of its smallest villages (290 inhabitants) designating itself as 'Lieksa – home of Koli'. Other North Karelian villages, along with their counterparts in Russian Karelia, have also been studied by many generations of ethnologists and scholars of folklore as Karelia was the land of the Kalevala, of legends, epics and songs. More recently, sociologists and anthropologists have also added to this body of research with, for example, longitudinal studies of particular villages from the 1970s onwards (Abrahams 1991; Ahponen 1979; Alanen et al. 1973; Oksa and Rannikko 1984; Knuuttila et al. 1996). Most of these studies predicted a slow but inevitable process of decline for the villages with out-migration, unemployment and an end of viable livelihoods and services. However, none of the villages studied has actually ceased to exist, as Knuuttila and Rannikko (2008: 16) point out. Earlier, forestry was the primary source of livelihood for the people of North Karelia, often combined with small-scale family farming. Today, with a declining population and a reduction in the significance of forestry and fishing, new uses of forests and lakes have appeared. The needs and demands of nature protection, recreation and tourism have appeared in current debates and discussions about the uses of forests (Rannikko 2010: 257).

The village of Koli is situated in the rural surroundings of the town of Lieksa in eastern Finland. The nearest major city is Joensuu, 70 kilometers south of Koli. Koli is 'the jewel of Lieksa', by far the most well-known and profitable tourist destination in the town. In relation to the Lieksa town centre, Koli stands very much apart both geographically and mentally. The two places are separated both by the lake Pielinen and by the very strong sense of local identity of the residents of Koli (see Fig. 5.2). Geographically, the region on the eastern side of the lake Pielinen is characterised by large forest and wilderness areas and its location in the sparsely populated borderland between Finland and Russia. On the western side of the lake, where Koli is located, the landscape is more one of village settlements and cultivated land.

Koli has been a tourist destination since the late nineteenth century and, thus, open to the world, through the tens of thousands of visitors that have hiked and skied on its paths and hillsides. The main attraction of the whole region has for decades been the national landscape, which is part of Koli National Park. The village is 10 kilometers from a main highway. When arriving at the village, before the last bend of the winding road, there are plenty of road signs indicating the services available for tourists and how to find them. The village has a clear centre, located at a road junction. There is a grocery store, a tourist information centre, a café, a few shops, a community hall and a church. The village school, which also hosts a day-care centre, is located a bit further away. From the centre of the village, you can choose the road that takes you either to the lakeside and the harbour or to *Loma-Koli*
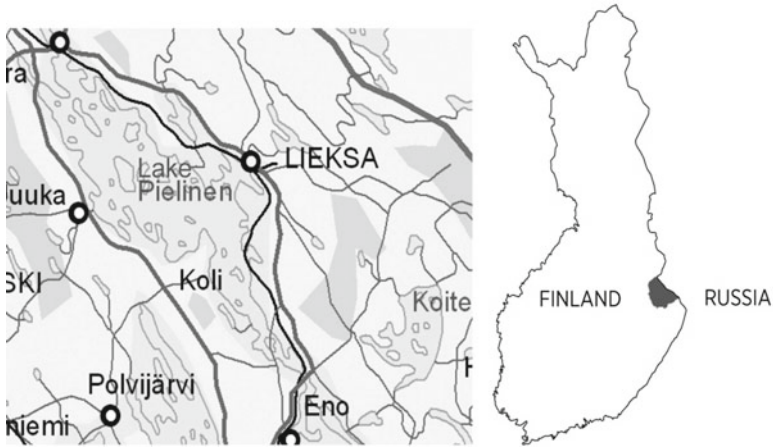
Fig. 5.2 Location of Koli village in Lieksa town (Source: The map contains data from the National Land Survey of Finland Topographic Database 09/2012)

(Holiday Koli), the site of more up-market holiday cottages and villas. Turning right at the junction, the main tourist part of the village, *Ylä-Koli* (Upper Koli), can be reached. It is located on a hill, in the National Park. Cars must be left in a parking lot, and going up the last slope requires taking a lift or walking or climbing the stairs that take you to the top of the hill. The hilltop has a hotel and a visitor centre owned and run by *Metsähallitus* (Finnish Forest Services, see Metsähallitus website 2012). There is also the ski-lift station, and the hilltop serves as a departure spot for nature trails. The most famous point on the hill is a rock formation called *Ukko-Koli* (Old Man Koli). It is a couple of minutes' walk from the yard of the visitor centre. Ukko-Koli is a *must* for practically all visitors, as it is most often referred to as the key and iconic spot of the national landscape. It is a big rock, 253 metres above the lake and 347 metres above sea level, with a marvellous view to the east over lake Pielinen.

Tourism in Koli is multifaceted, but can, nevertheless, be defined as having one common nominator: nature. Nature is the main motive for coming to Koli, and there is little to offer for those who look for a busy nightlife or after-ski. Visiting Koli can involve hiring a holiday cottage for a longer stay or a shorter visit to the National Park. The activities that Koli offers are also nature oriented or nature based: from an almost sacred meditative experience of the landscape to more mundane skiing holidays and other outdoor life. The visitors are mainly individual tourists, like families, but there are also tour groups. The groups tend to just visit Koli quickly and then proceed on their tour. A more recent phenomenon in Koli is tourism from Russia. Extensive numbers of Russian tourists hire the more up-market cottages of Loma-Koli, especially in the New Year season, which traditionally has been a quiet season for local entrepreneurs.

The National Park provides the best facilities for nature-based tourism. Its founding in 1991 was preceded by a lengthy process. The idea of founding a National Park arose from a handful of local people, who were very worried about plans to build

more infrastructures, such as ski lifts on the Koli hills. There were already a hotel and two slopes, but there were extensive plans in the late 1970s to build more. Some local people objected to this business plan and came to the conclusion that the only way to save the hills was to found a National Park that would cover the entire hill area. The process took several years and the demand for conservation became a nationwide movement with more than 87,000 names being collected for a petition in favour of establishing the Koli National Park. However, a deep and long-lasting local conflict also arose between people who were for or against the National Park (Sankari 1994; Muhonen 1997; Lyon-Williams 2003; Oinonen-Edén 2001). Today, the controversies have attenuated, although there are still very different views and opinions about the future development of tourism in the village. Meanwhile, the Koli National Park has developed into a nationally and internationally known destination (see the Europark Federation website 2012). The National Park brings large numbers of nature tourists and hikers to the village[2] but also visitors who are not primarily interested in Koli's nature, but who, nevertheless, find the supply of recreational services attractive.

The National Park and the village are well networked nationally and internationally. The village primary school, which only has around 20 pupils, co-operates with other European schools through EU supported programmes, using the facilities that the latest information technology provides, including net-based and virtual teaching (Koli Primary School website 2007). The Artists' Residence, which is located in the village centre, in an old merchants' house, adds a special flavour to the village. Finnish and international artists have the opportunity to come and work there for one–two months. The residence is run by the Arts Council of North Karelia (see The Art and Culture Centre Kolin Ryynänen website 2011), a regional actor, but there is also a very active local Koli Cultural Society, which serves as the host for the visiting artists. The artists are encouraged to involve the local community in their activities, in the form of workshops, for example. There are also practicing professional artists living in the village permanently, and they contribute to making the visiting artists feel at home in Koli; in fact, many of the artists return frequently to Koli. Although the local people are welcomed and encouraged to interact with the artists, most villagers keep a certain distance.

Koli's residents have become accustomed to having visitors to their village. Tourists have been coming for more than a 100 years, and the villagers are used to strangers and have adapted economically to tourism. In that sense, visitors have become part of the local scenery. It must be emphasised that the villagers cannot be treated as one uniform actor that pulls in the same direction. On the contrary, there are lots of different kinds of attitudes and viewpoints with respect to, for example, tourism. There are also dividing lines that became visible in the interviews during fieldwork:

> Then Anja [a female tourism entrepreneur] said that here in Koli there are always two opposing sides with regard to every issue. Two opposing sides, two opposing sets of opinions. With the establishment of the National Park it was so, two opposing sides.

---

[2]In 2010, there were about 138,500 visitors to the Koli National Park (Tahvanainen et al. 2011).

And it is exactly the same with these cultural events that Hannele is trying to arrange. Not everybody values or likes that kind of activity. On just about everything the villagers are strongly divided, very strongly indeed. Finally, I start to sense that as well (Field journal/Assmuth, September 2009).[3]

Many villagers see the tourism on the Koli hills as a separate world of its own, taking place in a reality somehow separate from that of the villagers, although the village is busy precisely because of tourism, which offers jobs for the villagers and keeps the level of services relatively good.

5.5   Living in and of the Landscape

How do Koli villagers think and talk about their identities, in national, local or other terms? What does living in the national landscape mean to them? It is perhaps not surprising that almost every local resident we have talked to refers at some point of the conversation to the landscape (*maisema* in Finnish). To some, the landscape functions as a source of personal happiness and even pride. In this regard, a 50-year-old female farmer/entrepreneur said that

Well, during the course of my daily work-load I sometimes almost forget it, I mean the landscape. Then, at some point, I look around and I realize once more how wonderful it really is, how stunningly beautiful it is around here. And I at least, I feel happy: happy to live here, happy to have all this at my door-step. Literally, I can't speak for others, but for me it is so. And when the tourists see the same and they marvel at it, then I am sort of proud of the scenery, as if it were mine! It's funny, really. I am not from here originally, but after 15 years in Koli I can say I love this place, I love this landscape and the nature.[4]

This awareness of the uniqueness of Koli has grown in the years following the establishment of the National Park in 1991. In the 20 years of its existence (and more recent expansion), the National Park has been quite universally accepted, and even the majority of former opponents have grudgingly admitted that it has brought Koli more advantages than disadvantages. However, this slow acceptance has only come with the realisation that the unique landscape can bring material benefits.

The following middle-aged female respondent was very conscious of the fact that a beautiful landscape can be a valuable resource in more ways than one:

For me, this landscape is precious for two reasons. First, in aesthetic terms. It gives me great pleasure and peace of mind. You've heard about the saying: take all your worries with you to the forest and leave them there? Well, for me, it really works that way. The forest gives me energy. But we must not forget that this landscape also gives me a living. And not just me but many people in Koli. Were it not for the fame of Koli, our business wouldn't

[3]Extracts are from the authors' field journals, translations from Finnish to English by the authors. All personal names and some details have been changed.

[4]Direct quotations are from interviews conducted by the authors in 2008 and 2009. Translations from Finnish to English are by the authors. All personal names have been changed.

be as good. With the national park right here, we get just the sort of tourists we want. It is as simple as that. And we would be foolish not to take care of the nature around us, since it is the nature that gives us our bread and butter.

The respondent was hinting subtly to conflicts and clashes over different kinds of land use and tourism. Her own multifunctional businesses all depend on nature tourism, but there are also different kinds of interest groups in Koli, for example, people who would like to make (more) money on mass tourism, by building cottages, hotels and spas, and by expanding the ski slopes.

As in many other parts of the world (e.g. Yanagisako 2002 about Italy), in Koli women seem to be *the* active agents of locally anchored 'culture work':

We have tried to think through what is worthy and unique here. I mean in North Karelia. Of course, I don't sell things made in China. But that is just the first step. I also try to find products that are made locally. Right here or in the region. I go to the producers, let's say of yarn, or wooden toys, or any kind of handicraft, and I make them a business proposition. And if I can't find what I want, I make it myself. I love making handicrafts anyhow, that is my nature. Most women here knit and weave, so they might as well sell more of their products. It is not just the elderly who do handwork, but they, of course, have more time. People should appreciate what they do, their skills and knowledge. That is 100 % local, made in North Karelia [laughs].

This busy woman is successfully combining her local identity, her knowledge of local traditions and her many-sided skills, in this case in handicrafts, with entrepreneurship. The woman in question has since sold the shop to another female entrepreneur, who also runs a multifunctional family firm selling services. The original owner has switched her main occupation from the private to the public sector: she has got herself an additional diploma as a teacher's assistant and now works at the local school. However, she continues to make textile handicrafts, which are then sold at the shop she previously owned.

In a similar vein, many of the men's activities are firmly anchored locally, thus contributing to all the three dimensions of well-being in Allardt's (1975) framework. The forests provide many occasions and settings for male as well as female versions of local culture and sociability in this Finnish periphery: hunting and fishing are traditional male activities (although this is changing), and picking berries and mushrooms is practiced by virtually everyone. Laura Assmuth observed the first day of the elk hunting season in Koli in October 2008. The note below from her field journal captures well the meaning of Allardt's second and third dimensions of well-being, social belonging and self-fulfilment:

Today, village life was transformed before my very eyes. Only yesterday it had been so quiet: there are very few tourists around so late in the autumn, and farm work in the fields is getting quieter and quieter as well. People are preparing themselves for the long winter already, I had thought. But this morning! Here and there, I could see hunting parties gathering: men, young boys, and even some women, in their red coats and vests and caps, talking to each other (other hunting parties?) with their radiophones. A lot of action, a lot of talk – the village shop was so alive again! Later on, Aija explained to me that not everybody can go hunting: to get a license you need to become a member of a local hunting club and not everyone is eligible, just those owning land in the municipality. (!) Aija's husband is an expert hunter, of course. It's really a big thing, especially for the local guys; the men who

always hang by the shop, today their faces seemed somehow transformed, more cheerful than I had ever seen. Maybe they feel more useful now? Maybe they feel they belong? (Field journal/Assmuth, October 2008)

For those villagers interested in hunting, trekking or skiing, the abundant forests surrounding the village provide ample opportunities for such recreational activities. Water sports, such as fishing, canoeing and boating, are also very popular, as are berry and mushroom picking. Not surprisingly, the most popular and lively associations in the village are the sports associations; the hunting club has almost a hundred members in a village of 290.[5] The Koli Sports Club, *Ipatti*, with 150 members, organises an annual two-day mass skiing event, the Scenic Ski Tour, with as many as a thousand paying participants, and other smaller events, relying solely on the work and enthusiasm of voluntary unpaid members.

Again, it is noteworthy how many of the active members in all these associations, including 'the last male domain', the hunting club, are women. The end of the elk hunting season is traditionally celebrated at the premises of the hunting club deep in the forest, with an open-air buffet lunch of elk-meat soup provided free to all. The well-equipped forest log cabins and slaughtering and meat handling equipment have all been built with the members' voluntary labour. During our fieldwork in 2010, there were some 10 female members present, preparing and serving the food, as one would expect, but also talking about the hunt as expert participants.

It is evident, then, that besides lively business environment, civil society's associational activity is also well developed in Koli. One example of the villagers' social activity is the harvest celebration held every September in the village hall. In 2009, over 100 people attended (more than a third of the village population), very few of whom were tourists or other 'outsiders'. In fact, this event is specifically intended for the villagers and not even advertised in the tourist calendar of events. However, when discussing this event, one tourism businesswoman said that 'the harvest festival used to be even bigger, and besides it we had several other village festivals, just for us locals – in every season!'

5.6   Separate Localities? Villagers and Tourists, Locals and Visitors

Because travel and tourism have such long roots in the history of the village, the current generation of villagers is accustomed to visitors. Visitors have always been around, throughout the local people's lifetime, and they do not attract the attention of the locals in any special way. Tourism is, however, seasonal, and in the annual cycle of the village, there are times when there are only a few outsiders on the village roads. On such occasions, they do attract attention, especially if they move

---

[5] Some of the members do not live permanently in the village but they all have a close relationship to it.

off the beaten track. Thus, there is a specific time and a particular place (places) for tourists in the village. Tourists are supposed to have their own paths and tracks, which naturally follow those drawn on the maps and marked in the terrain. Outside these designated places, the tourist becomes more of an odd wanderer, or at least the subject of greater interest and curiosity.

In a sense, the village is divided spatially into tourist and non-tourist sites and places. The latter would be the villagers' own territory. In the village centre, these two overlap and intertwine:

> What can I see from 'the door of my tent'? Village youth seems to gather at the ice-cream kiosk, blasting around with their mopeds. Cars are heading in every direction. A red-shirted couple sat under the birch to eat their ice-creams. There's a dog barking in a blue Skoda. Again someone is inquiring over accommodation over her mobile: I hear her say it is expensive. Sounds carry well over a distance. Nobody has headed to the museum past me. There is probably no sign by the road… There are also people here in the centre. I wonder if they need more services. (Field journal/Uusitalo, June 2009)

In the village, one can sense that tourism has woven itself into the everyday life of the locality in a myriad of ways. Even when a person does not get his or her livelihood from tourism, it is still a matter of interest to everyone and in that sense 'a common issue' for the villagers. People seem to be aware of the significance of tourism for the village and, at least on some level, take note of the situation, which would be difficult to ignore, anyhow. Tourism is present in everyday occurrences and in the small talk of the villagers:

> Then they mentioned that there aren't as many reservations at the hotel as in recent years. This seems to be a common worry at the village. Also yesterday, when I arrived, a young man sharing the shuttle taxi with me asked the driver if there were tourists at the hotel. 'Not so many', replied the driver. (Field journal/Uusitalo, December 2008)

The fact that tourism is pervasive in the locality does not mean that the interest attached to it is only positive in character. On the contrary, the interest may also arise through various kinds of criticism. There are those voices that say that too much investment is made in the tourism sector, and that this is draining resources from other aspects of village development:

> Maija said that she can well understand that those who are not dealing with tourism like herself can often feel irritated and annoyed by the fact that everything here seems to revolve around tourism and tourists. And so it really seems to me that farmers, for example, and those in other kinds of occupations who do not have anything to do with tourism sometimes feel that the whole village is run just for the tourists' sake. (Field journal/Assmuth, September 2009)

Some locals think that the average tourist does not understand the real value of Koli. People run to the scenic views and back, and the bigger groups have far too little time for their visit. From this viewpoint, the visitor should be able to enjoy the scenery, 'let it sink in' as one person put it. Additionally, for these nature lovers, Koli is more than just Ukko-Koli, the most famous hilltop. There are other enjoyable places as well, and they have their own favourite spots, further away from the tourist paths. For them, the Koli landscape is a value in itself. They feel ownership, they know its past and present, and they move about in the National Park.

They fought for it during the initial controversy over the National Park. Many of the nature lovers work in some form or another for the National Park, either as paid employees of the information centre, as free-lance guides and trek leaders, or as nature tourism entrepreneurs. According to them, tourism in Koli should be nature tourism, peaceful and spiritual. Otherwise, the visit is pointless, just a token performance, 'a must-do' place in the national landscape.

For some of the other local residents, the famous landscape is self-evident and, therefore, not very relevant: it has always been and will always be.[6] Many do not make it their business to visit the National Park; only when they have visitors they, sometimes, take them up to the hill. Although many of these locals do not actively visit the National Park, they still criticise the excessive haste of the tourists:

> In passing, I also asked the lady about her own views about tourism. She had moved to the village in 1975, and had worked in the hotel for a while… She said that the different tourist seasons can be seen in the village's life. Between the seasons stray dogs run on the village roads, so to speak, and you hardly see anyone. I also asked her whether she herself goes to look at and admire the landscape. "No she doesn't", she said, but she sometimes takes her guests there. She was also lamenting how terribly busy the tourists are. (Field journal/Uusitalo, June 2009)

A counterpart to advocating nature tourism is the perception that more crowd-pulling attractions should be developed in Koli. The advocates of this view think that the Koli hills are not sufficient, but that instead more of a hullabaloo should be made over other things too. For these people, the National Park is not a value in itself: more ski lifts and other infrastructure are needed, and tourism should be expanded outside the National Park, also to the village of Koli. The model for this kind of development is some of the popular mass tourism ski resorts in Lapland:

> Then he [a local man] said that in Koli there isn't an attraction [in the village centre] that would draw the tourists for a longer period of time. They just come to the grocery store and empty the shelves, but otherwise the centre is rather quiet. There is a café, but it is not enough, he said. More families with children should be attracted: they are not drawn enough by nature tourism. Then he said that a penny arcade should be built, similar to the one in Puuhamaa amusement park [in Southern Finland]. There the kids are playing the machines with glowing eyes, he said. (Field journal/Uusitalo, June 2009)

Even today, with the increased realisation in many parts of the world that mass tourism can have very negative effects on the environment and local culture, an outsider's opinion sometimes echoes such a dynamic view:

> In yesterday's *Karjalainen* [regional newspaper] there was this really provocative article by the former county governor Esa Timonen. He completely attacked the current condition of Koli saying that one ought to have developed tourism here in the same way as they did in Lapland with huge tourist centres. Tourism in Koli is just messing around he said; one ought to have developed mass tourism instead and not establish the national park in the first place.

---

[6] According to a recent *Metsähallitus* survey, about half of the villagers said they visit the National Park at least once a year and a third replied that they go there once a month or more often (*Karjalainen Newspaper* 20.6.2012).

> And he made it sound like it was just the "outsiders", artists, city people and nature conservationists who wanted the national park. It sounded absolutely outrageous. For example, Kirsi [a female villager] was all upset and offended by this: as if only outsiders had wanted and struggled for the national park! (Field journal/Assmuth, September 2009)

As the former county governor's opinion and the reaction to it attest, the development and direction of tourism in Koli continues to be a debated and contested issue. Compared with the clear-cut conflict around the founding of the National Park, there are, however, new kinds of subtleties in the debate. There are different kinds of development plans: one targeting Russian tourists foresaw the building of a huge spa in a virgin forest area; that investment plan crashed in the 2008 economic crisis.[7] A more recent one called the Koli Cultura Development Plan advocates that

> a centre for nature tourism and culture be built on the world's oldest bedrock in the midst of Koli's national landscape in eastern Finland. The programme that guides the centre's development maintains an international view on natural and cultural tourism that promotes a model of sustainable development and interactive group-oriented activities. (Koli Cultura web-pages 2012)

The rhetoric and perhaps also the practice of sustainable development, a focus on natural and cultural tourism, the emphasis on the uniqueness and the alleged *Kalevala* heritage of Koli and the involvement of the nature conservationists set this construction plan apart from previous ones.

5.7 Conclusion: Intertwined Local Lives in an Age of Mobility

In this chapter, we have presented a case study of Koli in eastern Finland to bring out and highlight some of the current tendencies that are transforming rural peripheral areas in different parts of the world. Each national and regional context is, of course, unique, and in each case the residents and visitors form a unique constellation of social relations, but, at the same time, some of the features that we have discovered in Koli can have more general relevance and applicability for peripheral rural areas elsewhere.

The national landscape will undoubtedly attract tourists also in the future. More and more facilities and heavy infrastructure are being planned and built in the village and the surrounding areas. In Koli, tourism has not left the village untouched; on the contrary, the effects of tourism are all-pervasive. This leads to continuous struggles, at different levels, about the future direction of the village's development. Some conflicts are local, others are of a regional character. Because Koli is a national destination and part of the network of Finnish national parks, there are also

---

[7]The planned spa will be completed but on a more moderate scale, in late 2012. The investors are Russian.

interests concerning its development far beyond the village and the region, on the national level.

We believe that in the global world openness, creativity and versatility are crucial assets for a peripheral community to succeed. Therefore, Koli can be expected to have a bright future because of its open-mindedness and relative tolerance and acceptance of outsiders and outside influences. But, as we have described, there are limits to openness even in Koli: not everybody agrees that the periphery needs diversity and visitors to continue to ensure its vitality. On the other hand, another key strength of any community is undoubtedly its residents' strong local identity. To have positive effects, this local identity must also be put to use: in Koli, the many flourishing family enterprises are a very encouraging example of this. The traditional agricultural family structure has adapted well to current circumstances where multifunctionality of livelihoods is necessary. In the same way as a farm is transferred to the next generation, tourism enterprises also exhibit generational continuity. In some Koli families, the current entrepreneur is even the fifth in line in his or her family business. We would also like to emphasise that in a locality, there must also be room for controversies and constant negotiations about the future of the village and the various directions that development should take.

We end with a reminder of the importance of Allardt's three dimensions of welfare in a local context: 'having, loving and being' are all needed if a peripheral community and a local way of life are not only to survive but to flourish. The village is integrated with the world but, at the same time, living its own local way of life. Aspects of globality have been integrated into local life for a long time. Rural areas are in no way immune to transformations. Continuity overlaps with change, global is intertwined with local. Today, people living in remote areas are part of the world in motion, are affected by global flows and witness the ways in which 'the global' works in a local context.

References

Abrahams, R. (1991). *A place of their own. Family farming in Eastern Finland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ahponen, P.-L. (1979). *Kylä muutoksen objektina ja subjektina* [Village as an object and subject of change]. Joensuu: University of Joensuu/Academy of Finland.

Alanen, I., et al. (1973). Sivakka ja Rasimäki. Raportti pohjoiskarjalaisesta kylästä [Sivakka and Rasimäki. A report from a North Karelian village]. In *Demokraattinen suunnittelu* [Democratic planning]. Helsinki: Suomen demokraattiset lakimiehet ja Yhteiskuntasuunnittelun seura.

Allardt, E. (1973). *About dimensions of welfare: an exploratory analysis of a comparative Scandinavian survey*. Research reports, Research Group for Comparative Sociology. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Allardt, E. (1975). *Att ha, att älska. att vara: on välfärd i Norden* [Having, loving, being: about welfare in the Nordic countries]. Lund: Argos.

Andersson, M. (2010). Provincial globalization: The local struggle of place-making. *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research, 2*, 193–215. doi:10.3384/cu.2000.1525. 10212193.

Appadurai, A. (1998). *Modernity at large. Cultural dimensions of globalisation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Europark Federation. (2012). http://www.europarc.org/home/. Accessed 30 June 2012.

Frykman, J., et al. (2009). Sense of community. Trust, hope and worries in the welfare state. *Ethnologia Europaea, 39*(1), 7–46.

Hannertz, U. (1996). *Transnational connections. Culture, people, places*. London: Routledge.

Karjalainen Newspaper. (2012, June 20). *Kolilaiset toivovat rinnepolkujen näkymien avaamista* [The Koli villagers wish for more open views on the scenery from the nature paths].

Knudsen, A. (1992). Dual histories. A Mediterranean problem. In K. Hastrup (Ed.), *Other histories* (pp. 82–101). London/New York: Routledge.

Knuuttila, S., et al. (1996). *Kyläläiset, kansalaiset. Tulkintoja Sivakasta ja Rasimäestä* [Villagers, citizens. Interpretations from Sivakka and Rasimäki] (Karjalan tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja 114). Joensuu: Karjalan tutkimuslaitos.

Koli Cultura. (2012). http://www.kolicultura.fi/en/home/:language/en/PHPSESSID/b3390c78995 25edff9979c14267d66f7. Accessed 30 June 2012.

Koli Primary School. (2007). http://www.koulu.lieksa.fi/koli/koulu.htm. Accessed 30 June 2012.

Koski, L. (2004). Female entrepreneurs in the learning society. In R. Husemann & A. Heikkinen (Eds.), *Governance and marketisation in vocational and continuing education* (pp. 49–64). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Lyon-Williams, J. (2003). *Developing the Tourism Product. Koli's Cultural Heritage: an Ethnographic Perspective*. BA thesis, University of Exeter, Exeter. http://julkaisut.metsa.fi/ julkaisut/pdf/luo/7-Lyonwilliams.pdf. Accessed 25 Sept 2012.

Metsähallitus. (2012). http://www.metsa.fi/sivustot/metsa/en/Sivut/Home.aspx and http://www. outdoors.fi/Pages/Default.aspx. Accessed 30 June 2012.

Muhonen, T. (1997). From Karelianism to National Park – 100 years of tourism and nature conservation at Koli. In B. Solberg & S. Miina (Eds.), *Conflict management and public participation in land management* (pp. 249–256). Joensuu: European Forest Research Institute.

Oinonen-Edén, E. (2001). The cultural project of Koli. In L. Lovén (Ed.), *Local and global heritage* (pp. 65–72). Joensuu: Finnish Forest Research Institute.

Oksa, J., & Rannikko, P. (1984). *Yhteiskunta kylässä. Tutkimuksia Sivakasta ja Rasimäestä* [Society in the village. Studies of Sivakka ja Rasinmäki] (Karjalan tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja 61). Joensuu: Karjalan tutkimuslaitos.

Rannikko, P. (2010). Luonnonkäytön muutos paikallisena legitimiteettihaasteena [The change in nature use as a local legitimacy challenge]. In P. Rannikko & T. Määttä (Eds.), *Luonnonvarojen Hallinnan Legitimiteetti* [the legitimacy of the overnance of nature recourses] (pp. 257–294). Helsinki: Vastapaino.

Rannikko, P., & Knuuttila, S. (2008). Sivakka ja Rasimäki tutkimuksina [Sivakka and Rasinmäki as research]. In S. Knuuttila et al. (Eds.), *Kylän paikka. Uusia Tulkintoja Sivakasta ja Rasimäestä* [The Place of the Village. New Interpretations on Sivakka and Rasimäki] (pp. 9–22). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Sankari, E. (1994). Koli kolikoiksi vai kansallisomaisuudeksi [Koli into coins or into national property]. In A. Lehtinen & P. Rannikko (Eds.), *Pasilasta Vuotokselle. Ympäristökamppailujen uusi aalto* [From Pasila to Vuotos. New wave of environmental struggles] (pp. 31–54). Helsinki: Vastapaino.

Statistics Finland, Border Interview Survey 2011. (2012). http://www.stat.fi/til/rajat/2011/ rajat_2011_2012-06-13_tie_001_en.html. Accessed 3 Sept 2012.

Tahvanainen, V., Tikkamäki, T., & Lindholm, T. (2011). *Kolin kansalispuiston kävijätutkimus 2009* [Koli National Park visitor survey 2009] (Metsähallituksen luonnonsuojelujulkaisuja. Sarja B 156). http://julkaisut.metsa.fi/julkaisut/pdf/luo/b156.pdf. Accessed 25 Sept 2012.

The art and culture centre Kolin Ryynänen. (2011). http://www.taiteenkeskustoimikunta.fi/en/ web/pohjois-karjala/kolin-ryynanen1. Accessed 30 June 2012.

Tsing, A. (2005). *Friction: An ethnography of global connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Waenerberg, A. (2000). Miksi taiteilijat tulivat kolille [Why did the artist come to Koli?]. In L. Lovén & H. Rainio (Eds.), *Kolin Perintö. Kaskisavuista kansallismaisemaan* [Koli Heritage. From Slash-and-Burn to National Landscape] (pp. 104–113). Helsinki: Metsäntutkimuslaitos ja Geologian tutkimuskeskus.

Yanagisako, S. (2002). *Producing culture and capital: Family firms in Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chapter 6
Projecting the 'Disadvantaged': Project Class, Scale Hopping and the Creation of Ruralities

Alexandra Szőke

6.1   Introduction

Kossuth tér is the main square in Kislapos. It does not really look like a square though. It is rather a block of buildings at the meeting of two parallel roads and a third intersecting one connecting them. What makes this part the centre, nonetheless, is that it is home to all the important institutions of the village. On one side, there is the renovated mansion that hosts the new nursery sponsored by the Hospitalier, a nationwide charity, which started a model programme in Kislapos in the form of a civic organisation in 2004 and consequently grew into an important local actor in the village.[1] Next to this, stands the electronic dismantling workshop run by the organisation, hidden behind the large green doors in the reconstructed building of the former stable. On the other road, one can find the doctor and the primary school. Finally, the pink building in the middle hosts the mayor's office with other social service bureaus, next to which stands the freshly painted yellow front of the only food store and the playhouse run by the Hospitalier. As one crosses the street, there stands the dilapidating unused People's House[2] marooned amidst high grass and surrounded by a half-torn down rusty wire fence.

---

[1] The names of the organisation, the village and the interviewees were changed, apart from Ádám Kullmann, who agreed to the interview as a public figure. The programme originally aimed at alleviating the homeless problem of large cities by assisting homeless families in settling and making their living in abandoned houses of the village. Later, however, further elements were added to the programme, making the organisation a major development actor in the region.

[2] The village preserved the former Socialist name for the communal building used for village events.

A. Szőke (✉)
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology,
Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany
e-mail: alexa.szoke@gmail.com

The future of the square became a major collision point in autumn 2008, when differing views of development came to the fore after a formerly unprecedented large grant was made directly available to the 33 areas appointed as 'most disadvantaged'. Like many mayors in small remote villages, the mayor welcomed the opportunity, and he hoped to obtain the 60 million forint (about 200 thousand Euros) needed for the renovation of the square. Yet, upon my return in November 2009, the square remained visibly unchanged. Perhaps, the wire fence was torn down in a few more places, and the road became a little worse than before. As it was a rainy day, the aid recipients were waiting in the muddy road side in front of the mayor's office to receive their monthly benefits. Some of the elderly were trying to pass through the large patches of water to enter the shop, whilst the post office and nurse's office were basically impossible to get to through the uncovered muddy yard. Yet, the workers were busy on the construction of the People's House – the site of a 200 million forint (about 700 thousand Euros) European Union (EU) funded development, as the familiar blue plaque revealed.

When I asked the mayor about the new developments, he explained:

> And so this is how I could at least fit in the renovation of the People's House into this scheme. It is not called renovation, but we squeezed it into a several year-long complex social programme, and it will be the site of that. Fifteen percent renovation and 85 % social programmes… And we will play nursing, and father-mother club and heavens know what for years! And it will take immense energy from us again… But when I said [to the LHH officials] that we are walking in mud in the middle of the village, and I would need some 60 million for the main square's rehabilitation, [they said] but Mr. Mayor, don't you understand that we are not giving money for that?! And we were telling what we needed, each settlement [was telling] what would come next in their lives. But no, [they said] we are not giving money for those. And the 2.7 billion (about nine million Euros) accorded to this region was spent basically like [makes hand gesture]… that not much got to the small villages, and even those who got something, it was not for what they needed it. (RC 23/11/2009)

The developmental outcomes, however, were far from being predictable or preordained in this case. They grew out through a complex process of negotiations and from the collision of various developmental conceptions of the different actors that were involved in the grant scheme at several scalar levels. The institutional establishment and *projectification of development* – i.e. development increasingly done through time-bound projects, usually involving a competitive grant procedure – opened up new opportunities and demands for a variety of actors to participate in the rural and regional development process. NGOs, development experts, EU monitoring boards and regional and micro-regional agencies all became crucial agents who are closely involved with local development efforts. Often these actors work on multiple scales ranging from the international to the local. They do not live in the rural locality in which they work and often come from urban backgrounds. Nevertheless, such actors can have an immense influence on the realised projects, and all have very distinct ideas about the development of particular rural places. These views stem from a specific understanding of what constitutes the present 'disadvantages' or 'underdevelopment' of rural areas within the country. But how do these views relate to the self-image of inhabitants and the views/ideas of more locally embedded actors?

This chapter examines the differing views of the actors involved (at multiple scales) in a recent rural development programme entitled *Leghátrányosabb Helyzetű*

Kistérségek projektje (Project for the Most Disadvantaged Micro-Regions; hereafter LHH). My analysis highlights the specific aspects of the particular position of the different actors, positions from which they can significantly alter different developmental goals and practices in rural areas. As such, it furthers the analysis on the emergence of a 'project class' (Kovách and Kucerova 2006) by delineating the particular aspects of the position of these 'development agents' within the different scales of the restructuring state and the ways these affect their relation to local ideas and needs.

The LHH programme started in 2008 and is the largest development scheme in Hungary aimed at the complex development of the 'most disadvantaged micro-regions'. The programme proposed a qualitatively new understanding of rural problems and a different method of application. Thus, the 33 most disadvantaged micro-regions were delineated according to various statistical variables, which were then provided with a set amount of grants available for various social development and infrastructural projects without competition.

This contribution is grounded on seven months of anthropological fieldwork divided into several visits between August 2008 and August 2010, during which I had the opportunity to witness different phases of this project in Kislapos.[3] In addition, I conducted 20 interviews (most of them recorded) with various actors operating on different scales (the national head of the programme, different employees of the Hospitalier, the micro-regional coordinators, the mayor, social workers), participated in numerous micro-regional discussions and witnessed the first steps of the project implementation.

Unequal power relations between development actors and the local population and the implications for development efforts have been widely studied within the frames of colonial and post-colonial studies (see Leys 2004). In the present Hungarian setting (as in most EU countries), however, the multiplicity of actors involve local agents of development as much as NGOs, EU officials and micro-regional stakeholders. Moreover, the following analysis shows that differences in their agency do not necessarily come from unequal geopolitical relations and do not always fit to simplified categories of 'governing state' and 'governed populations' (cf. Mitchell 1991; Scott 1998) or imperial international donors and dependent recipient third world (cf. Cooper and Packard 1997; Escobar 1995; Esteva 1992; Ferguson 1990; Sivaramakrishnan and Agrawal 2003) and post-socialist countries (cf. Wedel 1998). Instead, I argue, following Kovách and Kucerova (2006), that the new frames of rural/regional development and decentralisation have led to the rise of a variety of actors who have gained supreme importance for local development in rural places, and which have come to constitute a new 'project class'.

My chapter delineates the specific characteristics that arise from the particular position of these new development actors by using the conceptual tools of scales to describe

the differentiated access of these actors to knowledge, networks, ideas and other resources, as well as their different levels of agency. Their differentiated embeddedness and scalar access influence their possibilities as well as their relations to local needs. Furthermore, their particular conceptualisation of 'disadvantages' has significant effects on the self-perception of local inhabitants and the possibilities they have within and outside their village. Thus, they have great importance for the material and discursive outcome of development efforts. As such, my argument furthers recent propositions on the importance of geographical and social scale for the analysis of development actors and their effects on rural areas (see Gould 2004; Wiber and Turner 2010).

6.2   A Programme for 'Disadvantaged' Areas

The LHH programme is a suitable case study of rescaling and development for various reasons. Firstly, it is a unique programme, which utilises a bottom-up planning process through the direct participation of the micro-regional and local actors and a non-competitive application for the disadvantaged areas. It is the only programme of its kind within the present development schemes in Hungary. Secondly, my research site is located in the Heves micro-region that was amongst the 33 disadvantaged included in the programme.

Kislapos is a village of about 800 inhabitants in Northern Hungary. Due to recent migration patterns, the Roma ethnicity came to constitute the majority of the local population; there is only about 120 non-Roma people in the village, most of which are elderly. Employment possibilities are scarce in the entire region. Unemployment is high and the majority of working age people lives from social transfers, complemented with occasional and informal work channels. Since 2004, the presence of the Hospitalier organisation has resulted in the renovation of public institutions and introduction of additional services.

As the programme was in the phase of decision-making and realisation of first-round projects during my research, I had the opportunity to study some of the actual process and interaction between the different participants. This makes it possible to reflect on the variety of actors involved, their views and resources, and how their encounters led to particular developmental outcomes. Even though LHH is unique, some of the aspects discussed in relation to the actors go beyond the actual programme and, hence, could serve to highlight more general aspects about the actors involved in recent development processes.

The LHH programme was developed as part of larger governmental efforts to single out and direct separate resources for the most underdeveloped areas in the country. According to the descriptions of one of the main preparatory programme documents,[4] the 33 chosen micro-regions are predominantly rural and have the

---

[4]*Módszertani útmutató a 33 leghátrányosabb helyzetű kistérség projekt-csomagjának összeállításához*, prepared by National Development Agency, LHH Programme Office, September 5, 2008.

highest rate of unemployment in the country, and whilst 10 % of the total population lives in these micro-regions, they are home to about one third of the total Roma population. The delineation of the targeted micro-regions was followed with a complex programme, starting in October 2008. For the 2009–2013 planning period, some 100 billion forint (about 275 million Euros) is to be allocated as a separate grant, 75 % of which aimed to support investments with the rest allocated for projects of training, employment and health care. The programme relies mostly on EU funding but is managed by the National Development Agency (NDA).

The original idea behind the programme, at least according to Ádám Kullmann, the head of the LHH at NDA, was based on a particular view about the *reasons for the disadvantages* of these areas. He told me during an interview that the disadvantages were not a result of receiving less EU grants than other areas, but of their particular geographical, economic and social positions, which could be corrected only by readjusting the mechanisms of the present grant allocation schemes. For example, they appeared to profit from extra resources during the first National Development Plan in the 2004–2006 cycle, which, nevertheless, did not manage to alleviate the effects of the dominant socioeconomic processes. What is more, some subregions, groups and settlements in these areas had much smaller shares or did not receive anything at all from these resources. Thus, according to the original idea of the programme, it is not necessarily more money which can ease these disadvantages, but rather the adjustment of the regulatory and operational frames.

Such understanding was strongly reflected in the method and concrete goals of the programme, which resulted in some unique characteristics. Kullmann pointed out three distinctive aspects. First of all, as mentioned above, it aimed to allocate separate resources that were available only for the 33 most disadvantaged micro-regions, which hence did not have to compete with the more advantageous micro-regions of the country. Kullmann said that this was because in the more recent development cycles, the operational programmes had a strong bias towards supporting the better-off regions.[5] Due to the reorganisation of funds, i.e. the rural development funds were separated from the structural funds, but, at the same time, the cohesion funds which typically support large enterprises (like the building of a fourth metro line in Budapest) became included within them, the 33 disadvantaged regions received considerably less resources within these frames. In addition, the Economic Operational Programme opened grant applications first, which also resulted in an unbalance in spending these development resources. This does not favour disadvantaged micro-regions, who generally do not perform well when competing for economic development grants due to the lack of enterprises within their boundaries.

However, as he stressed during the interview and in several public forums, a crucial issue was not that there are differences between the disadvantaged micro-regions and the rest of the country, but that there are significant differences even

---

[5] As Kullmann himself emphasised, there were varying views also within the NDA about the goals, procedures and decision-making in the programme, which, due to limitations of space, cannot be discussed here.

amongst the 33. Thus, even though it was an immense battle to push the idea through the ministry, the concept of the programme recognised the differences between the different micro-regions when it came to allocation of resources. In contrast to what originally was planned, namely, dividing the 100 billion forint equally amongst the 33 micro-regions, it was divided in a way that reflected differences in settlement types and total population. Thus, one third of the total money was divided into 33; the next one third of funding was given according to the number of inhabitants in the micro-region; the final one third was given according to the number of settlements in each micro-region. This reflects a very particular understanding of disadvantages and inequalities by the project leaders, i.e. that settlement size plays significant roles in developmental 'disadvantages' and local possibilities, which also resonates with analytical conclusions of related academic works (e.g. Bódi 2008; Kovács and Somlyódyné 2008; Váradi 2008).

The final aspect that he highlighted was the complexity of the planning process, which aimed bottom-up participation from the micro-regional project applicants. The idea was that the different micro-regional actors (mostly mayors) would divide the available sum given to the whole micro-region amongst themselves, deciding as a group which individual projects would become part of the micro-regional package that would then be sent to the national agency. In this way, a preselection process was made at the micro-regional level by the targeted actors themselves. Kullmann explained that the reasoning behind this was based on his and his colleagues' former experience. When mayors are asked to draft developmental plans for their locality for an unbound grant (a grant not bound to specific targets or themes), they usually list everything, instead of setting up particular priorities.

By putting the discussion process on the micro-regional level, the planners of the programme expected that the different micro-regional actors would force each other to set up priorities, as the money would, obviously, not be enough for everything; hence, an agreement would have to be reached regarding who could apply, with what project and for what amount. This was also expected to push the micro-regional participants to divide the accorded sum amongst themselves 'in a more fair way'.

Consequently, because there was no interregional or inter-project competition once a project was accepted in the preselection cycle, the project managers only needed to fulfil the centrally set criteria for the development of a full project proposal to get the grant. Thus, a project was only refused if it did not satisfy the criteria proposed by the LHH planning document. The process had two phases. In the first step, applicants submitted their project proposal of three pages. If the project was accepted, they had to obtain all related documents and prepare a full project plan. Kullmann underlined the advantages; it saved money, time and effort for the project applicants. In the usual procedure, about three or four times more applications are prepared than can be accepted. The full proposals are lengthy and involve the collection of all related official documents, authorisations and the like. In the second phase, only a few projects were refused – those who after several resubmissions could not fulfil the general criteria. In general, the application procedure meant that these remote rural areas had a much better chance of receiving a grant than they

normally would in other EU schemes, except the LEADER – which, however, does not have such intensity in its funding.[6]

6.3   Whose Views? Development Actors and Scales

Despite its original objectives, in Kislapos, the mayor complained at having to face significant restrictions in terms of the supported development objectives/themes. The NDA, in fact, had strong preferences regarding the kind of projects to be supported, many of which clashed with the ideas of the mayors, and the NDA used its discretionary power to reject or change proposals that were formerly agreed by the micro-regional participants. The local and micro-regional actors felt this was against the stated bottom-up approach of the LHH scheme. Moreover, it resulted in a complex and costly development project in the village that the locals feel rather sceptical about. The local and micro-regional actors felt that the problem did not lie with the cooperation of micro-regional participants, who with more or less difficulties agreed over the list of individual grants. Yet, these local decisions, gained through long and strenuous debates and agreements, 'were crossed out with a single line by the NDA' in the words of Kislapos' mayor. The feeling amongst the local actors was that again it was decided by 'inexperienced *macskajancsik*'[7] in the ministries with no relation to villages' who had no notion of what is needed in these remote rural places, as the mayor explained.

As mentioned earlier, along with other mayors in the area, the mayor in Kislapos understood the LHH grant as an additional and unexpected funding source, which would grant some millions to each settlement to encounter whatever development projects were most needed. Thus, he wanted to undertake the rehabilitation of the main square, which would have involved the reconstruction of roads, the establishing of a park and playground, and the renovation of the People's House that would have served with a new canteen for the school children. Yet, his expectations were dashed. He explained:

> So what happened was that we, mayors, were damn happy that now these small settlements will all develop in the value of 60-80 million each, the larger ones in larger value. And so we divided the amount among ourselves, so that it more or less covered the total sum for the micro-region. And then came the cold shower. That no, here it's only possible to develop in this human resource bullshit and health care. They told that in this micro-region, in Heves, we can apply only in these two topics. And we were banging the tables saying that we do not need that… all that human health care training and what not… this is not where we are right now. Here even the basic needs are not satisfied, so how can we enhance in aesthetics and advance in our life style?! (RC 23/11/2009)

---

[6] For the 2007–2013 period, the value of available grant within LEADER amounts to 70 billion forint, which constitutes only small parts of the LHH grant as divided for all LEADER groups covering the entirety of the country.

[7] *Macskajános* is a Hungarian vernacular, literally meaning Kitty John, implying somebody unimportant.

However, even though the original project did not happen, the local government still managed to obtain a considerable grant, which covered part of the original idea within the LHH frames. It was thanks to the coordinating role and broader networks of the Hospitalier, who, after receiving information about the 'preferred' topics, pushed the mayor to change the proposals and apply with a 'more suitable' project. Hence, it was changed into the complex social centre project, which included the renovation of the People's House. Although he was largely sceptical of its outcomes, the mayor believed that without the information and knowledge of the organisation he would not have won any grant at all.

According to the Hospitalier coordinators, during their earlier projects, they developed contacts both to the NDA and several micro-regional agencies in the region. When compared to mayors, they had a much better overview of what is preferred and what the LHH officials wanted in the region. As explained above, even though the grants were not awarded on a competitive basis, the proposals still had to be accepted by the NDA making understanding their conceptions of development crucially important. Moreover, through their contacts, the Hospitalier could receive insider information about the preferences for project contents, as was suggested to me. All this and their better familiarity and general overview of the dominant trends of present EU grant schemes gave the organisation the advantage to push the mayor towards a successful application.

However, the overall idea of human resource development and bringing social services closer to the local inhabitants also fitted to the earlier projects of the organisation in the village. As the organisation phrased it in the project document:

> It is very difficult to access the village; it is situated far from the main transport lines of the region. The locally lacking public services can be reached only by great difficulty in the nearest town and there are no socially accepted local possibilities for spending free time; there are no public spaces in the village for communal activities; the people often pass time by aimlessly hanging around in the streets…. The population of the village lives largely segregated from the neighbouring settlements; the young people live closed away from information characteristic of their age; they are not informed about different educational and work possibilities…. (Hevesi Kistérség Tervdokumentum 2009: 62)[8]

Thus, in comparison to the mayor, who believes that first the most basic and immediate needs (hunger and unheated houses) should be satisfied and the basic infrastructure constructed (good roads, renovated institutions), the Hospitalier takes a different view. They believe that the disadvantages of the local population originate from broader structural aspects, such as lack of jobs, access to services and information as well as a lack of community. Consequently, the new LHH project aims to address these disadvantages, in a similar vein to earlier programmes of the organisation, namely, by 'soft', social development or 'human infrastructure development' projects that address the 'structural disadvantages of the population'. This is in sharp contrast to the mayor, whose preference for infrastructural development

---

[8]*Hevesi Kistérség Tervdokumentum. Komplex felzárkóztató programok készítése a leghátrányosabb helyzetű kistérségekben* ÁROP- 1.1.5/B, prepared by Regionális Fejlesztés Holding Rt., Budapest, 29 January 2009, p. 62.

in part stems from his desire to solve the most immediate problems and in part stems from a lack of resources to address broader structural problems. Moreover, due to the way central financing is allocated to local governments, he cannot calculate what resources he will have one year to the next, which also makes addressing long-term disadvantages more difficult.

Csenge, one of the Hospitalier coordinators, explained the conceptual reasoning behind the new project:

> The social service programme has three main pillars. And all these elements build on one another, and also on our earlier projects, building into a complex programme that addresses the multi-fold local disadvantages. The Sure Start House will target the new-born and their parents by providing an environment that will enhance the optimal development of children, which they often lack due to their family circumstances and poverty. So they will then step into the nursery already with fewer disadvantages. Then the nursery, we renovated it years ago and it's already working well. It ensures a good place for starting the socialisation of children. Then the school. It's a huge problem still and we have not yet figured out what to do with it. But we partly compensate its disadvantages through the existing playhouse, which was originally aimed at younger children, but now has been complimented with a youth club for older ones within this new project. And the *tanoda*[9] will also aim at compensating exactly those disadvantages that originate from the present school system. Then there is the already existing workplace with 30 jobs, that partially at least targets the unemployment situation. And in the new project there will be an employment assistance centre. And we will be also strongly relying on the locals who have been working and were trained in our programmes earlier; we hope we can employ them in these new project elements. (IF 4/11/2009)

As for the conceptualisation of the 'reasons for disadvantages', the national head of the LHH programme had also a slightly different approach. When I asked him why they limited the topics for the applying projects and how it fits into the idea of bottom-up development originally promoted by the LHH scheme, he explained that in the broader context of the entire programme, it was important to suggest particular limitations for the different micro-regions:

> We wanted to avoid that each micro-region calculates how much they would need from the different resources (infrastructure, education, health, etc.) and creates a sort of unified package with human infra, transport, education and the like. Or that everyone applies with the two favourites – roads and education. Because participants would have opted for these two possibilities either to develop a unified package applying for everything or to apply for the two favourites. Both would have been bad. We wanted to send the message that each micro-region should look at their own needs and then, focusing on these, choose their priorities and, thus, apply with a package that reflects these. (RC 11/05/2010, further quotes cited from the same interview)

He further explained that he does not believe that schools and roads are unimportant. However, he suggested that 'content-type' developments, such as trainings and alternative or complementary activities, would bring more advancement than a simple building renovation. As for the road, he also agreed that as a basic need, it is of

---

[9]It is an alternative institution, usually run by civic organisations or community initiatives as a complementary institution to schools. It is targeted to 'multiple disadvantaged' children, who lack those conditions in their families and schools which could enable their educational success.

outmost importance, but if there are no jobs or services to access, then they are useless. He furthermore added that often it is the problem with the attitude of the mayors – they need to be more creative in their ideas and start engaging with, for example, things like job creation. Whilst road reconstruction is widely considered an important mayoral task, he thinks mayors assume that job creation is not their responsibility. As for how this has changed the bottom-up nature of the project, he argued:

> I don't think that the mayors can always make good decisions on their own. Earlier the entire decisionmaking lay with the national organs [i.e. NDA], so at least with the LHH process we managed to move away from this a bit. Now it is quite a good combination between the two [i.e. local decisions and set priorities], I think. Because, you know, there is something in that, that roads and schools are so popular. The wife of the mayor is often the head of the school or teaches there, and the road, the road is very visible, good for elections.

Although Kullmann suggests that the mayor's priorities are driven by short-termism and self-interest, the mayor of Kislapos does reflect on the sustainability of development projects and his critique of such 'complex' proposals is rooted in everyday experiences:

> I would have been able to renovate the People's House from a small portion of this massive grant. Because this 170 million will have to be spend on the realisation of social programmes stretched over two years. But it is not what comes next in the life of this village. This would suit an affluent midsized agricultural town, where the mother, in her boredom, would pass by with her pram to chat with the nurses, have a coffee, well situated middle-class and all that, and not the Roma woman, pushing her pram with its broken wheels, stumbling through the mud, using the house to warm up. But yes, so now we will have this service earlier than a city. And, now, the next big task will be how we can get a circle of clients to come inside. So, for the first step, I thought we could give 10,000 forint at the birth of every new-born, and this could be the place where we give it to the parents, so already they will come inside. Then every time someone comes in, the nurses can offer free coffee, so each time they pass by as they are going around they would come in, and at least they won't be sitting at home with the three year olds in the unheated houses. But it will consume unimaginable efforts and resources from us… and the project only covers two years of its running. What happens then? Who will finance it? Who knows?!

6.4   Conceptualising the 'Project Class': Scales, Access and Agency

The presented divergence of views goes beyond individual interests and intentions. All the above actors, ranging from the mayors to the Hospitalier representatives and from the micro-regional NDA coordinators to the national head of the programme, appeared to have good intentions regarding the development of disadvantaged localities through this scheme. Yet, their views about what constitute these disadvantages are very different, something which greatly influences the ways they seek to address these. Furthermore, as the above case shows, their different scalar positions also allow differing degrees of agency in terms of influencing local directions.

The differences between and collision of different kinds of knowledge – expert/lay, global/local – have been extensively discussed in relation to development projects (see Tovey 2008). Studies often explicate the unequal relations between these two. It is shown that the professionalisation of development paved way for certain actors to claim expertise based on their particular knowledge, which then ensures them authority and justifies their intervention whilst debarring lay citizens from participating in policy formations (Kothari 2005; Parpart 1995). In the arguments about the unequal power relations between expert and lay knowledge, the importance of technical and certain technological knowledge is often emphasised.

Partly as a reaction to former criticism that pointed to the inefficiency and the damage caused by modernist development projects and the ignorance of local expertise/experience towards local particularities, over the past decades, there has been a clear move in development practice and theory towards the appreciation of local knowledge and the involvement of local actors in development planning (see Leys 2004). The importance of utilising lay knowledge has been also emphasised in academic work in relation to development endeavours (e.g. Long 2001; Scott 1998). This resulted in new forms of development practice that often uses participatory methods and puts a larger reliance on local or lay knowledge. In these conceptions, however, the two types of knowledge are seen as opposites, mutually exclusive and usually laden with value judgements. Yet, it appears that the collision of views in our case cannot be described with such simplified binaries.

All participating actors in our story are considered and accepted as 'experts' in one way or another within the present development structures. They have extensive experience and knowledge about the rural development process and structures, and they all participated in different development projects before. Their overview of the process and access to networks or information might be different, and their understanding of the local or the broader processes doubted by each other, yet their 'expertise' as such was not questioned. The collision of views also cannot be simplified into the opposing categories of local and global knowledge, which do not capture the complexity of differences in the position of these different actors and the way it affects their understanding of development as well as their sphere of action (Tsing 2005).

To better account for the multiplicity of involved actors, I employ a scalar analysis that integrates the concept of 'project class'. This allows for a more nuanced understanding of the complex relations between these agents and the development outcomes. Often local actors need partners in the development, management and materialisation of projects, as they lack local personnel who could engage in such activities full-time. Usually in smaller villages, it is the officials of the mayor's office or members of the local government who embark on project applications, though sometimes resources are so stretched that nobody at all has the capacity. Despite their experience, these officials often have multiple responsibilities, which, therefore, make it difficult for them to use their full potential in project-related activities that demand lots of time and effort ranging from application, procurement, accounting, realisation and preparing audit-related materials, as is also the case in Kislapos.

EU accession has made projects the main form of organisation, management and redistribution of resources for regional and rural development in Hungary. This established a need for certain intermediary actors who have the capacity, necessary knowledge, networks and resources to connect local initiatives with larger grant structures. Thus, a new group of professionals has come into being who retain 'expertise' through full-time employment in projects. For reasons mentioned earlier (the local lack of personnel to engage with projects, multiple responsibilities, lack of local resources for co-financing and often lack of networks), often these 'professionals' or 'experts' who engage with project-related activities as a full-time job are required and became closely involved in local projects. They are often academics, NGOs, researchers or private agencies and most often do not live in the particular locality.

In the proposition of Kovách and Kucerova (2009), these full-time project workers came to constitute a new class for various reasons. They engage with the same professional activity, which largely determines their identity and often permeates other spheres of their life. Furthermore, this new role is more than a profession; it also brings their participants a prestigious social position and financial gains. As the grants channelled through projects became virtually the sole resource of development, these professionals assume real economic and social power. They are the ones who can most powerfully influence the channels of this redistribution through their intellectual capital, which provides legitimacy for their position, but also ensures certain social and material gains, as (often a large) part of the allocated money is used to pay their salaries. Thus, exchanging their intellectual capital directly into financial capital raises these 'experts' to become a new elite group.

Even though the authors have never developed their concept of 'project class' any further and their conceptualisation of class is not entirely convincing, it still appears to be a useful term to describe the multiplicity of new actors in the new regional and rural development process, who engage in local development efforts. But what constitutes the uniqueness or significant characteristics of this group? In the following I take the above conceptualisation of 'project class' by Kovách and Kucerova (2006, 2009) one step further to delineate the dominant characteristics that determine the position of this group by utilising the concept of scale and scalar embeddedness.

The role of the Hospitalier is particularly important in the allocation of LHH funds, which they could fulfil not only thanks to their particular knowledge gained from daily experience of the development structures and processes but, more importantly, because of their ability to work on and move between various scales. They have access to information, resources and certain development ideas due to this position, which makes them able to move along and access resources on a range of scales, something that is not possible for the local mayors. Not only have the employees of the organisation regular contact with the different national actors and agencies of development but they also have relations to various micro-regional actors and could access information and resources much easier; even at the EU level, they have access as a large nation-wide organisation that realised various EU projects in the past. Therefore, they know 'what is hot', how the leading actors of the LHH modified the rules and objectives during the process and what kinds of projects are likely to be successful.

They furthermore had contacts to some of the larger applicants in the micro-region, whom also served them with relevant information. They approached various different micro-regional organisations and offices, which were developing similar programmes within the LHH and other EU schemes in the Heves micro-region. Not only did they utilise these contacts for their own project and strengthening of their position but also initiated various micro-regional meetings amongst the actors who barely knew about each other earlier. As such, they enhanced the establishment of a wider cooperation and network amongst the different local and micro-regional actors that has relevance beyond the LHH scheme.

Another activity that exemplifies their ability of moving between scales is the preparation of the project. As part of the project generation process, the two main Hospitalier coordinators first of all had a series of discussions with the mayor in order to convince him to change his proposal to the present one, which fitted the priorities of the LHH scheme better. In addition, they also contacted several local officials, such as the head of school, teachers and nurses who more closely work with children, in order to discuss main issues concerning disadvantages for the young in the village.

After winning the grant, they collected information through their broader national network about various exemplary projects. The Hospitalier coordinators approached the project managers and the local conductors of these initiatives, discussed their experience and asked them to reflect on their plans. This also involved several field trips[10] with those local employees (playhouse workers, youth representative) who were already working in the Hospitalier institutions in Kislapos and most likely will be employed in the new service centre, in order to learn from the experience of existing projects. Last but not least, the organisation contacted those actors – mayors, teachers, social workers, doctors, police – who work with youth-related issues, with whom they discussed the ways the new project can connect to other initiatives/institutions/services and its possible sustainability after the two years of funding.

Accessing the diversity of ideas, networks and other resources on these different locations and scales would have been beyond the practical capacities of the local officials and often prevented by colliding interests between mayors and other local actors. At the same time, this offered the Hospitalier a much higher level of agency than the latter could obtain, which greatly determined the outcomes of the initial negotiations and the materialisation of the project. Of course, the mayor also has contacts to the relevant persons in the ministry and micro-regional development agency. Furthermore, some of the local officials, especially because they are not from the village, have contacts to other social service providers in the area. However, their capacities to use these contacts and relations are often much more limited – partly due to their everyday work engagements. As the head of the LHH programme quite pointedly put it:

> You just need to look at the contacts in the mobile of your mayor and then the ones in my phone or the ones in the Hospitalier for that matter – it says it all. [You can see] [t]he differences between my sphere of action and his. If you can calculate and put it in financial terms how much his relations worth and the way he can actually utilise them in comparison to mine, then you can see the difference.

---

[10]To the *tanoda* in Bátorterenye and the youth club in Salgótarján.

The non-governmental nature of the organisation furthermore means that the Hospitaliers are differently embedded in the locality. Their particular position makes them accountable to the local inhabitants in a very different way than the mayor, who needs to sustain the support of the electorate, local officials and various local groups. In this sense, the organisation is not necessarily dependent on the acceptance or support of the local inhabitants, who also expect different things from them than from the mayor. The mayor, along with other office employees, explained that they are approached with people's everyday difficulties including lack of food, money or heating wood on a daily basis. Whilst the Hospitalier social worker also has to deal with these everyday matters, the two project coordinators have no such responsibilities or involvement in the local setting. Whereas the organisation can, if it chooses, turn away from such matters, the local officials cannot if they want to continue working and often living in the village.

This position makes it possible for the project coordinators to be locally involved, know about the local issues and have strong contacts to local officials, social workers and employees of their projects, and yet not get entangled in the everyday practical concerns of the local inhabitants. Moreover, such work is not part of their proposed project, which is aimed at the 'correction of broader social disadvantages' in their words and not the everyday treatment of their consequences.

The scale hopping allows partial spatial dislocation from the village, but this ability of project staff to remove themselves from the everyday immediate concerns of the village further reveals the differing temporal dimension too, namely, that they work according to a very different time frame than the local officials. Whilst mayors or other local actors live and/or work in the village long-term and, therefore, would have difficulties to restrict their involvement in local matters, the involvement of the project managers and coordinators with the locality is restricted to the timeframe of single projects. Grants can vary between only a few months as in the case of training projects, to several years as is this case with different service provision grants. However, grants rarely last beyond one or two years. As such, in cases where projects address 'broader social disadvantages', the results, if any, would not become apparent for many years, and often once the organisation is no longer present.

The relatively short cycles also mean that the Hospitalier staff depends on newer and newer projects in order to finance salaries but also in order to stay involved with the development of the settlement. In comparison, the mayors' time frames are related to the election cycles, which entail four-year intervals. During this, they have to ensure the continuous support of the majority of local inhabitants, satisfy at least to a minimum level everyday responsibilities and running of the local government and fulfil some expectations of their electorate. These expectations might not always lay in bringing about development projects, and the various local groups might be in favour of different development attempts. Moreover, the mayors' election cycle and the development project cycles often run on different clocks resulting in projects that straddle different mayors (with different views on the project) or mayors that take credit/blame for projects on which sometimes they had little influence. Thus, it can be more difficult for a locally more embedded official to balance within the local webs of interests and expectations than for the 'project class' members,

who are instead accountable to officials or agencies at the national and EU scale. In most cases, they are not controlled on a daily basis, but rather through intermediary/final accounting, project documentation and occasional monitoring.

This collision of temporal ordering has crucial effects for the longevity of the services that are provided within the frames of projects. In Kislapos, the organisation and the mayor have immense concerns about the fate of the new service centre after the two-year grant ends. This brings up one final point: sustainability. The organisation initiated various meetings with different local and micro-regional actors and institutions, in order to discuss the possibilities of sustaining its three large service-oriented projects in the micro-region after the two-year grant. However, it appeared that despite of the good intensions and stated aims of the organisers, these discussions did not succeed. Csenge and Szabolcs, the two Hospitalier coordinators, were highly disappointed after the two meetings I also participated in, complaining about the ignorance and lack of participation on the part of local/micro-regional actors.

Yet, I think that part of the problem lay in the fact that in these forums equal standing was not given to the local actors, in spite of the best intensions of the organisation's representatives. The local actors were only provided with the opportunity to join the already developed idea, which was comprehensively explained at the beginning of the meeting as a ready-made concept. Thus, the local officials, teachers and nurses could only address the ways in which they could connect to the developed project plan, rather than being active participants influencing the directions of its realisation. This was further enhanced by the reactions of the Hospitalier staff to complaints that other local needs were not addressed in the project. These local concerns were discarded under the already established project elements, rather than used to critically access or modify the existing plans. Thus, the participants felt – as some of them later told me – that they could not really relate to the sustainability of the project, which does not require them as active participants and coordinators, but at best as employees working on already established concepts.

The organisation, despite raising doubts about the longevity of the project, endeavoured to bring about its materialisation. They are aware that the local government does not have the resources to maintain the running of the service centre but hope to, as happened with previous projects, prolong the project through further grants. This momentum, however, is important not simply for the ill-matching discourse and practice of the organisation, which are often emphasised in development studies (see Escobar 1995; Esteva 1992; Ferguson 1990; Li 2007).

More importantly, it underlines another crucial characteristic of the 'project class', namely, that sustainability is necessarily a contradiction for this group. Whilst it is often promoted and is one of the most popular notions in project circles, there is in fact a conflict of interest in making projects locally sustainable, because it would then close off the 'project class' from their main means of living and debar them from the professional legitimacy that grants it. As Imi, the deputy head of the Hospitalier programme in Kislapos, phrased it quite tellingly after their 'homeless village' project ended in the village, 'no, there is no end to it. We have to keep running these institutions in the village, so we stay…. And anyway what would they do without us?!'. Thus, the short-termism of existing projects

often serves as a reason for the project management to apply for newer grants that would ensure the projects continuation; hence, establishing the basis for members of the 'project class' continued involvement in the village. The instability that the projectification of development creates for rural inhabitants, therefore, further enhances the rescaling insecurities.

6.5   Creating 'Ruralities'

The case of how the LHH project unfolded in Kislapos highlights some important characteristics of the present rural and regional development frames in Hungary. The projectification of redistribution (of development resources) has given way to the rise of a new group of elites that could be considered a kind of 'project class', which has utmost importance for the material and discursive outcome of projects in different settings. However, due to their specific position – namely, their professional knowledge or expertise of working full-time with projects –, they hold important power over the distribution of massive resources that both determine rural/regional development and provide themselves with paid jobs. Part of their peculiar position that grants them both legitimacy and influence over certain modes of redistribution is that they have the possibility and ability to move easily between scales. This enables them to access knowledge, networks, ideas and other resources that are indispensable for the success of projects in these highly competitive structures. This often grants them not only legitimacy but also a possibility to get involved in local development initiatives, as scale movement is hardly in the capacity of most local officials or inhabitants in remote rural places with little assets. This, therefore, gives them a possibility to act as transmitters between local actors/efforts and the broader channels of redistribution.

Yet, the case also underlines that these new project-related development actors are significant not only for their position to influence presently dominant redistribution channels but also because their local practices have important effects on rural areas and their future trajectories. Whilst frequently they do not live in the locality, the way they conceptualise local disadvantages can strongly determine the developmental outcome of local projects. The Hospitaliers in Kislapos had a crucially different conception about the local disadvantages and the way they should be overcome than the mayor and other local officials. Unquestionably, their views were partly influenced by their differentiated local embeddedness (within local webs of relations and interests), differences in accountability to the local population and divergent interests. But it also originated from very different understandings of rural problems or disadvantages in general and the way they should be addressed.

Whereas the example draws on the Hungarian experience, it has broader relevance as projectification has resulted in the diversity of development actors and views in many EU member states. Thus, the empirically informed analysis of the position of this new 'project class', their interaction with and influence on rural trajectories is of utmost importance, especially because in the last 20 years,

the present situation and the future trajectories of rural areas have constituted major concerns for both the academic and professional circles (e.g. Borsos et al. 1999; Csite 1998; Koós and Virág 2010; Kovács 2008; Szörényi 2010; Váradi 2008). Much of this discussion concerned itself with the different ways villages attempt to regain their former roles (through tourism, alternative activities, regeneration of agriculture), stop their declining population (by turning into residential districts of urban development nodes, tourist zones or '1 forint estates' (Szőke 2007)), engage in infrastructural or soft human development projects and to be saved from diminishment. Others, in contrast, pointed it out that urbanisation and consequent decrease of rural population is a natural process and has been long part of industrialisation in all parts of the world (see Enyedi 1980; Szelényi 1981).

However, to put it bluntly, what eventually it comes down to is that a large number of people – ranging from academics, Ph.D. students, development agents, complex EU schemes – tell rural inhabitants how to live their life and 'save their place'. This may be rooted in good intentions and often involves immense personal efforts and close personal engagement, but they hardly ever acknowledge that, in the end, often what rural inhabitants want is to be able to make the same claims on the communal 'goods' that are enjoyed by the rest of the country: that is, not to have their seven-year-old child taking the only existing bus at 5 a.m. and waiting two hours outside the school before it starts, not paying twice what urban dwellers pay for bread in the local shop whilst selling their produce for a sixth of the price that it is sold for on the shop shelves, to be able to walk to the post office or doctor even if it is snowing or raining, not having to wake up 4 a.m. and travel three–four hours each day if they want to have a job and to be able to offer a good education to their children so that they have better options in life than their parents – simply put, to enjoy access to the same possibilities and services as other citizens of the country. Yet, these are often not the objectives of top-down development projects.

References

Bódi, F. (2008). Forrásallokáció és fejlettség [Resource allocation and development]. In F. Bódi (Ed.), *A helyi szociális ellátórendszer. Tanulmánygyűjtemény* [The local social service system. Collected studies] (pp. 257–279). Budapest: MTA Politikai Tudományok Intézete.

Borsos, E., Csite, A., & Letenyei, L. (Eds.). (1999). *Rendszerváltozás után. Falusi Sorsforduló a Kárpát-medencében* [After the system change. Changing fate of villages in the Carpathian Basin]. Budapest: Számalk Kiadó.

Cooper, F., & Packard, R. (1997). Introduction. In F. Cooper & R. Packard (Eds.), *International development and the social sciences: Essays on the history and politics of knowledge* (pp. 1–41). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Csite, A. (1998). Constructing the miserable countryside (Hungary in the 1990s). In L. Granberg & I. Kovách (Eds.), *Actors on the changing European countryside* (pp. 231–256). Budapest: Institute for Political Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Enyedi, G. (1980). *Falvaink Sorsa* [The fate of our villages]. Budapest: Magvető.

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the third world*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Esteva, G. (1992). Development. In W. Sachs (Ed.), *The development dictionary: A guide to knowledge as power* (pp. 6–25). London/New York: Zed Books.

Ferguson, J. (1990). *The anti-politics machine: Development, depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gould, J. (2004). Positionality and scale. Methodological issues in the ethnography of aid. In J. Gould & H. Marcussen (Eds.), *Ethnographies of aid: Exploring development texts and encounters* (IDS Occasional Papers 24) (pp. 263–290). Roskilde: University of Roskilde.

Koós, B., & Virág, T. (2010). Fel is út, le is út: Községeink sorsa a rendszerváltás után [The way up and down: The fate of our villages after the system change]. In G. Barta, P. Beluszky, Z. Földi, & K. Kovács (Eds.), *A területi kutatások csomópontjai* [The nodes of regional research] (pp. 32–54). Pécs: MTA Regionális Kutatás Központja.

Kothari, U. (2005). Authority and expertise: The professionalisation of international development and the ordering of dissent. *Antipode, 37*, 425–446.

Kovách, I., & Kucerova, E. (2006). The project class in central Europe: The Czech and Hungarian cases. *Sociologia Ruralis, 46*, 3–21.

Kovách, I., & Kucerova, E. (2009). The social context of project proliferation – The Rise of a project class. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning, 11*, 203–221.

Kovács, K. (2008). Kistelepülések lépéskényszerben [Small settlements under pressure]. In M. Mária Váradi (Ed.), *Kistelepülésel Lépéskényszerben* (pp. 7–29). Budapest: Új Mandátum.

Kovács, K., & Somlyódyné, P. E. (Eds.). (2008). *Függőben. Közszolgáltatás-szervezés a kistelepülések világában* [In dependence. Public service delivery in small settlements]. Budapest: KSzK ROP 3.1.1. Programigazgatóság.

Leys, C. (2004). The rise and fall of development theory. In M. Edelman & A. Haugerud (Eds.), *The anthropology of development and globalization: From classical political economy to contemporary neoliberalism* (pp. 109–125). Malden: Blackwell.

Li, T. (2007). *The will to improve. Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Long, N. (2001). *Development sociology: Actor perspective*. London: Routledge.

Mitchell, T. (1991). The object of development: America's Egypt. In J. Crush (Ed.), *Power of development* (pp. 129–157). London/New York: Routledge.

Parpart, J. (1995). Deconstructing the development 'expert'. In M. Marchand & J. Parpart (Eds.), *Feminism, postmodernism and development* (pp. 221–242). London: Routledge.

Scott, J. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sivaramakrishnan, K., & Agrawal, A. (2003). Regional modernities in stories and practices of development. In K. Sivaramakrishnan & A. Agrawal (Eds.), *Regional modernities: The cultural politics of development in India* (pp. 1–63). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Szelényi, I. (1981). Urban development and regional management in eastern Europe. *Theory and Society, 10*, 169–205.

Szőke, A. (2007). *The rural miracle? – The '1 Forint Estate Projects' and local struggles with population decline and economic deterioration in the Hungarian Countryside*. Migrationonline. http://www.migrationonline.cz/e-library/?x=1972500. Accessed 5 Apr 2007.

Szörényi, I. (2010). Új funkciók a vidéki térben: sikeres vidék, de hol? (New Functions in Rural Spaces: Successful countryside, but where?). In G. Barta, P. Beluszky, Z. Földi, & K. Kovács (Eds.), *A Területi Kutatások Csomópontjai* [The nodes of regional research] (pp. 72–89). Pécs: MTA Regionális Kutatás Központja.

Tovey, H. (2008). Introduction: Rural sustainable development in the knowledge society era. *Sociologia Ruralis, 48*, 185–199.

Tsing, A. (2005). *Friction: An ethnography of global connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Váradi, M. (Ed.). (2008). *Kistelepülésel lépéskényszerben* [Small settlements under pressure]. Budapest: Új Mandátum.

Wedel, J. (1998). *Collision and collusion. The strange case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe 1989–1998*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Wiber, M., & Turner, B. (2010). *Moral talk. The ontological politics of sustainable development* (Working Paper No. 123). Halle Saale: Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

Part II
Consuming and Representing the Rural

Chapter 7
The Pastoral Ideal in Portugal: From Literature to Touristic Practices

Luís Silva

7.1   Introduction

In *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, Leo Marx describes pastoralism as 'a symbolic motion away from centres of civilisation toward their opposite, nature, away from sophistication toward simplicity, or, to introduce the cardinal metaphor of the literary mode, away from the city toward the country' (Marx 1964: 9–10). To explain why the pastoral ideal remains a significant force of American culture, Marx distinguishes two forms of pastoralism – the 'imaginative and complex', and the 'popular and sentimental'. While the former is characteristic of fictional literature, the latter 'is an expression less of thought than of feeling', 'insinuating itself in many kinds of behaviour', of which the 'flight from the city' is an 'obvious example' (Marx op. cit.: 5).

My purpose is to shed light on the international dimension of these two forms of pastoralism while describing and examining the case of Portugal. In the process, the persistence of the pastoral ideal in Portuguese culture will be unveiled. The analysis of fictional literature of the nineteenth century, representing an 'imaginative' form of pastoralism, will be followed by the study of demand for *Turismo no Espaço Rural* (*TER*, Tourism in Rural Areas), representing a 'sentimental' one.

TER is the name officially accorded to a set of small-scale and family-based tourism businesses offering accommodation and additional entertainment in rural Portugal. Launched in 1986, and supported by Portuguese Government and European Community/Union funding (Silva 2009: 55–63), this is the most popular tourist accommodation sector in rural Portugal. In 2010, there were about 1,200 *TER* establishments providing more than 13,000 beds and an estimated total of 781,900 overnight stays (Turismo de Portugal 2011: 31–33). To better understand

L. Silva (✉)
Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA/Faculdade de Ciências
Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa), Lisbon, Portugal
e-mail: luis.silva98@gmail.com

the figures, it is convenient to mention that *TER* corresponds to about a third of the tourist accommodation facilities in Portugal, 3 % of beds and 1 % of estimated overnight stays (cf. Silva 2009: 67, 115; Turismo de Portugal 2011).

7.2 Study Methods

The work presented is grounded on research about *TER* in Portugal conducted between 2001 and 2006 at two levels of observation, national and local.[1] At the national level, a questionnaire survey (*Inquérito às unidades de Turismo em Espaço Rural*, IUTER 2001) was sent to the 626 *TER* establishments officially in existence in mainland Portugal in 2001, with a response rate of 24 %. The information was entered into a database and analyzed through the SPSS program. The sample is representative of the universe under analysis, notably as concerns the official classification of the units, their regional distribution and size (number of rooms and of beds). This was complemented by case studies developed in 30 units located in different parts of the country, particularly in the subregions of Minho (15), Beira Interior (nine) and Alto Alentejo (six). During the case studies, which were undertaken by three researchers, 30 interviews with owners and 47 interviews with tourists – 32 of which were with Portuguese persons, often couples – were conducted (and recorded). In addition, 10 registration books and three guest books were consulted.

At the local level, there was also long-term fieldwork carried out by this author in three rural villages, namely, Estorãos (Ponte de Lima, Minho subregion, Northern region), Sortelha (Sabugal, Beira Interior subregion, Central region) and Monsaraz (Reguengos de Monsaraz, Alto Alentejo subregion, Alentejo region). These villages were selected for two main reasons: for being small rural villages and for having a considerable number of *TER* establishments. The six *lugares* (hamlets) studied in Estorãos are inhabited by 181 people and host six establishments; Sortelha has 256 inhabitants and 10 establishments; and Monsaraz has 120 residents and seven establishments, plus seven tourist accommodation units of a different type. The main methods of data collection were ethnographic observation and semi-structured interviews with owners, residents and tourists, as well as analysis of guest books. In total, seven owners were interviewed in these localities, where 48 interviews with tourists (33 of which were with Portuguese persons) were also conducted. Of the 48 interviews with tourists, often with couples, 30 were recorded and notes were taken with the remaining ones. All of the recorded interviews with owners and tourists were transcribed and subject to content analysis. In addition, eight guest books were consulted.

7.3 'Imaginative' Pastoralism

Pastoralism is a Western literary tradition that reaches back to previous centuries. Although maintaining the celebration of rural life as opposed to urban life, pastoralism has changed in the course of history. In this regard, Raymond Williams notes:

> Yet "pastoral", with its once precise meaning, was undergoing in the same period [late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries] an extraordinary transformation. Its most serious element was a renewed intensity of attention to natural beauty, but this is now the nature of observation, of the scientist or the tourist, rather than of the working countryman. (Williams 1973: 20; quotation marks in original)

Pastoral modes of existence were abundantly celebrated by Portuguese novelists and writers in the nineteenth century, most of which had been born and lived in the city. The book by Júlio Dinis (1839–1871) *A Morgadinha dos Canaviais* (the young heiress of Canaviais) (1952 [1868]) is a striking example. In it, continuing a literary genre, to a certain extent, initiated in the country by Almeida Garrett (1799–1854) with *Viagens na Minha Terra* (travels in my homeland) (1846), Júlio Dinis, in the form of tales of villages, develops his preferred thesis: the regenerative effect of rustic life upon an individual morally depressed by city life. The main character of the book, Henrique de Souselas, a rich man having an idle life in Lisbon, beginning to feel the consequences of satiety and boredom, ill with melancholia, is advised by doctors to seek relief in the countryside. The healthful purity of the countryside atmosphere, the sedative comfort of his aunt's home in a Minho village and the social relations developed there lead him to forget the imaginary evils from which he suffered and the sinful temptations of the capital city.

A Cidade e as Serras (The City and the Mountains) (2009 [1901]), a novel written in the third and last creative phase of Eça de Queirós (1845–1900), is another striking example. Published the year after his death, in this novel Eça de Queirós celebrates the rural life and its values by describing the countryside as a suitable environment for the renewal and achievement of happiness and the city as an unpleasant environment, where it is not possible to pursue a fully human life. The references to Virgil (70–19 BC), especially the *Eclogues* (42–39) and the *Georgics* (39–29), are part of the narrative. Jacinto de Tormes is the main character used by the author to build the critique of civilisation and technological progress and to celebrate its opposites, nature and simplicity. The son of a bourgeois Portuguese family living in France, Jacinto de Tormes, feeling bored by his Parisian life, though surrounded by comfort and all sorts of technical innovations, moves towards his rural estate property in the village of Tormes in the Northern region of Portugal, where he finds balance and happiness, notwithstanding the disappointment resulting from the poverty of the peasants.

Similar narratives and characters are also present in the so-called rustic tales, a literary form much in vogue in Portuguese and Western fiction during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Characterised by compassionate feelings for the more humble rural dwellers, rustic tales show some realistic tendency, mitigated by a strong romantic sensitivity and an idealisation of peasant life, whose

misery is concealed. In Portuguese literature, some examples can be found in *O Pároco da Aldeia* (the priest of the village, 1844) by Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877), *Noites de Insónia* (nights of insomnia, 1875) by Camilo Castelo Branco (1825–1890), *Os Meus Amores: Contos e Baladas* (my loves: tales and ballads, 1871) by José Trindade Coelho (1861–1908), *Serões na Província* (evenings in the province, 1870) by Júlio Dinis, *Os Contos do Tio Joaquim* (tales of uncle Joaquim, 1861) by Rodrigo Paganino (1835–1863), *Contos* (tales, 1874) and *Serões de Inverno* (winter evenings, 1880) by Pedro Ivo (1842–1906), as well as *Comédia do Campo* (comedy of the countryside) and *Comédia Burguesa* (bourgeois comedy) series by Francisco Teixeira de Queirós (1848–1919).

Although emerging in the context of an 'imaginative and complex' form of pastoralism, following Marx's (1964) theoretical formulation, many of these fictional characters evidence a 'sentimental and popular' form of pastoralism. This is particularly the case of Júlio Dinis's character Henrique de Souselas who leaves the city in search of an invigorating experience in the countryside. As will be shown in this contribution, this quest is precisely what best characterises the current demand for *TER* in Portugal.

7.4 'Sentimental' Pastoralism

7.4.1 Appropriation

The use of the countryside for tourism and leisure purposes by Portuguese city dwellers was for a long time a privilege of the upper-class, or of a certain rural nobility living in the city who sometimes visited their own real estate properties, of which the characters Henrique de Souselas and Jacinto de Tormes are two good examples. Davydd Greenwood (1976: 130) points out that '[t]he twentieth century has seen an abrupt collapse of the upper-class monopoly over tourism and the rise of an active middle-class involvement in it'. In Portugal, the middle-class had a significant growth between 1960 and 1973 (Barreto 1996: 37), strengthened after the end of Salazar's dictatorship in 1974 (cf. Almeida et al. 1994) and further still after Portugal joined the European Economic Community (later developed into the European Union) in 1986.

Since the late twentieth century, for factors such as the urbanisation of Portuguese society and culture, the 'democratisation' of travel (Urry 2002: 16) and the emergence of 'tourism alternatives' (Smith and Eadington 1992), the countryside has become one of the preferred places for a significant number of people to go on holidays or short-breaks. For example, in 2000, 29 % of the national population who spent holidays out of their regular home went to the countryside (Direcção Geral do Turismo 2001: 76), although in 2006 that figure fell down to 12 % (Turismo de Portugal 2007: 36). Moreover, the demand for *TER* increased significantly among the Portuguese in recent years.

The Portuguese share about 50 % of estimated overnight stays in *TER* since 2005, while previously foreigners – mainly from Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom and France – tended to outnumber nationals. The case of Portugal is, in this respect, different from that of countries such as France, or Italy, where nationals represent more than 70 % of the demand for rural tourism accommodations (Moinet 2000; D'Amore 1988: 8). This is due to two main factors: the strong appeal of coastal beaches to Portuguese people (cf. Turismo de Portugal 2007: 36) and the bonds that many city dwellers – which account for about 40 % of the resident population (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2004) – maintain with the countryside. Many urban Portuguese visit the countryside several times throughout the year to be with family and friends, staying in family homes or second homes instead of using tourist accommodations. Often they are the children of ex-rural dwellers that have settled in the city in the last four or five decades.

The argument put forward in this chapter is that *TER* reflects and facilitates the middle-class appropriation of and active involvement in a practice associated with a 'sentimental and popular' form of pastoralism. It does so by providing an affordable, 'traditional' rural dwelling to urbanites who do not have a second home or a family home in the countryside. Single or double room rates per night range between 50 and 120 euros. *TER* was created in the mid-1980s to increase rural tourism in Portugal through a high-quality accommodation service provided in a family environment, regulated by successive legislation (see Silva 2009: 49–55), but arguably in ways that are consistent with the pastoral ideal.

As shown elsewhere (Silva 2009: 69–79), taking into consideration the characteristics of the buildings, their furniture and interior decoration in general, *TER* provides two forms of rural dwelling – a noble and a peasant one. The noble corresponds to accommodation services provided in manor houses, residential houses with recognised architectural value or upper-class villas furnished and decorated with antiques and exquisite objects, such as crystal tableware and silverware, tapestries, paintings, coats of arms, family portraits and rooms with furniture characteristic of the eighteenth century in Portugal, especially beds in *Dom José*, *Dom João V* and *Dona Maria* styles, obtained through family inheritances or purchased at antique shops.

The peasant is the most common (and cheapest) form and corresponds to accommodation services provided in rustic houses or rustic outbuildings on a farm furnished and decorated with artisanal and vernacular objects, such as iron pots, handicrafts, ceramics, paintings with bucolic themes, farming tools, and rooms with stone floors, rustic iron beds and cupboards on the walls, some of which are purchased at thrift shops and arts and crafts shops. Often the buildings have visible stonework in the façades and interior walls, except in the Alentejo region, where they are whitewashed or white painted. The existence of a fireplace is a popular selection criterion to a number of people, especially during winter (Silva 2009: 69–79).

According to the owners, many of which were born or lived in the city for some time, the purpose of the furniture and decoration in general is to represent the 'old ways of life' and objects of each specific kind of house, defined by its

architecture and previous function, while keeping authenticity combined with modern comfort:

> This house is 300 years old, and we try to use pieces representing each era of the house. For example, at the top of the ladder on the ground floor, we have a cabinet characteristic of the seventeenth century. We have also, in a room, a piece characteristic of the early nineteenth century. Most beds are in *Dona Maria* and *Dom José* styles… (woman, 30 years old, manor house owner, interviewed in the Central region)[2]

> We try always to convey the past through all furniture, what existed before. Each room has different furniture, with a different style. We always try and put things from the past here, keeping the stonework visible. That is why we chose this rustic furniture (man, 44 years old, rustic house owner, interviewed in the Central region).

Of course, both forms of *TER* accommodation are idealised and sanitised versions of traditional rural architecture and dwelling. For example, the peasant form is clearly a cultural representation of the houses of better-off peasants, since for the most destitute ones, as José Sobral (1999: 77) notes about a rural parish in the Central region, 'when they had a house, this had little and poor furniture: a bed, a chair or table, clothes'. Besides, mainly when they are located on a farm, which is often the case, both forms provide a sanitised version of farming itself, using farming tools as interior decoration objects, while offering all modern comfort and conveniences (e.g. electricity, central heating, TV, large bathroom spaces, swimming pools).

However, the way tourists perceive the inner and outer space of buildings is commonly consistent with the purposes of the owners. As written in the guest book of a manor house located in the Northern region, '[t]he house is very well restored, retaining all traces of an old manor house and the necessary comfort of modern life'. Likewise, a 36-year-old man stated in an interview at a rustic house in the same region, that 'during childhood [he] had the opportunity to live in village houses in the Upper Douro region and this is the memory of the experience of a village house'.

7.4.2   *Touristic Perceptions and Experiences of the Countryside*

Tourists staying in *TER* are not a homogeneous group. Nevertheless, a dominant profile can be drawn: the average *TER* user is a city dweller, relatively young (between 31 and 45 years old), has high education levels and a managerial or scientific occupation (Silva 2007: 143–144, 2009: 116–117). In fact, they are in various ways similar to the 'typical rural tourist', as described by Richard Sharpley and Julia Sharpley (1997: 58), that is, 'younger, more affluent, in professional or managerial employment [and] a car owner'. The difference is that, in Portugal, those tourists are *not* 'living in or near the countryside'; rather, they are living in or

---

[2] All materials in other languages were translated by the author.

nearby major cities in Portugal (mainly greater Lisbon and greater Oporto) and other developed countries.

What impels them to travel to the countryside? According to this research, the pastoral ideal is the driving force. Much like the above-mentioned fictional character Henrique de Souselas, tourists actually move away from the city toward the countryside in search of an invigorating experience, or, to introduce a recurring metaphor in the tourists' discourses, to 'recharge batteries'. Reporting the reasons for choosing the actual rural destination where tourists were interviewed, the statements that follow illustrate the point:

> We come to the North frequently, and we thought it would be fine to spend a few days here. We decided to come to the countryside, the green, the horses… to escape from the bustle of the city and watch a beautiful landscape (couple, 38 and 30 years old, interviewed in the Northern region)

> When a person living in a big city like Oporto wishes to, or has the time to escape, that person chooses places like this: places protected from the daily frantic stress… cars, planes, traffic jams; places where one does not hear anything like that; places where the only heard sound is the chirping of birds. It works very well for us, because we release some of that daily life stress, and maybe this makes us think of other things that otherwise we would have no time to think about (couple, 29 and 28 years old, interviewed in the Alentejo region).

In the process, much like in the pastoral literature, the countryside is construed and described in positive terms regarding its urban counterpart, as the antithesis of the city from where tourists want to escape. Landscape, social relations and authenticity are three key elements used by tourists to build an idyllic image of the rural. Regarding landscape, it is important to note that the one described by and celebrated in the tourists' discourses, as in the fictional literature, does not correspond to a wild landscape, where human activity is less conspicuous, or to a fully humanised landscape, where the civilisation marks are more pronounced; instead, it corresponds to a 'middle landscape', as proposed by Yi-Fu Tuan (1974: 109), that is, 'the ideal middle world of man poised between the polarities of city and wilderness'. In Marx's (1964: 63) terms, '[t]his paradise is a product of history in a future partly designed by men'.

Returning to *A Morgadinha dos Canaviais*, the book by Júlio Dinis, the landscape that dazzled Henrique de Souselas when he awoke in the home of his aunt Doroteia includes 'carts', 'orchards', 'rustic houses', 'some palace-like houses', 'croplands', 'threshing-floors' and traditional technological devices such as 'windmills' and 'watermills' (Dinis 1952 [1868]: 48–52). These are the main elements used by the character to build an image of an idyllic Minho's village. In the case of tourists, likewise, the described landscape is a product of 'co-production of man and nature' (van der Ploeg 1997: 42) that comprises 'farmland', 'forest patches', 'water courses', 'nature' and 'villages':

> In the midst of an immense beauty, whether of original nature or that resulting from man's work, we found here the sympathy and comfort of those who welcomed us to the warmth of the fireplace making us feel at home (guest book, establishment located in Sortelha, Central region)

> The harshness of the mountain landscape, the lush green vegetation covering the numerous valleys with typical isolated villages, as well as the excellent cuisine, make this region a must-visit site (guest book, establishment located in the Central region).

In both forms of pastoralism, architecture is a recurring element in the landscape – not only upper-class architecture but also, and especially, lower-class architecture.[3] In Portugal, as in other Western and non-Western countries (e.g. Ehrentraut 1993; Rautenberg 2003), there has been renewed interest in rural architecture in the last 30 years, in the context of a wider process of vernacular culture emblematisation closely associated with tourism (Silva 2011, 2012). *TER* is a striking example, for rustic houses and rustic outbuildings are the main type of accommodation offered to tourists, as noted above.

With respect to social relations, tourists mention that people in the countryside have more authentic relationships than those found in the city:

> The urban life is a saturated and addicted life. It seems to me that in the countryside even the relationship between people is more natural, more authentic (man, 30 years old, interviewed in Monsaraz, Southern region)

> The countryside is synonymous of systems that are not infected yet, more genuine interpersonal relations and more basic things. The city is the opposite; the person has to pretend… I think that the countryside is much purer (woman, 37 years old, interviewed in the Alentejo, Southern region).

The personalised, face-to-face nature of social relations in the countryside is part of the argument. 'People in the countryside know each other' is a recurring statement in the tourists' discourses. Ideas about social relations in the countryside are closely associated with the notion of community.

Modern understandings of community emerged in the nineteenth century in a context marked by industrialisation. Ferdinand Tönnies (1988 [1887]) used the terms *gemeinschaft* (often translated as *community*) and *gesellschaft* (often translated as *society*) to distinguish sets of social relations characterising pre-industrial and industrial societies, respectively. According to Tönnies, the forces of industrialisation jeopardise the stability created by intimate and rigid '*gemeinschaftliche* relations', which are normally associated with kinship or the church.

Tönnies's theoretical formulation has been appropriated and become axial in two ways (cf. Shucksmith et al. 2006: 3). On the one hand, it is used to describe social relations in urban and rural spaces. In this regard, unlike the city, the countryside is associated with an orderly, harmonious and secure social formation, characterised by mutual support and cooperation (cf. Rogers 1993, cit. in Ilbery 1998: 3). For Zygmund Bauman (1999 [1973]: 14), this corresponds to 'a philosophical reflection of a culturally uniform and socially close knit community' linked to an idea of culture that dates back to the eighteenth century. On the other hand, it underpins the assumption that 'where people live determines how they live' (Newby 1980, cit. in Shucksmith et al. 2006: 3), a reminiscence of geographical determinism (e.g. Ratzel

---

[3]See João Leal (2000), for details on the links between vernacular architecture, pastoral and counter-pastoral, and national identity in Portugal from 1870 to 1970.

2005 [1882]). The fact that most tourists under analysis in this research also consider rural people as more authentic than urban people is an example. In fact, the city is described as a spurious context that adversely affects the authentic self, or, in different words, 'existential authenticity' (Wang 1999), while the countryside is described as benefiting it. And this is precisely one of the reasons why many tourists flee from the city towards the countryside.

For Dean MacCannell (1999 [1976]: 3), the tourist is a modern pilgrim in search of authenticity elsewhere, 'in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles'. Many of our tourists give evidence to MacCannell's argument. In the words of a 49-year-old lady interviewed in the Central region,

> When one chooses to go to a place as quiet as this is in Portugal, it is because one needs some peace, tranquillity and genuine things and people, the ways of life, the decoration of the houses and the food.

And yet, this research has shown that tourists not only seek for authentic objects and social relations in the countryside but also for their authentic selves. This is consistent with Ning Wang's argument, according to which '[i]n a number of tourism types […], what tourists seek are their own authentic selves and intersubjective authenticity' (Wang 1999: 365–366). Here, for example, are two statements written in the guest books of houses located in different parts of Portugal:

> Many thanks to those who, with simplicity and genuine tradition, have created a Paradise on Earth in our Minho region, and put Miss G. as guardian. We will always return to the Promised Land in search of our innermost self (guest book, house located in Estorãos, Northern region)

> Today more than ever, it is urgent to create wonderful places like this, where everything is wonderful and subtle, for us to forget the bustle of big cities and find ourselves with ourselves (guest book, unit located in the Central region).

Social relations also function as pull factors to most tourists staying in *TER*. Elsewhere (Silva 2007: 149–152, 2009: 126–133), I have shown that *TER* is their chosen type of accommodation to stay in the rural 'paradise' for both spatial and relational reasons. In spatial terms, it functions in fully equipped houses or outbuildings viewed as representative of traditional rural architecture and dwelling, cosy and often located on a farm offering additional entertainment equipment or activities, especially swimming pools.[4] 'In *TER*, we feel almost like at home' is a recurring refrain in the tourists' discourses.

In relational terms, *TER* provides tourists personalised contact with local people in their own family environment. In their own words, 'in *TER* we are staying in the home of a local family'. But there is a difference. In the case of the peasant form of dwelling, tourists want to have an experience of living by the standards of the pastoral ideal from a popular perspective, involving rustic houses inhabited by middle-class rural dwellers. In the case of the noble form, instead, they want to contact with

---

[4] About three quarters of the houses pertaining to *TER* are located on farms, most of which also develop farming activities, and about a third of all the beds are located in outbuildings on a farm previously dedicated to agriculture (IUTER 2001).

the rural elites and experiment their lifestyles by staying in their historic houses[5] (Silva 2007: 149–152; 2009: 126–133). Despite resulting from the 'commoditization of hospitality' (Dann and Cohen 1991: 162), sometimes these encounters generate friendly relationships between hosts and guests (Smith 1978). As a tourist put in a guest book of a house located in the Northern region:

> All I can say is that I leave this house with great nostalgia for the building and kind and thoughtful people that made this stay of five days leave us recovered and strong enough to deal with the stress we experience in our daily life. And it's good to know that even in these times friends are made.

For tourists, *TER* also facilitates the development of close relationships with family and friends that are difficult, sometimes even impossible, to maintain in everyday city life (Silva 2007, 2009). Accordingly, our survey (IUTER 2001) has shown that 75 % of the demand for *TER* comes from families, 38 % of which with children, while groups of friends account for much of the remaining share (17 %).

While they are in the countryside, tourists spend time and, thereby, experiment the rural idyll in diverse ways, depending on the weather conditions, the entertainment activities available in *TER* establishments or nearby and their willingness at the moment: hiking, sightseeing, sleeping, dating, playing tennis, being near the swimming pool or talking next to the fireplace. The consumption of regional or local cuisine and products is usual, perhaps because, as Jacinthe Bessière (1998) points out, this is a form of appropriating history and tradition in terms of eating habits and of having extraordinary food experiences.

John Urry (2002) argues that tourists see objects in a special way. The 'tourist gaze' describes the visual consumption of signs or symbols considered extraordinary from a culturally specific point of view and, therefore, worthy of viewing; simultaneously, it implies the exclusion of what is not so regarded. The author distinguishes the 'romantic' form of the tourist gaze, 'in which the emphasis is upon solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze', from its 'collective' form, in which 'the presence of large numbers of other people' (Urry op. cit.: 43) is necessary.

In Urry's model, *TER* clients correspond to the romantic form of the tourist gaze. However, notwithstanding the importance of the gaze in the tourists' consumption of the rural (e.g. Woods 2005: 173), other senses besides vision are actively used, namely, taste, hearing, smell and tact (see also Abram 2003; Woods 2011: 92–129). The above-mentioned eating practice is an obvious example. Another one lies in the words of a 35-year-old lady interviewed in Estorãos: 'The countryside allows us to awaken senses that are asleep in the city of Oporto. Here we can look at the river and the scenery, to breathe healthful air, to hear the birds chirping and to experiment other smells'. This is also evident in the pastoral literature, of which the book

---

[5] According to the survey (IUTER 2001), 48 % of those houses were built between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries, 26 % in the nineteenth century and 26 % in the twentieth century, mainly until the 1980s (IUTER 2001).

A Morgadinha dos Canaviais by Júlio Dinis is a particularly striking example. In it, the described landscape originates, in the character Henrique de Souselas, an indomitable will to incorporate himself in it and absorb its sounds, textures and smells; it is, in short, an idyllic landscape that must be seen, touched and smelled (Dinis 1952 [1986]: 42).

However, the tourist experiences of living by the standards of pastoralism are short in time. In fact, the average stay in *TER* is brief: 52 % of tourists stay two nights, 33 % stay between two and four nights, and only 16 % stay longer than four nights (IUTER 2001). The Portuguese – who stay in *TER* more likely during short-breaks and festive periods (Carnival, Easter and New Year) – only stay longer than two nights in the summer holidays, mainly in August (see also Neves 2008: 24–26). Moreover, the great majority of tourists actually do not want and would not like to live in the countryside, for professional reasons but also due to the actual lack of services, facilities and employment, as well as anticipated boredom, although some do have the 'dream of a second home' (Bendix and Löfgren 2008: 12) there. Answering the question 'would you like to live in the countryside?', the statements that follow exemplify the case:

> I'm very urbanite. I couldn't live in the countryside; life is too calm here, and people and things stop much in time. I like the countryside to refuge myself, for the peace of mind, for the nature, so I can forget a working week. It is very nice to come here. Change my residence to the countryside? No way! (woman, 30 years old, interviewed in the Central region)

> I'm addicted to the city… The countryside is just to escape, to be honest. I could not live here, but I like to be here to forget everything (man, 27 years old, interviewed in the Alentejo region).

Chris van Koppen found similar results in his investigation of the conservation movement's views and representations of nature in the Netherlands. Not only is the celebration of Arcadian nature a creation of urban upper and middle classes but also 'few of these celebrators […] would seriously consider living by Arcadian standards for longer than a weekend or a holiday' (van Koppen 1997: 293–295).

7.5 Concluding Ideas

This contribution set out to highlight the persistence of the pastoral ideal in Portuguese culture. Theoretically, it has recourse to Marx's (1964) conception of pastoralism as a 'symbolic motion away from the city toward the country' that comprises both an imaginative and complex form and a popular and sentimental one. Empirically, the work is grounded on fictional literature analysis and long-term research about the most popular tourist accommodation sector in rural Portugal, *TER*.

This research has shown strong evidence that, in Portugal, the pastoral ideal has moved from literature to current touristic practices. The 'flight from the city' (in search of an invigorating experience in the countryside) which Marx associates with a popular and sentimental form of pastoralism is precisely what best characterises the practices of both fictional characters, such as Júlio Dinis's character Henrique de

Souselas, and tourists staying in *TER*. It is, thus, argued that *TER* reflects and, at the same time, facilitates the middle-class appropriation of and active involvement in a practice that until recent decades was a privilege of the upper-class, by providing affordable and quality 'traditional' rural dwelling to urbanites who do not have a second home or a family home in the countryside. *TER* provides two forms of rural dwelling, both constructed in an idealised and sanitised manner as representatives of traditional rural social habitats. While one is a cultural representation of the rural elite environment, set in manor houses and upper-class villas, the other represents the better-off peasant universe and is set in rustic houses or rustic outbuildings on a farm.

Overall, the countryside is construed and described in pastoral and idyllic ways as the antithesis of the city from where the tourists want to (temporarily) escape. Landscape, social relations and authenticity are three key elements used by tourists to build an idyllic image of the countryside. Of course, this rural idyll has an evident utopian dimension, concealing social and economic problems in rural areas, such as declining and ageing populations, poverty, lack of services and employment opportunities, drug addiction and even crime, as well as social conflicts and tensions (see Cloke 2003, for details on the dystopic character of rural areas).

As *TER* clients represent only a small part of the national population, the force of the pastoral ideal for Portuguese culture has yet to be thoughtfully researched. But the controversies about the visual intrusion of wind farms in landscapes perceived as pastoral in many parts of rural Portugal reveal the persistence of the pastoral ideal in other segments of the population.

References

Abram, S. (2003). The rural gaze. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 31–48). Essex: Pearson.

Almeida, J. F., Costa, A. F., & Machado, F. L. (1994). Recomposição socioprofissional e novos protagonismos. In A. Reis (Ed.), *Portugal, 20 anos de Democracia* (pp. 307–330). Lisbon: Temas e Debates.

Barreto, A. (1996). Três décadas de mudança social. In A. Barreto (Ed.), *A Situação Social em Portugal* (pp. 35–60). Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Bauman, Z. (1999 [1973]). *Culture as praxis*. London: Sage.

Bendix, R., & Löfgren, O. (2008). Double homes, double lives? *Ethnologia Europaea. Journal of European Ethnology, 37*(1–2), 7–15.

Bessière, J. (1998). Local development and heritage: Traditional food and cuisine as tourist attractions in rural areas. *Sociologia Ruralis, 38*(1), 21–34.

Cloke, P. (2003). Knowing ruralities? In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 1–13). Essex: Pearson.

D'Amore, L. (1988). *Le tourisme dans l'espace rural en Italie. I Congresso Internacional do Turismo no Espaço Rural*. Portugal: Viana do Castelo.

Dann, G., & Cohen, E. (1991). Sociology and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 18*, 155–169.

de Queirós, E. (2009 [1901]). *A Cidade e as Serras*. Lisbon: Dom Quixote.

Direcção Geral do Turismo (2001). *Férias dos Portugueses 2000*. Lisbon: DGT.

Dinis, J. (1952 [1868]). *A Morgadinha dos Canaviais*. Oporto: Livraria Figueirinhas.

Ehrentraut, A. (1993). Heritage authenticity and domestic tourism in Japan. *Annals of Tourism Research, 2*(2), 262–278.

Greenwood, D. (1976). Tourism as an agent of change. *Annals of Tourism Research, 3*(3), 128–142.

Ilbery, B. (1998). Dimensions of rural change. In B. Ilbery (Ed.), *The geography of rural change* (pp. 1–10). Harlow: Longman.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística (2004). *Atlas das Cidades de Portugal* (Vol. II). Lisbon: INE.

Leal, J. (2000). *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970): Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional*. Lisbon: Dom Quixote.

MacCannell, D. (1999 [1976]). *The tourist: A new theory of leisure class*. London: Macmillan.

Marx, L. (1964). *The machine in the garden: Technology and the pastoral ideal in the America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moinet, F. (2000). *Le tourism rural: Comment créer et gérer*. Paris: France Agricole.

Neves, A. (Ed.). (2008). *Estudo de Caracterização do Turismo no Espaço Rural e do Turismo de Natureza em Portugal*. Lisbon: Direcção Geral de Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural.

Ratzel, F. (2005 [1882]). *Anthropo-Geographie* (German Edition). Elibron Classics.

Rautenberg, M. (2003). *La rupture patrimoniale*. Paris: A la Croisée.

Sharpley, R., & Sharpley, J. (1997). *Rural tourism: An introduction*. Oxford: International Thomson Business Press.

Shucksmith, M., Cameron, S., & Merridew, T. (2006). *First European quality of life survey: Urban–rural differences. European foundation for the improving of living and working conditions*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Silva, L. (2007). A procura do Turismo em Espaço Rural. *Etnográfica, 11*(1), 141–163.

Silva, L. (2009). *Casas no Campo. Etnografia do Turismo Rural em Portugal*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Silva, L. (2011). Beneath the surface of the heritage enterprise. Governmentality and cultural representation of rural architecture in Portugal. *Ethnologia Europaea. Journal of European Ethnology, 41*(2), 39–53.

Silva, L. (2012). Built heritage-making and socioeconomic renewal in declining rural areas: Evidence from Portugal. *Etnográfica, 16*(3), 487–510.

Smith, V. (Ed.). (1978). *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Smith, V., & Eadington, W. (Eds.). (1992). *Tourism alternatives*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sobral, J. (1999). Da casa à nação: passado, memória, identidade. *Etnográfica, 3*(1), 71–86.

Tönnies, F. (1988 [1887]). *Community and society* [Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft]. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers

Turismo de Portugal (2007). *Férias dos Portugueses 2006*. Lisbon: TP.

Turismo de Portugal (2011). *Anuário das Estatísticas do Turismo 2010*. Lisbon: TP.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall.

Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

van der Ploeg, J. (1997). On rurality, rural development and rural sociology. In H. de Haan & N. Long (Eds.), *Images and realities of rural life, Wageningen perspectives on rural transformations* (pp. 39–76). Assen: Van Corcum.

van Koppen, C. (1997). Claims of culture. Social representations of nature and their consequences for agriculture. In H. de Hann & N. Long (Eds.), *Images and realities of rural life: Wageningen perspectives on rural transformations* (pp. 287–305). Assen: Van Corcum.

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research,
    26*(2), 349–370.
Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. London: The Hogarth Press.
Woods, M. (2005). *Rural geography: Processes, responses and experiences in rural restructuring*.
    London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage.
Woods, M. (2011). *Rural (Key ideas in geography)*. Oxon/New York: Routledge.

Chapter 8
Mediating Rurality, History and Exclusivity in *Pousadas de Portugal*

Marta Lalanda Prista

8.1   Introduction

Any approach to culturally motivated tourism must take into account the outcomes of the democratization of travel and the broadening of heritage attractions in tourism consumption as a practice of social distinction (e.g. Munt 1994). In line with such rationale, this chapter attempts to provide further insights on culturally motivated tourism as a practice consistent with social and cultural representations by examining the consumption of a particular kind of Portuguese tourist accommodation, designated as *Pousadas de Portugal*.[1] *Pousadas de Portugal* is a state-owned chain of hotels created in 1939 to host travelers in search of the nation's natural landscapes, rural traditions and historic heritage. Over the last seven decades, this network has been expanded, and by the end of 2010, there were 42 hotel units scattered all over the country. These reflect the changing meanings and uses of heritage in tourism, the last of which occurred with the leasing of the *Pousadas*' management to the private corporation Grupo Pestana Pousadas in 2003.

Primarily located in rural areas, mostly built within historic fabric and long associated with upper-class taste, *Pousadas* can be viewed as a catalog of modalities of representing and consuming rurality, history and exclusivity. They, therefore, bring together different concerns addressed by tourism studies (e.g. Richards 1996; Jacobsen 2000; Silva 2009) and engage with wider issues of space, social class and heritage examined by the social sciences (e.g. Tuan 1974; Bourdieu 1979; Lowenthal 1998). Through the lens of tourism, this chapter draws

---

[1] The approximate translation of *Pousadas de Portugal* is Inns of Portugal, but these are different categories and kinds of tourist accommodations in Portugal.

M.L. Prista (✉)
Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA/FCSH-UNL), Lisbon, Portugal
e-mail: martaprista@gmail.com

upon this literature in order to shed light on the role of different representations and experiences of heritage in the individual's strategies of self-differentiation and ego-enhancement. It is suggested that *Pousadas* are sought for cultural meanings, but fluctuations within cultural repertoires confirm the consumption of culture to be a learned skill related to social distinction strategies and updating (cf. Löfgren 1994).

This argument is grounded in my Ph.D. degree project (Prista 2011) – funded by the Portuguese Government through the FCT[2] – which focused on the meanings negotiated between the *Pousadas*' 'social production' and 'social construction' as defined by Low (1996): the ideological and technological features behind the creation of a material setting and its phenomenological and symbolic experience. The study comprised documental and bibliographical research; direct observation; two questionnaires, one to *Pousadas*' directors (80 % response rate) and another to its guests (73 responses); and 78 semi-structured interviews with the network's managers (7), architects (2), employees (8), guests (48), and local representatives of public and tourism services (13). Along with extensive research across the network, anthropological fieldwork was carried out during the high seasons of 2007, 2008, and 2009 in four *Pousadas* and villages considered to illustrate the distinct modalities of displaying the past within the network and the tourism industry: Óbidos, the first Pousada in a national monument (1950) located in a highly commoditized medieval village; Sagres, an example of the State's investment in a Portuguese architectural lexicon (1960) in the Algarve's tourism region; Arraiolos, the modern rehabilitation of a rural convent (1996) framed by national policies for regional development in the Alentejo; and Bouro, a postmodern construction of the ruins of a medieval monastery (1997) in a northern mountainous village with no other tourism attractions.

8.2 Looking Back at *Pousadas*

Although, in 2010, *Pousadas* represented only 2 % of national establishments and 1 % of national lodging capacity, this network is an exceptional category of Portuguese tourist accommodations, regulated by specific legislation since 1941, and one which has an occupancy rate that exceeds the national average of 39 % by five percentage points (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2011). The network encompasses a heterogeneous set of nationalist buildings, modernist architecture, national monuments, and modern heritage, mostly located in rural areas, with a few set in historic villages or urban spaces. This diversity is accounted for by the distinct ideological and technological frames of reference that have produced *Pousadas* over the last seven decades and justified its segmentation into four categories in 2003. Historic, Design, Charm and Nature *Pousadas* are, nowadays, subproducts that reveal different displays of culture, marketing policies and target audiences (Grupo Pestana Pousadas 2012).

One can, however, find a trend in the *Pousadas*' social production that stresses a shift from rurality to history in the exhibition of national heritage. Especially during the 1990s, *Pousadas* built in historic fabric outnumbered new constructions and started to register higher occupancy levels and more expensive rates.[3] This bias was later reinforced by private management, which sold several of the nationalist and modernist buildings due to unprofitable results. In fact, the number of *Pousadas* in 2010 was the result of the disposal of 15 of the 57 establishments inaugurated since 1942. Reconfiguration of the network explains why it is marketed as 'synonymous with quality accommodation', 'respecting the style and tradition of each region', and 'located in carefully restored monuments' (Grupo Pestana Pousadas 2012). But to further understand *Pousadas* as places of rurality, history and exclusivity, one needs to look back at the network's social production.

The first seven *Pousadas* were built in the 1940s by the Portuguese right-wing dictatorship, the *Estado Novo* (New State), within a wider process of 'cultural objectification' (Handler 1988). According to Handler, this comprised the self-conscious representation of the nation as a natural entity that is bounded in space and continuous in time and exhibits cultural heritage as proof of existence. It was in this sense that folk culture was officially contrived as the moral heritage of the Portuguese and *Pousadas* were designed to teach the Portuguese how to be Portuguese by accommodating middle-class travelers in search of the *nationscape*. Located in rural areas, *Pousadas* offered a view of rurality, traditional cuisine and local people's hospitality, with education on good taste being ensured by the *aestheticization* of folk culture through architectural and interior design. Although only two of these buildings are still operating, the first *Pousadas* rooted the network's concept in a sense of nationhood, recalling Löfgren's *checklist* by invoking a 'national folk culture, a national character or mentality, national values, perhaps even some national tastes and a national landscape' (1989: 9).

By the end of World War II, the *Estado Novo* was compelled to restrain its most fascist features. Intellectual elites acquired the space and power to defy official nationalism, instigating a 'cultural war' over the link between folk culture and national identity (Leal 2000). The second series of *Pousadas*, launched in 1954, illustrated such negotiations. Despite some buildings being in line with the initial orientations, such as the *Pousada de Sagres* (1960), others proposed modernist conceptions of space and tourism, and some were installed in historic monuments, following the experience of the *Pousada de Óbidos* (1950). National monuments were actually being restored since the early 1930s to endorse the State's authority over the national past and, thus, ensure its representation in present and future times (cf. Lowenthal 1998). In *Pousadas*, this meant the enlargement of the network's social and cultural values because the historic buildings exhibited the 'patina' that McCracken (1988) claims to be the proof of antiquity that validates the heritage holders' social status. A second category of *Pousadas* was thus created, no longer intended to nationalize middle-class taste but designed for the elites' leisure.

---

[3] This data was collected from the former management's internal archives. Data subsequent to 2003 is not available because it is considered sensitive information by the current private management.

When the Portuguese dictatorship was overthrown in 1974, 17 *Pousadas* had been added to the initial seven. The increasing preponderance of restored monuments suggests that history was overlapping folk culture in the State's narrative about the national past. This bias was reinforced by subsequent economic and social developments in Portugal. Improvements in transportation and labor regulation enabled the 'democratization' of travel that Urry (1990) argues is the basis of modern tourism. De-ruralization and desertification of the countryside led to economic and symbolic investments in rural tourism and heritage (Silva 2009). Responding to such reconfigurations, the national government created a public company to manage the *Pousadas* (*ENATUR*) and redefined it as a chain of hotels in historic buildings for quality guests interested in the nation's culture. Yet, the definition of heritage had been broadened in time and space and no longer stood exclusively for historic monuments (Lowenthal 1998). Thus, most of the 24 new *Pousadas* were designed by renowned Portuguese architects simultaneously referencing monumental history, rural tradition and modern art, as in the cases of the *Pousada de Arraiolos* (1996) and the *Pousada do Bouro* (1997).

Recently, the *Pousadas* underwent new transformations as a result of their management being leased to the private company Grupo Pestana. Improvements in existing units and nine new *Pousadas* recall de Groot's (2009) insights on contemporary popularization of history through the entertainment, media, and marketing sectors. Rural and folk culture are vanishing from cultural displays, as modernity and history are being favored in a social production of heritage that echoes history's reification in the representation of Portugal's national identity (cf. Sobral 2010). At the same time, facilities and menus reflect concerns with health and ecology issues, customized service is being professionalized, and competitive pricing policies and marketing strategies have broadened the network's clientele. To summarize, *Pousadas* now respond to postmodern tourism's demand for sensory experiences that recent literature has underlined as being crucial in the contemporary consumption of culture (e.g. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

8.3 Consumption of Rurality, History and Exclusivity in *Pousadas*

One of the first observations in this study of *Pousadas* was the striking similarity between marketing descriptions and guests' representations of the network, as sharply summarized by a 30-year-old Portuguese woman gazing at the village of Arraiolos from the *Pousada's* grounds:

> It has mainly to do with the buildings' historical atmosphere combined with its modern features. I think hotels are anonymous, places that could be in any place around the world. *Pousadas* are tied to a specific place, a specific space, a specific building. Even to the place's culture…. (my translation)

Looking into heritage tourism in Europe, Richards (1996) reasoned that tourism management and tourism consumption are interrelated expressions of the tourism

industry. Indeed, developments in the *Pousadas*' social production were matched by transformations in its demand. The 1990s did not merely highlight the network's increasing investment in historic heritage at a time that rural tourism was growing. It signified a shift in the motivation of the *Pousadas*' guests, manifested in occupancy rates of Historic units outstripping the overall average. Portuguese guests acquired a prominent role here. National tourism in *Pousadas* increased from 21 to 56 % between 1987 and 2008, while the country's average only rose three percentage points during the same period, stabilizing at 33 % (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2011).

These numbers may be explained in the Portuguese middle classes acquisition of economic capital after joining the European Community (1986) and reflect current pricing policies of Grupo Pestana. However, more importantly, they confirm the growing interest of tourists in culture-related practices in the last decades, which foresees an increasingly wide range of profiles of the *Pousadas*' guests. Indeed, 30 % of the 160[4] guests met in Óbidos, Arraiolos, Sagres and Bouro literally claimed to be cultural tourists. Not surprisingly, fieldwork showed the *Pousadas*' clients' socioeconomic profile to be congruent with the findings of other research (e.g. Richards 1996; Silva 2009). Likewise, the *Pousadas*' guests are mostly urban residents in their mid-1940s, two-thirds of whom have liberal and intellectual professions. They are both Portuguese and foreigners, the main countries of origin being the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, France and the United States of America, in order of significance. Around 80 % of these guests travel in couples, and slightly over half stay for one-three days, longer stays occurring when accompanied by children.

Nonetheless, there are differences among guests that can be accounted for by the different features of the *Pousadas*' categories. Design *Pousadas*, such as Arraiolos and Bouro, tend to be preferred by younger, educated Portuguese couples, while Historic Óbidos attracts more older, foreign, first-time guests. All three are installed in national monuments, but the latter was produced in reference to an unalterable past that leads guests to quote clichés such as 'to live in history', while Design *Pousadas* display history in modern terms and attend to tourists' more prosaic requirements (e.g. swimming pools). Deviation from the *Pousadas*' client profile is most notable in the Nature unit of Sagres. Here guests tend to stay longer than three nights and linger to indicate their economic or intellectual capital, yet they acknowledge that lower prices enable them to experience the *Pousadas*.

Coincidentally, Sagres was the only *Pousada* where tourists admitted to being on vacation. Generally, when talking about their journeys, most guests disregard *Pousadas* as a holiday destination. Journeys might be 'a break from everyday routine' to a middle-aged Portuguese woman spending a weekend in Arraiolos or a place of celebration to a recently wed couple longing for the 'romanticism of historic places' in the *Pousada de* Óbidos. One and all end up invoking the relation between the network's consumption and the individual need to enhance cultural knowledge or strengthen a sense of nationhood. A 30-year-old teacher of

---

[4]Data referring to the 160 guests includes results collected from questionnaire, interviews and informal conversations that took place in the four *Pousadas* during anthropological fieldwork.

Humanities, promenading in the grounds of the *Pousada de* Arraiolos, put it quite assertively:

> I think our society is growing increasingly globalized and we feel the need to sense what links us together as a nation, to feel a cultural identity. The Portuguese feel Portuguese, but also a bit uprooted and lost: almost in Europe, but not in Europe. I think it has to do with being Portuguese. The inherited *saudade* is a very strong legacy: the nostalgia, the melancholy, the need to go back and feel we are a nation again. (my translation)

Such reflection may seem to confirm Dann's (1977) argument that a decision to travel is driven by modern society's anomy and by individuals' longing for self-enhancement. The author advises against concentrating excessively on researching the features that attract tourists to specific destinations (pull factors) and draws the attention to their predisposition to travel (push factors). In the consumption of *Pousadas*, however, push and pull factors seem to intermingle, because the displays of culture that attract tourists to the network are the features that provide access to the cultural meanings and knowledge that lead them to leave home. Therefore, this chapter strives to examine the variations in the *Pousadas*' guests' representations and experiences of culture, in order to further understand what triggers their journeys. As interviews and fieldwork disclosed a consensual representation of the *Pousadas* through three spatial and symbolic dimensions, and following McKercher's (2002) methodological proposal for studying cultural tourism, the centrality of rurality, history and exclusivity in tourists' decisions to stay in *Pousadas* is examined in articulation with the depth of their experience in the places, buildings, and network of the *Pousadas*.

8.4   *Pousadas'* Places: Rurality and Authenticity

Most *Pousadas* are located in rural spaces. Either built to accommodate travelers in search of the *nationscape* or to encourage regional development, *Pousadas* were located in villages isolated from urban centers, with little or no tourism activity at the time of their openings. These places are looked upon as images of Portugal, confirming that the Portuguese rural lifestyle is still conceived of as a synonym of culture. They recollect Tuan's (1974) understanding of the 'middle landscape' as sites of nature and culture where wilderness and the man-made interact in the promise of tradition. To this author, sense of place is an affective bond that involves both sensorial perceptions and the social and cultural values of individuals. In portraying the locations of *Pousadas*, guests describe it in a rather caricatured way. For instance, finding analogies between the roughness of the ocean and cliffs, and the fishermen's 'hard lifestyle' or 'the arduous mission' of Portuguese navigators in Sagres, guests naturalize cultural features and humanize natural surroundings, linking a fundamental dichotomy they consider to be the sign of local authenticity (see Figs. 8.1 and 8.2).

Fig. 8.1 Inn of Sagres' esplanade (Photo by the author, 2009)

Fig. 8.2 Inn of Sagres' restaurant: a view over Sagres' fortress and promontory (Photo by the author, 2009)

As rurality symbolizes the nation's authenticity, *Pousadas*' guests' attitudes toward their locations differ little from those of other rural tourists in Portugal (e.g. Silva 2009). Like the latter, most *Pousadas*' guests engage in 'alternatives forms of tourism' defined to be 'consistent with natural, social, and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences' (Smith and Eadington 1992: 3). Guests expect to experience the authenticity of Portuguese traditions and, national tourists in particular, show a rather folklorist imaginary of culture that recalls the *Estado Novo* process of cultural objectification. A high school teacher watching her toddler in the *Pousada de* Arraiolos' playground showed how most guests endorse Löfgren's (1989) *checklist* of nationhood and assess the role of rurality in it while describing what motivates her incursions in the Alentejo:

> Mainly, to see craftworks and try local cuisine. We like to see the whitewashed houses, the similar architecture. My parents have always pointed out to me the ancestral features, the history, the traditions…. (my translation)

However, experiences of place are neither homogeneous nor homogenously perceived by *Pousadas*' guests, a reminder that authenticity is a modern, Western and negotiable construction that tells more about its quest than about its subjects (Cohen 1988). Guests may engage in random sightseeing, go to advertised tourist hotspots or stay within the *Pousada*s' perimeter, regardless of their socioeconomic features. Similar motivations can be fulfilled differently, just as similar experiences may result in different levels of satisfaction, all depending on the individual's understanding and attitudes toward the locally constructed authenticity.

It is important to notice that, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett stated regarding the heritage industry in general, *Pousadas* play 'a vital role in creating the sense of "hereness" necessary to convert a location into a destination' (1998: 7). Consequently, *Pousadas* became economic and symbolic capital in local political and tourism investments that put culture on display for recreational and cognitive consumption, ultimately leading to the establishment of 'cultural economies' (Dicks 2003). Yet, *Pousadas*' places present different stages of development and their perception by guests varies significantly. For instance, in the very touristic Óbidos, medieval history commoditization may either be depreciated for destroying local culture or be perceived as the place's genuine lifestyle (see Fig. 8.3). In direct contrast, at the foot of Peneda-Gerês National Park, Bouro offers no tourism attractions other than the *Pousada*, but the industry's shortcoming is both an omission and a guarantee of the place's authentic experience.

Generally, guests understand authenticity in opposition to the presence of modernity, confirming initial assumptions of commoditization as the packaging and selling of culture (Greenwood 1978). Most individuals feel that the *Pousadas*' places must display local culture in a naturalized way but are aware of the fluid boundaries between authenticity and its staging. Some guests, mostly art-related professionals, even recognize that contrived attractions do not necessarily lack meaning. Others, though not explicitly acknowledging it, seem to endorse what Cohen called the ethos of postmodern tourism, a playful search for 'aesthetic enjoyment

Fig. 8.3 Village of Óbidos: the main street where trading activity is concentrated (Photo by the author, 2007)

of surfaces, whatever their cognitive status may be' (Cohen 1995: 21). Authenticity is assumed to be a crucial motivation, but these guests feel the need to balance meaningful experiences with more trite and recreational practices, as explained by a couple of agronomists in their early 40s, looking for a break from the quotidian in the *Pousada de* Arraiolos:

> There is a dam, a fantastic road to the pier and then it has no way out. There is no infrastructure, nothing for tourists [...]. I would really have liked to see the churches, because they are always different, but we found them all closed [...]. We could not tell if there was any museum – a museum of Arraiolos carpets. Those carpets account for such great history…. (my translation)

Fluctuations within perceptions of authenticity became clear when comparing the centrality of hospitality, traditional cuisine and landscape in guests' understanding of rurality and their experience in *Pousadas*' places and establishments. Traditional cuisine is sought indiscriminately in local restaurants and those at the *Pousadas*; guests engage in undifferentiated interactions with local inhabitants and the network's staff; and rural landscape is often gazed upon from the accommodations' balconies and esplanades. For some guests, the *Pousadas*' menus, staff and sights are considered to be even more genuine than local restaurants, populations and surroundings, because they are free of conventional tourists and tourism. Underlining tourism as the consumption of *placeness*, which modernity is de-placing as a result of the des-differentiation of destinations, Cohen (1995) called attention to the simultaneous making of new places by contrived and artificial attractions.

Following from this, *Pousadas*' places may not only be consumed in *Pousadas*' spaces, but *Pousadas* also provide new places with meanings and values of their own. That is why, in the words of a journalist in her late 40s, reading in Bouro's cloister:

> The purpose of the journey was to stay here. *Pousadas* give us that. We go to a hotel and it is a bit practical, we go to sleep. In these places, we want to stay. We are leaving today, but we asked if we could check out, go to the pool and stay for the day, because just sleep here is stupid […]. I feel like staying here longer, rather than visiting the village. (my translation)

8.5 *Pousadas'* Buildings: History and Nostalgia

Despite rurality being a desired experience, the *Pousadas*' buildings are a crucial factor in guests' decisions to stay in a specific unit, particularly its historic fabric. From site plan to interior design, buildings provide visual illustrations to guests' motivations, whether they function as places of memory for those who wish to experience heritage or provide an aesthetic value for romantic and family leisure time. To be sure, *Pousadas* comprise a heterogeneous set of features inherited from the network's different modalities of representing national identity. But, according to Rojek (1997), each tourist has their own index of representations that collects both factual and fictional features through a collage process of signs, symbols, and visual and textual images. Therefore, it is in fact the *Pousadas*' heterogeneity that enables guests' different conceptions of culture and the past to be accommodated within the concept of the network.

Interviews with *Pousadas*' guests revealed different attitudes toward the past and present in built heritage. This diversity explains personal preferences within the choices offered by the network, but it can also be found in one single Pousada, suggesting that developments in the understanding and uses of the past must be considered to be simultaneously sequential and concomitant. Most guests appreciate modern interventions in historic spaces inasmuch as they are visibly differentiated and do not overshadow heritage features. Still, a significant part considers the past to be sacred and shows some contempt for modern traits, restating the early Historic *Pousadas*' rhetoric. Others, young and first-time guests or individuals with art-related occupations, advocate history's continuum, stating that monuments are made of layers and that is what modern heritage is all about. Some even assert that the *Pousadas*' architecture is their chief motivation and set an added value on contemporary design features.

The building fabric tends, however, to be disregarded as a display of culture in Nature *Pousadas*. Most guests consider these spaces to be comfortable and home-like, traits they assign to the *Pousadas*' network. But, as a Portuguese interior designer in her 30s acknowledged in Arraiolos, 'for that [comfort and quality], I could be in a hotel; I don't necessarily have to stay in a *Pousada*'. Nevertheless, a few new clients show a general perception of *Pousadas*' historicity as an intrinsic

Fig. 8.4 Inn of Óbidos: the castle that houses a *Pousada* (Photo by the author, 2007)

value in rather imaginative readings of the spaces. Getting out of Sagres' swimming pool, a Portuguese man in his late 40s even considered, '[t]his Pousada is also a bit Historic because there is no stainless steel, glass or wood. Even the floor is made of stone'. Occasionally, such interpretations present a symbolic nature. For instance, gazing upon Sagres' fortress from the local *Pousada*, another Portuguese in his late 70s claimed, 'this *Pousada* is the Historic *Pousada* par excellence', as it borrows the name of Henry, The Navigator, and stands for Portugal's historic apogee – the Discoveries.

   All together, interviews highlight that tangibility is an irrefutable proof of heritage's authenticity, recalling Urry's (1990) assumption of tourism as visual consumption – the *tourist gaze*. *Pousadas* are considered to differ from other hotels due to their aesthetic impact, the possibility of 'sleeping in a castle', as an elderly Irish couple summed it up in Óbidos, pointing at crooked walls, worn stairs, and narrow windows (see Fig. 8.4). It is not that other senses do not matter, but motivation and satisfaction strongly depend on material features confirming an idea of the past. This imagining is mainly based on architectural archetypes and stereotypes, which McKercher et al. (2004) attribute to educational, marketing and literary backgrounds. Cloisters, stonewalls, or sinuous passages, for example, are consensual signs of authenticity. They exhibit McCracken's (1988) 'patina', a physical property that visually marks objects' aging and, thus, allows access to dislocated meanings in time and space. Its display must, however, respond to modern understandings and uses of heritage.

In this sense, the consumption of *Pousadas* must be considered within contemporary nostalgia as a phenomenon that restores the past's authority in order to guarantee identities threatened by the superficiality and instantaneity of modern society. While being restored, the past is updated and enhanced to become familiar; it becomes heritage in Lowenthal's (1998) terms. Over the last decades, the idea of heritage has become enlarged in time and space. As a result, de Groot (2009) reasoned, the production and consumption of history were popularized and the past became a fashion and knowledge category. Historians no longer hold the exclusivity in the enunciation of history, as entertainment, media and marketing have turned nostalgia into a *leitmotiv*. *Pousadas* incorporate this modern heritage industry, revealing the prominent role of history in Portuguese national identity (cf. Sobral 2010). Nevertheless, their buildings are more than images of history, because their inhabitability extends the sensory experience of heritage, arousing fanciful notions like that of a sexagenarian British guest who slept in the donjon of the *Pousada de* Óbidos:

> We loved the architecture. It is like the walls kept us safe. We were stuck in the bedroom and called the reception. We only had to press a button…but it looked as if we were about to be saved by knights with torches.

Aesthetic and sensory consumption of historic legacies should not prejudice the modern experience of heritage, as Butler (2007) asserted, because comfortable interior designs are required to guarantee the attractiveness of heritage hotels. For the *Pousadas*' guests, this means that common and private spaces have to be differentiated. Bedrooms and restrooms must be fresh, fashionable and show no signs of deterioration. Common areas, in turn, are sought as museum-like experiences. Historic relics, material folk culture and modern art must be displayed for meaningful contemplation. They are what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) called 'objects of ethnography', artifacts rescued from oblivion and put on exhibition with intellectual expertise that increases their artistic value and constitutes culture out of detached fragments. Nevertheless, as a 30-year-old woman getting out of the *Pousada de* Arraiolos' pool clarified, 'here, we know we can rest, stay indoors, walk around, or equally, we can feast our eyes and our souls' (my translation). Displays may, therefore, be the subject of ego-enhancement practices or the setting where leisure activities take place.

There are, however, some preconceptions regarding the network's different segments. In short, Historic *Pousadas* should be crowded with relics, Design units must be minimalist, Nature establishments must function as wide windows to rural landscapes, and Charm accommodations should focus on domesticity. These variations echo the *Pousadas*' different target clientele and guests themselves identify a type of client for each segment. The high number of architects and art-related professionals in Arraiolos and Bouro is enlightening. So are their observations about other *Pousadas* installed in monuments where, according to an architect staying in Arraiolos for the third time, 'it feels like cleaning it [the decoration] off to unveil the architecture. It is like in museums, those that are overdesigned and one cannot really gaze on the art' (see Fig. 8.5).
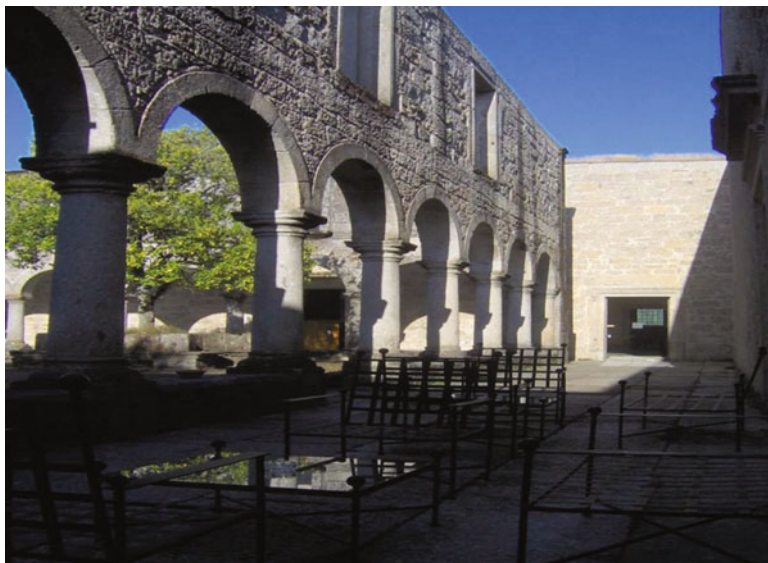
Fig. 8.5 Inn of Bouro's cloister: rehabilitation of a monastery's ruin (Photo by the author, 2009)

The awareness *Pousadas*' guests have of a correlation between different segments and different social groups recollects Bourdieu's (1979) notion of 'artistic competence' as the ability to classify art in its own terms. It is a competence that draws on family and educational backgrounds, thus identifying individuals' social capital and playing a part in the classificatory struggle that aims to distinguish classes through education, occupation and commodities. Regarding *Pousadas*, two issues must be addressed in this respect. On the one hand, 'patina' has the virtue of being especially recognized between peers and brings to the present former bonds between the upper classes and heritage (McCracken 1988). As rural tourism was democratized, historic heritage overlapped rural culture in the *Pousadas*' social production, updating a distinction between the network's clients and other emerging tourism products and tourists.

On the other hand, modern understanding of heritage as an accumulation of historical periods, of which the present is the latest, is at the basis of current *Pousadas* design, recollecting Hartog's (2006) proposal of a new regime of historicity, conceived as a heuristic instrument to think about history focusing on the present time rather than on the past (the ancient regime) or on the future (the modern regime). Cultural intermediaries, which Bourdieu includes in the new middle classes, are fundamental in this scheme. They take part in the *Pousadas*' social production and social construction by imprinting their ideological and cultural paradigms on the network's meanings and intellectualizing their consumption. Take, for instance, the Spanish artist staying in Bouro who pointed at moisture stains on the walls of the ruin as 'an illustration of what contemporary art is'.

Rurality still matters, but history is the wrapping that envelopes it, and modernity is required to exhibit it. This all-embracing production of culture enables *Pousadas* to be consumed by guests with different aesthetic dispositions. As a result, postmodern tourists with more playful interests (cf. Cohen 1995) share *Pousadas* with connoisseurs who engage in 'serious leisure' practices, as identified by Stebbins (1996), these being related to history or contemporary art.

8.6 *Pousadas'* Network: Exclusivity and 'Place of Sociation'

Whatever attractiveness *Pousadas*' guests find in its places and buildings, their motivations are always related to the *Pousadas* being acknowledged as an exceptional tourist accommodation network and brand. First, as a network, the *Pousadas* are a guided itinerary through Portugal's natural landscapes, rural traditions, and historic heritage, somewhat akin to a national *Grand Tour*. There is a sense of nationhood implied in its consumption that led to the network's re-designation as *Pousadas* 'of Portugal' around 1990 and can be assessed by national tourists repeatedly designating it as 'a Portuguese type of hotel'. Irrespective of the individual's particular interests, *Pousadas* organize what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) called 'recreational geographies', that is, a spatial disposition that traces a conceptual tour throughout culture, where the latter can be appreciated without the constraints of reality. For foreign guests, it also means a convenient way to get to know Portugal, as a French client in her 50s explained in the *Pousada de Sagres'* esplanade:

> We know it is a good system. It is very easy to book a room on the Internet and you don't have to ask yourself too many questions, because there is a map of Portugal and, depending where you go, it is easy to locate the hotel and you can be sure of the quality.

Being a long-standing and widespread network, the *Pousadas* also ensure the diversity and quantity that MacCannell (2001) claims to be crucial in modern tourism. Tourists now have prior knowledge of most destinations, and these are becoming increasingly alike as a consequence of a homogenizing response to competitiveness. Consequently, the author infers, tourism has become a quantitative capital. The *Pousadas'* network provides such cumulative investment, as proven by guests often enumerating units already visited. Of course, not all *Pousadas* serve all guests' motivations, as tours may be history, culture or nature oriented. But this is, in fact, a well-established notion about *Pousadas*, as explained by a longtime Dutch client in his 50s, who was once resident in Portugal: 'mostly, *Pousadas* are different from each other, so each time you are surprised yet again by what you encounter'.

This diversity of *Pousadas* stands out in all guests' expectations, as it attests to the extraordinariness that Urry (1990) stressed that tourism demands, and ensures that any one particular experience can be unappreciated without jeopardizing the *Pousadas'* representation as a whole. In this sense, *Pousadas* partly challenge Rojek's (1997) assumption of tourism as a self-referenced and anticlimatic practice.

Indeed, as the author suggested for tourists in general, each guest has their own representation of a *Pousada* that is built upon facts and myths and, thus, will never be fulfilled. However, it is never really contradicted, as the *Pousadas*' plurality presupposes a diversity of cultural displays and enhances the range of individual expectations, at the same time providing alternatives to keep the quest going within the network.

Secondly, as a whole, *Pousadas* are not simply a network. They are also a brand that has acquired a prominent role in Portugal's tourism industry. Initially created to be the *Estado Novo*'s official image of national tourism, *Pousadas* inherited nation-related meanings. With the democratization of travel, they became the prestigious icons of Portuguese quality tourism. Their status was ratified by legislation in 1984 and confirmed in 2003, when Grupo Pestana justified the purchasing of *Pousadas* because of its symbolic capital. Interviews disclose that, far more explicitly that advertized, *Pousadas*' guests associate the network with upper-class leisure, therein explaining the high-quality and customized service so appreciated by a new Portuguese client in her 40s in *Pousada de* Arraiolos:

> They are very nice, very thoughtful. When we enter or leave, they recognize us. We are not just another couple passing in the corridor. Nobody remains indifferent to such treatment. One recommends them straight away: go to that place, there you will get VIP treatment. (my translation)

Hospitality and gastronomy seem to be major issues in the *Pousadas*' conception as a brand. They are not just the core of the rural domesticity that seduces tourists to the countryside (cf. Prista 1995). They also corroborate the *Pousadas*' distinctiveness in two ways. On the one hand, rural domesticity provides arenas where guests validate their cultural expertise, being able to identify the localness of traditional cuisine or the idiosyncrasies of local people. On the other hand, customized service and highly rated restaurants sanction *Pousadas* clients' taste and are often mentioned in comparisons with other accommodations. Tourism in Rural Areas (*TER*) units are frequently referred to because, being built in rural family houses with traditional or noble features, *TER* promises social interaction with rural lifestyles, and so they are sought after for similar reasons as *Pousadas* (see Silva in this volume). The distinction is mainly based on hospitality. Several *Pousadas*' clients feel that *TER*s impose a familiarity between hosts and guests that, though not resembling the industrialized and impersonal service they find in conventional hotels, still dilutes the social distance between clients and staff.

Some guests' expectations and perceptions of *Pousadas*' hospitality seem to inherit values derived from the 1940s, when the staff were local rural people that responded to the nationalist folk imagery. They find authenticity in employees, attributing it to a localness they confirm in accents, knowledge of the place's tradition and history, or rustic expressions and gestures. Other guests, however, de-differentiate the network's service, acknowledging the professionalization and democratization of global tourism, which has raised the social status of local populations and provided them with arenas for negotiating social inequalities (cf. Herzfeld 1991). These perceptions are frequently associated with the *Pousadas*'

privatization but vary in intent. Recent clients, most of them benefiting from promotions, mitigate differences with other hotels, enhancing their prior status as tourists but also threatening the extraordinariness they desire. As for longtime clients, mostly they accuse the *Pousadas*' profit-oriented administration of losing track of the *Pousadas*' core distinction.

In fact, despite particular interest in a *Pousada*'s place or building, accommodation in the network is always the consumption of a concept that can only be understood in light of a privatization that simultaneously threatens and endorses the idea of *Pousadas*. Modernization and delocalization of *Pousadas*' features and meanings have weakened its identification with rurality, monumental history and exclusivity, leading most guests to express a sense of loss. A Portuguese client in her late 40s has even limited her journeys to a few *Pousadas* built in the 1990s because she feels that in most units 'private management is mixing up *Pousadas* with the concept of hotels […]. You cannot tell the difference now' (my translation). This sense of loss seems, however, to have activated a 'symbolic inversion' (Prats 1997), as negotiations between social actors and representations of *Pousadas* have reconfigured its meanings. Specialists now emblazon the network's cultural and historic value; Grupo Pestana Pousadas produces new units as objects of art; guests consume them as destinations in themselves; and local populations regard them as cultural attractions of place. As a sense of loss is crucial to transform the past into heritage, *Pousadas* are not only imagined as such; they have actually been included in the national heritage index.

It must be stressed that all *Pousadas*' guests engage in other tourism experiences, and most acknowledge that they also seek more recreational destinations. However, when sleeping in a *Pousada*, most guests reproduce Jacobsen's (2000) idea of anti-tourists as individuals whose attitudes or practices deny a tourist role, refuse group activities, avoid the conventional tourism industry, and long for local interaction and cultural experiences. Some *Pousadas*' guests are quite emphatic in establishing their difference from tourists, like a solitary Dutchman touring Portugal through *Pousadas* who considers himself 'more of a traveler' because 'a tourist has a camera and is somebody that goes somewhere to be entertained'. Yet, nowadays, the national industry offers other accommodations in heritage and rural areas, suggesting that the *Pousadas*' distinction is based on something more.

Indeed, *Pousadas* resemble Shields's (1992: 16) 'places of sociation', as 'a logic of identity is replaced by a more superficial, tactile logic of identification'. They are destinations where the individual's lifestyle can be performed and an active production of the self takes place, because social interaction with those who share the meanings of *Pousadas* is a kind of democratic experience. However, though guests share a self-identification with an idea of the *Pousadas*' clients, recognition among peers is often contested in face of the coexistence of different social groups – the recent new middle-class and the longtime upper-class clients. Such social tensions are consensually set on current pricing policies. Unwittingly, a middle-aged Dutch guest in Bouro recalled Bourdieu's (1979) assumption of dominant classes as taste dictators that guide the social mobility aspirations of the lower classes, when asserting that there are two categories of tourists in *Pousadas* – its clients and those who

wish to say they also went to *Pousadas*. For longtime clients, like a wealthy Swiss in his late 60s who has been coming to the *Pousada de* Sagres since 1966, this now means sharing accommodations with uneducated and tasteless tourists:

> In the 1960s, everybody had class. People were educated and well dressed […]. At the end of the day, before dinner, we gathered in the salon, drank together, talked and smoked. Nowadays, I am the only one to have a gin before dinner. Everybody is poorly dressed; they wear shorts and slippers to the restaurant. Before, they would not be allowed to enter the *Pousada*. People were well mannered and did not run around the pool…

Several new guests resent such judgments and behavior. A middle-aged woman in Arraiolos even refuses to stay in older Historic *Pousadas*, asserting 'this is not an elite space, maybe it was 10 years ago, but that does not mean people should have a priggish attitude'. Newcomers argue that heritage is a public domain, should be accessible to all, and recognize benefit in the Grupo Pestana's promotions. Among them, guests with intellectual and artistic occupations stand out. More or less explicitly, they claim cultural superiority in their understanding of *Pousadas* as displays of culture and sarcastically disdain other guests' motivations. The artist encountered in Bouro even stated 'there is no cultural tourism; they do it because the space and the service are magnificent and grant them social status'. He embodies the cultural intermediaries and belongs to what Bourdieu called the 'taste-makers' who take part in the popularization of an urban-educated lifestyle. According to Munt (1994), longing to surpass the shortcomings of social and economic capitals, these individuals demonstrate cultural and intellectual expertise in tourism practices, simultaneously deviating from lower middle-class interests, challenging the expertise of upper classes and enhancing their own social status. Overall, what is at stake is who has the right to be in *Pousadas* and the cultural capital required to appreciate it, which endorses Butler's (1992: 40) understanding of alternative tourism as a 'class prejudice', but does not limit it to the upper classes looking down, because the network has penetrated the classificatory struggles of the new middle classes.

8.7   Final Remarks

Aiming to explore culturally motivated tourism as a practice consistent with fluctuations in self, social and cultural representations, this chapter presented *Pousadas de Portugal* as a long-standing network of tourist accommodations that provides different ideological and technological displays of culture, is attractive to several indexes of representing heritage, and is consumed by tourists with distinct social, economic and cultural capital. Despite such plurality, the fieldwork undertaken in Óbidos, Arraiolos, Bouro and Sagres showed a generally consensual representation of the *Pousadas* as a chain of heritage hotels in rural areas, long associated with a sense of nationhood and upper-class taste. Following McKercher's (2002) methodological approach to cultural tourism, the *Pousadas*' consumption was analyzed taking into account the centrality of culture in guests' motivations and the depth of cultural experiences engaged in during stays. On the whole, interviews and ethnographic

observation reveal that *Pousadas* are sought for experiences of rurality, history and exclusivity, categories which guests correlate to the *Pousadas*' three spatial lenses – places, buildings and network.

Looking further, however, staying in *Pousadas* appears to be more and more the consumption of a concept. The *Pousadas*' places enable incursions into rural tradition, but guests also experience rurality through the *Pousadas*' displays of artifacts, sights, gastronomy and hospitality. The *Pousadas*' buildings objectify history, but its exhibition is framed by the lens of nostalgia and the postmodern ethos of tourism that vindicates modernity and recreation in culturally motivated practices. Furthermore, the *Pousadas*' network ensures the quantity and quality that assesses and enhances modern tourists' social capital. Listening to guests talking about their motivations and experiences, it seems that while they were initially locating the Portuguese natural, traditional and historic heritage, *Pousadas* are, nowadays, consumed as an item of the nation's symbolic repertoire.

This social construction of *Pousadas* as destinations in their own right provided a framework for looking into heritage meanings and the fluctuations of social distinction practices in tourism settings, confirming their consumption to be updated in accordance with individuals' learning skills within classificatory struggles (cf. Löfgren 1994). On the one hand, *Pousadas* illustrate shifts in the concept of heritage that led to the modern hybrid idea of the past, where rurality, history and modernity interplay. Concerning tourism, these shifts cannot be dissociated from the middle-class incursion into rural areas and the popularization of history's production and consumption, which has weakened the *Pousadas*' exclusivity in the Portuguese tourism industry. On the other hand, consumption of culture is a learned skill constantly updated by fluctuations in taste that cannot be limited to aspirations of upward social mobility. *Pousadas* showed that upper-class taste is crucial to social strategies in classificatory struggles. However, displays of modernity and new middle-class guests confirm a growing importance of cultural intermediaries in the social production and construction of *Pousadas* that equally informs upper-class motivations, experiences, as well as representations of rurality, history and exclusivity.

References

Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La Distinction. Critique Sociale du Jugement*. Paris: Minuit.
Butler, R. (1992). Alternative tourism: The thin edge of the wedge. In V. Smith & W. Eadington (Eds.), *Tourism alternatives* (pp. 31–46). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Butler, R. (2007). O ciclo de vida na área do turismo no século XXI. In A. Lew, C. M. Hall, & A. Williams (Eds.), *Compêndio de Turismo* (pp. 187–197). Lisbon: Instituto Piaget.
Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 15*(3), 371–386.

Cohen, E. (1995). Contemporary tourism – trends and challenges: Sustainable authenticity or contrived post-modernity? In R. Butler & D. Pearce (Eds.), *Change in tourism: People, places, processes* (pp. 12–29). London: Routledge.

Dann, G. (1977). Anomie, ego-enhancement and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 4*(4), 184–194.

de Groot, J. (2009). *Consuming history: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture*. London/New York: Routledge.

Dicks, B. (2003). *Culture on display. The production of contemporary visitability*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Grupo Pestana Pousadas. *Our legacy/Pousadas de Portugal*. http://www.pousadas.pt. Accessed 9 Apr 2012.

Greenwood, D. (1978). Culture by the pound: An anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization. In V. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (pp. 129–138). Oxford: Blackwell.

Handler, R. (1988). *Nationalism and the politics of culture in Quebec*. Madison: The Wisconsin University Press.

Hartog, François. (2006). Tempos do mundo, história, escrita da história. In *Estudos sobre a Escrita da História*, org. Manoel Guimarães (pp. 15–25). Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras.

Herzfeld, M. (1991). *A place in history: Social and monumental time in a Cretan town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. *Statistical data.* http://www.ine.pt. Accessed 20 Feb 2011.

Jacobsen, J. (2000). Anti-tourist attitudes: Mediterranean charter tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(2), 284–300.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture: Tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Leal, J. (2000). *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970): Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional*. Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote.

Löfgren, O. (1989). The nationalization of culture. *Ethnologia Europaea, 19*(1), 5–24.

Löfgren, O. (1994). Consuming interests. In J. Friedman (Ed.), *Consumption and identity* (pp. 47–70). Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Low, S. (1996). Spatializing culture: The social production and social construction of public space in Costa Rica. *American Ethnologist, 23*(4), 861–879.

Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacCannell, D. (2001). Remarks on the commodification of cultures. In V. Smith & M. Brent (Eds.), *Hosts & guests revisited: Tourism issues of the 21st century* (pp. 380–390). New York: Cognizant Communication.

McCracken, G. (1988). *Culture and consumption: New approaches to the symbolic character of consumer goods and activities*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

McKercher, B. (2002). Towards a classification of cultural tourists. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 4*, 29–38.

McKercher, B., Ho, P., & du Cros, H. (2004). Attributes of popular cultural attractions in Hong Kong. *Annals of Tourism Research, 31*(2), 393–407.

Munt, I. (1994). The 'other' postmodern tourism: Culture, travel and the new middle classes. *Theory, Culture & Society, 11*(4), 101–123.

Prats, L. (1997). *Antropologia y Patrimonio*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel.

Prista, P. (1995). Do doméstico ao caseiro: aspectos da dominação turístico-alimentar nos campos. In *Actas do III Colóquio Hispano-Português de Estudos Rurais* (pp. 459–474). Lisbon: Ed. Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Rurais.

Prista, M. (2011). *Discursos sobre o Passado: Investimentos Patrimoniais nas Pousadas de Portugal*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Lisbon: New University of Lisbon.

Richards, G. (1996). Production and consumption of European cultural tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(2), 261–283.

Rojek, C. (1997). Indexing, dragging and the social construction of tourist sites. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring cultures: Transformations of travel and theory* (pp. 52–74). London/New York: Routledge.

Shields, R. (1992). Spaces for the subject of consumption. In R. Shields (Ed.), *Lifestyle shopping: The subject of consumption* (pp. 1–20). London: Routledge.

Silva, L. (2009). *Casas no Campo. Etnografia do Turismo Rural em Portugal*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Smith, V., & Eadington, W. (1992). Introduction: The emergence of alternative forms of tourism. In V. Smith & W. Eadington (Eds.), *Tourism alternatives* (pp. 1–12). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sobral, J. (2010). Dimensões étnicas e cívicas e glorificação do passado em representações da identidade nacional portuguesa numa perspectiva comparada. In J. Sobral & J. Vala (Eds.), *Identidade Nacional, Inclusão e Exclusão Social* (pp. 81–110). Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Stebbins, R. (1996). Cultural tourism as serious leisure. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(4), 948–950.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: Sage Publications.

Chapter 9
McRural, No Rural or *What Rural*? – Some Reflections on Rural Reconfiguration Processes Based on the Promotion of *Schist Villages Network*, Portugal

Elisabete Figueiredo

9.1   Introduction: What Rural?

This chapter aims to debate some of the current reconfiguration processes occurring in remote rural territories, based on the content analysis of the Portuguese Schist Villages Network (SVN) promotional website. The discussion is grounded in some recent findings on Portuguese remote rural areas, which occupy about 50 % of the Portuguese territory (Oliveira Baptista 2006). The discussion is based on the evidence that these areas have been treated as a 'world apart', being repeatedly neglected by socioeconomic policies followed over recent decades in Portugal. Recently, however, these areas have come to be increasingly valued, in social terms, for their (real or idealised) environmental and cultural characteristics. Such reappraisal can be readily witnessed in the wide-ranging demand for and consumption of rural spaces for activities associated with tourism, leisure and recreation, as well as in the actual political measures which aim, essentially, to recreate the patrimony of rural areas in view of the continuing loss of the social, economic and territorial significance of agriculture.

Due to these changes, rural areas are currently facing new challenges and opportunities which result in major reconfiguration processes that are far from being entirely known and analysed. In consequence, a great part of the 'rural world' which is demanded and consumed nowadays (mainly by urban populations) is no longer 'rural or world' (Portela 2003: 9). Such verdict, based in the multiple (and well-documented) changes rural areas have experienced during over half a century, is not only applicable to the Portuguese context, but it can be (with caution, since changes and their consequences differ from one place to another) considered global and particularly true in the most peripheral regions of Europe.

E. Figueiredo (✉)
Department of Social, Political and Territorial Sciences,
University of Aveiro, Aveiro, Portugal
e-mail: elisa@ua.pt

It is, in fact, undeniable that rural areas, especially in Western societies, Portugal included, have undergone significant changes over the course of recent decades in consequence of increasingly global socioeconomic dynamics of change. Yet, if, on the one hand, we can affirm the existence of such changes,[1] on the other hand, it can clearly be seen that they have not led to a diminishing of rural space within the urban, since there remain objective differences of (spatial, economic and social) character and of a subjective nature (in terms of social representations) between town and countryside. Even if the consequences of changes that have taken place in rural areas may vary, according to country or region, one of the most visible signs has been the loss of the monopoly enjoyed by agricultural activity (Mormont 1994; Jollivet 1997; Oliveira Baptista 1993, 1996, 2006), whose position Jollivet (1997) considers as 'uncertain', and, according to Ramos-Real (1995), emptying rural space of its *raison d'être*.

The rural space that emerges from this set of transformations is one that, in the words of Oliveira Baptista (2006: 99), has moved 'beyond agriculture' but which, as previous studies shown, has yet to overcome its long-standing identification with that activity (Figueiredo 2008). Rural space, therefore, currently faces a kind of 'identity crisis', the nature and outcomes of which are far from being entirely understood, and has been increasingly represented, both in political proposals as well as in academic analyses, as a *multifunctional* space.[2] This 'crisis of identity' is particularly significant in more remote and peripheral rural areas. Even though rural areas can be globally characterised as 'parts of the space economy which are least affected by the process of urbanization and, therefore, more associated with a much more dispersed pattern of population distribution and economic activity […] also affected by varying levels of peripherality' (Grimes 2000: 13), it is important to bear in mind the diversity of the rural. Accordingly, we may find 'rurban' areas on the edges of urban areas with relatively flourishing economies and experiencing growth in social and demographic dynamics and, conversely, areas completely removed from centres of economy and decision-making, with fragile population and socioeconomic dynamics.

The above-mentioned changes and what they signal for rural areas in global terms have also been taking place in Portugal (e.g. Oliveira Baptista 1993, 1996, 2006; Rolo 1996; Mansinho and Schmidt 1997). According to the first of these

---

[1] Although it can be seen that there is much theoretical and methodological diversity regarding the analysis of changes occurring in rural areas in the Western world, there is a broad consensus as to the universality and direction of such alterations (e.g. Mormont 1994; Ramos-Real 1995; Jollivet 1997).

[2] Without wishing to deny the importance of the concept of the multifunctionality of rural areas and their effective and successful operationalisation, in some cases, we consider it worthwhile to question the reasons for the emergence of a multifunctional rural space from the mid-1980s onwards (ECC 1988), in a context in which there is a generalised view of the rural world as a place without autonomous productive functions and, at the same time, a notion of the revaluation of the cultural, environmental and social heritage of this same world (Nave 2003). The rural world's set identity and monofunctionality appear to be giving way to a certain functional 'schizophrenia', though a good part of it does not possess the necessary instruments and abilities to respond.

authors, 'the outline of rural space no longer corresponds to agriculture and its diversity has ceased to be marked by the geography of agrarian systems, or in more complex formulations, by the connection of these with modes of living and working' (Oliveira Baptista 2006: 85). This lack of correspondence between agriculture and rural areas in Portugal and the 'de-ruralisation' of the country, above all by its becoming emptied of people and activities, began to make itself known at the end of the 1960s and has grown steadily over subsequent decades, worsened by the introduction and successive reforms of the Common Agricultural Policy following Portugal's adhesion to the European Economic Community (today European Union) in 1986. This common European policy has reinforced the marginal nature and low productivity of Portuguese agriculture – and, more globally, of Mediterranean agricultural productions – leaving a great number of Portuguese farmers in a position of relative subordination as 'gardeners of nature' (Oliveira Baptista 1993) and guardians of the landscapes and traditional features of the countryside (Figueiredo 2003a, 2008).

As a result of these changes, at present, Portuguese rural areas are predominantly remote and of low density (Oliveira Baptista 2004, 2006). These territories are constituted by post-agricultural spaces, whose populations continue to decrease and with them the prospects of revitalising socioeconomic dynamics. They are, moreover, places mainly populated by an aged and retired population, with high levels of illiteracy and low levels of schooling. Many of the new vocations and functions witnessed in rural areas in general are linked to 'permanence' due to the socioeconomic 'backwardness', in regard to certain environmental and cultural characteristics which have increasingly come to be valued by society globally. Thus, many of the fragile rural areas, also in Portugal, are today the object of new urban demands and consumptions, related to contact with nature and with traditions and cultural heritage which are apparently still preserved there. These demands and consumptions are based on very positive images of the rural and rurality, which is constructed in opposition to urban life. Such social movements and images, arising later in Portugal, closely match those similar ones found in the majority of Western countries (Mansinho and Schmidt 1997).

The search for 'authenticity' and 'genuineness' which is also shown by the new-found rural demands and consumptions is, thus, reflected in similar movements such as the 'return to nature', the 'utopian immigration' (Picon 1992) or 'the return to the land and tradition' (Leger and Hervieu 1985). These movements and demands have had practical effects on peripheral rural contexts, involving the restoration of their cultural heritage, a certain formulation of the rural space as an image and hegemonic product, or its abandonment. It should be stressed that these processes, though felt in diverse ways depending on the scale of analysis considered, are global and externally generated. This question of externality should not be overlooked nor the importance given to these processes in political strategies and instruments designed for the post-agricultural countryside. There is evidence of a new subordination of rural areas and their inhabitants, reflected in the current context of globalisation, on the one hand, and the valorisation of differences, on the other hand (Figueiredo 2003a).

9.2 The 'McRuralisation' Processes

The reflections made above concerning rural space(s) and its/their transformations raise the question of their future. There can be little doubt that this future is conditioned by many diverse factors, among which are the differentiated integration of and adhesion to the processes of economic globalisation; the greater or lesser influence of factors linked to massification and increasing cultural homogeneity; and the differing capacities of local areas to adapt and, perhaps more important, to respond to these processes.

The metaphor which provides the title for this chapter – 'McRural' or 'McRuralisation'-, though it may appear out of place in the scientific lexicon, emerged following several years of reflection, reading and empirical research about the course that the countryside and rurality are taking and what they mean, not only in Portugal but also in other Western countries.[3] In constructing the notion of 'McRural' (Figueiredo 2009), we were clearly influenced by the concept of 'McWorld', proposed for the first time by Barber (1992, 1995). This expression aims to define the global phenomenon that is the expansion and diffusion of the 'McDonald's[4] chain of restaurants, which presupposes and results in a standardised and homogenised world, whose symbols and processes can be characterised as dominant or dominating. The 'McWorld' is, thus, the ultimate expression of the processes of globalisation, indicating an understanding of the world as a 'single place', where conventional borders (be they administrative, spatial or temporal) become increasingly irrelevant to the current patterns of economic, cultural and political activity (Axford 2000).

As Giddens (1990) suggests, this 'one world' results above all from the intensification of global social relations which unite distant localities in such a way that local events are conditioned by events that are happening many miles away, and vice-versa. Therefore, the 'McWorld' that we inhabit nowadays is 'a world made up of MTV, McDonalds and M&M's' (Axford 2000: 242). These processes trigger 'changes in the scale of social organization and changes in consciousness of the world too' (Axford 2000: 244), even if they are multidimensional and diversified. In fact, the process of globalisation cannot be viewed as something singular, since, as Hannerz (1996: 18) states, 'different worlds, different globalizations'. This highlights the circumstances in which old processes are viewed, processes which have been built up over the course of centuries, and whose ebb and flow has led them to take (until today) many diverse forms in times and places equally diverse, thus

---

[3]This metaphor arose most clearly in the context of a short research project, begun in 2008 and financed by the National Research Council (CNR), Italy. This project, which focused on the images of the countryside conveyed and sold by tourist promoters, revealed a homogeneity and massification of symbols (material and immaterial) in supply, demand and consumption, strongly suggesting a global representation of the countryside (Figueiredo and Raschi 2012).

[4]Some authors have indeed defined the current processes of globalisation as the 'McDonaldisation' of the world (e.g. Barber 1992, 1995).

creating (through the 'single world' perspective) new diversities and localities or strengthening those that already exist both in socioeconomic and territorial terms.

Taking all this into consideration, with the metaphor of 'McRuralisation' – and the notions of 'McRural' and 'McRurality' associated with it – we aim to define the processes of globalisation acting on the image of the countryside, its symbols, characteristics, potentials and constraints, which (despite all the narratives and approaches valuing the diversities and local specificities) appear to be increasingly hegemonic, whether in the social imaginary on rural areas or in the development policies and strategies directed towards it (Halfacree 1993, 1995; Bell 2006).[5] In other words, not forgetting the multidimensional nature of the phenomena of globalisation (Beck 2000) and the resulting complexity of global and local systems (Urry 2003), we wish to reflect, through that metaphor, the symbolic reconfiguration, currently underway, of the countryside as a 'single place', as well as its consequences in designing the future of rural territories.

The globalisation of rural areas (and the globalisation within them) has rarely been studied from this perspective, as is pointed out in the recent studies by Woods (2007) and McCarthy (2008). Indeed, though globalisation has for several decades been one of the most central areas of scientific research in the social sciences, very few studies have examined its effects and experiences in the rural context. Not surprisingly, most of the literature on this matter has focused on the analysis of urban territories. As Woods (2007) suggests, the relative negligence of rural areas and related issues in globalisation studies results from the recognition that certain key aspects of that process (cultural miscellanea, economic dynamism, ideological and political change) are more evident and observable in urban contexts. The aforementioned negligence may also be explained by the relatively marginal place that rural studies have occupied in the social sciences, particularly in sociology and geography.[6] Despite this relative omission, it is possible to identify some lines of research that relate the processes of globalisation to rural contexts (Woods 2007), essentially from the perspective of agriculture and issues linked to it, and its insertion in the global markets.

There is, thus, a huge range of other 'globalisations' (as well as of their causes and impacts) on and/or within rural areas which remain relatively unexplored. One of the aspects which have attracted little attention is precisely linked with the image and social representations of the countryside. As McCarthy (2008) mentions, rural space is increasingly perceived as a 'global amenity' arising from various different sources (tourists, tourist operators, public policies, mass media, agricultural producers, advertisers, among others) which promote a relatively standardised image of rurality, based on very similar symbols, independently of which rural area they relate to,

---

[5] Since this is an attribute of most Western societies, such imaginary and strategies may raise greater challenges and have increased impacts on Southern European societies due to the characteristics of their rural areas, particularly of those places which we earlier defined as remote or peripheral.

[6] In the previous section, we have already mentioned the 'disappearance' of the countryside as an object of study, assumed by many social scientists to have been diluted into the urban. However, Cloke (2006) states that the last decade has witnessed an 'enthusiastic' re-emergence of rural studies.

as demonstrated also by research conducted by Figueiredo and Raschi (2012). The rurality thus promoted clearly refers to post-productive rural spaces, i.e. those territories that have lost their agricultural function and which are being reinvented through their development and redirection towards uses associated with consumption by new actors (visitors, tourists and also, to some extent, environmentalists). As mentioned before, fragile territories are those that are currently being redefined and reinvented in this way. These contexts are represented (or idealised?) as 'idyllic', 'authentic' and 'genuine' places, offering closer, 'purer' contact with nature, and with cultural traditions and memories of the past, providing peace and quiet, fresh air and a range of experiences involving a 'return to the land', things which urban life does not appear able to guarantee.

Even if not all rural areas may objectively offer such attributes, the social imaginary seems to be kept alive within them, evoking 'images of harmony and consensus' (Murdoch and Pratt 1997: 51). As Phillips et al. (2001: 5) state, 'the rural idyll is seen as a socially dominant and dominating way of conceiving of – cognitively, emotionally or aesthetically – and presenting rural space'. These considerations essentially derive from Mormont's (1990) finding that the countryside is neither a single entity nor a territorial unity, but stems from the social production of a set of meanings. Rurality, thus, seems to be ever more 'deterritorised' and 'delocalised', that is, increasingly independent of the characteristics of rural space (Cloke 2006; McCarthy 2008). Yet, despite this consensus, we can say that the way 'in which we face the rural world and rurality is susceptible to change […] through time and […] along with social contexts and their transformations' (Figueiredo 2003b: 67).

Cloke (2006), for example, demonstrates that the social meanings associated with rurality derive not only from different characteristics of individuals and organisations but also from the divergence of societies from rural spaces. Halfacree (1993, 2007), likewise, identifies levels of divergence that hold various meanings of rural space in contemporary societies. The author suggests that the 'sign' (rurality) has become ever more distanced from the 'signified' (the meanings attributed to rurality), due to the increased diversity of social representations of the countryside. Moreover, 'sign' and 'signified' have become separated from their point of reference, the geographical rural space. In his view, the symbolic representations of rural space (albeit diverse) have been 'disconnected' from their geographical references, i.e. they scarcely seem to bear any relation to the reality of the rural world, thus giving rise to a 'virtual' rurality (Cloke 2006) and a 'McRurality' (Figueiredo 2009).

The globalised rural space, or the 'McRural', despite the diversity of products and images that it may include, seems to be united in its representation as an 'isolated' and 'remote' space, marked by 'picturesque' landscapes, which blend together agrarian and natural elements. Life in this rural space is perceived as being 'simple', 'rustic' and based on agricultural activity practised in its most traditional form and close to nature. Animals are included on these images, both wild and domesticated, as well as amazing scenery, peace and quiet, traditional gastronomy and fairs, workers in the fields and children who run freely and climb trees. There is an abundance of recreational activities in this rural environment – among them walking, bird-watching, sightseeing, canoeing, horse riding and picnics – and these are, to a certain extent, free.

According to Bell (2006: 150), 'there are three ideal-typical idylls: the pastoral ("farmscapes"), the natural ("wildscapes"), and the sporting ("adventurescapes")'. These three types (and the dimensions they include) are obviously not rigid, and they intersect in the representations and images of rural space. They are also the product of global capitalism and the intensified processes of cultural, economic and social 'globalisation' over the last decades. These ideal types have essentially been exploited by tourism operators, in an attempt to respond to the desires and aspirations of rural visitors and tourists.

The globalisation of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2002) has contributed greatly to 'McRurality' since it has promoted a global image of rural space as an amenity, as a product and as a destination. Yet, and above all, it is the (rural) tourists, with their culture, expectations, wishes, fantasies and myths, rather than the specific qualities of the (rural) destination itself, who create these rural idyll(s). To some extent, this 'mythology' of the countryside is encouraged (if not created) by the many forms of mass media, particularly television, cinema, music and advertising (Phillips et al. 2001; Bell 2006), which through the use and, above all, the transmission of images and symbols of the rural world form the 'countryside of the mind', as described by Redclift and Woodgate (1994).

Anyhow, it is tourism which has effectively been the most significant means of perpetuating rurality and which has contributed most towards place construction and, therefore, the processes of reconfiguring the identity (in spatial and socioeconomic terms) of the countryside. In this regard, Butler and Hall note that:

> the overall image of rural areas is a very positive one in most of the developed world. Rurality may be a myth in the terms that many people regard it, a peculiar blend of nostalgia, wholesomeness, heritage, nature and culture, combining the romantic combination of Man and nature working in harmony, captured on calendars and Christmas cards throughout the developed world, but it is a powerful myth that has created a demand for access to, and in some cases, acquisition of parts of the rural landscape. (Butler and Hall 1998: 14)

In Portugal, likewise, research about the rural has not focused much in regard to the globalisation of its image, the social representations constructed about it or the 'McRurality' which we have been discussing. Nevertheless, there are some studies which, on varying scales and adopting different methodologies, have been giving us an idea of the images and representations of Portuguese rural territories. We have already referred to the work of Mansinho and Schmidt (1997) which highlighted the coexistence of five types of social and institutional representations associated with the rural world and Portuguese rurality. These range

> from those that refer to a clear association of the countryside with the ideological exploitation of which it was the target during the years of the *Estado Novo*,[7] through representations that coincide with the industrialist discourse of agricultural modernization, to those founded on the transposition to the urban contexts of a collective memory linked to peasants' habits and values. In parallel, another representation of the countryside seems to be emerging

---

[7] *Estado Novo* was the designation of the dictatorship period in Portugal (1926–1974). The ideological exploitation mentioned, generically, consists of glorifying the countryside as an area in which the 'noblest' of man's activities – agriculture – is developed.

powerfully in current political and social debate in Portugal. This conception is associated with a growing awareness importance that rural areas can have in preserving environmental quality. (Figueiredo 2003b: 69)

Other lines of research have dealt with the representations of tourists regarding the Northern region of the country (Kastenholz 2004). These show that while there is some heterogeneity in terms of demand, consumption and importance given to the attributes of the rural areas they have visited, the predominating images are those which are more global, associated with the 'rural idyll', above all in their 'pastoral' and 'natural' aspects, which the author identifies as 'romantic' and 'purist'. Also Silva (2007, 2009) demonstrates that the main motivation for rural tourists is linked to the 'pastoral' view of the countryside. Another study carried out by Figueiredo (2003a) into the social perceptions of visitors and residents in the Montesinho Natural Park and the Serra da Freita region highlighted the fact that visitors identify these 'remote' rural areas with nature and environment rather than with the socioeconomic aspects that constitute the rurality of these spaces, that is, the daily life of their inhabitants. In this sense, the study also revealed the existence of significant differences between visitors and residents regarding the countryside and rurality, as well as the future development of the areas analysed. For visitors, rurality is seen as something that is 'desired', where, as they say, issues of environment and nature play a leading role. For residents, rurality is something that is 'lived', where access to specific equipment, services and goods is seen as key.

In parallel with these representations, at once diverse and global, rural areas in Portugal are still defined, to a great extent, in terms of opposition to the urban (Figueiredo 2003a; Jollivet 1997; Mansinho and Schmidt 1997; Silva 2009), but increasingly in a positive sense which associates them with greater environmental quality, nature and preservation of cultural traditions. It is in fragile rural areas that these processes have been most strongly seen and witnessed. As we have already mentioned, stripped of their principal *raison d'être* – the production of food – this rural space now faces new challenges, as a result of its 'touristification' and 'heritagisation', and the way it is seen as an 'object of consumption' and an 'amenity'. It is this countryside repeatedly marginalised by development policies followed in Portugal which is constituted as the ultimate symbol of the 'idyll', in its various dimensions. Animated by the rebirth of the countryside in the social imaginary and by the globalisation of rurality as a positive attribute, so new plans and strategies are being drawn up, amply sponsored by European Union funds and developed in the light of new political guidelines for the rural periphery of Europe. This is the case of the Schist Villages Network, developed in 2001, that will be object of analysis in the next sections.

9.3   The Schist Villages Network Project

The Schist Village Network (SVN) project includes nowadays 27 villages and was launched in 2001 by initiative of the Commission for the Development and Coordination of the Central Region of Portugal and through the creation of ADXTUR – Schist Villages Tourist Development Agency – which works closely in

association with 16 municipalities and over 70 private companies operating in the region. The initiative was supported by European Union funds with the main aim of improving the living conditions of local populations and promoting local development. The main areas of intervention were defined as:

- Social: oriented towards local development and on the economic and social diversification of the villages
- Patrimonial: oriented towards the recovery of the material and immaterial patrimony of the villages, including the environmental and natural aspects
- Touristic: oriented to the creation of a particular 'brand' – Schist Villages – under which various products (e.g. lodgement, gastronomy and craftworks) were developed and promoted

The territory included in the SVN, although diverse, shares several physical, cultural, social and economic characteristics, presenting similar potentialities and constraints which were the basis for the creation of the network (Dias 2011). As many other Portuguese rural areas, this area can be characterised by heavy population losses during the last five decades, by a low population density (38.2 inhabitants/km^2) and by an increasing ageing of the local population. These aspects are in strong association with very low economic activity rates. In the whole area, agriculture-related activities are still dominant, practised in traditional ways. In recent years, however, due to the creation of the SVN, the tertiary sector registered an increase as main employment and income source for local population. The area is also characterised by low levels of accessibility and by sparse settlements (Dias 2011) which emphasises its remoteness and isolation. The SVN is anchored in three main networks: the villages' network, the river beaches' network and the walking trails' network. The first is probably the more visible and well known, as the activities and equipments are generally located in the villages. All these networks, although connected to local features and attributes, have been developed mainly to attract visitors and tourists to the area.

During the last decade, the SVN has established itself as a 'brand', nowadays competing with other rural tourist destinations (e.g. Historical Villages of Portugal Network, Wine Villages and Water Villages). The 'brand' has been built around the most remarkable element of the area: the schist. Around it, a complete marketing and communication strategy has been developed, including promotional materials, books, videos and the Schist Villages Shop Network integrating 11 stores, eight of them located in some of the villages and three in urban centres: Pampilhosa da Serra, Lisbon and Barcelona. The eight shops located in the villages play an important role in supporting the SVN project, since they act as tourism offices, some of them including small exhibition areas and small auditoriums, among other facilities (Dias 2011). The selection of the products (e.g. agricultural, gastronomic, craftworks) sold in the shop network is based on the interaction with local producers and artists. The main purpose is to present local territories, identities and products, sometimes produced and/or presented in innovative ways (Ramos 2008).

Since its creation in 2001, the SVN project contributed to change the face of each of the 27 villages, mainly at the more visible and material level, through the recovery of the architectonical heritage; the increase in the number of visitors and, through it, the improving of the living conditions of local populations. However, as Dias (2011: 137) states, the project did not prevent the rural exodus in most villages,

therefore distorting one of its main aims: population settlement. The reconfiguration processes these villages are undergoing seems much more oriented to external and secondary users of the local territory – the tourists – than to local populations, despite the initial aims of the projects and some of the interventions developed during the last decade. This stresses a path already visible in other rural contexts in Portugal and in Europe (Figueiredo and Raschi 2012), i.e. that the reconfiguration of rural areas mainly based on tourism oriented activities can easily lead to the extinction of the 'real' rural and to a rural whose future is increasingly marked and determined by urban and external representations of rurality.

9.4   Methodology

In order to understand the ways in which the territory of the SVN is being (or not) 'McRuralised' and the manners in which rural areas and rurality are presented and promoted, as well as to unveil the presence of global and local symbols and elements in those processes, a content analysis of the website of the network was developed. Content analysis can be characterised, following Zhou and DeSantis (2005) proposals, as a tool for research that focuses on the 'actual content and internal features' of several types of documents. In fact, content analysis can be conducted over 'any written or spoken words, pictures, videos, documentaries and films' (Figueiredo and Raschi 2012: 26). However, in this study, only the written parts of the website of the SVN were analysed. Therefore, we focused our attention on the words and the concepts used, trying to describe and systematise the content of the documents. To this end, a definition of variables and values was performed trying to depict the main attributes of interest to be measured and the categories to be analysed. After that, both based on the theoretical findings and on an exploratory analysis of the website, we build a coding scheme with the relevant attributes and values (see Table 9.1). The coding scheme includes values which express the narratives, symbols and elements used to present and promote the villages.

   After the examination of the presence of certain words and concepts, we try to contextualise and articulate them with other words and concepts within the texts, as well as within the broader Schist Villages Network programme. As 'these systematization procedures can result in losses regarding the richness of the texts analyzed' (Figueiredo and Raschi 2012: 27), a qualitative and less structured approach was used, mainly translated into the use of direct transcriptions from the texts.

9.5   The Schist Villages Network: A 'McRuralisation' Process?

The images and discourse conveyed in the presentation of the whole project of the Schist Villages Network illustrate very clearly what we have been arguing in the first two sections of this chapter. In fact, while presenting the project in global terms, we find a text which reads as:

Table 9.1 Coding scheme used in the content analysis of the Schist Villages Network website

	Attributes	Values
	Agriculture and agricultural products	Words used to describe local agricultural activities and productions
		Local productions mentioned
	Gastronomy	Words used to describe local gastronomy and foodstuffs
		Local products and dishes mentioned
	Inhabitants and local communities	Words used to describe local communities and inhabitants
Presenting and promoting rural areas and rurality within the SVN	History	Historical facts mentioned
	Landscape, nature and environment	Words used to describe landscapes, and the local environment
		Natural elements mentioned
	Built patrimony	Words used to describe built patrimony
		Monuments, architectonic styles and building materials mentioned
	Tourism and leisure activities	Touristic products offered
		Presentation of touristic activities and features

Whether it's the food, accommodation, cultural events or simply arts and crafts you're after, you'll find the network of Schist Villages offering you products and services by professionals of excellence. *From the country materials new products are made; the river becomes a canoeing track; a forest becomes a walking trail; an old tradition turns into a memorable event. You'll find the purest, unspoiled river beaches, monuments, castles, and museums to visit*. It's a joy to talk to people and share their traditions, their arts and stories. *Based on the rural imagination, new objects of innovative design are created* and made available in the Schist Villages Network of shops. Join the challenge. Discover a region that is a national treasure.[8]

At a general level, the new appeal and functions of rural areas seems to be well condensed in the previous sentence. In fact, these words conveyed a rural in which the natural resources, the customs and traditions and 'those rustic things that belong to it' have been transformed into new products to satisfy external demands. Countryside dwellers themselves seem to have turned into 'objects of appreciation' and tourist consumption. A brief look at the way each one of the 27 villages included in the network are presented highlights this point and emphasises the 'McRuralisation' of these spaces, since the attributes highlighted (regardless of their (although small) geographical and socioeconomic diversity) are the same worldwide: nature, tranquillity, purity of air and water, typicality, authenticity and cultural traditions.

Not surprisingly, the words more commonly used in the promotional website are 'villages' and 'schist', the 'brand' of the entire network. Also 'territory', 'development', 'patrimony', 'tourism', 'touristic' and 'animation' are words often used to

---

[8]Emphasis added by the author. The author is also responsible for the translation of this and the following excerpts used in the text.

Fig. 9.1 Tag cloud with the most frequent words used to describe the Schist Villages Network project

promote this area (Fig. 9.1). However, in the analysis of the various parts of the website (the project's presentation, the shops' presentation, the villages' presentation and the supply of activities' presentation), some differences emerge. In the analysis of the most frequent words used to describe each of the villages, although the words 'village', 'schist' and 'patrimony' are still the most used, 'landscape', 'nature' and some natural elements ('river', 'mountains'), the various agricultural productions and the 'inhabitants' seem to play a paramount role. Regarding the promotion of the shops, 'village' and 'schist' continue to be the more frequently used words, but 'quality', 'design', 'craftworks' and 'products' appear in a central position. Considering the supply promotion (including the activities offered to tourists), the most frequent word is 'visit', followed by 'village' and 'schist'. Also the words 'programme', 'stay', 'lodgement', 'gastronomy', 'pedestrian' trails', 'river', 'mountain' and 'nature' play an important role.

The references to 'agriculture' and 'agricultural productions' emphasise the 'traditional' and small-scale character of this activity and of the way it is still practised, clearly relating rurality with tradition and also with the 'genuine' nature of the local food productions. Also, the 'harmony' between man and nature is emphasised while presenting agriculture-related activities and promoting them as tourist attractions. The ancient agricultural tools and farm houses are also promoted as tourist attractions, as it is expressed by description of the village of Pedrógão Grande:

> The fertile fields located near the river promoted the creation of small farms and watermills that sustained the village population which lived from subsistence agriculture. Visit the windmills, the water trails, the farm buildings that served, over the centuries, as infrastructures to the maintenance of the village and, nowadays, serve as factors of tourist attraction.

Gastronomy and local foodstuffs are described as 'rich', 'typical', 'regional', 'local' and 'traditional', also mentioning the main dishes and ways of cooking from the different villages in the network. Once again, gastronomy is clearly related to tourism, to the tourists 'experience' and 'discovery' of the territory, as one of the

major attractions, as it is visible from the following excerpt regarding the villages of Talasnal, Casal Novo and Chiqueiro:

> Deriving from a long gastronomic tradition, developed over decades, emerged the know-how that nowadays fills with aroma and flavours the kitchens of Talasnal, Casal Novo and Chiqueiro. Who will not want to taste the typical and delicious products and dishes from these villages?

Historical facts are mentioned in the presentation of each village, emphasising the 'ancient' character of population settlements, built patrimony (such as churches and pillories), houses, agricultural buildings and related infrastructures (e.g. water-mills, community ovens). Built patrimony is also described as 'rich' and 'traditional', perfectly preserved and/or recovered and always presented as worthwhile to be visited and explored by the tourists.

Almost all the 27 villages are portrayed as isolated and remote, preserving not only the architectural, historical, cultural patrimony and particularly – and not surprisingly – their close relation to the schist but also the landscape and the natural elements. The landscape and natural patrimony of the area are profusely used in the promotion of the villages and described with words such as 'idyllic', 'beautiful', 'magic', 'unique', 'genuine', 'typical', 'traditional', 'spectacular' and 'green', as this description of Cerdeira clearly illustrates:

> Cerdeira is a magic place. At the entrance of the village a small bridge invites us to know a bunch of houses among the green leaves of the trees. It seems like we pass through a magic portal to a fantastic world. Everything seems perfect in this profoundly romantic scenario. The schist pavements guide us through a pathway to a fountain in the middle of luxurious and green vegetation.

Or this other excerpt describing Talasnal, Casal Novo and Chiqueiro:

> Discovering these tree schist villages is to dive in the magic world of Lousã mountain and to mingle with the green and luxurious vegetation, among which deer and boars walk, as well as many other rare species. Here is the kingdom of nature that demands for respect and sensitivity.

Some natural elements are highlighted such as the 'river',[9] the 'water', the 'mountain' (Lousã), some species of the local fauna and flora, the 'trees' and, of course, the 'stone' which dominates the entire promotional website and based the whole network, as it can be seen in the following excerpt describing the pedestrian trail of the village of Janeiro de Cima:

> While walking through the schist trail of Janeiro de Cima, which begins in the New Church, and climbing until the Canada Valley, you will have the opportunity to see enchanted landscapes, marked by the river Zêzere and by the rocks (classified as World Heritage) that are spectacular.

Again, all these elements and descriptions are tourist oriented. 'Experience', 'discovery' and 'enchantment' are words frequently used to present the activities tourists can enjoy in close contact with nature. The water, the river, the air, the light,

---

[9] The rivers Zêzere and Alva, crossing the territory, are, in fact, remarkable natural features of the area.

everything is 'pure', 'fresh', 'peaceful', 'calm' and 'quiet'. And ready to be 'used' and 'enjoyed' for 'free'. Tourists can smell the 'purity' and 'freshness' of the air and hear the 'sound of silence', of 'birds', of the 'wind' and also the stories of local people. These are always described and characterised as 'genuine', 'welcoming', always ready to 'share' their memories and traditions and 'kind'.

'Rural' is also one of the more relevant words used to describe the whole environment that tourists can experience while visiting the territory of the SVN. The landscape is 'rural', the houses and the type of construction are 'rural', the people's way of living is 'rural', the products are 'rural' and the 'rhythms' of everyday life are 'rural'. Every element and aspect present in the network possesses a 'rural charm' and seems to be anchored in the 'rural imaginary'. In the villages and its surroundings, tourists can feel the 'pulse of the land'. The products, the people, the things are also characterised as 'from the land', appealing once more to the imaginary, to the desire to return to 'the land', to our 'common roots':

> Everything here represents numerous opportunities for leisure and sports. Here we feel the pulse of the land and its communion with Man when we see the villages, from far. These seem to be naturally born from the schist, as the trees. Today, its roots are each and every one of us. (Presentation of the village of Casal Novo)

Tourism activities are presented and promoted as part of all the scenery described above. The lodgement units, the shops, the trails, the beaches are immersed in this 'rural' environment and are described as 'magic' and providing a 'unique' and 'genuine' experiences.

All these words and concepts, although used to describe the local features of these territories, sometimes using the specific characteristics of the region and the villages, can be understood as 'global' symbols of the rural and of rurality in almost every rural tourism destination across Europe and the Western world. Again, as discussed in the previous sections, rurality seems to be delocalised and detached from the geographical spaces, as Cloke (2006) and Halfacree (2007) point out. The symbols used to promote the SVN seem to be more focused on the imaginary of the tourists, on their expectations, desires and needs while visiting a rural area than on the very local character of the territory. Although the main aim of the network was to improve the conditions of life of local inhabitants, to prevent rural exodus and to contribute to local development, all the website is oriented to external (touristic) promotion. This promotion aims, clearly, at the commodification of almost every element (from nature to local inhabitants) present in the villages and of the whole territory. In fact, every element (material and immaterial) seems to be transformed into an amenity ready to be sold and offered to tourists.

9.6   Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we have essentially sought to introduce the debate on the 'McRuralisation' of the countryside and its consequences, using the SVN as a clear example of these processes. The chapter began with a discussion on the current situation faced by many rural areas in Europe, particularly in Portugal, as a

consequence of its social and economic transformations. Many rural areas face an 'identity crisis' and have become identified, at social and institutional levels, as multifunctional spaces in which tourism and leisure activities play a paramount role. Rural areas become consumable spaces rather than production spaces. The consumption processes of the rural are increasingly anchored in powerful and hegemonic images that urban dwellers possess about the countryside and are also inscribed in the more general processes of search of the 'idyll' and the quest for the 'lost paradise' and 'the things of the land'. Tourism-related activities contribute to form those images, by promoting the countryside also through the use of the same hegemonic and global symbols and elements.

The SVN case analysed in this chapter provides empirical evidence on this, although the promotion is equally based on local features. However, these local features are presented in a global manner and as tourist attractions rather than as elements of local development. Therefore, the images conveyed often intend to represent a rurality detached from the territory, a 'McRural' that tourists can find in many other areas in Portugal and in Europe. They are frequently based on a whole and common range of references, symbols, elements and signs which, in many cases, have little to do with the social and economic reality of the 50 % of the Portuguese territory that can today be considered fragile. In consequence, these areas seem to be urban playgrounds, where tourists are expected to arrive motivated by their own representations on rurality and by the image that has been constructed about the rural (as the SVN case demonstrates).

The new dynamics these processes seem to induce easily can be interpreted as the emergence of a rural territory which is mainly urban in its conception. A rural that seems to be no longer rural, but transformed by urban desires and needs and that seems to exist only to fulfil the dreams of urban dwellers. Between their real fragility and the strength of the demand, supply and consumption processes, driven by the idealisation of their attributes, rural areas (and the SVN territory) are being redesigned and reinvented accordingly. The future of these areas seems to be the construction of what could be called a 'virtual' identity 'by proxy', by demand of the urban populations.

The alternatives to these processes of 'McRuralisation', marked by a rural that is always 'picturesque', 'idyllic', 'spectacular', 'peaceful', 'green', offering a wide range of 'experiences' and 'discoveries', may be, of course, many and varied, just as there are diverse socioeconomic contexts and their ability to meet the urban demands and needs (of both new and old functions of the countryside). However, with the exception of some Portuguese rural areas whose socioeconomic dynamics and agricultural competitiveness remain healthy, one alternative seems to stand out – the abandonment. At the same time, the consequences of 'McRuralisation' may also be varied, once more taking into account the diversity of contexts referred before. If it is clear (as in certain features of the SVN) that these processes could represent the requalification of certain territories and some opportunities for development, it is also clear that, in some cases (as it is also the case of certain aspects of SVN), the 'McRuralisation' cannot stop rural exodus and can also lead to the abandonment of many other areas, also because of the exhaustion of 'McRurality'-style supply.

Moreover, the 'McRural' and its materialisation may lead to the neglect of local inhabitants' needs and desires, making them irrelevant in the face of the rural consumption processes, and more like a product or an amenity, as the case analysed in this chapter clearly demonstrates. Turning rural areas as mere touristic places without taking into account their inhabitants, the creation and support of other new and traditional economic activities is to recreate a kind of 'no rural', emptied of meaning, identity and – in the long run – even of the elements and features that made it attractive in the first place to 'foreign' populations.

References

Axford, B. (2000). Globalization. In A. Halcli, G. Browning, & F. Webster (Eds.), *Understanding contemporary society* (pp. 238–251). London: Sage.

Barber, B. (1992, March). Jihad vs McWorld. *Atlantic Monthly*.

Barber, B. (1995). *Jihad vs McWorld – How globalism and tribalism are reshaping the world*. New York: Crown.

Beck, U. (2000). *What is globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bell, D. (2006). Variations on the rural idyll. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 149–160). London: Sage.

Butler, R., & Hall, M. (1998). Image and reimaging of rural areas. In C. Richard Butler, M. Hall, & J. Jenkins (Eds.), *Tourism and recreation in rural areas* (pp. 115–122). Chichester: Willey.

Cloke, P. (2006). Conceptualizing rurality. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 18–27). London: Sage.

Dias, J. (2011). *Aldeias de Xisto – o Turismo como Futuro para as Áreas Rurais*. Unpublished master thesis, Faculty of Architecture, University of Porto, Porto.

ECC. (1988). *The future of rural society* (Bulletin of the European Communities, Vol. 4/88). Brussels: European Communities Commission.

Figueiredo, E. (2003a). *Um Rural para Viver, Outro para Visitar – o Ambiente nas Estratégias de Desenvolvimento para as Áreas Rurais*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Aveiro, Aveiro.

Figueiredo, E. (2003b). Quantas mais 'aldeias típicas' conseguimos suportar? Algumas reflexões a propósito do turismo como instrumento de desenvolvimento local em meio rural. In *Turismo em Espaços Rurais e Naturais, orgs. Orlando Simões and Artur Cristóvão* (pp. 85–81). Coimbra: IPC.

Figueiredo, E. (2008). Imagine there's no rural – The transformation of rural spaces into places of nature conservation in Portugal. *European Urban and Regional Studies, 15*(2), 159–171.

Figueiredo, E. (2009). *Ser rural ou parecer rural?* Representações rurais e urbanas do ambiente, do desenvolvimento e da ruralidade. In *Os Territórios de Baixa Densidade em Tempos de Mudança* (coords. F. Oliveira Baptista, Rui Jacinto, & Teresa Mendes, pp. 87–103). Proença-a-Nova: CCVF/CMPN.

Figueiredo, E., & Raschi, A. (2012). Immersed in green? Reconfiguring the Italian countryside through rural tourism promotional materials. In K. Hyde, C. Ryan, & A. Woodside (Eds.), *Field guide for case study research in tourism, hospitality and leisure* (pp. 17–44). Bingley: Emerald Publishers.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Grimes, S. (2000). Rural areas in the information society: Diminishing distance or increasing learning capacity? *Journal of Rural Studies, 16*, 13–21.

Halfacree, K. (1993). Locality and social representation: Space, discourse and alternative definitions of the rural. *Journal of Rural Studies, 9*, 1–15.

Halfacree, K. (1995). Talking about rurality: Social representations of the rural as expressed by residents of six English parishes. *Journal of Rural Studies, 11*, 1–20.

Halfacree, K. (2007). Trial by space for a 'radical rural': Introducing alternative localities, representations and lives. *Journal of Rural Studies, 23*, 125–141.

Hannerz, U. (1996). *Transnational connections*. London: Routledge.

Jollivet, M. (1997). Des campagnes paysannes au rural 'vert': naissance d'une ruralité postindustriel. In M. Jollivet (Ed.), *Vers un Rural Postindustriel – Rural et Environnement en Huit Pays Européens* (pp. 77–126). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Kastenholz, E. (2004). 'Management of demand' as a tool in sustainable tourist destination development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 12*(5), 388–408.

Leger, D., & Hervieu, B. (1985). La nature des néo-ruraux. In A. Cadoret (Ed.), *Protection de la nature: Histoire et Idéologie – de la Nature à l'Environnement* (pp. 152–160). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Mansinho, M. I., & Schmidt, L. (1997). Réinventer le rural par l'environnement'. In M. Jollivet (Ed.), *Vers un Rural Postindustriel – Rural et Environnement en Huit Pays Européens* (pp. 261–308). Paris: L'Harmattan.

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

Mormont, M. (1990). Who is rural? Or how to be rural? Towards a sociology of the rural. In T. Marsden, P. Lowe, & S. Whatmore (Eds.), *Rural restructuring – Global processes and their responses* (pp. 21–44). London: David Fulton.

Mormont, M. (1994). La agricultura en el espacio rural europeo. *Agricultura y Sociedad, 71*, 17–49.

Murdoch, J., & Pratt, A. (1997). From the power of topography to the topography of power – A discourse on strange ruralities. In P. Cloke & J. Little (Eds.), *Contested countryside cultures – Otherness, marginalization and rurality* (pp. 51–69). London: Routledge.

Nave, J. G. (2003). O rural e os seus duplos. In P. Chão (Ed.), *José Portela and João Caldas* (pp. 129–148). Oeiras: Celta.

Oliveira Baptista, F. (1993). *Agricultura, Espaço e Sociedade Rural*. Coimbra: Fora do Texto.

Oliveira Baptista, F. (1996). Declínio de um tempo longo. In *O Voo do Arado* (coord. Joaquim Pais de Brito, pp. 35–75). Lisbon: Dom Quixote.

Oliveira Baptista, F. (2004). *Rural e Agricultura*. Lecture given at the II Congresso de Estudos Rurais – Espaços Rurais Periféricos. Angra do Heroísmo: University of the Azores.

Oliveira Baptista, F. (2006). O rural depois da agricultura. In M. L. Fonseca (Ed.), *Desenvolvimento e Território – Espaços Rurais Pós-agrícolas e os Novos Lugares de Turismo e Lazer* (pp. 85–100). Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Geográficos.

Phillips, M., Fish, R., & Agg, J. (2001). Putting together ruralities: Towards a symbolic analysis of rurality in the British mass media. *Journal of Rural Studies, 17*, 1–21.

Picon, B. (1992). Le citoyen, le savant, le journaliste et le politique. In M. Jollivet (Ed.), *Sciences de la Nature, Sciences de la Société – les Passeurs de Frontiéres* (pp. 41–53). Paris: CNRS.

Portela, J. (2003). Portugal-chão: que futuro futurível? In J. Portela & J. Caldas (Eds.), *Portugal Chão* (pp. 3–33). Oeiras: Celta.

Ramos, B. (2008). Rede do património do xisto: A linguagem universal dos artesãos do património. *Revista Aldeias de Xisto*, *4* – série II, 88–97.

Ramos-Real, E. (1995). De la crisis a la regeneración rural. In SPER (Ed.), *Proceedings of the III Colóquio Hispano-Português de Estudos Rurais* (pp. 125–149). Lisbon: SPER.

Redclift, M., & Woodgate, G. (1994). Sociology and the environment: Discordant discourse? In M. Redclift & T. Benton (Eds.), *Social theory and the global environment* (pp. 51–66). London: Routledge.

Rolo, J. (1996). Imagens de meio século da agricultura portuguesa. In *O Voo do Arado* (coord. Joaquim Pais de Brito, pp. 77–160). Lisbon: Dom Quixote.

Silva, L. (2007). A procura do Turismo em Espaço Rural. *Etnográfica, 11*(1), 141–163.

Silva, L. (2009). *Casas no Campo. Etnografia do Turismo Rural em Portugal*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Urry, J. (2002). *The tourist gaze* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
Urry, J. (2003). *Global complexity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Woods, M. (2007). Engaging the global countryside: Globalization, hybridity and the reconstitu-
  tion of rural place. *Progress in Human Geography, 31*(4), 485–507.
Zhou, Q., & DeSantis, R. (2005). Usability issues in city tourism website design: A content analy-
  sis. In *2005 IEEE International Professional Communication Conference Proceedings, IEEE*
  (pp. 789–796).

Chapter 10
Connecting Food Memories with the Rural: The Case of Portuguese and British Consumers

Mónica Truninger

10.1 Introduction

In Proust's classic novel *In Search of Lost Time*, the smell and taste of a magdalena dipped into an afternoon tea had such an evocative power that allowed the narrator to rekindle the memory of his son. In this chapter, we propose a similar exercise (albeit without soaked cookies!): to unveil the urban–rural linkages and trajectories across time through the evocative power of food, often conflated with organic and local foods' meanings, in the memories of British and Portuguese consumers. By doing so, we want to show that food memories can contribute, to a certain extent, to overcome the rural–urban divide but without totally effacing its differences. The empirical material draws on about 60 interviews in total with consumers in the city of Lisbon (Portugal) and in two British rural areas.

This chapter is organised into three main parts. First, we will describe the historical configurations of urban–rural relations in Portugal and the United Kingdom [UK], theoretically frame the concept of food memory employed in the analysis and give an account of the methodological steps followed in this research; then an analysis of food memories by British and Portuguese consumers is undertaken; and lastly, we offer concluding comments revisiting the main argument of this chapter.

M. Truninger (✉)
Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal
e-mail: monica.truninger@ics.ul.pt

10.2 Histories of Rural–Urban Food Configurations in Portugal and the UK

Conversely to the UK, Portugal has long been associated with a 'rural' society. This image stems from the fact that until the 1960s the majority of the population lived in the countryside and the main contribution to the GDP came from agriculture. By the end of the 1950s, and above all in the 1960s, several episodes marked important shifts in Salazar's authoritarian regime that had set about major transformations in the Portuguese society from the 1970s until nowadays. Some of these episodes were the dismantling of the Portuguese colonial empire, the rural exodus and migration to Europe, the EFTA membership that intensified a closer relationship to international markets and the political climate that started transpiring the tangible possibility of a regime change (this would happen later in 1974 with the military coup and the 'carnation revolution').

These changes have reconfigured urban–rural relations, wherein a trend towards urbanisation and intensification of fluxes of people and foods between country and city became more apparent. This urbanisation trajectory was consolidated during the democratic regime and, above all, after the accession of Portugal to the Economic European Community in 1986. Some Portuguese scholars (Carmo 2007) in the trail of rural international studies (Cloke et al. 2006) identify in the country a similar process that started much earlier in the UK – the 'urbanisation' of the countryside – which, they argue, renders spurious a rhetoric around the urban–rural divide. This chapter contributes to this debate where we hypothesise whether consumers use their rural food memories to contrast with the current industrial foods available in both urban and rural spaces, reinforcing the differences between these two realms instead of totally effacing them.

In the UK, the rural exodus started much earlier and an important moment towards urbanisation can be located during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that saw unprecedented levels of urban and industrial growth hollowing out a substantial part of the countryside's human resources to feed the cities (Short 2006). Throughout the twentieth century, major transformations in the British countryside took place that seemingly reconfigured urban–rural relationships. Some commentators bemoaned the end of British local food cultures and plead for their survival (Spencer 2004). Continuous large-scale processes of intensification of production, expansion of scale and transformation towards 'factory' methods of production, distribution and retailing are said to have rendered food increasingly homogeneous and 'placeless'.

The dominant trend has been towards fast food, standardisation and massification (Murdoch 2006). Even when authors put the stress on countervailing processes of re-localisation and re-territorialisation, their arguments imply that the British have already been through a stage entailing a drastic loss of local influences and differentiation. Most of the British population is now several generations away from any direct knowledge or contact with rural life, including agriculture and food production (Truninger and Day 2013). Instead, in Portugal this generation gap is much shorter, wherein contacts between rural and urban networks occur on a regular basis.

But even in Britain, the elimination of the local was never complete. At the regional level, for example, the British countryside remains differentiated between a number of economically and socially contrasting patterns, according to the influence exerted by different networks of rural interests, and different modes of development, as well as different varieties of production. This gives rise to diverse and multiple 'ruralities' within which a varied range of local interests can be seen to play an active role in developing their localities (Murdoch et al. 2003). Amongst those exerting influence over the reconstitution of rurality are consumption interests of various kinds (Marsden et al. 2000).

Despite the pressures of productivist agriculture and the accompanying impulse towards the rationalisation and standardisation of consumption, recent movements try to revive various qualities associated with different foods, which are evocative of plural ruralities (local, organic, traditional products or reinventions) and channelled through multiple market scales (Tregear 2003). Thus, these foods are embedded in interstitial places trapped between two paradigms: one towards food re-localisation and another towards food globalisation (Morgan et al. 2006). It is, then, apposite to explore these interstitial spaces and their impact on consumption of local and organic foods in two countries that, despite having remarkably different agricultural and rural histories, share similar turning points in the rural–urban configuration.

Our entry point is the exploration of the relationship between food and memory. This subject has recently cast the attention of several scholars (Sutton 2001; Carolan 2011). Food is not only good to think with but also good to remember spaces, landscapes and visceral sensations. In the analysis we will closely follow Carolan (2011: 39), wherein memory is deemed as a process; 'a dynamic, shifting, and productive event rooted in a lived experience that cannot be reduced to words or an image'. Thus, by 'unpacking how memories are *performed*' in everyday life (Carolan 2011: 40; emphasis in original), we envisage to piece together an important part of the historical biography of the plurality of images of the rural, how these are enacted in practice and how they help to reinforce or efface the rural–urban divide.

The empirical material is drawn from a substantial amount of data collected in two periods of time and framed by two different projects. The first is 'Organic Food in Portugal: Conventions and Justifications' (2001–2005) (Truninger 2005, 2010). The research is a qualitative study based on 30 in-depth interviews on meanings of and justification for consuming organic foods amongst a sample of urban residents of Lisbon. A large majority of this group was recruited whilst visiting the annual organic fair of 2002. Only a small part was enrolled through the snowball method. The criteria for selecting interviewees considered the discretionary power of food shopping, gender, education and individuals with or without children.

The second, funded by UK Research Councils through the programme Rural Economy and Land Use (RELU), entails the project 'Comparative merits of consuming vegetables produced locally and overseas' (2005–2008) (Edwards-Jones et al. 2008; Truninger and Day 2013). One part of this large interdisciplinary project looked at the sociological aspects of producing and consuming local foods in British rural areas. The empirical material draws on 31 semi-structured interviews with rural residents in Anglesey (Wales) and Herefordshire (England)

looking at local food meanings, routines and food memories. Interviewees were recruited according to specific criteria: age, gender, having children or not, marital status and household income. Despite our best efforts to get low-income participants, the overall sample was skewed towards middle classes.

All data were reanalysed with the help of the qualitative software NVivo 8, filtering down different themes for scrutiny such as meanings of organic and local foods, food memories and imageries of the rural, participation of rural social networks in the organisation of food practices, the justifications for consuming local and organic foods, shopping habits and provisioning systems.

10.3   Food Memories and Images of the Rural: A Tale of Two Countries

10.3.1   The British Countryside and Foodways in Rural Areas

The idea that British consumers have long broken the umbilical cord with rural areas is challenged by the sensory food memories of the many interviewees who were able to recall their childhood times. Conversations revolved around the food contents and dynamics of family meals and on the changes of food provisioning systems (own production, itinerant food trade, local shops or big supermarket chains) across different periods of time of the twentieth-century British history. The fact that we were able to capture various periods was explained by the wide range of interviewees' ages in the sample. Some childhood memories evoked the wartime with its harsh experiences with food rationing, others could still recall the periods immediately after World War II (1950s and 1960s), and yet others, the youngest generation, talked about the 1970s and 1980s, evoking the increasing penetration of convenience foods and big supermarket chains in their family food routines. Changes in production-consumption networks and rural–urban relations in Britain can be glimpsed through the voices of the people interviewed, particularly accounting for the transformations in two rural areas: the island of Anglesey in North Wales and the county of Herefordshire in England.

The island of Anglesey, off the north Wales coast, is relatively poor in terms of crop production, even though it was once renowned as the breadbasket for Wales for its production of arable crops (e.g. corn and wheat). Sheep and cattle constitute its main agricultural products. Herefordshire, a county in Central England, is known for its varied horticultural production, and especially for its apples (and cider), hops and distinctive beef cattle. Anglesey suffers from its peripheral location and has a number of social and economic problems, including some substantial experience of rural deprivation. Herefordshire has a more affluent social profile, although it is not without its own share of social exclusion and marginality. Both counties remain predominantly rural. Their main urban centres are either historic cathedral cities (Hereford) or market towns, and agriculture continues to play a central role in their local economies (see Truninger and Day 2013).

In the course of the conversations on food memories, some of these contrasting features between the two rural areas cropped up. For example, the image of Anglesey associated with the 'bread basket' of Wales given its strong past as a cereals production area transpires in the interviews, whereas living in Herefordshire was considered 'lucky' given the easy access to fruit and vegetables. Regarding the foods eaten in the past, most remember having wholesome and 'traditional' cooked meals, prepared from scratch with fresh ingredients and composed of meat and two vegetables with gravy. The Sunday lunch comprised roast meat (pork, lamb, chicken or beef), vegetables and gravy and was often eaten together. Thus, family meals lingered in the memories of some participants as the ideal context for a 'proper meal' (Murcott 1983):

> You always had a roast dish on a Sunday, particularly in the winter, we ate as a family at the table, I still do that now… a TV dinner is a treat, not a regular thing… I eat at the table… we have napkins… we weren't very wealthy by any stretch, far from it…but dunno… I like pomp and circumstance sitting down the table, I really do! (Anna, 48 years old, Anglesey)

Other foodstuffs were also mentioned, namely, pies, the gradual introduction of convenience foods (especially recollected by the younger generations) and Italian fares (spaghetti Bolognese), the latter associated with exotic or adventurous cooking, often prepared by the mother. Fish rarely featured in these memory accounts, which perhaps might be explained by a skewed sample towards the middle classes. According to Spencer (2004: 307), in the 1930s 'the rich ate over the double the amount of fresh fish than the poor, and surprisingly four times the amount of tinned fish, salmon and sardines being the most popular varieties'.

Regional food differences were also reported. Anglesey's interviewees talked about *lobscows* (a traditional stew from North Wales), whereas Herefordshire participants mentioned the 'plain English fare' (e.g. cottage pies, roasts, steamed puddings, wholesome soups):

> Plain English fare! There would be the big pan of soup, that was made on a Saturday, and somehow stretch until Thursday, added to with bits leftover, always a big pot of soup, there was the Sunday roast, Thursday night was always a bit lean because that was the day before pay day and there was no money, so quite often something like bacon and eggs or something, there were stews, roasts, always meat, very little fish that I can remember, fish was quite expensive, steamed puddings, and custard, which I like, rice puddings, and of course the infamous Sunday tea, fish paste sandwiches and fruit cake, that what I remember when I was young – good food! (Bob, 60 years old, Herefordshire)

'Plain', 'basic', 'local' and 'fresh' foods are some of the adjectives chosen by interviewees to categorise the sort of foods they used to eat when young. Many regard these as 'good' and 'tasty' and, somehow, different from packaged and processed foods, but not necessarily healthier:

> I think we all grew up with tasty food rather than healthy food but there was an element of freshness as far as the food was the actual food itself you know from local shops or from local markets, but I suppose we were not aware of things like fat and salt, you know that kinda cooking…. (Menna, 59 years old, Anglesey)

However, we could find in Beryl's account contradictory views regarding the healthiness of these foods. They were considered fresher, less processed, almost

preservative-free and for that reason much healthier than today's foods available in supermarkets:

> A lot less processed foods… when I was young my father used to get sheep close to an old mill…one of our neighbours used to grow rabbits which we didn't actually like but occasionally we would have rabbit stew, that type of food… I think it's far healthier, less preservatives…it was food that was coming from a field… rather than a Sommerfield [supermarket chain] dish…. (Beryl, 59 years old, Anglesey)

Other foods have more of an exotic or international taste and were associated with 'adventurous' or 'unfamiliar'. Examples of unfamiliar fruits and vegetables were kale, broccoli, avocado and Brussels sprouts. Some interviewees remember the difficulty of finding these foods in retail shops and how seldom these would feature in family meals. Similarly, dishes such as Spaghetti Bolognese and curries were not common in rural food diets in the 1950s and 1960s, and even some remember that, in the 1970s, going out for a Chinese or Indian meal was perceived as a fairly unusual thing to do. In fact, it was around the 1960s that Indian restaurants started to open. In the 1970s, Chinese restaurants became more visible in British towns with the influx of immigrants fleeing from Maoist China, Hong Kong and other Asian territories and then employed in the service sector (Spencer 2004: 326):

> [Mum] she was pretty varied really as a cook… we used to have the normal things like stews and casseroles and roasting on a Sunday but she would sort of do… sort of spaghetti Bolognese which was something different then…. (Karen, 44 years old, Anglesey)

> I mean we were taken to restaurants from a very early age so I remember going to Chinese and Indian restaurants from probably late 1960s and early 1970s when that was an unusual thing to do for people to eat out a lot but we always did…. (Lucy, 43 years old, Herefordshire)

One aspect is the unfamiliarity of eating foodstuffs that were not available on a large scale at the time, and another is the unavailability of foods due to disruptive episodes like the war. Some interviewees in the sample remember living through wartime (World War II) and the harsh rationing days, which lasted for 14 years (1939–1953) (Spencer 2004: 318). War affected food imports, which were severely controlled if not totally disrupted by commerce raiding. Lindy still remembers how 'England […] suffered enormously from U-boats invading our lives and supply ships'. That meant that for some, foods that were not local, i.e. grown in the UK, were a rare sight. Terry recalls the pleasure of eating a banana with friends for the first time and of being clueless on how to peel it:

> Right, well I was born in 1936, so let's say from the age of three to the age of ten or eleven, it was wartime. There were no foreign imports, during the whole war I doubt we saw one banana. Once had a banana and I didn't know what it was. I didn't know how to eat it, I didn't know you had to unzip it, three of us shared it and we were delighted. (Terry, 70 years old, Herefordshire)

The great dependence of Britain on international trade due to its maritime power and free trade policies at the onset of the twentieth century had drastic consequences during wartime (especially World War I) (Oddy 1995). Indeed, just before the start of World War II, Britain had only 30 % of food's self-sufficiency, compared with 86 % for Germany (Spencer 2004: 313). Difficulties of food access forced the
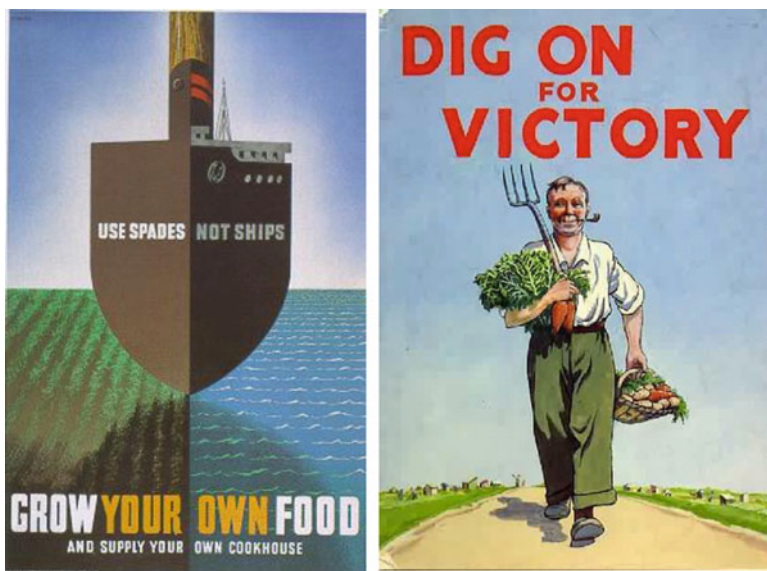
Fig. 10.1 Two posters of the 'Dig for Victory' campaign in World War II (*Source*: http://www. homesweethomefront.co.uk/web_pages/hshf_dig_for_victory_pg.htm. Accessed 24 October 2012)

government to adopt new strategies, encouraging many families to turn to growing their own food. This was galvanised by a big campaign put forward by the Ministry of Agriculture in October of 1939 – the Dig for Victory campaign.[1] It greatly incited British families to turn to the land as a survival technique (see Fig. 10.1). Subsequently, the allotment movement grew significantly during this time, and by the middle of the war 'over half of all manual workers were producing food from either an allotment plot or garden, and by the war's end there were approximately 1,500,000 allotments' (Viljoen 2005: 101).

Many participants still have fond memories of eating home-grown vegetables. Gardens were often tended by their parents or grandparents and consisted of an important source for the household food provisioning. A variety of vegetables and fruits were available in the garden, from potatoes, carrots, greens and salads, to bush fruits such as raspberries, gooseberries and blackberries. Many remember foraging for wild herbs and fruits, together with hunting for rabbits and other animals. A few had farm animals such as chickens, mostly to get the eggs from and exchange for other goods:

> It was a total economy where even local householders kept a few chickens because they could exchange eggs for something else, perhaps cheese from the countryside. (Terry, 70 years old, Herefordshire)

---

[1] Interestingly, a similar campaign with objectives alike took place in Portugal during the war. It was called Campaign for Agricultural Production (1942–1943) with the motto *Producing and Saving Today More than Yesterday*, promoted by the Ministry of Economy (Freire 2008). Contrary to British interviewees, the Portuguese respondents failed to mention it.

Barbara remembers how eating chicken was a luxury treat, often saved for special occasions like Christmas:

> When I was younger it was basically meat and two veg, but we were actually laughing about this some months ago, because I can remember as a child my father used to say: "I think this year we'll have a treat at Christmas, we'll have a chicken", and I use to think "We've got chicken"! To us that was a luxury when I was little! (Barbara, 55 years old, Herefordshire)

She then reflects on the dramatic changes of intensive poultry production over the last 40 years:

> So I can see over the last 40 odd years how, well you can say it's a long time but it's not, how we've actually gone from a chicken being something that was bred a few, to all of a sudden there's thousands and millions of them being bred isn't there, and it's gone to complete total reverse, it's now the chicken that's the cheap meat, and your beef is the one that's – yes, yeah definitely! I mean we always used to have cuts of meat, we never had like burgers or chicken nuggets, you had a chop or a piece of beef or something or a piece of liver. You had proper meat, there was none of the produced – nothing that was processed. (Barbara, 55 years old, Herefordshire)

That was a time shielded from current ethical concerns on the welfare of animals. Some of these concerns fall on the intensive poultry production wherein hens are confined to battery cages shared with millions of other birds of the same species. In the UK, there has been a steady increase in the production and consumption of chicken over the last 50 years (see Miele 2011). Fifty years ago, British consumers would eat one bird per person per year, whereas at the beginning of the twenty-first century, this figure reached 23 kg per person per year revealing a staggering growth and scale of intensive poultry systems over the last decades (Miele 2011: 2080).

Apart from vegetable gardens, which had a considerable weight in household food provisioning, participants mentioned how their families used to shop locally or order from itinerary trade initiatives. These supply initiatives were prevalent before the advent of big supermarket chains. Shops were within walking distance; the car was seldom used for shopping trips, and when it was used, it was reserved for weekend shopping:

> [Shopping] That was locally. Where we lived we were fortunate to have two quite large shopping areas, three actually […] but the difference was we walked to them, we didn't use a car or anything… So, you'd got everything there, you'd got your supermarket, you'd got your small little butchers, you'd got your baker, the fishmongers, so even then it was still better than what it is now. (Barbara, 55 years old, Herefordshire)

> Again… this was a very different world… they used to just phone the local greengrocers and put in the order… we never went shopping… it was always a question of phoning the greengrocers, phoning the butcher, everybody used to deliver…it was before the oil prices in the 1970s… petrol was cheap so it was a cheap delivery…. (Carrie, 54 years old, Anglesey)

Food retailing underwent a significant revolution from personal service provided by small shops and home deliveries (e.g. bread, milk, fish, fruit and vegetables) to self-service operations by large supermarket chains. Food was perceived as local and fresher than today's foods. The different nature of shopping majorly

affected the organisation of everyday life in many urban and especially rural areas as interviewees recall. One of the traces left by the engulfing of retail power in the food system was the disappearance of corner shops from high streets of rural towns, as remembered by Eleanor and Beryl in different areas of the UK:

> I remember my mum used to buy, when I was a teenager I suppose, I used to buy fruit in a greengrocers in the middle of the town and I remember that shop closing, because of the pressure of the supermarkets. There was a local baker, and for a long time we did used to buy bread exclusively from that local baker… and eventually that disappeared as well. (Eleanor, 32 years old, Herefordshire)

> There were a lot more greengrocers in the High Street… my mother used to shop everyday and it would be fresh and there weren't supermarkets as such… obviously it was local produce which was brought in therefore fresher…. (Beryl, 59 years old, Anglesey)

So far, we were able to trace some of the transformations of the British food system and the rural landscape through the food memories of the sample of participants. We are now going to turn to Portuguese urban consumers, whose links to the countryside still persist.

10.3.2   The Portuguese City and Foodways in Urban Areas

Most Portuguese participants resided in the city of Lisbon. Their food memories allowed for tracing some of the biggest transformations that occurred in the relations between the city of Lisbon, its immediate rural hinterland and more distant rural areas over the last 50 years. From the 1960s onwards, Lisbon suffered from an influx of different populations that arrived asynchronously in search of an ideal of 'good life'. In this timeframe, we can trace a first wave of circulation of people from rural areas (e.g. Alentejo, Minho, Trás-os-Montes) both to inner urban areas and suburban areas of Lisbon and also outwards to distant European countries (e.g. France, Switzerland, Luxembourg) and North American states (e.g. Rhode island). Between 1960 and 1974, about 1.5 million inhabitants left the country (Barreto 2000). The mid-1970s marked a significant shift in the political regime, from an authoritarian state (1926–1974) to a democratic regime. An embroiled colonial war ended, and with it the independence of African ex-colonies (e.g. Mozambique, Cape Verde, Angola) was granted. This resulted in an influx of more than 600,000 inhabitants from African ex-colonies on a single year (Barreto 2000: 41). Most of this population influx heightened a suburbanisation process of the city of Lisbon, contributing to its urban sprawl.

In the mid-1980s, the accession of Portugal to the European Economic Community (now the European Union) marked an important turning point in the food supply system, with the increasing liberalisation and globalisation of the markets. An influx of exotic and unfamiliar food products arrived in the domestic market, partly changing the eating habits of the Portuguese. It was also during this period, and especially in the 1990s, that another wave of foreign population

arrived in the country: Brazilians, Asians and Eastern Europeans (especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dismantling of communist nation states). The permeability of the Mediterranean diet to ethnic, cosmopolitan and international tastes soon became a reality difficult to shun away, leaving some of its traces in the increasingly rich protein (meat and dairy based), fat, sugar and salty diets.

The recent history of the country can be witnessed through the personal biographies of interviewees. In the sample, some were born in African countries and spent part of their childhood and youth 'tasting the other', which contrasted with the more familiar Mediterranean tastes. Others had a strong rural family background spending much of their childhood living in or visiting small countryside villages of inland Portugal:

> I lived in the city, but a part of my childhood was spent in Africa… and maybe compared to nowadays food was very limited there… there was a lot of preserved foods, tinned foods or cans, milk was in the powder version or condensed milk… we did not drink fresh milk… we had a lot of fruit from South Africa which was very good, still is… but fruit and vegetables mostly from the fields, the countryside. (Margarida, 53 years old, originally from France, lived in Mozambique)

> We had a house in the village in Alentejo where we spent the Summer months and my uncles were all farmers and, therefore, had many products … we consumed home-grown vegetables, either from our family or that was given to us… meat, fish… and the flavour was a bit different… I really miss it! (Afonso, 58 years old, originally from Alentejo)

Like the British case, food memories of several Portuguese interviewees are permeated with commendation for country flavours. The experience of eating home-grown foods is infused with singular aesthetics, i.e. smells, tastes and looks. Moreover, associations with seasonality, localness, healthiness, safety and freshness were often found when referring to foods that were grown in countryside's gardens or farms:

> At the time, the idea of people wanting all year round strawberries was not so popular as it is today… food from the countryside was produced in season, and available in particular times of the year… I think this way of eating was very healthy… people would eagerly wait for the cherries season… I love cherries… and when there weren't cherries it was a drag… but nowadays you hardly get thrilled when you see them, as they are available all year round…. (Josefa, 52 years old, originally from Coimbra)

> I was born in the countryside … so I drank cow's milk directly from the cow, I had chickens, eggs, everything I consumed was local… all was provided by the soil, the ground… in fact there are flavours that I haven't forgotten, which were very peculiar to the local area and that I could never experience again…. (Ana Maria, 50 years old, originally from Lisbon's rural hinterland)

Ana Maria's past-lived experiences with country fare are profusely inscribed in sensorial articulations with food, it being a good illustration of embodied food tastes (Carolan 2011). Such 'peculiar' tastes connect bodies (and mouths, tongues or stomachs) to nature in intricate ways and are reminiscent of the sensorial, emotional and quality elements ascribed to *terroir* products (Freire and Truninger 2011). These products' flavours are unlike any others because they express the characteristics of the local climate, soils, minerals, skills and know-how. By eating or drinking such foods, Ana Maria absorbs directly something of the locality, for her body becomes bound

up with the territory (DeLind 2006). What is interesting in this case is that urban memories are intrinsically evocative of rural embodied landscapes, reminding us that food and memory are powerful tools that cut across the urban–rural divide but without effacing its differences.

And yet, not all foodstuffs from the countryside were wrapped up in good memories. The visceral reactions that Fernando has towards milk evoke a host of sensations and less positive rural memories. In this case, milk obtains remarkable 'mnemonic powers' (Carolan 2011) that enact in the present rural foodways of the past:

> A long time ago I stopped drinking milk, cheese and butter I still eat, but not milk… and this is not a very rational explanation but I think it is because when I was a kid my grandma had dairy cows, and I was forced mostly every day, early morning before going to school, to drink milk directly from the cow without being boiled… that caused me nausea… and since then I've been avoiding milk… even nowadays I don't touch milk…. (Fernando, 54 years old, originally from Lourinhã)

When asked about the sorts of foods and meals eaten, respondents described a diet that resembles Mediterranean foodways: fish (grilled or boiled), vegetables, fruit, olive oil, salads, small quantities of meat and, for the older generations, very few dairy products (yoghurts, butter or milk). Some of the meat would be sourced from their families' or neighbouring farms (chickens, rabbits and the odd pig that was put down to feed an entire family for several months):

> I was bred on a healthy and sound diet given by my parents… only good quality and healthy products from the countryside… no yogurts… cow's milk once in a while, but yoghurts you wouldn't see them, they didn't exist at the time. (Francisca, 50 years old, originally from Oporto)

> I think that my family had extremely healthy food habits … because grandma didn't like meat, so our diet was based on fish (often grilled), loaded with raw garlic, chopped parsley, olive oil, tomato salads, onions and oregano, soup, so we had a Southern European diet… chicken sometimes that we reared ourselves…. (Gloria, 59 years old, originally from France)

If the older generations were fed on a culturally shared Mediterranean diet, younger generations remember eating convenience and fast foods, accounting for the nutrition transition of Portuguese food diets. It is a fact that the traditional Mediterranean countries are distancing themselves further apart from the ideal type of this diet with the inclusion of large amounts of meat protein in their food habits (especially chicken and pork), fats, sugar and salt (Freire and Truninger 2012). However, the consumption of fruits and vegetables has increased over the years, given its easier access through supermarkets, the popularisation of exotic fruits and unfamiliar vegetables and the rise of nutritional awareness concerning the benefits of eating these foods. Some of the interviewees recall the transformations in the range and variety of foodstuffs, greatly contrasting with childhood times:

> What I notice in Portugal is that we have a bigger variety of products that in the past did not exist… even 20 years ago most people did not know certain foods… nobody knew what endives were, artichokes, or asparagus, although people knew what wild asparagus were, there is a bigger variety, fruit is perhaps prettier although of worse quality. (Margarida, 53 years old, originally from France)

Similar to the British case, Portuguese interviewees experienced a trajectory towards more food variety. By eschewing nature constraints of seasonality and freshness, food could be transported across greater distances, providing year-round availability and widening participation in food consumption. Luxurious goods stopped being confined to a small elite. On the contrary, the modernisation of the food system implied that a shift from a *taste of luxury* to a *taste of necessity* operated in many family households across the country. Gloria remembers the pleasure of eating bananas from the island of Madeira (the only place where bananas were imported from at the time):

> We would only eat bananas from Madeira… there was no bananas at the time… not from Ecuador or Brazil as nowadays… it was only from Madeira, and very little quantity… eating a banana was a true pleasure! (Glória, 59 years old, originally from France)

Glória's enthusiasm resembles Terry's when he shared a banana with friends for the first time after the war. According to Sutton (2001: 97), '[t]his suggests some basis for the Proustian phenomenon of remembering through evocation of a powerful sensory image: the sweetness of a banana hardly seems similar to that of an orange, and yet, as an image of a food with a strikingly sweet flavor, "banana" does have a certain evocative power'.

In tandem and co-evolving with the availability of foods all year round, the provisioning system also suffered transformations. There was a decrease of traditional retail shops (where most Portuguese would shop) and the gradual penetration of supermarkets, especially in the 1990s. According to a report by Nielsen (1997), 5,854 greengrocers disappeared (out of 28,500 units), whilst the volume of sales of the four biggest retailing groups was 60 % of the total volume (Cachinho 2002: 91). More recently, hypermarkets and supermarkets accounted for 'over 75 % of the urban market' (Kjaernes et al. 2007: 136).

However, contrary to the UK, the concentration of power in the food supply chain is not as visible, with food production, distribution and retailing much less developed (Kjaernes et al. 2007: 135). It is perhaps not surprising that the retail market is still characterised by small and medium independent traders and local firms, with several respondents in our sample stating that they often shop for fruit and vegetables, meat and fish in small retail outlets, fairs and markets (e.g. greengrocers, butchers or fishmongers). As demonstrated by Kjaerners et al. (2007: 127) in a study on food trust in Europe, the Italians and especially the Portuguese showed 'how much shopping is undertaken in food markets for tomatoes and butchers for beef'. As reported by one of the interviewees, shopping in fairs and small markets was profusely attached to a sensorial experience, contributing to grafting food quality meanings:

> I always liked the atmosphere of the markets [why?] That's aesthetics really (laughter). The food display, to touch, to smell, the voices, what I think a connection with food should be… how it is bought… it is a way of being closer to the producer… closer to a particular reality. (Ana Maria, 46 years old, Lisbon)

In the next section, we will account for food memories enacted through the daily relational and sensorial experiences of bodies, minds and the materiality of foods, contributing, in part, to reinforcing the rural–urban divide.

10.3.3 Local and Organic Foods: Embodied Past Experiences in Everyday Life

Both British and Portuguese consumers in the sample purchased organic and local foods, some more regularly than others. They all had positive views about these foods, justifying their consumption motivations on several grounds: freshness, taste, health, environment, boosting the local economy, social justice, safety, the greater shelf life of some organic products compared to nonorganic ones and aesthetics (Truninger 2010; Truninger and Day 2013). However, meanings and justifications for consuming organic and local foods encapsulated ambiguities and contradictions too. In the UK, particularly in Herefordshire, there were concerns about consuming local sourced from intensive farming systems based on polytunnels, as these infrastructures were an eyesore on the rural landscape:

> I have a problem with them [polytunnels] from the landscape point of view, it's a very difficult one, because there is no doubt they mar the landscape, you think there's a large expanse of water over there and then you realise it is plastic. (Bob, 60 years old, Herefordshire)

In Portugal, worries about food safety of local foods sourced from traditional farming systems also subsisted given the bad reputation of small-scale farmers regarding mishandling chemical inputs. However, despite some qualms about eating local or organic foods, several participants incorporated these foods in their everyday lives, and by so doing, they contributed to 'repeat, reproduce and transform' food memories (Carolan 2011: 39). Food and its visceral nature is a compelling way of recollection (Sutton 2001; Carolan 2011: 39), especially when our experiences with food are recursively performed – visiting the same places, repeating the same practices and transforming and replicating in our stomachs similar visceral sensations. Food memories are not something stored inside our minds; they are instead enacted and reproduced in everyday life, in ritualised food practices of shopping, cooking and eating. Both British and Portuguese consumers used organic and local foods as powerful mnemonic tools to recast particular images of the rural. Eating in season is one of such images enacting in the present the 'romantic' rural lifestyles of the past. Bob, a 'refugee' from London (as he coins himself), shows great effusiveness when talking about shopping and eating seasonally[2]:

> I got really excited this morning seeing the first rhubarb in the greengrocers; I always used to look forward to the first Yorkshire rhubarb arriving and I know I've got those until the end of March, that's how you – it's fun really, you can get excited about things. Two things I look forward to, rhubarb and asparagus. […] [It's] part of the rhythm of life. I'm being overly romantic probably but just feel that somehow people have got to get back a rhythm into life […] and food in season is a part of that. (Bob, 60 years old, Herefordshire)

---

[2] It is important to note that expressions of easy access to greengrocers and small-scale shops that sell local food were more prominent in Herefordshire rather than in Anglesey. This illustrates aspects of a differentiated countryside in the UK, wherein some regions can better harness local resources (human and natural capitals) to build alternative agro-food networks and mitigate the negative effects of globalisation and modernisation of agriculture (Morgan et al. 2006).

In this urbanite narrative, the hardship and affliction of past rural populations in eating with the seasons is made invisible. This is an account that brings forward the fun and excitement of seasonality but leaves out a feeling of slavery to the whims of nature felt by many country (wo)men. As stated by Montanari (1996: 161), 'symbiosis with nature and dependence upon her rhythms was once practically complete, but this is not to say that such state of affairs was desirable; indeed, at times it was identified as a form of slavery'. The advent of artificial cold systems contributed to liberate rural slaves from the paws of nature, by facilitating access to all-year-round food.

For Manuel, purchasing local was deeply conflated with organic, and both meanings were enacted through his food memories about the tasty apples of his grandparents' farm:

> I remember going to my grandparents' farm, and their apples had an incredible taste… I can still find those tastes in the market… I follow the macrobiotic principles of sourcing food within 50 kilometers radius… there are products that are still very good… you can find pomegranates or persimmons that are free from chemicals… that's why I say that you can find food in the market that is not certified organic but I consider it organic…. (Manuel, 57 years old, Alentejo)

Organic food was also a way of recovering previous embodied food experiences, namely, some food flavours and smells. In this case, eating organic was a doorway to the past that was thought to be lost, bringing to the present real (or imagined) sensory experiences:

> Yes, it is not a mirage… it really happens [living the flavours of the past through organics]… for instance eggs *really* taste like eggs… I'm a sensory person and I remember the smells and flavours of my childhood through eating organic food… I recover some of these flavours now. (Josefa, 53 years old, Coimbra)

In Josefa's narrative, it transpires the recovery of the 'real' taste of eggs through eating organic food. This quest for 'real' tastes encapsulates a search by urbanites for an idyllic, authentic and genuine rural past (Figueiredo in this volume). In Ana Maria's account, we note a different story. Here, there is a sense that organic food should not be seized by images of a rural constructed as a myth by the dreamy and romantic urbanites:

> I guess supporting organic food is also a way of giving a signal to the government that people should not be removed from the countryside… although I wouldn't want to let pass the idea of a romantic country life… because it is very hard to live in the country… does not seem to me to be desirable to have peasants like those of yesteryear…. (Ana Maria, 50 years old, Lisbon)

Through these narratives, we were able to show how organic and local foods have mnemonic powers to recast multilayered and plural images of the rural (Figueiredo et al. 2011). Despite the plurality of such rural images, at times fabricated, at others, intertwining dreams, expectations and real experiences, they are enacted on everyday life through local and organic food embodiments.

10.4   Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we explored the meanings of organic and local foods amongst Portuguese urban and British rural consumers through their food memories. The analysis of about 60 interviews with consumers of local and organic foods in a city of Portugal and in two rural areas of Britain pieced together different engagements with food embedded in disparate rural–urban configurations. These are deeply shaped by cultural, social and political histories of food, rurality and agriculture and urbanisation and consumption in the two countries. It was possible to identify similar processes through which Portugal and the UK went through across time: the reconfiguration of provisioning systems, from corner shops to big supermarket chains; food scares (e.g. BSE or foot and mouth) that impelled a fast transformation of producers' and consumers' practices; and processes of institutional, social and market mobilisation around 'quality' food, with the diffusion of organic and local foods from the margins to the marketplace.

The sample of British consumers from Anglesey and Herefordshire were able to revisit a rural past where the availability of food was seasonal, local and fresh and sourced from their own gardens, itinerary trade initiatives, corner shops or markets. The younger generations in the sample witnessed the advent of the supermarkets, ethnic restaurants and convenience foods, which are part of urbanisation processes that engulfed many rural towns in the UK. Despite Britain being considered to be a country that has long lost its rural connection, food memories were a gateway to images of the rural, many still enacted on a daily basis through the local and organic food networks that have sprung up across the country in recent years. Undoubtedly, some rural regions could mobilise better their human and natural capitals to build these networks, Herefordshire being a case in point.

The sample of Portuguese consumers resident in the city of Lisbon were also able to rekindle a rural past, despite living most of their lives in a city that has increasingly become cosmopolitan, with an influx of migration and global foods in its domestic market. Many interviewees still had their social networks in inland rural areas of the country and used those to get access to 'quality' food. What connects the histories of the participants in these two countries? How does this illustrate the plurality of the rural and its interconnections with urban areas? How does this contribute to debates on the urban–rural divide?

In participants' accounts, food memories were important to disclose conversations in between two worlds: the rural and the urban foodscapes. The evocative power of food in the memories of participants brought them closer, instead of rendering them apart. But rekindling the past and the foodways of childhood was more than a nostalgia exercise. The fact that consumers could have access to local and organic foods in the present (some more easily than others, depending on their spatial location) 'made the past something that could always-already be experienced' (Carolan 2011: 82). Whilst nostalgia fixes things and people upon previous

experience – and can be applied to recreate McRural spaces (Figueiredo in this volume) – the performance of food memories 'becomes not something that one returns to but something that one dwells within and creates' (Carolan 2011: 82). Food memories deemed as recursive lived experiences shared by both rural and urban consumers in different countries contribute, in part, to overcome the rural–urban divide. However, it does not conflate the two realms. This is corroborated with Ana Maria's words: 'When I am in Trás-os-Montes [a remote rural region of Portugal] I feel that I am in a different place, the smell of the countryside is different, the taste of the food is different'. Hence, the divisions between city and countryside, rural and urban, are ever-changing and intertwined in everyday life sensuous handling of foods, connecting memories and plural images of the rural and urban lived experiences in intricate and reinforcing ways.

References

Barreto, A. (org.). (2000). A Situação Social em Portugal 1960–1999. *Indicadores em Portugal e na União Europeia* (Vol. 2). Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Cachinho, H. (2002). *O Comércio Retalhista Português*. Lisbon: GEPE, Ministério da Economia.

Carmo, R. (2007). *De Aldeia a Subúrbio*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Carolan, M. (2011). *Embodied food politics*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Cloke, P., Marsden, T., & Mooney, P. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of rural studies*. London: Sage.

DeLind, L. B. (2006). Of bodies, place and culture: Re-situating local food. *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics, 19*, 121–146.

Edwards-Jones, G., Canals, L. M. i., Hounsome, N., Truninger, M., Koerber, G., Hounsome, B., Cross, P., York, E., Hospido, A., Plassmann, K., Harris, I., Edwards, R., Day, G., Deri Tomos, A., Cowell, S., & Jone, D. (2008). Testing the assertion that local food is best: The challenges of an evidence based approach. *Trends in Food Science and Technology, 19*(5), 265–274.

Figueiredo, E., Kastenholz, E., Eusébio, M. C., Gomes, M. C., Carneiro, M. J., Baptista, P., & Valente, S. (Eds.). (2011). *O Rural Plural – Olhar o Presente, Imaginar o Futuro*. Castro Verde: 100Luz Editora.

Freire, D. (2008). A campanha do trigo. In A. Paço (Ed.), *Os Anos de Salazar* (pp. 31–39). Lisbon: Planeta Agostini.

Freire, D., & Truninger, M. (2011). Globalização e reconstrução da agricultura local. Processos de construção do solar da pêra Rocha no Oeste (Portugal). In E. Figueiredo et al. (Eds.), *O Rural Plural – Olhar o Presente, Imaginar o Futuro* (pp. 73–90). Castro Verde: 100Luz.

Freire, D., & Truninger, M. (2012). Diète méditerranéenne au Portugal, marché et développement durable. *Pour – La Revue du GREP, Dossier Alimentation et Territoires, 215–216*, 313–319.

Kjaernes, U., Harvey, M., & Warde, A. (2007). *Trust in food: A comparative and institutional analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marsden, T., Flynn, A., & Harrison, M. (2000). *Consuming interests. The social provision of foods*. London: UCL Press.

Miele, M. (2011). The taste of happiness: Free-range chicken. *Environment and Planning A, 43*(9), 2076–2090.

Montanari, M. (1996). *The culture of food*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Morgan, K., Marsden, T., & Murdoch, J. (2006). *Worlds of food: Place, power, provenance in the food chain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Murcott, A. (1983). It's a pleasure to cook for him: Food, mealtimes and gender in South Wales households. In E. Gamarnikow, D. Morgan, J. Purvis, & D. Taylorson (Eds.), *The public and the private* (pp. 78–90). London: Heinemann.

Murdoch, J. (2006). Dis/ordering space III: The case of food. In *Post-structuralist geography. A guide to relational space* (pp. 160–183). London: Sage.

Murdoch, J., Lowe, P., Ward, N., & Marsden, T. (2003). *The differentiated countryside*. London: Routledge.

Nielsen, A. C. (1997). *Estimativa do Volume de Vendas do Retalho Distributivo*. Lisbon: Nielsen.

Oddy, D. J. (1995). From corner shop to supermarket: The revolution in food retailing in Britain (1932–1992). In A. Hartog (Ed.), *Food technology, science and marketing: European diet in the twentieth century* (pp. 187–199). Scotland: Tuckwell Press.

Short, B. (2006). Idyllic ruralities. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 133–148). London: Sage.

Spencer, C. (2004). *British food – An extraordinary thousand years of history*. London: Grub Street.

Sutton, D. (2001). *Remembrance of the repasts: An anthropology of food and memory*. London: Berg.

Tregear, A. (2003). From Stilton to Vimto: Using food history to re-think typical products in rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis, 43*(2), 91–107.

Truninger, M. (2005). *Organic food in Portugal: Conventions and justification*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Sociology, University of Manchester, Manchester.

Truninger, M. (2010). *O Campo Vem à Cidade: Agricultura Biológica, Mercado e Consumo Sustentável*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Truninger, M., & Day, G. (2013). Consumindo o 'local' no Reino Unido 'rural': Contradições e dilemas. In V. A. Silva & R. Carmo (Org.), *Mundo rural: Mito ou Realidade?* (pp. 229–249). Brazil: Annablume.

Viljoen, A. (2005). *CPULs: Continuous productive urban landscapes: Designing urban agriculture for sustainable cities*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Chapter 11
Does the Countryside Still Feed the Country? Producing and Reproducing the Rural in Transylvania

Árpád Töhötöm Szabó

11.1 Introduction

As ethnographers and economic historians state many times, Eastern Europe has followed a different path of development from the Western part of the continent (see Turnock 2006). Transylvania, which is surrounded by mountains, has always been characterised by a weak net of towns and by an emphasis on rural and agrarian production; Transylvania's rural identity is recognised both in scientific discourse and general public opinion. In this framework, I would like to analyse the images and perceptions of rurality, as revealed by the economic (agrarian) policies created mainly by outsiders that fix and reproduce the rural conditions. In my view, these current images and policies are based on urban ideologies about rural life and have their starting point in simplistic, and sometimes straightforwardly erroneous, perceptions of the rural; perceptions that, moreover, mirror the desires and demands of the urbanites rather than the actual conditions of rural areas.

The concept of the rural is deeply debated within the social sciences (e.g. Cloke et al. 1994; Pratt 1996). It is debated because it is linked to notions that are also controversial and bear inherent dichotomies, for instance, community, nature, agriculture, environment, organic products and authenticity. It is debated, also, because it has been compared/opposed many times to cities as the supposed centres of life, and because it is still unclear how the rural is linked to and fashioned by the new structures of globalism. And, finally, it is debated because the social sciences over-politicise the concept. Political systems and public opinion form a set of images about the rural, and these are reflected on the level of everyday practices that are all part of 'rural politics'.

Á.T. Szabó (✉)
Department of Hungarian Ethnography and Anthropology, Faculty of Letters,
Babeş–Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
e-mail: szabo_tohotom@yahoo.com

The concept of the rural is particularly over-politicised in Eastern Europe, where the percentage of rural inhabitants is still high and, thus, a high percentage of voters live in rural areas. Historically, the rural (both its inhabitants and its image, and both in Romanian and Hungarian culture) played a crucial role in nation building (Boia 2001; Hofer 1991). Moreover, different forms of (ethnic) tourism in Romania rediscovered the rural as the bearer of some authentic national values. All these processes contributed to the transformation of rural localities and images of rural life (cf. Murdoch et al. 2003). Currently, ideas of a new, consumption-based rurality (cf. Horáková and Boscoboinik 2012) penetrate rural–urban relations in Transylvania, and urbanites formulate new expectations regarding more or less traditional villages. Consequently, rural people respond to multiple, sometimes contradictory, expectations, whilst their role in governing their own life is still undefined and uncertain. One cannot understand the rural without analysing the broader contexts of economy, tourism and development policies, all of which are linked to urbanites' wishes and which lead to the emergence of such notions as 'consumed rural', 'underdeveloped/developed rural' and 'post-rural'.

In this context, on the basis of my fieldwork carried out between 2004 and 2012 in rural settlements in Central and Eastern Transylvania, in the first part of this chapter, I shortly present the main features of these expectations, but I also look over the economic policies and economic conditions (lack of agrarian market, disadvantageous property relations, traditionalism, controversial directives) that shape ruralities. In the second part of the chapter, I present some rural responses that on this rural–urban field of battle and bargain have to struggle with the disadvantages and react to the simplifying images. Whilst the analysis draws on data gathered in different locales in Transylvania, special attention will be given to a multiethnic village that I call *Două Văi*.[1] I have carried out fieldwork in this region, focusing on different issues of rural economics and rural change, since 2004. I started to work in *Două Văi* in 2006. Over last three years, I have studied the relations between ethnicity and economics in the village and its surroundings. Besides participant observation and interviews with local leaders and everyday people, my analysis relies on statistical data.

Două Văi is situated in the Central part of Transylvania, in the Târnava Mică valley, and was once a regional centre where craftsmen and merchants lived and worked. These craftsmen and merchants supplied goods to local people, a famous noble family had its castle and its estate in the village, and the local livestock markets were famous. With socialist modernisation, *Două Văi* lost its position as regional centre, and with the industrial shifts in the rest of the country, its agrarian profile became dominant. According to the last census in 2011, nearly 2000 people live in *Două Văi*: 42 % Roma, 31 % Hungarians and 27 % Romanians. The local political and economic life, however, is dominated by Romanians and Hungarians. Until the Romanian system changed, flourishing Saxon communities also lived in the region,

---

[1] In order to protect my informants, I use a pseudonym.

and this also contributes to the expectations of outsiders and the ideas of local elites about the ways of rural reconfiguration.

This chapter has its starting point in the presumption that outsiders perceive the rural in such a way as to miss its complexity, and, consequently, when rural people formulate answers to outsiders, they respond to these simplifying images. These misunderstandings are quite strange, taking into account that 45 % of the total population of Romania lives in rural areas (Kiss 2005). Living in rural areas means being involved in agriculture, and even some urbanites are linked to the villages by working their own or their parents' land. Despite the many ties that villagers and urbanites share, differences between urban and rural seem to increase. This raises questions as to how the images of the rural are reproduced, and whether everyday people and local officials and elites can be proactive parts of rural reconfiguration. Notwithstanding the favourable changes that also occur in rural areas (e.g. infrastructural changes), the gap between rural and urban life is increasing because whilst the rural is still linked to agriculture, the actual roles of rural life have become fuzzy as the original function of food production seems to disappear in a constant crisis-like process of global competition where new functions have not yet been clearly defined. Moreover, there are historically grounded differences between urban and rural areas that can hardly be overcome, and some urban areas have recently undergone rapid changes that rural regions were unable to follow.

11.2   Rural Imagery: Socioeconomic Conditions and Economic Policies

The Transylvanian countryside – as well as the Romanian countryside, generally – bears traits of both the idyllic and the underdeveloped rural: the same rural is interpreted in different ways depending on the presumptions, expectations and ideological position of the interpreters. Conservatives and nationalists, for instance, see Transylvania and its presumed peasant culture as the real national culture where the untouched, uninfluenced elements of culture have been preserved[2] and are in need of further protection mainly in terms of external intervention. In turn, liberals and leftists think about the same village as a backward, underdeveloped entity that has preserved some ancient customs and social relations that hamper necessary changes (see Rösener 1994: 3–6; Szabó 2009: 27–42). The common feature of these ideas is that they are politically embedded, and villagers are depicted within them as infants unable to manage themselves (Fox 2011: 70–71).

Tourism operates with simplifying interpretations, too. Ethnic or rural tourism has a share in presenting the villages as timeless places where tourists can experience an authentic community, life as it once was, life close to nature where one can

---

[2]The famous Romanian poet Lucian Blaga (1972: 2) affirmed that the 'eternity was born in the village'.

meet and can take part in the experiences of simple people (see Szabó 2012).[3] All these contexts and backgrounds create a framework similar to museums (see Macleod 2006: 182). The romantic image of peasantry plays a crucial role in these interpretations, too, and the Transylvanian rural is often turned into a large Skansen, an open air museum that is meant to fulfil the wishes and demands of urbanites who try to escape from their ordinary life to something extraordinary. But there is an inherent dichotomy in ethnic tourism: these kinds of cultural encounters contribute, on the one hand, to the preservation of some (alleged) primeval customs and cultural patterns but, at the same time, push the communities towards changes and modernisation.

It is interesting that tourists demand traditional agriculture, traditional food and other traditional products including the general architectural view of the villages, but, at the same time, they demand comfortable accommodation, easy access and communication. And whilst the guests are served traditional food like home-baked bread, bacon, cheese and onion, the hosts eat the bread, the salamis, the margarine and the vegetables bought in a grocery store or urban supermarket. The households that follow the strategies of traditional agriculture can hardly start a business in tourism: traditional agricultural activities (the subsistence farming in which the tourists are most interested) are marginal in terms of income (Szabó 2012). Thus, one can see that the rural cannot be simply a place of living or a place of production. It is burdened by different images. Some flee from the rural (and these are often its own people), others flee to it.

The politics of the rural are also full of uncertainties and controversies regarding the terminology used to describe villagers; and, in my view, this quintessentially reflects all the misunderstandings around Transylvanian ruralities from the economic point of view: policies and policymakers call the villagers involved in agriculture 'farmers', denoting in fact a kind of agricultural businessman who plans his activities independently, free of communal constraints, and a person who takes part regularly in the market where he sells and buys. Obviously, one can meet these entrepreneurs. But the majority of the rural people involved in agriculture are a far cry from this entrepreneurial type. Meantime, social scientists (see Verdery 2003; Fox 2011) still use terms like 'peasants' or 'post-peasants' to describe the mentality, the way of life and the economic patterns of rural people. Regarding these approaches, the question is not which one of them is closer to the truth but rather how the Transylvanian ruralities have developed – or underdeveloped – and how the contexts of which they are part have changed to make room for such contradictory interpretations.

Rural people during the reprivatisation process showed little or no willingness to preserve their lands as part of the collective farms or to establish other forms of associations. They reclaimed the plots and other goods that were once theirs; very often, they reclaimed the exact plots from which they had been removed and,

---

[3] The idea that the 'true Romania can be found best in the villages' is quite widespread in the discourse of tourism operators. See: http://think.hotnews.ro/turism-nemtesc-in-transilvania-%E2%80%9Cadevarata-romanie-poate-fi-descoperita-numai-la-sat%E2%80%9D.html. Accessed 15 June 2012.

thus, the possibility of any further reform (e.g. consolidation of land strips) was minimal as a lot of former peasant households revived. The only problem was that – beside the fact that this economic structure reminded people of the pre-communist period and, thus, bore inner contradictions as the agriculture of that period was not successful *either* – apart from the once-taken land, animals and outdated tools (wooden ploughs, horse-drawn wagons, seeding machines), people haven't received anything. They had been able to reclaim land, but they lacked capital, machinery and up-to-date knowledge about farming and market-access.

The ambiguous process of reprivatisation led to the reappearance of small-scale family farming, a sort of peasant-like farming that encouraged scholars to use terms like 're-peasantisation' or 'post-peasants' (see Fox 2011). Right after reprivatisation, these domestic units were characterised by a lack of resources that differed from place to place depending on other factors (quality of land, the degree of specialisation, presence of transportation lines, access to markets). These domestic units, in most cases, are not able to modernise their technical background, to produce significant surpluses or to take part regularly in market transactions.

In *Două Văi*, out of nearly 600 households, there are around six or seven local farmers[4] who are able to engage regularly in the market by not only buying fuel, machinery and chemicals but also by selling their products. They are farmers in the strict sense of the term: one of them, J. J., at some point at the end of 1990s, farmed around 1,200 ha, but he reduced the scale of his farming as he got older and as conditions hardened; now he keeps around 300 *mangalica* pigs and farms 'only' 152 ha. Two of these farmers keep around 25–40 cows, whilst another three keep hundreds of sheep and pasture them on rented lands. The rest of the households have no contact with the market, or these contacts are limited only to occasional market appearances: some of them sell milk to dairy producers (a few 10 L per day), and some sell the animal or fodder surplus at the local or nearby livestock markets. 'I take some flour to the market, there is a market every Tuesday […] I take a bit of flour, some eggs that I hoarded', says D. A., who works 1 ha. Otherwise, the presence of the majority of households at the market is limited to buying, which means inequalities, and together with the overall uncertainties in agriculture, this is one reason why in the recent years more and more households have decreased the intensity of, or have even given up, farming. During the past 20 or so years of constant transition, the same political powers that gave back the land, but forgot to give resources, omitted to issue agrarian policies that could help rural people support themselves. The overall economic conditions, the urban–rural imbalances that were augmented by the stress of communist power on urbanisation and industrial development, do not facilitate development either.

European integration did not help – in some cases, it even aggravated the situation. The directives of the European Union (EU) did not take into account the different paths that Eastern European ruralities have followed comparing to those of Western ruralities, regarding, for instance, the numbers and the status of the people involved in agriculture. Yet, this doesn't mean that Transylvanian villages haven't developed

---

[4]Considering data from the 2011 Agricultural Census and my own interviews.

at all, but rather that this development bears inherent inequalities, that in most cases lacks the reliable and long-term support of central powers and depends on local resources and the abilities of a local group of elites to foresee future trends, and to apply for funding or attract capital and investments. One may argue, thus, that rural communities have been abandoned by central powers, and that this is replicated at the level of domestic units, too.

Let me illustrate the characteristics and processes that I am talking about with an example. The case of dairy farming manifests some of the principal ways in which policies shape rural conditions. In the context of self-sufficient farming and lack of work or badly paid jobs, the milk sold to a dairy producer could be an important source of income for villagers. Several families in *Două Văi* used to keep two or three cows and received money for the milk. The EU directives implemented since 2007 marginalised such small-scale dairy farming: they required new cowsheds and hygienic conditions such as milking machines and special refrigerators that keep the milk at 4 °C – in a word modernisation. This was hardly affordable for the majority of the domestic units that in these conditions had to choose between investment, reduction, production for the local market and cessation of all such activities. The number of cows in *Două Văi* dropped severely, too: 'Well, it has almost entirely disappeared. There are no [cows], that is the truth. […] As I said, there are too many conditions set by the factory', says G. J., who works 20 ha. In the 1990s in *Două Văi*, there were 500–600 cows; nowadays their number barely reaches 200.

11.3   Rural Responses

Rural people are usually just confronted with the unreflective perceptions of outsiders; they are not given the chance to contribute to the reconfiguration of these images. Consequently, there is a gap between the normative views about the rural and the actual behaviour of rural people. Rural people are generally willing and able to respond to these images, but sometimes simply disregard them. Or, and this is a frustrating version, they are aware of outsiders' wishful perceptions, but unable to fulfil them.

The case of *Două Văi* shows clearly the asynchrony between the normative perceptions of outsiders and the behaviour of rural people. In this part of this chapter, I will assess the rural responses linked directly to agriculture and landscape as the two main components of rurality. I will outline some major responses because they are either part of the dominant discourses about rural or are important from the viewpoint of the rural people's way of life. Whilst separating these responses at the level of analysis, I am fully aware that in real life they are interconnected and that, for instance, the branding of local agricultural products cannot be separated, on the one hand, from the general agricultural production and, on the other hand, from the problem of cooperatives. In the following, I will list the most important strategies that have arisen in this rural–urban arena, and in each section, I will illustrate the processes through the situation of the people of *Două Văi*.

11.3.1 Agricultural Production

There is no doubt that, notwithstanding a whole set of unfavourable circumstances, agrarian activities are still the most important components of Romanian rurality, and this in at least three senses. Firstly, in Romania, the majority of rural inhabitants (about 80 %; see Kiss 2005) is connected to agriculture, and for them, farming is either a full-time or a part-time job and source of income, whilst 40 % of the total population is linked to agriculture (Kiss op. cit.), the initial role of rurality: food production. In some regions, there could be large untilled lands or several strips of untilled land mixed with tilled strips (a very common feature of Transylvanian agriculture), but people still work their land to a certain extent depending on their needs and resources.

Secondly, according to the opinion of villagers, the urbanites depend in fact on what villagers produce. In *Două Văi*, a dominant opinion that I have often heard from my respondents is that without peasants, urbanites would not have anything to eat. 'If peasants did not farm, urbanites would starve', they say, summarising their moralising opinion about the altered directions of dependency. Whilst in their opinion the urban should depend on the rural, nowadays it is the other way round. Those who maintain their small-scale self-sufficient agricultural activity have few arguments for it. They say that whilst producing food they do not depend on the prices and qualities of the market. Moreover, this food production can be the means for locals to maintain their positions in relation to their urban relatives: it is common for farming households to produce for their own members and for their relatives in nearby towns, and some even argue that, owing to the latest television-reported food crises, those without rural relatives and direct rural contacts would starve. The moral side of these arguments is augmented by the fact that, in their opinion, whilst the countryside feed the country, they are left without resources; in their view, the peasantry is oppressed. Thus, one can conclude that they want help from outside but not without offering their products in exchange. And, in their opinion, it is not their fault that they are not able to produce proper qualities or quantities. Those in *Două Văi* who worked in agriculture, for instance, in Germany (several had this possibility through the former Saxons' networks) never forget to mention the substantial social and financial help that the German farmers receive.

The third reason why agriculture is so important may be deduced from the agricultural role of the rural. One has to add, however, that the role of Romanian and within it Transylvanian countryside – at least at the level of self-sufficient domestic units – as the 'feeder' of the country is quite unclear, since these households do not produce enough[5] and are not able to reach the national distributive systems that are

---

[5] Specialists estimate that the rate of imported foods is between 70 and 90 %. See: http://www.business24.ro/macroeconomie/inflatie/criza-alimentara-ameninta-romania-scaderea-tva-ului-singura-solutie-1510815. Accessed September 11, 2012.

dominated by multinational companies (see Fox 2011: 48). Pigs and their main food, corn, can stand as the symbol of rural self-sufficiency. In *Două Văi*, two-thirds of households are engaged in corn production, generally on small parcels, whilst only one-quarter of households are engaged in grain production.

11.3.2   Use of Subsidies, the Reformulation of Agrarian-Based Rurality According to New Concepts

Subsidies are important factors in agriculture since the EU, mainly through the Single Area Payment Scheme (SAPS), supports diversified agricultural production and grants in some cases serious amount of money for the farming of different types of agricultural land. Farmers are allowed to apply for funds not just for different types of arable land but for pastureland and meadows, as well as for the maintenance of traditional farming methods and for the protection of the environment. The SAPS funds work also as a sign that somebody cares about rural people and appreciates their work. Unfortunately, due to structural problems of economy and agriculture, SAPS funds only a part of the farming community, so the subsidies do not reach all the agricultural land.

Romania has around 14 million ha of agricultural land.[6] In 2010, farmers submitted funding requests for roughly 9–9.5 million ha, which means that they applied for 65–70 % of the agricultural land. I don't have data about the applicants,[7] but my field experiences lead me to believe that small-scale farmers are almost entirely excluded from the SAPS funding's target group. The narrow land strips in many cases are not eligible for funding, as the lower limit is 1 ha of land where a plot must be above 0.3 ha for arable land and 0.1 ha for orchards and vineyards. There are plenty of plots below this limit, as are there many plots where the total amount of cultivated land is below the limit of 1 ha. In *Două Văi*, almost 50 % of the households own between 0.1 and 1 ha, about 40 % own between 1 and 5 ha, 8 % own between 5 and 10 ha, whilst 2 % own above 10 ha (so the latter category owns 35 % of land). It is clear from this data that – unless they do not rent, which is not a common practice for households with small amounts of land – half of the village is not eligible to apply to SAPS for funding. And those who want to apply are supposed to accept a set of regulations regarding the maintenance of the land: the burning of stubbles and other dried plants, for instance, is a common practice, but the EU regulations prohibit these practices.

---

[6] The data in this section are from the website (and the subpages) of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (www.madr.ro).

[7] But from the number of the economic units (one million on average) that applied for funds and from the property relations (concentration of land, presence of large estates), one may formulate the hypothesis that the percentage of people involved is lower than the percentage of land involved.

On the other hand, even the information regarding application is rife with difficulties, and the necessary knowledge and technical equipment for submitting an application are beyond the reach of the farmers themselves. The importance of outside help is noticeable in this case, too: first, the subsidies come from outside without local people having any chance to decide the amount they require and the ways it should be spent; and, second, the members of local administration who are trained in centres help local people in submitting their application which increases the dependency of rural regions on the centres. Moreover, the payments are usually delayed; farmers complain a lot about late payments, uncertainties and blocked or exhausted funds.

I would argue that the SAPS funds contribute to further social polarisation since it is a major income for some, whilst it is almost entirely inaccessible for others. J. J., who works 152 ha, received in the last year around 17,000 Euros: '[Subsidies?] Well, they give us [money], it helps very much. But I cannot work my land with it. […] I received some 700 million [lei],[8] but it was enough only for fuel to plough the lands'. Notwithstanding such complaints, this is a huge amount of money compared to the Romanian average monthly income of 300–350 Euros that is even lower in rural areas. The only income for the majority of Roma in the village, for instance, is the social aid, which is around 50 Euros per month. Whilst for a minority the new funds are new resources that change the contexts of agrarian production, the majority has no access to these resources. And elites haven't got any idea about this majority. Romanian agriculture nowadays is characterised, on the one hand, by large estates and, on the other hand, by small family households (Fox 2011: 51–52). The large estates exist mainly outside Transylvania where collective farms have been turned into privatised agrobusinesses, but they also exist in Transylvania where the low prices in sale and/or rent, together with subsidies, facilitate the formation of large farms (either for agriculture or for private animal husbandry).

Presumable speculations are also to be found in the 'subsidy business'. According to the estimation of the Deputy Mayor, in 2011 almost half of *Două Văi's* arable lands were not farmed, and this was an attraction for possible renters. In the same year, a somewhat mysterious German entrepreneur, with his Romanian associate,[9] showed up in *Două Văi*, and they started to rent people's land for a better share than the local farmers. Their presence in 2012 has already become conspicuous as large parts of the fields have been sown with corn. However, villagers say that the so-called entrepreneurs are doing this only for subsidies and that in 2011 they sowed without ploughing in order to show that the fields were being 'farmed'. And, although they promised a share of the crop to the owners, they did not keep their promises.

The untilled lands are not used only for cultivation, and the 'subsidy business' has another influence: the newly appeared private sheep flocks (an unusual economic pattern in this region) are also the results of untilled and, thus, cheap, land and, of course, the subsidies offered both for pastures and animals. Regarding this land

---

[8] The equal of 17,000 Euros in old Romanian lei.

[9] People met only the Romanian associate.

'concentration', villagers sometimes give voice to their concerns: at some point, they say, the political powers might issue some laws that will delegate the property rights to the actual users of the land.

11.3.3   Diversification of Agrarian Production, Green Consciousness

The concerns about food quality and environmental issues are central to the new trends in consumption and to rural–urban relations (Horáková and Boscoboinik 2012: 10). These new trends transformed rural–urban relations in Romania, as people realised that what they eat might be full of chemicals and the fresh-looking strawberries imported from Spain may have preserved their qualities due to additives. Another factor in this change in rural–urban relations was the emergence of a discourse that promoted the healthy way of life and local products instead of imported ones (Romanian authorities initiated even campaigns to get the attention of the population). The local products coming from nearby villages were appreciated again.

But the change in rural–urban relations is effected by conventionalism and misinterpretations of what words like 'organic' mean. Sometimes it is enough for a local product to be 'local', and there are no further questions regarding the details of how it was produced. People from villages who join the *en vogue* discourses about agrarian production portray themselves as part of an inherently organic way of life, and if one asks such a local producer about the chemicals that they use, the answer is a very categorical denial of such methods. Urbanites expect rural people to be organic – a demand that villagers learnt very fast, and create and maintain this image; nevertheless, those who can afford to, use chemicals in their agrarian activities, because it eases and enhances the production process:

> An old man (around 80 years old) stays next to his horse-drawn wagon. There are three sacks of shelled corn on the wagon. One sack is open. There is a bushel,[10] too. I approach him asking what he sells. He explains to me that he is not able anymore to hoe the corn and he wants to sell it in order to get some money for herbicides. He does not want to give up corn production since what it yields is cheaper and healthier (Excerpt from field notes, the *Două Văi* market, May 13, 2012).

For the time being, there are no farmers in *Două Văi* who have shifted to organic production. As the above excerpt shows, even the term 'healthier' has a special meaning. The only farmer who in some sense is connected with these reform ideas is J. J., with his *mangalica* pigs. The *mangalica* usually can be kept without a pigsty, and its pork and lard are believed to be healthier than the conventional varieties. The *mangalica* pig is a popular animal among organic farmers. Nevertheless, J. J. does

---

[10]Old measurement unit for dry agricultural products, equivalent to 20 L.

not keep them organically. Moreover, he does not know what happens to his animals after sale, as his son, who is a businessman, sells the animals. And, regarding the overall changes around the green/organic expectations, in *Două Văi*, things happen exactly the other way round: farmers are able to prove by exact calculations that it is cheaper to use herbicides on corn fields than to use manpower. The total costs of day labourers (whose services without herbicides would be indispensable for elder people) rise higher than the herbicides. In fact, given the demographic structure of the village (older couples and widows), the herbicides allow older people to work their land and, thus, to keep their positions in relation to their urban relatives. The new practices of the green reform are not yet within reach for the people in *Două Văi*.

11.3.4 Cooperation and the Cooperatives

Cooperation is a further important tool in villagers' hands in this rural–urban arena: once in a cooperative, an individually weak farmer could obtain better positions on many levels. Cooperation has its historical antecedents both for Romanian and Hungarian farmers; the cooperatives initially meant a kind of ethnically grounded economic network of mutual aid. In my view, given the actual property relations and general rural conditions, cooperation is one of the most important ways for farmers to find better solutions. The lands usually are split into small plots, the amount of land for one domestic unit is low and, thus, the small-scale family farms cannot produce enough to be present at the market, and they have a weak bargaining position in relation to food factories, resellers and shops. Regarding dairy production, the new regulations clearly support the big producers because those who sell more milk are given better prices.

There have been some attempts to establish informal cooperation in *Două Văi*: people tried to pool the milk they produced and to sell it in larger quantities. Cooperation of this kind, however, could also mean some risks. Since these informal associations hadn't have the necessary technical equipment to control the quality of the milk before pooling, if one farmer brought spoiled milk, it spoiled the entire lot. And, given the overall technical conditions – milk brought to the collection point by wagons on the hottest summer day for example –, sometimes the chances of the milk spoiling were high. In other cases, people gathered in formal cooperatives, most often when they were obliged to enrol to be eligible for state subsidies.

Urbanites usually see rural people as a social group with a strong tendency towards cooperation, since it is believed that mutuality is closely linked with a 'simple way of life'. The case studies and analyses showed the contrary: the rural people are not more cooperative than urbanites (Szabó 2009). If they collaborate, they do it under the pressure of local norms related, for instance, to economic conditions, or they do it under the pressure of formal legislation. Otherwise, associations and different forms of formal cooperation are often avoided; there are countless bad

experiences from the time of communism and people have generally lost trust in their fellows. In *Două Văi*, there is only one formal association, that of the cattle-breeding farmers, which has some 24–25 members. The main role of the association is the maintenance of the common pasture. Only formal associations are eligible to apply for SAPS funds for common lands. Beyond this, for instance, in dairy production, there are no collaborations: every farmer sells his milk individually to his village fellows or to different dairy producers and can only acknowledge the necessity for cooperation.

11.3.5   Branding Local Products and Landscapes

The branding of local products is closely linked to rural tourism and the diversification of agrarian production. Rural people have realised that urban perceptions of local products have changed dramatically at the expense of the imported goods. The *local*, the *small-scale*, the *hand-made*, the *familial*, the *traditional* and the *historical* have become familiar labels on products as almost priceless indicators of inherent values and attachments to the surrounding environment. This process has resulted in the return to the traditional methods that preceded industrial (conventional) agriculture and the recognition that urbanites demanded not only products but also related ideologies, myths and stories. The dominant ideology depicted a traditional rural way of life; thus, the stories that became part of the branding had their origins in this traditional view. In this framework, individuals or locals can promote wines, fruits, fruit products (that have plenty of varieties depending on local geological, climatic conditions), dairy products and so forth, but they can also promote landscapes and the process of production (visits to wine cellars, visits to sheepfolds, the process of hay making).

   In the region of *Două Văi*, besides the Saxon heritage and the memory of aristocracy, the other local element that could be used for branding local values is the wine, as several villages once had famous vineyards and wines; a few of them still have and try to benefit from this feature. In *Două Văi*, wine production is not a common practice anymore, although the village also had its vineyards. Some argue that the local climate is not suitable for wine growing: making a reference to nature, they invert the logics of social constructions that, in some cases, are used to argue for natural and, thus, unquestionable qualities of certain wines (Ulin 1995). But, according to the first Agricultural Census of the region (at the end of the nineteenth century), in *Două Văi* existed nearly 30 ha devoted to vineyards. Memories of locals reveal that the vineyards simply died out during socialism: incompetent treatment spoiled them.

   After the turnover, the locals did not take up this branch of agriculture again. In the neighbouring villages, there are, however, some attempts at branding local wines, but these attempts – due to the lack of knowledge and financial background, maybe even lack of real willingness – have not brought many successes yet. But starting in 2005, a businessman from abroad bought some vineyards in a village

neighbouring *Două Văi*, provided it with newly planted plots, has recently built a wine cellar and inn that now dominates the view of the valley, and it seems that he claims his share of the control of local brand production. And, obviously, there are marked differences between his and the villagers' strategies.

11.3.6 Rural Tourism

Rural tourism is believed to be the magic, ultimate solution,[11] although many times its meaning is not reflected upon and its application is not preceded by feasibility studies. In terms of income, with few exceptions, it is rarely the most important source, since apart from accommodation – which in rural regions can be really cheap, around 8–10 Euros per person/night – there are few products[12] to be sold to tourists. Ethnographers and other social scientists often encounter the endeavours of locals to launch projects concerned with rural tourism, since rural people – grounding themselves in the general view of Transylvanian villages – think that being rural implies the necessary values the tourists are willing to pay to see. The main problem is with this undifferentiated view of the Transylvanian rural, because this urges even those communities that are not really able to display the values sought by tourists to start touristic activities.

As I mentioned above, the two main attractions on which local elites are willing to build rural tourism are the Saxons and the memories of the former Hungarian aristocracy. Although there is a consensus between Romanian and Hungarian elites that these are the two main factors, as both the Saxons and the noble family were beyond the local Romanian–Hungarian ethnic struggle, it is also very unlikely that only these two attractions would be enough to create a favourable environment for tourism. First of all, the 'countryside capital' consists of various elements and besides built and cultural components should contain natural values, too (Garrod et al. 2006: 118). But in our case, the natural side is missing almost completely (at least in the sense that local elites have no idea of what to show as natural value). The other two attractions are also incomplete: there are Saxon buildings, but without Saxons; the overall appearance of the villages has changed radically, a fact admitted even by locals; moreover, the Saxon intangible cultural heritage exists only in memories, as well as that of the noble culture. On top of everything else, this region is not part of the historical Saxon Land where in the last few years, tourists, notwithstanding the lack of Saxons, have sought the traces of Saxon culture.

---

[11] The official commercial of Romanian tourism called 'Romania. The Land of Choice' comprises images from the shores of the Black Sea, an urban discotheque, but the rest of the images present the natural and built values of Romania, in one world: the 'rural'. *Source*: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YzeKCMNYBew. Accessed 15 June 2012.

[12] There are no expensive museums, theme parks or programmes offered to tourists and, except few cases, the services are also in medium category or below.

Secondly, whilst there is consensus regarding the two main factors, it is not clear how to construct them in terms of cultural heritage or how to introduce them into the tourism market. At this point, once again, it seems that the villagers await outside help both in terms of ideas and finances. That is why I argue that local elites' behaviour and the way they envisage the future strategies can be best characterised by, on the one hand, the so-called developmental rural and, on the other hand, and in close connection to it, by 'touristic rural'. They rely on outside help, and the help usually comes, but without taking into account the real local needs; and they want to create something that can be offered and consumed in the framework of rural tourism. As their agrarian products cannot be sold anymore or can be sold at a much lower price, they try to sell their way of life and the image of their surroundings.

In my view, the concept of rural tourism has been taken over from Western thoughts without clearly reckoning with the local settings that sometimes differ radically from what one could experience in the Western countries. The high percentage of rural population reduces the number of potential rural tourists in two ways: a villager will hardly be curious of another village, and those connected to agriculture and especially those who keep animals can hardly afford to leave their households for long trips – it is commonly said, and not only in this region, that agriculture means 'captivity'.

Finally, the high percentage of first and second generation urbanites preserves the rural–urban relation outside the framework of landscape production and consumption: these people still have direct connections with the rural and experience the rural not by travelling, discovery and leisure, but by working and by the patterns of saving through production on rural household plots. In *Două Văi*, the land has not been turned into landscape yet.

11.4   Concluding Remarks

The aim of this chapter was to show, through the case of an agrarian village in Central Transylvania, the contradictions between the new ideas and expectations related to rural areas and the responses of rural people to them. The results of anthropological fieldwork revealed that in the contexts of the Romanian rural–urban divide and of agrarian conditions and agrarian policies, it is clear that changes have occurred at the level of discourses and wishes rather than at the level of reality: rural people are not ready to get involved in the processes of the new rurality, whilst their agricultural activities are also hampered by its implications.

Două Văi is still a traditional village in many ways, and there are countless villages of this kind all around Transylvania. The villages with diversified countryside capital are located either around cities or in areas that are frequented by tourists. Domestic production received a serious shock during some early enthusiastic years; the local agriculture became marginalised, whilst the new strategies – for different reasons – are more or less out of reach. In order to enter and reshape this rural–urban arena with any chance of success, one needs resources and appropriate knowledge and financial background. Locals in *Două Văi* lack both.

The rural is a complex reality and, although urbanites in Romania are in many cases tightly close to it, the general images of the rural blur this complexity. The wider social reality and economic conditions keep the rural in a subaltern state, and tourism perceives it as part of a nostalgic past. Authorities speak about development and the need for external intervention without analysing the real local resources, needs and desires, because their policy suggestions originate in these simplified and erroneous images. They exacerbate, through a developmental logic, the defenselessness of the rural.

All these outsider wishes and the responses made to them, whilst trying to attract urbanites and to offer them rural products, albeit seeming to reduce the differences between urban and rural, in fact increase the distance between them. The rural–urban balance has turned upside down, and the peculiar, subaltern state of the rural has been reinforced. The rural is consumed either ideologically or practically. Furthermore, when the rural is offered as a consumable product, the villagers in fact react to the demands of urbanites. Urbanites do not engage with the real rural; they experience the ideological, created rural that is the result of the encounters of urban and rural people, an amalgam of history (even life histories), nostalgia, desire and denial – an image that is suitable for sightseeing and responds to complex wishes. And the case of *Două Văi* shows clearly that villages in Transylvania are far from these wishes.

References

Blaga, L. (1972). *Izvoade – Eseuri, Conferinţe, Articole [Essays, conferences, articles]*. Bucureşti: Editura Minerva.

Boia, L. (2001). *History and myth in Romanian consciousness*. Budapest: CEU Press.

Cloke, P., Doel, M., Matless, D., Phillips, M., & Thrift, N. (1994). *Writing the rural: Five cultural geographies*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Fox, K. (2011). *Peasants into European farmers? EU integration in the Carpathian Mountains of Romania*. Berlin/Zürich: Lit Verlag.

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.

Hofer, T. (1991). Construction of the 'folk cultural heritage' in Hungary and rival versions of national identity. *Ethnologia Europaea, 21*, 145–170.

Horáková, H., & Boscoboinik, A. (2012). Introduction. In A. Boscoboinik & H. Horáková (Eds.), *From production to consumption: Transformation of rural communities* (pp. 9–18). Berlin/Zürich: Lit Verlag.

Kiss, D. (2005). Erdélyi falvak a 21. században [Transylvian villages in the 21st century]. *Magyar Kisebbség, 10*, 60–77.

Macleod, N. (2006). Cultural tourism: Aspects of authenticity and commodification. In M. Smith & M. Robinson (Eds.), *Cultural tourism in a changing world: Politics, participation and (Re)presentation* (pp. 177–190). Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Murdoch, J., Lowe, P., Ward, N., & Marsden, T. (2003). *The differentiated countryside*. London: Routledge.

Pratt, A. (1996). Discourses of rurality: Loose talk or social struggle? *Journal of Rural Studies, 12*, 69–78.

Rösener, W. (1994). *The peasantry of Europe*. Oxford/Cambridge: Blackwell.

Szabó, Á. (2009). *Kooperáló közösségek. Munkavégzés és kapcsolatok a falusi gazdálkodásban [Cooperating communities: Work and relations in rural economy]*. Târgu Mureş: Mentor.

Szabó, Á. (2012). Where are the tourists? Shifting production, changing localities in a Szekler village. In A. Boscoboinik & H. Horáková (Eds.), *From production to consumption: Transformation of rural communities* (pp. 63–78). Berlin/Zürich: Lit Verlag.

Turnock, D. (2006). *The economy of East Central Europe, 1815–1989* (Stages of transformation in a peripheral region). London: Routledge.

Ulin, R. (1995). Invention and representation as cultural capital: Southwest French winegrowing history. *American Anthropologist, 97*, 519–527.

Verdery, K. (2003). *The vanishing hectare: Property and value in postsocialist Transylvania*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Chapter 12
In Search of the Rurban Idyll? Developing the Residential Rural Areas in Finland

Pilvi Hämeenaho

12.1 Introduction

The project of developing the rural areas of Finland into modern living environments is underway, with various actors contributing fresh perspectives. This research explores the perceptions of rurality in Finland in the context of current sociocultural changes. This chapter presents two different ways of delineating contemporary rural living: the vision of 'Residential Rural Areas' of the Rural Policy Committee (a developmental actor operating under the guidance of the Finnish ministry of Employment and Economy) and the alternative approach arising from definitions given by the people living in rural Finland. The main aim is to study how the cultural meanings that rural residents attach to their home environments relate to rurality as envisioned by the Rural Policy Committee. This is done by comparing and contrasting the experiential knowledge of rural residents to the official vision outlined in the Rural Housing Development Programme (RHDP) of 'Residential Rural Areas'.

How do today's rural inhabitants characterise the countryside as a place to live in? What are the most valued features of rurality? What vision of rurality forms the basis for the development programme's definition of 'residential rural areas'? By pursuing these questions, this chapter explores how lay and official perceptions of rurality are juxtaposed. The research, thus, provides knowledge that can be used to evaluate the efficiency and cultural sustainability of proposed development actions. In this research, lay knowledge is understood as a part of wider local heredity, the unofficial cultural capital arising from the context of everyday life. Understanding this local heredity that embodies the values and perceptions of the local community provides a more holistic view of rurality and broadens the perspective of developmental design (Bendix 2000: 38–39; Siivonen 2007: 9).

P. Hämeenaho (✉)
Department of History and Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland
e-mail: pilvi.hameenaho@jyu.fi

Policy-making and development planning should enlist innovative and informed means to serve the needs of those living everyday lives; ethnographic research can be useful in revealing what such means could be. My research is grounded on field-work conducted during 2009 in Central Finland as a part of my Ph.D. research project. The main data consists of 14 semi-structured interviews that were digitally recorded and transcribed. The themes of the interviews covered the everyday life practices of rural residents, the meanings the interviewees attached to the country-side, as well as the significance and role of the home environment in the formation of subjective well-being. The qualitative data, thus, sheds light on the viewpoints of the informants, who describe modern everyday life in rural Finland from the perspective of their experiences and perceptions (see also Snellman 2003: 11; Åstöm 2005: 31). The interconnectedness of cultural perceptions and the physical domicile is a starting point for an analysis that seeks to provide an alternative to the vision of rurality mediated through the urban gaze of development programmes (e.g. Frykman and Gilje 2003: 42; Knuuttila and Rannikko 2008: 15; Murdoch 2003: 264).

12.2   Context and Background

The question of the viability of rural Finland is a concern of many, as current migration patterns are changing the rural demography. The 2009 Census shows that approximately 35 % of Finnish people reside in rural areas, most of them in rural areas close to cities. In these areas, population have been rapidly increasing, but in remote areas they are steadily decreasing. Diminishing employment prospects and the constant outmigration of the young, for example, have their negative effects on rural localities in sparsely populated and core rural areas. In recent years, housing development has become an increasingly important strategy for rural municipalities in search of new residents (Sireni 2011: 11). At the same time, the growth of environmentally conscious politics has led to calls for more spatially coherent rural housing programmes. Avoiding the negative effects of urban sprawl is of particular concern in development projects (RPP 2009: 40; Savage and Lapping 2003: 5; Sireni 2011: 10, 12).

The most significant challenge to rural development is the geographically unique living environment of rural Finland (Kaipainen 2011: 116). Finland is the most sparsely populated country in the European Union. Those areas of Europe that share aspects of Finland's experience (low population density, long distances, problematic infrastructure and expensive delivery costs for public transportation) tend to be found only in mountainous areas or in archipelagos (see Wade and Rinne 2008: 35). This makes it difficult for Finnish policy-makers to adopt useful existing solutions from other European countries (Kaipainen 2011: 129). Accordingly, the development of Finnish rural areas into modern living environments will entail taking account of regional and geographic characteristics, and adaptable community planning arising from local settings (Brennan et al. 2009: 99–100; Siivonen 2007: 16).

Given the changes in Finnish rural demography, agricultural primary production and employment opportunities, practical measures will need to be taken in order to

increase permanent rural residency rates. As such, improving rural living conditions is a priority for regions hoping to attract new residents and it is also a major concern of national rural policy. The primary objective of the current Rural Policy Programme (RPP), *Countryside for Vigorous Finland*, *Rural Policy Programme for 2009–2013*, is to promote well-being and to improve the preconditions for living in rural areas. The Theme Group on Rural Housing has been tasked with implementing one of the strategic alignments of the most recent Rural Policy Programme (2009: 39): the creation of multifaceted housing areas, new spaces for functional daily living. The Theme Group's main source is the Rural Housing Development Programme's (RHDP) 'Residential Rural Areas' committee report, which outlines practical proposals to resolve the problems of dispersed housing and incoherent area planning in response to contemporary economic and ecological demands (RHDP 2007: 5–7).

Besides the demographic and economic changes, rurality is also undergoing a cultural transformation. According to recent surveys,[1] there has been increasing interest in rural living among Finns. The countryside is seen as an attractive place to live in, despite the everyday practical challenges posed by the rural environment, such as the long distances to workplaces and services and the places for consumption (Nieminen-Sundell 2011). When analysing these results, one should bear in mind that the 'countryside' is not just a physical place: it is also a socio-cultural space imbued with ideas about 'rurality'. Thus, the concept of 'rural' refers both to geographical sites and to imaginative, culturally valued spaces (Cloke 2006: 18). The survey results reveal that recent interest in rural living is closely connected to widely shared cultural perceptions of rurality. The country as a residential area is associated with spacious building plots that enable residents' peaceful and environmentally sustainable lifestyles amid beautiful scenery (Nieminen-Sundell 2011; Sireni 2011).

Developing rural areas into modern living environments will depend upon understanding those aspects of rurality that are most highly valued, as these are the 'pull factors' that encourage migration to the rural areas (Hienonen 2011: 27). In addition, successful development will also need to consider the views of current rural residents. As Brennan et al. (2009: 99) argue, local support for changes to the existing social environment is vital to ensure positive outcomes for development projects. Culturally sustainable development, thus, involves the consideration of cultural perspectives and lay knowledge informing the limitations of policy-making and articulating the needs of municipalities (Marcus 1986: 166; Siivonen 2007: 16; Strang 2009: 76). However, despite the value of cultural knowledge, the development of rural areas has tended to be dominated by economic perspectives, which focus on local labour markets and the future of agricultural primary production. The cultural perspective has often been neglected, and the significance of the local level forgotten (Brennan et al. 2009: 97).

How far does the intended practical implementation of the RHDP's proposals relate to the features of rurality that are culturally highly appreciated? Furthermore,

---

[1]Landmarks research conducted by the Finnish Innovation Fund *Sitra*. Survey data was collected twice (2009 and 2011). For results, see Nieminen-Sundell (2011).

even though development of the 'residential rural' as envisaged by the RHDP is a key issue for rural municipalities in search of new residents, it also concerns those currently living in rural areas. What is the relationship between the RHDP's proposed 'residential rural areas' and current rural residents' perceptions and ideals of rurality? In order to answer these questions, the ways in which the concept of rurality is used and given meanings need to be analysed. This chapter examines the role of shared cultural values and perceptions in current definitions of 'rurality' and discusses how these values and perceptions should be accorded special significance for the development project.

12.3   Data Sources and Methodology

The main data of the research illuminates the perceptions attached to rurality by people currently living in the country. The interviews were conducted in seven villages: Ilomäki, Kopola, Kuoppala, Mulikka, Pajumäki, Saani and Sahrajärvi, in Central Finland. All these villages are situated in remote or core rural areas. In all the villages, farming and forestry form a part of the locals' livelihoods and the cultivation has its impact both on visual and sociocultural environments. Regardless of my informants' means of income, the agrarian way of life is still prominent in their daily lives. Thus, the informants' living environments aptly represent the commonly shared vision of rural Finland as a culturally evaluated space with a close connection to the agrarian heritage (Korkiakangas 2010: 82; Siivonen 2007: 12).

The research focused on families. The data consists of 14 semi-structured interviews with rural people and their families. The informants were all female, their ages ranging from 30 to 55. As all the informants had children, mothers' ideas about the environment in which they wished to bring up their children were highlighted during the interviews. The women interviewed had close ties with their home municipalities. Four of the women were farmers, while three others had a local private enterprise with no connection to agrarian primary production. Five of them worked in the public sector, in the field of healthcare or education. One of the informants worked as a reporter for a local newspaper.

The interviewees had different relations to rural living. Most of them had been born in the country and had only spent a few years of their lives in urban area, mainly while studying in vocational schools or colleges. Two of them had also worked for several years in the cities of Southern Finland, but had moved back to their home regions after raising a family. Five of the informants represent the group of in-migrants, as they were born in the city and moved to the country as adults, in most cases to fulfil a spouse's dream of moving (back) to the country. Due to the variation in the informants' backgrounds, the data opens a view of the perceptions of rurality from those whose lifestyles and values have evolved in the rural environment, those with long experience of living in both environments and those whose relation to rurality is only about a change from assumptions to experiential knowledge.

As the counterpart to lay knowledge, I studied the RHDP's 2007–2010 committee report entitled 'Residential Rural Areas'. The RHDP's initial aim is to find practical measures to control the negative ecological effects of urban sprawl, to restructure rural settlements and infrastructure and especially to increase rural population growth rates. As such, the basis for development lies in understanding what the possible in-migrants expect of their living environment: the opportunity to work in nearby cities and reasonable access to sites of leisure activities and consumption (Nieminen-Sundell 2011: 14). The RHDP's proposals stress the importance of efficient land use and the need to ensure sufficient density of settlement for ecologically sustainable power and water supplies. To support those commuting to urban areas, the RHDP proposes the connection of rural areas with municipal transport networks.

However, the Rural Policy Committee's long-term aim of sustaining the vitality of rural areas means that the RHDP also has an interest in issues surrounding the formation and everyday life of rural communities (RHDP 2007: 14). Thus, the cultural precepts and values attached to country living need to be reflected upon. In this research, the rurality envisioned in the programme is analysed from a cultural perspective. My focus is on exploring how rurality is acknowledged in the RHDP and what kind of rurality the programme produces at the level of ideas. Furthermore, this official vision is compared with the lay perspectives in order to reveal their similarities and differences.

12.4 Living Out the 'Rural Idyll'

In addition to the ongoing practical changes to living conditions in rural areas, the cultural conception of rurality is also undergoing transformation. Earlier prevailing perceptions of the rural Finland – the characterisation of the countryside either as a space of agricultural production or as reminiscent of an agrarian past – have marginalised the notion of rurality. As a space for living, the rural has been contrasted with the modern urbanised environment through its association with an idyllic vision of agrarian traditions and heritage (Knuuttila and Rannikko 2008: 9; Korkiakangas 2010: 82–83). Even though there has been a recent shift from rather pessimistic to more positive and future-oriented perceptions of rurality, the connection with agrarian culture and lifestyle still dominates the new definitions (Hienonen 2011: 42; Nieminen-Sundell: 2011). As Paul Cloke (2003: 1) argues, the cultural precept of envisioning the countryside as an 'idyll' is so pervasive that it affects both thought and practice. The strength of these perceptions is evident in the ideas about the Finnish countryside expressed by potential rural residents.

As the perception of the rural environment as a place exclusively for agriculture has waned, other features of rurality have received more attention and the consumption of countryside as a culturally evaluated space has evoked. According to surveys (Nieminen-Sundell 2011), potential residents do not see rural areas simply as places in which to live but also as a space in which to consume rurality (see also Bunce

2003: 25; Kuisma 2005: 125; Macnaghten and Urry 1998: 120–121). In general, the perceptions of rurality expressed in the surveys seem to follow quite traditional ideas of a 'pastoral myth' or 'rural idyll'. This cultural construction of rurality emphasises the significance of nature and rural lifestyles founded on 'traditional' values. It is noteworthy that envisioning countryside as a space for 'pastoral' living and lifestyle is based on observing the rural environment from the viewpoint of urbanites rather than of countrymen (e.g. Bell 2006: 158; DuPuis 2006: 126; Short 1991: 28, 30; Williams 1985: 20).

Yet, no matter how nostalgic and idyllic this vision may sound, it is not simply an idea – it is also part of the everyday experiences of rural residents. The experience of 'living out' the idyll was widely shared by my informants. The interviews clearly show that, for rural residents, the surrounding natural environment moulds their perceptions of rurality and is among the most important factors associated with personal well-being (see also Siivonen 2007: 8–9). Among the main characteristics of the culturally constructed rural space is the landscape that visually frames everyday life (see also Wylie 2003: 146). One of my informants described the meaning of various kinds of scenery for her personal well-being:

> So much free sky, here on the top of the hill where we live. This scenery, we can watch how the clouds go, and the sun: the rising and the setting of it. My sister-in-law has a summer place just there, under the hill. So, we go there watch the sunset and, when we come back here, we can watch it again! (church musician, 55 years old)

The importance of peacefulness and natural surroundings was stressed during the interviews. All the interviewees spoke first about privacy and having their own space, and used strikingly similar expressions in their discussions. One of the mothers interviewed explained the significance of her home location to her everyday well-being by highlighting the value of the privacy provided by the rural environment:

> It's so peaceful here, we have this privacy. When I come home after the day at work [in the town] I can do whatever I want, just be here, and no neighbours watching us. For me, it's the most valued thing about living here. (social worker, 36 years old)

The family's nearest neighbours are only half a kilometre away, but the dense forest between the houses makes them seem further apart. While the American dream may be the single-family home surrounded by its own land (see Cadieux and Hurley 2011: 299), the Finnish rural dream also entails extensive privacy and a connection to (unspoiled) nature (e.g. Siivonen 2007: 8; Sireni 2011). The dream of living in fresh, unpolluted natural surroundings is often associated with the idea of one's own house in the forest, with the wilderness just beyond the back hedge. As one of my informants described 'the everyday life idyll'

> Why do I like living here? I always say that on a fresh summer's morning, it's so nice to go out onto the porch in my pyjamas, have a cup of coffee and there's nobody else around. That's the main point; there is nobody else, no disturbance. (social instructor, 41 years old)

The natural environment is given such prominence as part of rurality that it serves as a starting point for the 'rural' lifestyle (see also Murdoch 2003: 264).

It is assumed that living in a rural environment also entails leading a rural lifestyle. Yet, living in the country is, thus, not just about passively enjoying rurality but also actively producing it. The countryside was described as a space where the idyllic vision can be made real. One of my interviewees, a former city dweller, had lived less than a year in small village at the time I met her. She admits how she had romanticised ideas about country living but also notes how her lifestyle had changed in reality:

> I had this idea, as if I had been looking through rose-coloured glasses. I had this nostalgic or, how to describe it, romantic vision that here in the countryside I would walk around with a scarf around my head, carrying a basket in my hand. But really, somehow my life has actually changed a lot. It is so different to live here than in a city flat. I have started to bake bread in our oven, which I had never done before, and we are building a cellar for potatoes, those potatoes that we are growing in our back garden. So we have changed our way of life, and it has been mostly deliberate. (schoolteacher, 34 years old)

Her relationship to the countryside is nostalgic, yet at the same time she is transforming these idyllic visions into reality. The idea that one's lifestyle can be changed by moving to the country is widely shared by Finns (Hienonen 2011; Nieminen-Sundell 2011). Current (political) ideologies especially environmentalism, strong criticism of consumerism and the increased pace of urban living have led some to seek out an alternative lifestyle. The new, positive view of rural Finland can be interpreted as a search for a 'new' lifestyle through counter-urbanisation, that is, migration (or dreams of migration) from urban areas to more natural spaces (Fielding 1989: 60, 62; Mitchell 2004: 28). Rural areas seem particularly attractive to so-called LOHAS (the lifestyle of health and sustainability) consumers, for whom the rural areas seem to offer a lifestyle of well-being in its more communal and slow-paced rhythm (Hienonen 2011: 22–24).

One of the primary goals of the RHDP is to deliver practical solutions that enable urbanites to turn these dreams into reality. Accordingly, seen at the level of cultural meanings, the 'future rural' is outlined in a traditional, nostalgic way in the RHDP, as spacious natural surroundings and close-knit, local communities are presented as characteristics of rural living. These ideas repeat the division between modern urban and peripheral rural and keep the vision of an 'agrarian idyll' alive (Cadieux and Hurley 2011, 297; Mitchell 2004: 24; Short 1991: 30–31). Yet, the reality, especially on the rural–urban fringe, does not reflect this division. As the rural areas close to cities become more crowded, the problems of suburbia begin to emerge in the rural environment. Fringe areas suffer from problems such as overcrowded schools, lack of local services and poor public transport services. Singular constructions outside the areas' building plans have affected the landscape in undesirable ways and the existing road network is not conducive to daily commuting to cities (RHDP 2007: 30–31; see also Woods 2005: 119).

As such, the question of land use is a key issue for the RHDP – 10 out of 15 main proposals target more coherent community planning, the construction of new housing areas or the renovation of existing buildings in order to form densely populated villages close to traffic hubs and urban centres. In practice, the creation of new residential rural areas actually creates hybrids of

sociocultural spaces that combine the elements of 'urban' and 'rural' on sites that are geographically in-between (see also Bell 2006: 158; Murdoch 2003: 275.) Within this process lies a significant question concerning the cultural sustainability of the development programme. Combining the elements of two disparate environments, rural and urban, is a major challenge for the development of residential rural areas, given that the cultural perceptions of the two environments are often polarised (Korkiakangas 2010: 84; Kuisma 2005: 123).

12.5   The Rural-Urban Dichotomy

The widely shared idea of the role of the countryside as an idyllic environment of yesteryear emphasises its character as a place where 'nonurban' scenery and life-style still exist. Accordingly, the countryside often carries meanings drawn from this polarisation (Bell 2006: 158; Macnaghten and Urry 1998: 187). The dichotomy of rural and urban was also used extensively by my informants. The idea that living in the country is more humane and basically better than life in urban areas was often reiterated. Such a comparison of rural living to its urban counterpart was the most common way of explaining what kind of home environment rural Finland provides.

Even though the reasons for living in the country varied between the informants, the happiness occasioned by the opportunity to live in the country was common to all of them. Most of the women with rural backgrounds clearly stated that they had always wanted to live in the country and knew that they would move back immediately after their studies in the city were over. However, some of them described how at that stage of life they had never thought about 'going back there'. Maternity had changed their perspective. They were all sure that living in the country is a better environment for children to grow up in despite the problems like the lack of playmates or fewer opportunities for hobbies.

Perceptions about quality of life were closely connected to a rural environment that not only offers beautiful landscapes but is also seen as an inspiring and safe space for family life and bringing up children. Providing their children with safety and a change to learn how to live close to nature valued more by the mothers than possible leisure facilities in an urban environment:

> Our kids have often told us how they like to drive mopeds or maybe field-cars and everything like that. Everything that you can't do in cities, while living in apartment block, like going biking and driving a motor sledge. Here we have this nature and space surrounding us. I could not imagine living in some apartment block with a family like this. (public health nurse, 42 years old)

This interviewee emphasised the leisure opportunities of the rural space and also pointed out how the family's lifestyle would not fit into an urban environment. She had lived in the city during her studies in vocational school but underlined how she never thought of staying there as she had found city life most disagreeable. For most informants, life in urban areas was considered to be too hectic, unsocial and filled

with dangers. In many cases, the attitudes of my informants towards urban living were extremely negative. The manner of attaching positive attributes to rural living and almost demonising the urban was a common feature of the interviews. The point at which the rural–urban dichotomy was most emphasised was when the idea of 'one's own peace' was understood in terms of security. A mother who had lived and worked for years in the Helsinki area made a clear distinction between the two differing living environments and highlighted the safety of the country:

> There in Helsinki, I saw it all: junkies and crooks are everywhere. Here, instead, it is safe. I do not have to be afraid, I can send the kids into the garden, and I do not have to worry that someone will kidnap them or they will be run over by some car. (youth worker, 32 years old)

These perceptions of rural and urban follow the escapist logic of counter-urbanisation, in which the 'rural idyll' is seen to offer refuge from the insecurity and anxiety of urban life (DuPuis 2006: 125; Mitchell 2004: 28; Short 1991: 31). The question of rural–urban polarisation becomes especially important when the rurality envisioned by the RHDP is explored from this perspective. It is noteworthy that rurality as defined by this programme is based on the fantasies and ideological values of urbanites (see also Macnaghten and Urry 1998: 191; Siivonen 2007: 11, 14). Furthermore, the development initiatives are targeted at the rural–urban fringe, and the rural areas close to cities where most new rural residents settle (RHDP 2007: 6, 12.) This focus naturally allows more coherent community planning of these residential areas and the implementation of connections to urban centres of activity.

Yet, in terms of cultural meanings and perceptions, these areas represent the space in which romanticised visions of the Finnish countryside and the reality of daily living in rural areas collide. The cultural idea of the 'pastoral idyll' is strongly present in the RHDP, but as a committee report, it strives for practical changes that will provide (new) rural residents with work and leisure opportunities similar to those enjoyed by urbanites. How are the two differing perceptions conflated in reality? How can the juxtaposition of rural and urban within lay perceptions be combined with the hybrid rurality of the 'Residential Rural Areas'?

12.6   Towards Rurban Realities?

One of the main goals of the RHDP is to mitigate the negative consequences of urban sprawl through coherent community planning, thereby serving both present and future residents. Uncontrolled migration to areas close to cities threatens the visual image commonly associated with the Finnish countryside (RPP 2009: 40). At the same time, spatial development practices and land use in line with modern living requirements may also result in a rural landscape that does not conform to idealised visions (see also Cadieux and Hurley 2011: 299; Macnaghten and Urry 1998: 201). From a wider perspective, both urban and rural areas are affected by global and nationally governed economic and migration practices and trends. Such changes affect cultural values and perceptions, leading to

increasing similitude between the rural and the urban as both politically and culturally valued spaces (Cloke 2006: 18–19; Knuuttila and Rannikko 2008: 18). According to Andreas Hompland (1991), this process of cultural exchange and adaptation of the rural and the urban is two sided: it can be perceived both as urbanisation of the rural and also as ruralisation of the urban. The outcome of these processes is an intermediate sociocultural entity, *a rurban space* that has features from both extremes of the polarised distinction between urban and rural (see also Olsson and Ruotsala 2009: 10).

By combining idyllic, spacious rural living with modern city life, the development of 'Residential Rural Areas' in practice aims to create a cultural hybrid, rurban space representing neither the urban nor the rural. The practical application of the idea of densely populated centres runs counter to 'traditional' conceptions of Finnish residence patterns. Traditionally, Finnish farms, especially in Eastern Finland (and in the areas of Central Finland from which interview data was collected), were remote from each other. The main farmhouse would be built in the middle of extensive farmlands and so neighbours could easily be some kilometres away from each other. The plan for 'Residential Rural Areas' involves spacious residential areas, in which private houses have large gardens but are still close to each other. The new residential areas envisaged by the RHDP are also situated near cities, sometimes so close that the geographical division between suburbia and village becomes indistinct.

Developing the residential rural and limiting urban sprawl by controlling the location and density of new types of housing also has cultural implications. However, development should not disturb the 'essence' of the rural space that is so attractive to potential rural residents. And because rurality is not just rural land and landscape but the lifestyle associated with it, culturally sustainable development needs to focus especially on social spheres of living (see also Savage and Lapping 2003: 5). A sense of community is among the features of rural living that most appeal to potential rural residents (Hienonen 2011: 51–52), and it is also highly valued in the RHDP. In the interviews the significance of local community was also raised as a positive feature of everyday life.

> Of course, when people know each other, then it is easy to get help from them. And, in a sense, it is the sense of community, we have that, we take care of each other. For example, that neighbours bring up the other neighbours' children, look after them, that's how it goes. (social instructor, 41 years old)

In addition to the positive impact of unofficial communal practices on everyday life, a sense of belonging to a local community is in itself highly valued. The maintenance of this social capital and even its development is among the RHDP's key endeavours (RHDP 2007: 38). But, because the practical proposals are mainly concerned with the development of infrastructure and coherent settlements, the sociocultural dimension of future rurban reality is largely neglected. Although at the level of ideas about rurality the RHDP shares many of the values expressed by rural residents, its practical proposals tend towards a quite different rural reality.

12.7   Living in the Rurban Village

The ideas and actions of local communities are often based on certain expectations about how new localities will function as social entities. This vision follows stereotypical perceptions of 'rural communities' and their cultural and social persistence. 'Rural' is mainly seen as a natural space where the phenomenon of the 'social' is subordinated to the characteristics of natural processes (Murdoch 2003: 263; Short 1991: 30). These cultural ideas can be viewed as one of the key attributes that characterise the commonly shared vision of rurality. However, among development processes, such stereotypes should be considered with caution as they do more to illuminate the idea of community attached to an idea of countryside than the reality of modern rural living (see also Korkiakangas 2010: 75–76).

The development of residential rural areas will entail significant sociocultural changes. According to the programme, life in the new residential areas should follow both the communal solidarity associated with rural living and the viable, active lifestyle associated with urban living and its vast social networks (RHDP 2007: 12). Interestingly, this vision of development is remarkably similar to a process that conservers of the culturally appreciated countryside have identified as a cause for the disappearance of the 'rural'. When the characteristics of *Gesellschaft* are merged with the practices and values of *Gemeinschaft*, the former 'rural way of life' is generally expected to fade away (see DuPuis 2006: 126; Panelli 2006: 68).

Even if the current development does not lead to a situation of 'rurality lost', the programme's key development ideas themselves pose a practical threat to the formation of strong local communities. It is noteworthy that the same people who migrate to the country in search of a rural lifestyle are at the same time the cause of its transformation. Urbanites bring their own ways of life to their new places of residence, and the everyday life culture of villages is altered by the practices of new forms of neighbouring and networks (Savage and Lapping 2003: 10). The in-migration of urbanites and the strengthening of the infrastructure (including the promotion of public transport services) connect the new 'rurban village' more closely with the cities and enable more efficient private mobility between these two environments (RHDP 2007: 39, 41; see also Mahon et al. 2012: 269). Not only are rurban village residents likely to work in the city but they may also undertake leisure activities in the city rather than in local settings. When the city is the site of so many everyday life practices, how can a sense of community be fostered in the village?

Phenomena like community spirit cannot be designed and implemented through policies as such. As the development of residential rural areas proceeds, there is a need to consider strategies to enable and promote the communal lifestyle envisioned in the programme. New forms of activity are also welcomed, but the most important issue is to attract the newcomers to local activities. Examples of this kind of activity came up in the interviews. The expectations of a former city dweller of rural living, the quality of social life and the warmth of the local community had proven to be true:

> We were welcomed very warmly, it has been such a positive atmosphere everywhere I go
> here or whichever activity group I want to join. It is so different from the city. And overall,
> all the people here, I think they really are such people, you know what they say about coun-
> try people? They are open and warm. (schoolteacher; 34 years old)

The merging of urban and rural should not be considered solely as threat but also as a potential source of new cultural exchanges (Hompland 1991, cit. in Villa 2000: 474). The increasing scope of individuals' social networks and mobility may inhibit the feeling of belonging to a spatial location, but it does not lead to the loss of all sense of belonging. Instead of being bound to specific geographical sites, 'local' communities are increasingly constructed within the social spaces of ideas and multiple identities (Knuuttila and Rannikko 2008: 15; Massey 2005: 184–185). The process of rurbanisation may itself turn out to be a solution, by preparing the ground for new kinds of communal feelings. Rural residents will have new opportunities to incorporate elements of the formerly polarised entities of 'rural' and 'urban' within their desired lifestyles (Villa 2000: 474; Mahon et al. 2012: 269).

Those in-migrants who are committed to their locality may become important agents of development. Often they not only have the will to preserve the idyll for which they moved to the country but can also advance the most valued practices and ensure the maintenance of community spirit. 'Living out the dream' – deliberately following and strengthening the most cherished features of rural living – involves the social sphere as well as private everyday practices. Thus, there are positive indications that a rurban sense of locality can indeed be formed.

The role and significance of the developmental policy work, thus, lies in the creation of an environment in which locals can become involved in the development process. The RPP's aim to keep rural Finland viable requires that rural localities cooperate with municipalities and civic organisations in order to take care of local issues and development. Whereas the 2007–2010 RHDP focused largely on the development of built environment and efficient zoning, the latest four-year strategy for rural housing[2] places more emphasis on taking account of the sociocultural aspects of migration and rural living as part of development. In practice, local residents should be offered opportunities both to preserve and to reform their rural areas as spaces for daily living according to their own interests and preferences.

12.8   Conclusions

Developing the residential rural requires careful balancing of rural and urban features of living and lifestyles, as well as negotiation of the culturally shared visions and values associated with these disparate spaces. This research contributes to the process of developing the Finnish rural areas into a modern living environment by exploring differing perceptions of rurality. Rurality as envisioned by the Finnish Rural Policy Committee and its Theme Group on Rural Housing is compared with

---

[2]Confirmed at the end of 2011.

the perceptions of people living in rural Finland about their home environment. As an outcome, this ethnographic research shows how lay and official perceptions of rurality dovetail on the level of ideas but become more versatile when they reach the level of everyday life practices in rural environment.

Developing rural Finland into residential rural areas entails recognising the regional and areal characteristics. Long distances and the vastness of remote areas are challenges for efficient, ecological zoning. In terms of developing the material environment in residential rural areas, the RHDP has a clear vision of how to achieve its goal. Accordingly, the outcomes of the implementation related to zoning and renewing the existing village infrastructure have been successful. However, when the focus is on issues of lifestyle or subjective well-being, the development process becomes more difficult.

The research presented in this chapter reveals that lay and official perceptions of rurality have much in common. Both are based on nostalgic ideas of an idyllic rurality. But when the practical outcomes of the development envisaged by the RHDP are compared with the informants' descriptions of rural areas as a daily living space, these two perceptions seem to be almost diametric opposites. The practical development of rural areas is mainly grounded on solving the economic and infrastructural problems of the rural areas, whereas potential rural residents dream about a pastoral idyll.

In all the interviews conducted, the most appreciated features of rural living were the natural surroundings and the peacefulness they afforded. Urban living was mentioned as a negative counterpoint to highly valued rurality. Yet, rather than building the new rural environment on the attributes of idyllic rurality, the RHDP's proposals place considerable emphasis on the transformation of the rural areas into modern living environments by combining rural and urban elements. Accordingly, the impact of cultural changes at the level of everyday practices has been largely unaddressed. The model of dense housing with close connections to urban living does not correspond to my informants' visions of the peaceful, spacious countryside with strong social ties among locals.

What is shaping rural futures in Finland? It has been argued (Kuisma 2005: 121) that when the urban gaze attributes meanings to rurality, the rural landscape becomes the other, the wide open spaces between the cities, cultural gaps to be filled with visions and fantasies. The RHDP aims to bridge the geographical and cultural gaps with its vision of 'Residential Rural Areas'. It seeks to combine pastoral landscapes with the requirements of a modern, functional living environment comparable to that found in urban areas.

Accepting the practical framings of rural areas is important. Beyond this, the cultural perspective needs to be borne in mind. Solving the practical problems of, for example, commuting and zoning is not enough to ensure the successful development of the rurban village; it should also address quality of life in terms of the cultural values and perceptions attached to the countryside. This could be done by conserving the most valued aspects of rurality – the natural environment, the landscape and the sense of community – in order to meet the expectations attached to rural locations as living environments. The addition of local residents' perspectives to the discussion of future rurality adds depth to the dialogue between official and lay knowledge and, thus, advances the development of rural areas in culturally sustainable ways.

References

Åstöm, A.-M. (2005). Den etnologiska forskningsprocessen – en djupdykning I mental och materiella sfärer. In P. Korkiakangas, P. Olsson, & H. Ruotsala (Eds.), *Polkuja etnologian menetelmiin* (pp. 25–42). Helsinki: Ethnos ry.

Bell, D. (2006). Variations on the rural idyll. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 149–160). London: Sage Publications.

Bendix, R. (2000). Heredity, hybridity and heritage from one fin de siècle to the next. In P. Anttonen, A.-L. Siikala, S. Mathisen, & L. Magnusson (Eds.), *Folklore, heritage politics and ethnic diversity* (pp. 37–54). Botkyrka: Multicultural Centre.

Brennan, M. A., Flint, C., & Luloff, A. E. (2009). Bringing together local culture and rural development: Findings from Ireland, Pennsylvania and Alaska. *Sociologia Ruralis, 49*(1), 97–112.

Bunce, M. (2003). Reproducing rural idylls. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 14–30). New York: Pearson.

Cadieux, K., & Hurley, P. (2011). Amenity migration, exurbia, and emerging rural landscapes: Global natural amenity as place and as process. *GeoJournal, 76*(4), 297–302.

Cloke, P. (2003). Knowing ruralities? In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 1–13). New York: Pearson.

Cloke, P. (2006). Conceptualizing rurality. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 18–28). London: Sage Publications.

Dupuis, E. M. (2006). Landscapes of desires? In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 124–132). London: Sage Publications.

Fielding, A. J. (1989). Migration and urbanization in Western Europe since 1950. *The Geographical Journal, 155*(1), 60–69.

Frykman, J., & Gilje, N. (2003). An introduction. In J. Frykman & N. Gilje (Eds.), *Being there: New perspectives on phenomenology and the analysis of culture* (pp. 7–51). Lund: Academic.

Hienonen, K. (2011). *The countryside in the society of meanings* (Report 52). Helsinki: Sitra.

Hompland, A. (1991). Chapter 9: Rurbanization, suburbia and metropolis. Social scenarios in Norway and Europe. In R. Almås & N. With (Eds.), *Rural futures in an international world*. Centre for Rural Research: Trondheim.

Kaipainen, J. (2011). *Järjestöjen kilpailukyky maaseudun palvelutuotannossa*. Kokkola: Kokkolan yliopistokeskus Chydenius.

Knuuttila, S., & Rannikko, P. (2008). Sivakka ja Rasinmäki tutkimuksina. In S. Knuuttila, P. Rannikko, J. Oksa, T. Hämynen, H. Itkonen, H. Kilpeläinen, M. Simula, S. Vakimo, & M. Väisänen (Eds.), *Kylän Paikka. Uusia Tulkintoja Sivakasta ja Rasinmäestä* (pp. 9–22). Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Korkiakangas, P. (2010). The romanticised countryside – Ethnological research and countryside nostalgia. In T. Bata & Z. Szarvas (Eds.), *Past and present stereotypes – Ethnological, anthropological perspectives* (pp. 75–86). Budapest: Hungarian Ethnographical Society.

Kuisma, J. (2005). Maaseutu yhteiskunnallisena kysymyksenä. In I. Niiniluoto & J. Sihvola (Eds.), *Nykyajan Etiikka. Keskusteluja Ihmisestä ja Yhteisöstä* (pp. 99–126). Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Macnaghten, P., & Urry, J. (1998). *Contested natures*. London: Sage Publications.

Mahon, M., Fahy, F., & Ó Cinnéide, M. (2012). The significance of quality of life and sustainability at the urban–rural fringe in the making of place-based community. *GeoJournal, 77*(2), 265–278.

Marcus, G. (1986). Contemporary problems of ethnography in the modern world system. In J. Clifford & G. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography* (pp. 165–193). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Massey, D. (2005). *For space*. London: Sage Publications.

Mitchell, C. (2004). Making sense of counterurbanization. *Journal of Rural Studies, 20*(1), 15–34.

Murdoch, J. (2003). Co-constructing the countryside: Hybrid networks and the extensive self. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 263–282). New York: Pearson.

Nieminen-Sundell, R. (2011). *Beautiful scenery, but no jobs*. Helsinki: Sitra.

Olsson, P., & Ruotsala, H. (2009). Introduction. In P. Olsson & H. Ruotsala (Eds.), *Gendered rural spaces* (pp. 7–17). Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Panelli, R. (2006). Rural society. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 63–84). London: Sage Publications.

Rural Housing Development Programme (RHDP). (2007). *Residential rural areas 2007–2010*. Helsinki: Rural Policy Committee.

Rural Policy Programme (RPP). (2009). *Countryside for vigorous Finland. Rural Policy Programme 2009–2013*. Helsinki: Rural Policy Committee.

Savage, L., & Lapping, M. (2003). Sprawl and its discontents: The rural dimension. In M. Lindstrom & H. Bartley (Eds.), *Suburban sprawl: Culture, theory and politics* (pp. 5–18). Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Short, J. R. (1991). *Imagined country: Environment, culture and society*. London: Routledge.

Siivonen, K. (2007). The right to stand outside the cultural heritage. A condition for sustainable cultural development. *Ethnologia Fennica, 34*, 6–19.

Sireni, M. (2011). *Climate policy and the utilization of housing space in sparsely populated rural areas*. Helsinki: Rural Policy Committee.

Snellman, H. (2003). Kansa tietää! In P. Laaksonen, S. Knuuttila, & U. Piela (Eds.), *Tutkijat kentällä* (Yearbook of Kalevala Society 82, pp. 44–61). Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Strang, V. (2009). *What anthropologists do?* Oxford: Berg.

Villa, M. (2000). Rural life courses in Norway: Living with the rural–urban complementarity. *The History of the Family, 5*(4), 473–490.

Wade, P., & Rinne, P. (2008). *A leader dissemination guide book based on programme experience in Finland, Ireland and the Czech Republic*. Helsinki: Rural Policy Committee.

Williams, R. (1985 [1973]). *The country and the city*. London: The Hogarth Press.

Woods, M. (2005). *Rural geography. Processes, responses and experiences in rural restructuring*. London: Sage Publications.

Wylie, J. (2003). Landscape, performance and dwelling: A Glastonbury case study. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 136–157). New York: Pearson.

Chapter 13
The Foraged Countryside: Perceptions of Nature and Culture in Four Encounters with Fungi

Maria Kennedy

13.1   Introduction

It is autumn in Britain, and the weather has been unseasonably warm and dry. This is not the best weather for mushrooming, as fungi prefer damp weather to encourage the fruiting bodies to push their way up from the decaying organic matter where the mycelium spread out the essential structures of the organism. Foraging for mushrooms and other flowers, fruits, and plants of the hedgerows has become an increasingly popular activity in Britain, an activity that conjures up a host of ideals and associations of bucolic country life and a communion of nature and culture. It is, in a way, a smaller, more contained impetus to get 'back to the land', achievable in brief forays out into the hedgerows, pastures and forests, rather than the long-term commitment of agricultural subsistence. Considering foraging on a continuum of other back to the land activities can help us put it in the context of what David Danbom (1991) calls 'romantic agrarianism', which discusses the romantic philosophy underpinning successive American back to the land movements. His article discusses romantic agrarianism as a specifically American zeitgeist:

> It appeals to that very American notion that the individual can escape the constraints of society and recapture a lost innocence, that he or she can reclaim a lost freedom in a lost Eden, a paradise almost always associated with nature and almost never with civilization. (Danbom 1991: 12)

Similar romantic sensibilities pervade British back to the land movements as well, and we can see foraging as an attempt for people brought up in an industrialized and commercialized environment to rediscover the origins of basic necessities in their most uncorrupted and uncultivated forms and habitats. Foraged food is a step beyond local or organic produce, both of which have

M. Kennedy (✉)
Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, USA
e-mail: kennedme@indiana.edu

gained significant popular and economic appeal in an era of increased criticism of industrial methods of farming and the economic domination of supermarket supply chains. Foraged food defies and exceeds human purposiveness and evades the taint of human intervention. Foraging appeals to those classic romantic ideals which divide nature and culture into separate and opposed dualities, classing nature as purifying and culture as corrupting.

However, while foraging may at first glance appeal to the purifying romantic sensibility, the social and material fabric of the British countryside defies such simplistic dualities. In Britain, a landscape which has been shaped, used, developed, and cultivated for thousands of years, truly wild places are scarce, beloved and revered, usually found tucked between the edges of the cultivated agricultural landscape, itself already once removed from the human industrial tangle of the cities and the towns. Wild places are, ironically, shaped by human activities, the classic example being the hedgerow itself. Planted to divide agricultural fields and fence in stock, hedgerows themselves tell a complex story of agriculture, land ownership and labor. It is legitimate to ask whether there are really any 'wild' places in Britain, begging the question of what wild food is. What cultural or natural settings provide a context for foraging? Perceptions of wildness are not strictly defined by scientific measures of ecology, but instead are shaped by cultural institutions and social interactions. This chapter will examine a variety of social contexts in which people go out into the countryside in search of wild food, in search of mushrooms, and we will consider how perceptions of nature and culture are shaped in these encounters.

Popularized by his landmark book *Food for Free*, Richard Mabey (2012 [1972]) reintroduced the idea of foraging to generations and classes of people who might never have practiced it themselves, whose lives may have been shaped by the industrial and commercial fabric of urban planning and convenience foods. However, foraging never really died out in the countryside. Preserving and winemaking have continued on among local families and incomers who enjoy the traditional activities of the countryside and who have access to green spaces. Even with access to green landscapes, however, knowing how to find and identify the places where wild food might be found and what wild food is edible are skills that must be learned. The practice of foraging is a process of remapping one's encounters with rural spaces through reshaping perceptions of nature and culture and the history of the relationship between the two.

In this chapter, we will consider how perceptions of rural places have been shaped in a series of foraging encounters, each of which illustrates different kinds of social relationships to the countryside and which reveals differing, though not necessarily oppositional, attitudes toward the desired outcomes of engagement in rural life. We will see in this comparison that the idea of 'food for free', while easily marketed and circulated in popular media as an ideal way of reconnecting people with natural, wild and healthy practices, is in fact full of social nuance and complicated by the realities of class, access to land, and the divergent cultural worlds of country and city, farmer and conservationist, and local and incomer.

Our series of encounters will begin with the television series *River Cottage*, a semi-fictionalized rendering of the experience of a city dweller who has

moved the countryside to take up the life of a smallholder. Presented by Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, *River Cottage* sets up participant structures for the television viewer that attempt to portray the lifestyle of an individual living and working in the countryside. We will consider the television program in contrast to a day out on a *River Cottage* mushroom foraging course at the River Cottage Park Farm, a venue where individuals are encouraged to step into the world depicted by the television series and experience these country activities for themselves. The visit to River Cottage Park farm is a form of rural tourism which offers the distinct opportunity to make links between media messages and tourist practice. Taking a step away from television and its tourist spin-offs, we will consider a mushroom foraging outing organized and led by local conservationists in a small rural village. And finally, we will look at an encounter with local individuals visiting their favorite local mushroom fields in Shropshire. While there will not be space in this chapter for a detailed analysis of each encounter, a brief journey through these vignettes should suggest the diversity and complexity of institutional, commercial and media messages at work in shaping the perception of 'food for free' in contemporary Britain, as well as the outcomes of these diverse encounters.

13.2   Foraging and the Landscape: Natural and Social Histories Rediscovered

In his preface to the recent edition of Richard Mabey's *Food for Free*, the author reflects on the changing social meanings foraging has accumulated from the days of its counterculture rebirth to its now fashionable place in the world of fine dining and cultural heritage. He says,

> Foraging for food then [in the late 1960s] didn't feel much like some exploration of ancient rural heritage (though of course it was). It felt political, cheeky, hedge-wise, a poke in the eye for domesticity as much for domestication. It was only late that I also began to appreciate that it might also be a way – on all kinds of social and cultural and psychological levels – of 'reconnecting with the wild'. (Mabey 2012 [1972])

He goes on to challenge and critique just what this reconnection with the wild has come to mean in the contemporary era of fashionable wild food, a critique which this chapter wishes to build upon and expand in the larger context of the social history, anthropology and folklore of the countryside in Britain.

While Mabey's focus in this volume and that of other food studies scholars, including the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery of 2004 (Hosking 2006), have considered foraging within the framework of its edible products, we will explore the implications of foraging as an activity taking place on the stage of the British countryside, where wild food is not simply a commodity, a product, or a consumable material, but rather a link in the larger natural and social histories of rural life. This perspective is in keeping with Mabey's own philosophy, but it often seems to get lost in the context of 'food-centric' writing, a brief but convenient rhetoric of organic wholeness comfortably coloring the background and lending

cultural legitimacy to a celebration of gourmet, bourgeois and aspirational taste-making activities. The adoption of rhetorics that celebrate nature, heritage, and organic wholeness in the promotion of both commercial products and group identities is certainly not unique to Britain.

But this strategy, which rhetorically links nature and culture in idealized organic unities, is increasingly common in postindustrial nations and deserves further study in local and national contexts. It is a compelling but dangerous rhetoric, one that we have seen before in the early part of the twentieth century, a rhetoric which led to fascism, racism, and genocide. These are the extremes, of course, but the rhetorical tendency toward simplification and obfuscation of social complexity remains and should be watched and critiqued. Perceptions about rural places and the relationships between nature and culture that take place within them, thus, have an important bearing on the state of national consciousness and all of the consequential relationships between people within the state and beyond the state. While the issues above may seem overly serious for a discussion of mushrooming, it is through such seemingly harmless and frivolous activities that basic cultural ideas about rural places are revealed, which form the basis of political consciousness.

Interest in landscape history in Britain has a long and distinguished scholarly past. Restricting our scope to the fields of folklore scholarship, anthropology and social history, we can trace this field back at least to the antiquarian scholars who pioneered the investigation of local landmarks, buildings and artifacts (Dorson 1968). In the twentieth century, this led up to the popular work of WG Hoskins, *The History of the English Landscape* (1955), which encouraged the reader to look to field boundaries and hedges in order to see the shape of historical social contracts and settlement patterns. The field of local history, epitomized in the work of George Evans in *Ask the Fellows Who Cut the Hay* (1956), encouraged the recording of agricultural customs and practices, noting the social and cultural relationships which accompanied the creation of historically and locally specific agricultural landscapes.

These mid-twentieth-century efforts captured information during a time of rapid and significant agricultural change in the postwar era and paved the way for further critical histories of the relationship between the rural and the urban, the agrarian and the industrial, notably the works of Edward Palmer Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class* (1964) and Raymond Williams in *The Country and the City* (1973). Thompson's work was significant in its portrayal of the role of popular or folk culture as a social force against the growing powers of industrialization and class. Armed with the tools of folk custom derived in large part from its agrarian and rural roots, the English industrial working class was able to pit itself against the ruling industrial classes in a bid for collective rights.

Bob Bushaway's work in *By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England 1700–1880* (1982) has expanded on this thesis to investigate the role of popular folk custom as a tool of social resistance and power in rural England in the context of changing rights to commons and other resources threatened by enclosures and privatizations of land. Foraging, of course, is just one of those activities and rights that would have been practiced and protected by popular folk custom.

These works suggest a much more contentious reality of relationships to land, property, and resources than is often hinted at by the rhetoric of 'getting in touch with wildness' promoted by foraging enthusiasts, even those who emphasize the importance experiencing wild food as part of a larger interconnected natural and historical landscape. This leads us to ask, then, what kinds of stories and rhetorics are being told, performed, and experienced by those who engage in foraging now? What kind of 'exploration of ancient rural heritage' is being practiced, and to what ends are people using it?

13.3   Return to River Cottage: Constructing a Model for Participation

The BBC television show *Escape to River Cottage* is the first of three full seasons of a highly influential show depicting the experiences of a city dweller who decides to try out the life of a rural smallholder in the Southwestern English county of Dorset. A mash-up of the genres of travel show, documentary, cooking show and reality TV, this program invites viewers to contemplate the realities of life as a small-scale agricultural entrepreneur trying to put into action a variety of contemporary values including organic and sustainable production, foraging, participation in local community groups, and downsizing from an urban life of material consumption to a rural life of organic production. We will look at an excerpt of the *River Cottage* TV program that features a fungal foray in order to understand how it constructs models of participation for the viewing audience.

At the very beginning of the DVD collection, the host and central protagonist of this reality endeavor, Hugh, addresses the audience directly, framing the series distinctly in terms of an invitation to lifestyle change. He says, 'It's the best thing I ever did with my life, why don't you give it a go'. With this frame explicitly set up by the host of the show, it is clear that the viewers are meant to understand their viewing as an invitation to participate in the lifestyle that Hugh models throughout the series. *River Cottage* gives us the opportunity to examine how ideas about the countryside are being circulated and developed. It leads us to ask how these ideas, as constructed through mediated messages, shape possible models for action and participation by television viewers.

Recent ethnographic and reception studies of media have critiqued past media criticism of the Frankfurt School for its tendency to portray the indoctrinating power of media messages upon mass audiences. This ethnographic scholarship, particularly the work by Lila Abu-Lughod in *Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt* (2004), has demonstrated that audiences participate actively in their reception of media messages, evaluating, rejecting, accepting and critiquing media in the context of their own lived experiences. Further, other studies have emphasized the material forms through which media messages are transmitted and the material social life through which media messages are experienced, notably Debra Spitulnik's (2002) study of radio equipment circulating through a Zambian

town and Brian Larkin's (2002) analysis of movie theaters as socially structured environments where other norms of social interaction must be negotiated. We can look at the media narrative of *River Cottage* as a structure through which action is modeled for viewers and consider whether and how this kind of action plays itself out in real cultural encounters with the countryside.

Diane Goldstein, in her work *Once Upon a Virus* (2004), explores the relationship of narrative structures to performed practices in the world, discussing this relationship in terms of the phenomenon of ostension. Goldstein describes ostension as

> when individuals act out a story instead of narrating it or repeating it. In most cases ostensive action does not have a direct 'playacting' kind of relationship to the story but rather suggests in a more subtle sense the way narrative provides an encoded cultural script for decision making and action. (Goldstein 2004: 121)

Goldstein cautions us about attributing causality when using ostension as an explanatory framework for action. She directs our attention instead toward the intertextual relations of heard, reported and performed texts, saying,

> Intertextuality solves the causality puzzle intrinsic to ostension theory. It does not require us to know if the narrative provoked the action or if the action provoked the narrative; in some sense both may be the case. Rather, intertextuality focuses on the nonchronological and nongenetic reciprocal ties between texts, their relationships of meaning, allusion, and connotation. (Goldstein 2004: 123)

She goes on to say, 'Read intertextually, the problem is not whether one story causes or influences the other, but more correctly, that one story and the other are caused and influenced by the same *cultural imperative*' (Goldstein 2004: 123). Goldstein's caution and redirection are instructive and will guide the larger ethnographic project in a search for the underlying cultural imperative guiding both the creation of the *River Cottage* narrative and viewer responses to it. However, in this particular case, with the explicit framing of the video collection as an imperative to the viewer to 'try it yourself', we should ask how the show models a narrative of practice and participation for its viewers, how it self-consciously creates a narrative for intended ostensive copying.

Using the idea of ostension as a jumping-off point, I want to suggest that in investigating the *River Cottage* series we examine how the structure of the television narrative proposes different kinds of narrative relationships and positionalities for the viewer to inhabit. In other words, we will look at how the television narrative constructs a space, identity, and role for the viewer to relate and react to its story. The viewer's role can be traced through the deictic shifts, or the shifts in narrative reference to the 'I' of the narrator and the 'you' of the audience. Roles are essential for accomplishing communication, but the ways in which they are signaled often remain taken for granted, rendered imperceptible by our ability to react to them on an almost unconscious, functional basis. Close examination of how roles are constructed, however, gives us the opportunity to critique social interactions and the cultural meanings and identities embedded in them. One way to identify deictic shifts, and see the ways that the narrator is proposing the audience to relate to the story, is by examining shifts of storytelling genre within the program.

In *A World of Others' Words*, Richard Bauman (2004) suggests that we can look to shifts in genre during performance as a signal to shifts in the participant roles which the narrator takes responsibility for, which in turn demonstrate how a performer contextualizes his relationship to tradition. Bauman endeavors through this analysis, 'to explore a perspective on context from the inside, as it were, using textual performance itself as a point of departure, and allowing it to index dimensions of context as the narrator himself forges links of contextualization to give shape and meaning to his expression' (Bauman 2004: 33).

Looking at a four-minutes clip from season one of *Escape to River Cottage*, we can get a sense of the variety of narrative structures, which the program uses in order to engage in particular kinds of storytelling, each of which orients the narrator to the audience in different ways. Notice at least three kinds of narrative structure:

1. Engagement/sympathy: narrator directly addressing audience in personal conversation, looking and speaking directly into the camera
2. Didactic/expository: narrator voices over other visual content, providing explanation or context
3. Dramatic/fantasy: narrator directly addresses others on the screen, not speaking to the audience

These narrative structures are also recognizable as related to several primary TV genres: the first, the narrator directly addressing the audience, is recognizable in travel and cooking shows, where a host guides the TV audience through a place or an activity. This is an engaging narrative which breaks the frame of the drama to bring the audience in as an interlocutor who could plausibly contribute to the narrative. The second is recognizable generally as a narrative structure used in documentary film, where visual evidence is underscored by contextualizing narration. This narrative structure is didactic or expository, instructing and educating the audience, but not suggesting opportunity for interaction. The third, where the narrator recedes from his relationship with the audience in order to engage people he encounters in the lifeworld captured on screen, has become a recognizable trope of traditional TV and theatrical drama, and more recently in the specific form of reality TV, where a 'real' dramatic and interactive experience is understood to be occurring, and the audience remains passive but is understood to be watching, and perhaps identifying with one or other protagonist. Dramatic narrative encourages interaction through fantasy and identification.

I would like to suggest that it is the creative shifting between these narrative structures and their understood associations with known televisual genres that helps to create specific participatory models for the audience, guiding them in how they should understand their relationship to the content of the narratives of rural life portrayed in the show. These shifts in narrative structure model social roles and possible interactions with country activities and people.

In those segments where Hugh, the narrator, directly addresses the audience, he often discusses particular activities. In those segments of voice-over explanation, historical and contextual details of the situations are given, introducing the viewer to the larger narratives of life against which they can expect experiences to occur in

rural places. This kind of background information links activities and events together, suggesting that the viewer should expect and seek out narrative explanations for the otherwise mystifying activities of rural life. This push to contextualize is one of the crucial ways in which the narrator creates a sense of tradition. Both natural and social history are suggested to the viewer as important resources for creating rural identity. When Hugh interacts directly with locals onscreen, he models kinds of interpersonal drama and possible events, indicating how viewers themselves might participate with locals themselves. This self-consciously ethnographic drama creates expectations for the norms of rural social life.

The sympathetic mode and the dramatic mode both encourage a sense of 'being there' with the people onscreen, with the didactic or expository mode bridging the gap between our sympathy with Hugh and Hugh's sympathy with others onscreen. In the sympathetic mode, Hugh brings us into engagement with the countryside itself and its activities, while in the dramatic mode, these are animated. The sympathetic engagement encouraged in the first mode and explained in the second mode finds dramatic animation in the third, where we can see activities modeled and taught put into social action, and this is where the audience can imagine themselves not just in the countryside, doing rural activities, but socially engaged in the countryside, participating in its cultural drama. What does this narrative media strategy say about the relationship of nature and culture in the countryside? I would argue that it emphasizes the importance of personal relationships and social integration, through which nature can be accessed and experienced, first through the sympathetic relationship with Hugh, second through his didactic exposition of stories and information, and third through dramatic social encounters. Even wild and foraged food, such as fungi, are essentially experienced and understood through these varying modes of social integration. We will look at a specific example from the *River Cottage* series.

In the second season of the series, *Return to River Cottage*, the fourth episode features Hugh and some local men going out into the countryside to forage for some wild food. Within the context of the episode, Hugh is seen struggling with the problems of cultivation and domestication: the wet mild weather has ruined his hay crop and blighted his tomatoes, and he is trying to groom a prized ewe into form for the local agricultural show. Worn by these problems, he decides to go for a ramble in the woods with some local foraging experts who can show him where to find wild garlic bulbs, bullaces, pigeons and mushrooms. This vignette shows them jumping in the car and driving straight to the locations, as if on a wild chase, not hesitating to drive the car over some pastures in order to get a view of some giant puffball mushrooms from the top of a hill. The search is played down, and the pleasures of the find are celebrated, capped, of course, by the preparation of a delicious meal incorporating all the foraged ingredients and a wild night out on the town implicating the hallucinatory effects of ingesting certain other kinds of mushrooms. The foray, rather than domesticating the wild food, inoculates the foragers with wild behavior, setting Hugh loose from his agricultural worries.

What are the narrative positions set up for the viewer, and how do these model relationships between nature and culture? The foraging vignette is framed by a

sympathetic engagement with Hugh, who says to the audience as he sets out in the car: 'I like to think that I know my local onions so to speak, but there is no substitute for local knowledge, so I'm about to team up with some local lads who've got that in spades'. This is followed by a didactic explanation of some foraging activities, leading up to a dramatic scene focusing on the mushroom hunt. Having driven to the top of a hill to survey the surrounding fields for mushrooms, they spot a ring of giant puffballs and exchange banter while looking through their long binoculars at the puffballs in the distance, making wagers about the weight of the largest puffballs, and sharing an urban legend about what would happen if all the spores of a giant puffball germinated. This is again followed by further didactic scenes of foraging and cooking and a final dramatic scene of Hugh and the lads eating and enjoying their meal.

Just as the mushroom foray is thematically presented as an escape from everyday cares on the farm, the audience can sit back and enter into the fantasy drama themselves, enjoying the fun of Hugh and the lads exchanging witty remarks over the possible size of the mushrooms. The emphasis is not on scientific information about fungi, nor does it dwell on the often fruitless but enjoyable excursion of looking for mushrooms, nor on the intricacies of identification. The mushroom hunt is, instead, a dramatic moment, full of social interaction, marked by the find itself rather than the pursuit.

13.4   River Cottage Park Farm: Mushroom Day Course

So, how is the *River Cottage* television narrative translated into participatory encounter? On October 21, 2011, I attended a day course on mushrooming, accompanied by a friend. After an early morning struggle with roadmaps and vague directions, we arrived at the gate to Park Farm and joined a group of mostly middle-aged people next to a minibus in the car park. Besides my friend and I, there was only one other pair in their 30s. The rest of the participants were aged 40 and above and generally seemed interested in environmental and countryside issues. There were several seasoned mushroom hunters, a professional gardener, and an expert on the fishing industry among our group of around 20 people. With a price tag of 180.00 GBP per person, the course was certainly aimed at and available to middle- or to upper-middle-class audience. Several participants had been given the tickets for the course as presents, and many said it was something they had wanted to do for a long time, marking it as a special and unusual experience, with time out in the fields foraging bookended by cookery demonstrations and an exquisite restaurant quality meal.

In a little shed by the bus, we were greeted by Steve Lamb, our host for the day, along with John Wright, *River Cottage*'s mushroom expert and our guide, and a few other staff people offering glasses of a warm cider brandy liquor to fortify us against the crisp autumn chill. We eventually loaded onto the bus, which deposited us at a not-too-distant location which had been prearranged and scouted by John,

who estimated that we would find 30–40 varieties of mushroom during our foray, despite the fact that conditions were not optimal due to the warm dry autumn.

In many respects, the day course at *River Cottage* was an exercise not only in allowing us to delve into the foraging material introduced via the television series but also into the experience of being televised, being brought into a narrative flow not unlike that of the television program. By this, I mean that from the moment of entering the gate at Park Farm till the end of the day when we were handed copies of the *River Cottage* mushroom book after our superb meal, our entire experience had been carefully produced, interspersed with sympathetic engagement with the staff, didactic exposition of our foraging and culinary activities, and dramatic social action between participants during the forage and the final dinner. Just as in the show, we were brought into contact with a local expert and encouraged to try foraging for ourselves. Afterward, we were brought back to the farm to watch several cooking demonstrations, followed by an amazing feast.

Throughout, all the staff, and especially our host Steve and guide John, carried on an amazingly witty and entertaining banter, incorporating us the participants into the flow of their talk through jokes (often bawdy) and conversations (surprisingly personal), which mimic the tone and banter often witnessed on the television program between Hugh and his guests. This banter was carried out with a genuine sense of enjoyment and fun by the staff but also with incredibly smooth theatricality. Even when we got legitimately lost during the mushroom foray, causing John and Steve to scratch their heads over the map and lead us bushwhacking through the forest to get back to the road, it seemed entirely appropriate to the *River Cottage* experience, which portrays Hugh as an often bumbling but persevering new man of the countryside.

Entering into the experience of *River Cottage* for the day at Park Farm not only included content material related to foraging and mushroom hunting but also included an extension of the procedural flow of the program as well, the performative flow of conversation, joke, personality and tone, and a recapitulation of the modes of narrative engagement which characterized the show. Different from the show, however, was the extensive instruction on identification of mushrooms by our guide John, who impressed on us the importance of scientific names and the basic structures of fungi. During the cookery demonstrations, John labored over our collection of mushrooms (totaling 39 species) with his identification guides, labeling them with common and Latin names and grouping them according to families.

This display transformed the products of our foraging adventure from a basket full of mysterious wild fruits into a highly rational and beautiful scientific rendering of nature's wonder. While John was more than able to participate in the witty theatrical banter, his scientific seriousness toward the subject of fungi both stood out against the smooth production of the course as a whole while also reinforcing the legitimacy of *River Cottage* as a program and brand dedicated to serious appreciation of the countryside. Indeed, among the participants were several novices and several very experienced mushroom foragers, some of whom were keen commiserate with John on the finer details of mushroom identification.

13.5   Foraging Close to Home: Walcot Wood Fungal Foray with John Hughes

Turning our attention away from *River Cottage*, we can look at an unrelated fungal foray in order to draw some comparisons and note different modes of engagement. In early October of the same year, I attended a fungal foray near the town of Bishops Castle, Shropshire, where I was then living. Catching sight of a flyer posted outside the local grocery store a few days before, I decided to tag along and showed up on a rather damp afternoon with several other local people, including a few local outdoor enthusiasts and some families with children. This event had been organized by Harriet and Peter Carty. Peter, local manager of National Trust properties, oversees Walcot Wood, a sliver of ancient wood pasture tucked into a secluded valley behind the Walcot Estate in South Shropshire. Peter believes this is the last remnant of a much larger hunting ground, now lost to enclosure and modern farming. Walcot Wood hugs one side of this valley, the slope graced by majestic veteran oak trees that may have been young in the reign of the first Queen Elizabeth. Their old gnarled branches sweep down to the forest floor, some of them hollowed and craggy, others grand and elegant, their heavy thick limbs defying gravity, at least for the moment. Each of these trees has its own management plan, and the National Trust, assisted with a dedicated 'wood group' of local volunteers, is engaged in gradually clearing out the scrub and hawthorn which has begun to choke the forest floor in order to eventually restore it to wood pasture suitable for grazing cattle and sheep. Right now, only a hardy herd of Hebridean sheep munch away at the scrub.

While the local landscape was of interest in the *River Cottage* foray only in as much as it was a backdrop for finding mushrooms, the Walcot Wood foray was organized explicitly as an educational event to engage people with this landscape site. Harriet Carty, Peter's spouse, had written and won a grant to facilitate these educational experiences in Walcott Wood, which also included the maintenance and use of a forest school for the local schoolchildren. Several of the adults present on the foray were volunteers from the wood group, who spend days clearing brush and chain-sawing timber. Children from the school, some of whom were clearly at home in the forest school campsite, were also in attendance. The mushroom foray in this case was part of a much larger project to conserve, appreciate, and engage with local landscape ecology and history.

As the group headed out into the wood, our leader, John Hughes, a local fungi expert from the Shropshire Wildlife Trust who leads a number of fungal forays throughout the autumn, led us first to a group of field mushrooms tucked in tufts of grass in pastureland beside the road. Peter Carty told me later that there are other very knowledgeable mushroom experts in Shropshire, but none are as good at storytelling as John Hughes. In this respect, he shared a similar flair for drama with the *River Cottage* mushroom expert, John Wright, but while Mr. Wright's aptitude for wit was incorporated into the general banter and drama that characterized the *River Cottage* experience as a whole, Mr. Hughes's talent for storytelling was honed more specifically toward incorporating his audience, especially children, into an entertaining and educational quest for mushrooms.

I, a mushrooming novice, was very surprised by the number and variety of fungi to be found. Had I been out for a walk on my own, I may have noticed them vaguely in passing, but with Mr. Hughes's interactive instructions, everyone began peering under leaf piles and on rotting pieces of wood. People began peeling back the layers of the forest, noticing the kinds of trees under or on which mushrooms grew. Unlike a simple walk in the woods, the mushroom hunt became a sensual and kinetic engagement with the landscape. John's instructions on ways to observe moved seamlessly from didactic tutorial into engaging and sympathetic banter, asking for opinion, description, and observation from the participants that created the sense that they were teaching themselves how to see, smell, taste, and explore.

In the pastures, we discovered two varieties of parasol mushrooms, one poisonous and the other edible, as well as a variety of waxcaps, which John told us indicated the pasture was relatively ancient and unimproved, unlike most pastures which may have been ploughed, reseeded with productive grasses, fertilized and sprayed with pesticide. John encouraged us to articulate certain senses to observe characteristics of shape, size, smell and habitat. The process of learning to identify mushrooms not only awakened one's senses and awareness of the mushrooms themselves but also of the historical and ecological character of the places where they grew.

13.6   Foraging the Neighborhood: Walks with Shropshire Residents

A few weeks following the Walcot Wood foray, one of the participants, Rob Rowe, called me up to go for a mushrooming walk. Conditions were just right, he said. It had rained several times in the past weeks, but it was a nice enough day for a walk. Rob is an avid and largely self-taught naturalist, having worked for Shropshire Wildlife Trust in the past doing botanical surveys and also involved in veteran tree surveys for the Woodland Trust. He is an active participant in local community wildlife groups, especially regarding wildflower and butterfly recording, and leads courses in foraging for various organizations in the area. Rob, however, is a man of few, carefully considered words, whose knowledge of botany and the landscape emerges best in the fields where he has enjoyed walking for many years. Rob is an avid walker, who laments the fact that so few people take advantage of the footpaths or bother to get out and explore the landscape as a regular activity.

We set out on a walk leading out of the town of Bishops Castle, following the footpaths down through pastures and along the banks of a stream, passing by sheep and the silent large beasts of cattle. We noticed waxcaps along the way, but Rob clearly had a destination in mind – this was not a random ramble. Striking out uphill, we suddenly came to a hillside pasture covered with field mushrooms. Though it didn't look so impressive at first to my untrained eye, we had soon filled our bags with mushrooms, working our way up the side of the hill as the purple October twilight fell and finally winding our way back into town, where Rob looked over our haul and divided up the takings between us.

Though Rob is a relative expert in foraging generally, mushrooming of this sort is practiced by many local people in the autumn, people who return to the same spots year after year. My friend Jenny Tuke and her daughter Emily walk their dog round the same routes all year round, following the roads and paths around their house outside of town and often straying into the fields of neighboring farms. She knew of several patches of field mushrooms to look out for, and one day, when I was over for lunch, she made a delicious fried mushroom and bacon and onion sandwich with her most recent finds.

Peter Carty also reckons that as an activity, mushrooming has never died out among locals in South Shropshire, though it also has never taken on the fashionable character of other parts of England nor become the lucrative financial activity of professional foragers selling to posh chefs in London. Cosmopolitan centers are too far away from Shropshire to encourage anything approaching that sort of situation. People like Rob Rowe and Jenny Tuke know the fields from repeated visits, from intimate and habitual encounters not only with the natural environment itself but also with the neighbors, the local landowners, and other people who frequent the footpaths. Jenny knows who owns the fields she walks in, and Rob is accustomed to asking permission of farmers if he encounters them on their land. Rob described to me one occasion, where he was out walking on a footpath and happened to meet the farmer in his field. When he asked permission to stray off the path to pick mushrooms, the farmer thanked him for asking, said that most people wouldn't have even bothered to get permission.

It is in these sorts of personal encounters where the delight of discovery, the excitement of new sensory experience, and new engagement with the history and ecology of countryside become complicated by very real matters of property and social relations. The tensions between rambler and landowner, between conservationist and farmer, and between neighbors who use the same paths can come to a head when rival social and cultural claims to natural resources collide. Indeed, it is in the individual habitual mushrooming foray that we come closest to seeing competing social and economic claims on the landscape come into possible conflict. Walcot Wood, owned by the National Trust, is managed with clear intent toward conservation. The discovery of waxcaps indicating ancient pasture hinted briefly at the conflicts over land management that effect the ecological stability of fungi habitat. The structure of the woodland pasture environment within which certain fungi have found a habitat sends us faint echoes of a system of land ownership and social arrangements of labor from a time long gone. People on the *River Cottage* course foray were protected from any trespass dispute through the prearrangements of the course organizers, and knowledge about the history of the landscape was only tangentially discussed. And in the television dramatization itself, there was no mention at all of trespass, social dispute over access, or the social or ecological history of the habitat.

13.7 Conclusions

These vignettes may seem to reinforce typical assumptions about the television fostering superficial renderings of the relationship between nature and culture in contrast to the depth understandings of held or gained through local knowledge or

experience. However, my aim has rather been to explore the character of engagement between nature and culture that is cultivated in different settings focused on the same material content of mushroom foraging. It is important to emphasize that none of these encounters can convey exactly the experience or knowledge accomplished by the others. In other words, it is pointless to assign value to one experience over another as fostering a more complete or useful engagement between culture and nature, as much as we would like to point to an example of 'best practice'. However, this comparison seeks to highlight how different structures of experience shape how people imagine and engage with the natural world and create diverse cultural and social meanings for it.

The experience of the mushroom foray is one of essential discovery and surprise: you never know exactly what you will find. Though seasoned mushroom hunters, and especially those with extensive local knowledge, may have a mental map of past finds, or a theoretical ecological knowledge of what habitats will most likely yield certain varieties, there is still no guarantee of success. The *River Cottage* television program conveniently downplayed this element of uncertainty and focused on the excitement of the final discovery. The *River Cottage* day-course foray was of course marked much more significantly by instruction on how to search for fungi and by the excitement of the unexpected find, though our path had certainly been scouted beforehand. Indeed, the foray was structured as much by spontaneous discovery as by anything else. The Walcot Wood foray, taking place in a location already somewhat familiar to many of the participants, was marked especially by the character of the search, which opened the senses and the intellect to a new historical and ecological experience of the landscape. This foray was also structured by spontaneous discovery but lent itself much more to an appreciation of the place as a whole than to identification of individual fungi, a place to be revisited and appreciated in increasing depth with each new sense acquired.

And in this comparison, we can see how the differing approaches of foraging, from media representation through to individual practice, orient differing relationships of nature and culture. For those in Walcot Wood, and for Rob Rowe, the mushroom foray is an opening up of the landscape to historical and sensory experience. Appreciation of ecology goes hand in hand with repeated encounter, with the expectation of return, with the knowledge that others have come before and contributed to the creation of the environment.

The *River Cottage* television episode, in its structure and content, models possible forms of engagement with the countryside which prioritize an engagement with nature that is essentially experienced through social and cultural situations, first with sympathy toward the presenter, tempered by didactic instruction, and then modeled through dramatic action. These social and cultural situations, however, are always positive and characterized by conviviality, wit, and humorous banter. They are situated in the present. The *River Cottage* day course fostered much the same experience, similarly cushioning the participant from interpersonal, social, historical or economic tension by replicating the structure of the television program in the course experience.

One could argue that the foray in Walcot Wood, on National Trust land and organized through local conservation and community bodies, similarly provided a protective framework. Within the shelter of National Trust land, more expansive historical and ecological tensions could be explored and contemplated through a highly sensory and interactive experience, which drew upon existing social bonds and habitual encounters with the landscape, but which did not expose participants to immediate cultural or social clashes over land use. Individuals who go out foraging from footpaths and onto private property, however, like my friends Rob and Jenny, must consider not only the natural and cultural histories of the land where they look for mushrooms but also the present networks of land ownership and agricultural use, not to mention individual relationships and quirks of character between neighbors.

The increased cultural *caché* of foraging in the years since the publication of Mabey's book have, thus, spawned a variety of experiences, some of which are represented in the ethnographic vignettes presented here. These experiences tell us several things about how foraging is experienced by different groups, as well as how notions of nature and culture are experienced and structured. To return to the original premise, that foraged food is wild, we can now see that 'wildness' itself is a characteristic laden with meaning and clouded by the aims and goals of foragers. In the *River Cottage* television show, wildness is characterized by the activity of hunting and finding – the social activity of foraging is as much foregrounded as anything else. At the *River Cottage* day course, the wild aspect of foraging was emphasized through the necessity and pleasure of science of identification – hunting and finding taken to a new professional level – and animated by the same tone of wit and banter that signaled it as a social activity. In Walcott Wood, the idea of wildness was both enhanced by a focus on heightened sensory experience of ecological habitat and complicated by the historical and social layers of knowledge attached to it. In all of these cases, though, the landscapes where wild things were to be found were highly produced and managed in differing ways. Even the individual forager, like Rob, out on a footpath treads a highly managed landscape, which has dictated his route across public rights of way established through the long history of agricultural labor. There, 'wild' food exists within the context of overlapping claims to the landscape, uncultivated fruits attracting unplanned visitors.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (2004). *Dramas of nationhood: The politics of television in Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bauman, R. (2004). *A world of others' words: Cross-cultural perspectives on intertextuality*. Malden: Blackwell.

Bushaway, B. (1982). *By rite: custom, ceremony and community in England 1700–1880*.

Danbom, D. (1991). Romantic agrarianism in twentieth-century America. *Agricultural History, 65*(4), 1–12.

Dorson, R. (1968). *The British folklorists a history*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Evans, G. (1956). *Ask the fellows who cut the hay*. London: Faber and Faber.

Goldstein, D. (2004). *Once upon a virus: AIDS legends and vernacular risk perception*. Logan: Utah State University Press.

Hosking, R. (Ed.). (2006). *Wild food: Proceedings of the Oxford symposium on food and cookery 2004*. Devon: Prospect Books.

Hoskins, W. (1955). *The making of the English landscape*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Larkin, B. (2002). The materiality of cinema theaters in Northern Nigeria. In F. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, & B. Larkin (Eds.), *Media worlds: Anthropology on new terrain* (pp. 319–336). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mabey, R. (2012 [1972]). *Food for free*. London: Harper Collins Publishers.

Spitulnik, D. (2002). Mobile machines and fluid audiences: Rethinking reception through Zambian radio culture. In F. Gindsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, & B. Larkin (Eds.), *Media worlds: Anthropology on new terrain* (pp. 337–354). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thompson, E. (1964). *The making of the English working class*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 14
The Rurality Reinvention Discourse: Urban Demands, Expectations and Representations in the Construction of an Urban Rurality Project

Ana Matos Fernandes

14.1 Introduction

Currently, in Portugal, as well as in many Southern European regions, rural areas are suffering a symbolic and functional reinvention, influenced by policies from European to local scale (Figueiredo 2003a, b). In Southern Europe, the dependence on agriculture is being politically discouraged for some decades now (namely, by European policies as the LEADER Programme), and the capitalization of local heritage is encouraged, in order to face a demographic, economic and functional crisis (Santos Solla 1999; Francés i Tudel 2003). This tendency is especially strong in Portugal, where it is clear that a countryside reinvention process is taking place under the orientation and legitimation of a political, cultural and commercial discourse, which disseminates an unproductive and patrimonialist perspective of rurality and rural development.

This chapter is a result of a Ph.D. research work (Fernandes 2011), developed at the University of Barcelona, in Spain, with the aim of questioning and deconstructing this discourse, in order to understand its origin and the interests behind it but also to define the rurality project it conveys. For a wide set of reasons, we believe that this discourse's origin and related interests are eminently urban, as well as the rurality project it conveys: firstly, because it makes sense as an alternative to a model of prosperous but unsustainable city, secondly because it responds to urban recreation and consumption expectations and their idyllic representations of rurality, and lastly because it encourages business and urban market growth.

Thus, recognizing the urbanity of this discourse and aiming at a better understanding of the rurality project imposed by expectations to rural territories, we have decided to search for its definition in the city. More precisely, we choose to analyze rural thematization spaces in the urban landscape (two places in Oporto – Northern

A.M. Fernandes (✉)
Faculty of Geography and History, University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain
e-mail: anamatosfernandes@gmail.com

Portugal), believing that by knowing this rustic scenarios, created to reproduce and stage rural imagined ambiances, we can grasp the rurality archetype that is influencing city dwellers' collective imagination and, indirectly, real territories, landscapes and development expectations. In short, this chapter starts by discussing the rurality reinvention discourse in its political, cultural and commercial dimensions but also by identifying the values and interests that support its power, before going to the city for an ethnographic analysis of the thematic rural niches, to define the urban rurality project that serves as a model for 'real' territories' development policies and consumption practices.

14.2 From the Rurality Reinvention Discourse to an Urban Rurality Project

In Portugal, the romantic discourse around the countryside seems to be growing and gaining strength in a wide range of social campus. After the generalization of the rural crisis in public conscience and political agendas, the need for a reinvention appears as a priority and the signs of the economic and social 'retard' became distinctive features and resources for a renewed future. In other words, the assumption of a structural crisis in rural areas and the creation of a new set of policies and solutions for its problems reinforce the valuation of rural potential, precisely by transforming the causes of its stagnation in the key for change, at least in political, commercial and social discourses.

In fact, a strong patrimonialist discourse around rurality is reinforced in order to justify some important political choices that are taking the rural areas toward a reinvention. After years of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), while several Southern European regions were stimulated to produce less and to progressively abandon agriculture, a productive, functional, social and identity crisis spread in rural areas. Portugal is a paradigmatic example of that historical dynamic. The progressive dilapidation of the countryside dependence on agriculture is stimulated by a political and social discourse that reinforces the potential of patrimonial resources as new possibilities for business and mainly for reinvention (Millán Escriche 2002; Veiga 2006). Rural areas are encouraged to become spaces of consumption and no longer production sights.

By discourse we understand not only an ideological set of meanings and representations but also a project, an action (Fairclough 1992). And in the discourse of rural reinvention, it is clear that a strategy is defined and that there is a defined project of rurality that is being constructed and layered not only in collective representations but also in the development policies. This development perspective is based on the valuing of 'natural' and 'cultural' patrimonies, in a historical moment where environmental sustainability and heritage enjoy a significant 'holiness' and discursive centrality. That facilitates the validation of the idyllic rurality, in the sense that the countryside is presented as a reserve for cultural and environmental values at risk in cities and civilization (Fernandes 2011).

Culture and nature stand as the central values/arguments used to legitimate the discourse and functional valuation of rurality.[1] In this patrimonial perspective, the countryside is centralized by its 'mission' to preserve what the city is 'destroying'. Here 'culture' is understood as traditional heritage and local memory, while 'nature' remits to a supposedly unspoiled rural landscape, where the influence of men is still harmonious. So, the arguments and the values behind the discourse reinforce its power and social acceptance at the same time they hasten the big missions of the rural world – preserve the past and grant the future (Fernandes 2011).

The development policies stimulate the promotion of rural products as the key strategy to achieve the reversion of the functional crisis. Rural tourism, organic products, craftwork, real estate and gastronomy appear as new resources or chances for business, in what seems to be the creation of a consumable countryside (Kneafsey 2000; Millán Escriche 2002). The countryside ideal[2] helps in this promotion and is simultaneously fed by its success. Countryside becomes itself a product in this commercial and promotional strategy of development, but it is still not clear whether every village has touristic potential, or whether the economic impact of this kind of business is enough to solve all structural problems of rural communities (Santos Solla 1999; Silva 2009).

It is not very difficult to enumerate a relevant set of (external) economic, political, and cultural interests that sustain this discourse and its project of reinvented rurality, if we notice that the countryside ideal is an urban phenomenon and that values behind the main arguments of rural valuation make sense as a parallelism to a city in 'crisis', as an alternative to an urban unsustainable lifestyle, and as a preserved sample of a dreamt past in a context of strong ontological insecurity (Remy 2004). And also that the functional transformation of the countryside opens new opportunities for urban businesses and consumption markets, as it widens the influence of real estate markets by stimulating the spread of holiday cottages for urban families, or the influence of tourism companies, that can conquer new resources and destinies for their urban costumers, just to give some examples (Barrado Timón and Castiñera Ezquerra 1998). Finally, we shall add that the dilapidation of the agricultural centrality on rural areas and the stimulation of its substitution by the services sector (especially tourism) strongly relive the heavy subsidiary dependence created by the CAP and legitimate the European policies around the sector in the last decades, especially if we think that it is certainly cheaper to support some spread business

---

[1]It is important to say that the separation between nature and culture, as the opposition between city and countryside, only exists in theoretical terms to facilitate the analysis, since in reality territories are fluid and hybrid, and there are no purified categories values or concepts. However, as we speak about social discourses and representations, it is important to take into consideration that these dichotomic categories and concepts still influence the way we conceive, think, promote, and manage territories and territorial policies (Vandergeest 1996). And as we focus in discourses before analyzing spaces, these are important references that we have to consider.

[2]The so-called countryside ideal, as the set of romantic representations around the pastoral and wild rurality, as well as around the lifestyle and social environment which is associated with it works as important fuel to the reinvention discourse by being established in our cultures for centuries (Bunce 1994).

initiatives, under a 'bottom-up' development philosophy, than to continue carrying the burden of the agriculture sectorial policy.

Hereupon, we should say that rural development expectations are established by urban interests and representational frames, and that this reinvention discourse must be treated as an urban phenomenon (Ferrão 2000). With an urban discourse and an urban rurality project in hands, we decided to search for the rural idyll in the city's body. So, we choose to look for pastoral landscapes of desire, created for urban recreation as materializations of the bucolic dream. Thematization spaces combine the creative freedom of a fantasy and the concrete materiality of reality, being at the same time real and imaginary landscapes. This complexity and analytical richness allows us to grasp the fantasist's character of the rural idyll in a material and territorial setting that can be observed, photographed, visited and described.

Thus, for a better understanding of the model that influences rural commoditization efforts and urban consumption and touristic expectations around rurality, we propose an ethnographical approach to rural thematization spaces. We selected two places in Oporto, Portugal's second largest city, the unofficial Northern region's capital, which is strongly related to rurality and very influenced by patrimonialist development policies based on cultural and natural resources' promotion. It is the Portuguese region with the biggest number of rural tourism initiatives and products with a Protected Geographical Status classification (Silva 2009). Oporto, as the urban tip of a rural 'iceberg', not only showcases regional products and resources but has a strong identitary connection with rurality, since a very large proportion of its population came from the hinterlands, after decades of an expressive rural exodus (Ayres 1981).

The first object is a farm called *Mata-Sete*, integrated in a large urban property composed of a house, a garden and a ranch, created by an aristocrat (owner of several textile industries) in the beginning of the twentieth century, which was later bought by the State and transformed into a contemporary art center and museum. The second object is the *Núcleo Rural de Aldoar* (Rural Centre of Aldoar) (*NRA*), inaugurated in 2002 by the city mayor and integrated in the biggest urban park of the metropolitan area. It is a picturesque place made by a set of remodeled residential and agricultural buildings that were used as farms until the 1980s.

Before we go further, it is important to underline that because our analysis is focused on the rurality archetype that is printed in the urban landscape, our approach is centered on the production of each space, more precisely, on the project history and landscape design process (visual aspect and respective justification, motivations behind the initiative, functionality and daily activities). Thus, this research did not cover the consumption perspective to check the users' representations around each place. In fact, we believe not only that focusing on the landscape production is the best way to respond to our research goals but also that it would be too ambitious to proceed with both approaches (of the production and the consumption perspectives). And that is even clearer if we consider the variety and number of visitants that *NRA* and *Mata-Sete* have per year.[3] For all these reasons,

[3] Just to give an idea, the *Serralves* Foundation has the most visited museum with a paid entrance in Portugal. Only in 2010 it received 450,000 visitors, and following the growing tendency of the last decade, the number raised to 470,000 in 2011.

we prefer to postpone this demanding research path for further investigation, considering that it will certainly be a very interesting way to complement and widen this work's scope.

14.3 Methodology

This research's empirical part is based on the fieldwork made during the first half of 2010. We used a qualitative methodology in order to make a comprehensive approach of the two selected objects. A combination of different techniques led to a rich wide gathering of material. In detail, we made several visits to both spaces, in order to know them and understand their routines, and we took around 250 photographs for later analysis. We also engaged in informal, circumstantial, or previously scheduled conversations and six previously scheduled and audio-recorded semi-directive interviews with people who, for professional reasons, were or still are involved in the studies' objects and were, therefore, in good position to explain and give interesting information for our research. We differentiate interviews from informal conversations by the existence or nonexistence of a prepared orienting script, if not with questions, with at least themes to approach.

During the visits, interviews and some trips to libraries, documentary centers, bookstores, stores and web pages, among other interesting locations, we gathered a considerable amount of documental and literary material and other relevant elements (photographs, books, scientific articles, studies, maps, merchandising, leaflets), which contributed for the amount of clues and subjects to deepen and analyze. To make the analysis easier and organize and synthesize the gathered information, we made summary tables, which after being filled allowed a clear systematization of the interviews' contents, documentation, photographs and the other material. The results of this gathering and analysis work are precisely what we will present, in the scope of a major reflection around the urban rurality archetype that is being disseminated as dominant and influencing the way we see, manage and promote 'real' territories.

14.3.1 Mata-Sete

The *Quinta do Mata-Sete* is located inside the so-called Serralves Foundation Park, a very important public equipment in the city. Its story must inevitably refer to Carlos Alberto Cabral (1895–1968) (Second Count of Vizela and a great entrepreneur in the textile industry), heir and buyer of the 18 ha that build the *Serralves* property, where he made his sophisticated residency (Andrade 2009). Inspired by the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts in Paris (1925), and with the help of the architect Marques da Silva, master in architecture from Oporto, he contacts the most famous French architects, decorators and landscape architects of that time and begins the collective project that resulted in the house and garden of *Serralves* (Andresen 1988; Andresen and Marques 2001; Tavares 2007; Andrade 2009).

The work was completed in 1944 and is considered the most notable Art Deco work in Portugal, even if built after the style's golden era. The house's main characteristic is its opulence and its exaggerated dimension, almost excessive, as is the whole surrounding property. Its sophistication is seen in the materials' quality (marbles and exotic wood) and its importance is proven by the fortune spent in the construction. Despite the effort and investment, Carlos Alberto Cabral and his wife Blanche Daubin had few years to enjoy the complex house/garden/farm in *Serralves* (they only lived there from 1944 to 1957), as, due to financial problems in their spinning factory, they were forced to sell the property.

The buyer was another of the city's entrepreneurs, Delfim Ferreira, who promised not to change the work and carefully preserve it entirely. It was his heirs who, in 1986, sold the whole property to the State to shelter a Modern Art Museum. An installing commission prepared *Serralves* house and garden's opening to the public, which in 1987 starts sheltering educative activities and art exhibitions. With the *Serralves* Foundation's institutionalization, the project for the creation of a Contemporary Art Museum consolidates and is materialized (in 1996). The preservation of the architectonical and natural heritage left by the Count of Vizela is reinforced, and educational art and environment-related activities begin. Nowadays, around 350 thousand people visit the *Serralves* Museum and Park every year, and its fame, prestige, and public utility are easy to see.

An intriguing counterpoint to the house is the farm of *Mata-Sete*, located in the park's south side to limit an excessive garden. It is made of a group of buildings surrounded by farmland, apparently aiming at activities related to agriculture, projected by the architect Marques da Silva in 1934. The set is made of a house with a horse stable and a hunting salon, in two identical buildings with identical façades joined by a roof. In the back there is also a construction that shelters a cellar and a granary, which completes the house by ending in an interior patio, walled by the buildings themselves and by some complementary small walls. Around this 'core' there are also a stable (later widened by the Foundation), a small annex for cars and agricultural vehicles and a threshing floor with support building.

Its original functions, as suggested by the buildings and the still used names (kept in time), make us believe that, besides the house and the hunting room, the other constructions were directly or indirectly connected to agriculture. However, because of the dimension of the farmland and because the Count had other agricultural properties, the size and quality of the equipments of *Mata-Sete* are nothing but absurd. In fact, *Mata-Sete* cannot be considered an agricultural activity farm, as its production volume has always been insignificant and insufficient to justify its barn or cellar's dimension.

Nowadays, and practically since the property belongs to the government, the farm is used for the Park's and the Foundation's educative activities' management. Outside, the constructions have been kept intact, but inside they have been changed in order to shelter their new functionalities. Another stable has been built; the hunt salon has been transformed into offices and the barn, the press and the warehouse into areas for educational activities, among other small architectonical changes; a new hut with wooden floor was built, as well as a small greenhouse, a spices garden,

a few reservoirs, among other details. Paths of earth go around the fields, delimited by wood fences. There is a meadow for the farm's animals to eat (cows, sheep and a donkey) and a reservoir, an old well, as well as an irrigation canal, almost all original. There are tractors going around and a lot of children participating in educative activities. The so-called pedagogic vegetable gardens (developed at the labs and which involve the school community) are centrally located, right in front of the house.

In the architectonical and constructive style of *Mata-Sete*, we can see great rationalism, despite the rustic and picturesque details in the buildings. The materials (stone and concrete) are exposed, as well as the transition between them. There is great simplicity in their decoration; straight lines and octagonal logic rule the space's organization, which is drawn under a pragmatic rationalism, apparently paradoxical if we think of it as a nonproductive space. The set's rurality is kept by the presence of agricultural equipment, common in farmhouses in the North of Portugal (cellar, barn, threshing floor, reservoirs), as well as by the architectonical details that mark its simple buildings, such as the big chimneys, the porches, the kitchen with folk furniture and traditional oven, and the ceilings with huge timber beams.

These style options and, especially, the combination between aesthetic and constructive simplicity and picturesque and folk details seems to be associated with a strong influence of the French Regionalist Architecture (Tavares 2007). This style and the cultural policies supporting it defended the use of traditional and folk elements for the construction of a 'better' modern world. Modernization and progress were encouraged with an active preservation of traditional patrimony, which resulted from its progressive improvement through technical evolution (Whalen 2007). Likewise, at the architecture level and in what concerns *Mata-Sete*, the rustic elements are reinterpreted and combined with comfort and quality of the materials and construction. Thus, there is a farmhouse with beautiful equipment and noble materials, a comfortable house with modern wide bathrooms and a kitchen with rustic decoration but with equipment common for the urban kitchens from that time.

Knowing the farm's history and the landscaping and architectonical elements that compose it, and that it is a ludic non-profit-aimed farm, it's important to discuss if the place's rural and thematic character has been profited from and encouraged with its opening to the public, also questioning which are its social functions as a public equipment. Therefore, as already referred, in what concerns the buildings' outlook and their surrounding landscape, it was intended by the Foundation to respect and preserve Marques da Silva and the Count of Vizela's project and, in order to do that, there aren't any big changes in the building, unless the ones made inside, adapting to new functionalities.

It also seems clear that the agricultural aura has been kept, if we look at the presence of farm animals, for whom the stables have been enlarged; of vegetable gardens taken care of by/with the children; at the construction of a hut and a greenhouse, the preservation of almost every reservoir and the construction of other water sources; at the maintenance of land for pasture; and at the presence of tractors, vines, wooden fences and many other elements that really perpetuate the idea that we are in a farm, even if it is not productive (just like it happened during the Count's time). In fact, the hut, the animals, the spices garden, or the greenhouse,

for example, end up giving the farm scenic potential, increasing its ludic and pedagogic character but above all enriching the range of iconographic and scenographic elements that build the farm's landscape frame.

Worthy of highlight is also that, besides its scenographic character, the farm has an important pedagogic use as space for activities connected to the *Serralves* Foundation's educational project (which intends to combine the children's sensitivity for art and nature). From the visits to the farm and park (animals, plants, or trees), through the regular workshops for the maintenance of the vegetable gardens or material gathering for scientific analysis and respective result monitoring, debates and small experimental lab activities, to family events, to celebrations and festivities (such as the removal of the corn leaves, the chestnut festivity, environment day, and other ephemerides), we must say that there is a complex range of educational approaches (Marques 1996; Millan 2000).

Mata-Sete is valued by its social function of bringing urban children closer to the natural and rural elements forgotten in urban life, and it is associated with the farm's agricultural function. That is easy to see if we think, for example, about the products sold at the *Serralves* shop as being from *Mata-Sete*, like baskets and products with the brand '*Sabores de Serralves*', such as several jams, herbs for infusions, and bags with spices, which, even if not produced at the farm, are associated with it, perpetuating the (agricultural) illusion that seems to have been surrounding its function (ludic and scenic).

In fact, with the opening to the public and respective increase in dynamism, *Mata-Sete* seems to have won in scenic potential, in iconographic complexity, and in importance, not only in the involving context (because of the highlight the growing urbanization of the surroundings gives it by contrast) but also socially, due to the high amount of visitors it receives each year (and increasing in the last years). Additionally, this social role and its educative use keep giving importance and value to the area, especially due to the reinforcement of its social function.

Thus, *Mata-Sete* is not just a recreation of a once private rurality that is being improved and publicly divulged throughout the years but especially a space that feeds the connection between the city's inhabitants and what is seen as rurality from a distance, as well as knowledge and imaginaries, associated with an agricultural rurality, in a clean, organized, ludic, educative and agreeable way. Summarizing, *Mata-Sete* is not just the recreation of an amicable rurality to the urban look but rather its catalyst, because of its social function of feeding it and perpetuating it in the collective imaginaries.

14.3.2   *Núcleo Rural de Aldoar*

The *NRA* space is located in the parish of Aldoar, in Oporto, more exactly in *Beco de Carreiras* (Carreiras Alley), between *Rua da Vilarinha* (Vilarinha Street) and the northeast extremity of the City Park, of which is one of the entrances. The place that is now the *NRA* was, until the beginning of the 1990s, a group of four municipal

farms, three of which were inhabited by families of farmers. This set was confined between the dense urban net of the parish of Aldoar (a highly inhabited area in Oporto) and the wide area of the City Park, working as a kind of residual rurality territory inside the city.

Oporto's City Hall decided to preserve the unit during the construction of the City Park, in order to transform it into public equipment, thus preserving some traces of the rural Oporto. Because the farms belonged to the city, it was easy to intervene, and their privileged location, in one of the City Park's extremities (still under construction at the time), gave it a certain highlight. These two factors potentiated the interest in the spot and actions were taken to bring the project to life. Its inhabitants were relocated and a project for the farms' transformation was requested (in the meantime accomplished by the architects João Rapagão and César Fernandes), which resulted in their conversion to a commercial and catering area and a center for environmental education. The place was then called *Núcleo Rural de Aldoar* and opened in 2001.

To better understand *NRA* and its transformation project, we have to discuss its reach and the respective visible outlines, as well as the motivations and philosophical lines sustaining the intervention. Until the construction work of the City Park, the farms from *Beco de Carreiras* were inhabited by three families who practiced agriculture and cattle breeding in the land adjoining to the houses. Not being a big property with a remarkable production amount, the agriculture carried on was probably used for the family's subsistence and to add to other sources of income. The place's atmosphere was deeply marked by this agricultural/cattle breeding penchant, as besides constructions related to farming (dry land, barns, threshing floors and others), the animals, the tools and several utensils, and the presence of vines and buttresses and vegetables, among other elements, filled the place and reinforced its rural aura.

The set was complex and saturated with elements, because to the original constructions other buildings and annexes of wood and metal like shacks were added, and they were all filled with utensils and objects connected to domestic and agricultural activities. The beams and vines added density to the picture; there were several vases throughout the stairs, numerous stone reservoirs and a well, among trash, stuff and signs of intense living. The houses' architecture was popular, typical from the region between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were two-storey high (ground floor for stores and stables and first floor for residence) and kitchens with oven outside. The walls were made of granite, the roofs of tile and the ceilings' structure of wood. The access to the upper floor was made through an exterior staircase, which ended in small porches protecting the entrance doors.

Before relocating the families who inhabited the *Beco de Carreiras*, the whole set was highly degraded. The sewage was open, and there were domestic animals running around. The houses were surrounded by vegetable gardens, small pastureland and autochthon vegetation. Nowadays, the set looks completely different. Even though all the original stone buildings were maintained and only the temporary low quality wood and metal shacks have been destroyed, the buildings' recovery and

cleaning work, the new usages and the integration of the set in the City Park deeply changed the place and its surrounding environment.

The now remodeled original constructions were converted into equipment for public use or simply into decorative elements, like it happened with the dry land areas. One of the houses shelters the Environmental Education Center (part of the municipal net for this kind of equipment). The barn is home for a tea house, with service outside on the threshing floor near the dry land. The two twin houses shelter a culinary arts school, with a store selling 'gourmet' products and its offices. In the bigger annexes, there is a 'Fair Trade' store and an organic products store. The rest of the constructions are used as warehouses for materials used in the above mentioned activities.

Worth adding is also the fact that *NRA* has a weekly organic market (Saturday morning), where producers and consumers of officially organic vegetables, fruit, bread, jams, honey, dry fruits and flowers gather. The center's business' ecological and gastronomic character seem to agree with its educational dimension (with the work in the Environmental Education Center), and with the idea that we are in a rural niche, especially if we think that culturally we tend to associate the rural world with harmony between man and nature and food quality (with organic, healthy, tasty products, in opposition to the 'fast food' that is supposedly associated with the cities' hasty life) (Espeitx Bernat 1996). In fact, the association of organic food and environmental practices is clear as a strong trend in European urban consumers along with the growing interest on agriculture, gardening and rurality in general (DuPuis 2006; Truninger 2010).

Added during the construction work were modern restrooms for public use, as well as garden furniture typical from urban parks (like garbage cans, benches or lamps). There are no domestic animals or of any other kind since the pony paddock working for a few years was dismantled. There are small vegetable and spices gardens made during the Environmental Education Center's workshops by the children of the schools of Oporto registered in that activity, which are kept for the weekly visits. Besides that, there isn't any agricultural production and the existing vegetation is integrated in the landscape options of Oporto's City Park.

Throughout the farms' transformation process, it became clear that a great effort was made to clean and give conditions, not only in sanitary terms (with the connection of the houses to the sanitation system and the construction of modern restrooms) but also in order to improve the set's general appearance. The buildings' recovery, with the painting and the destruction of the proliferating shacks, gathered with the disappearance of the animals and their waste, objects, vases, tools, bags, garbage and all kinds of trash spread around the place, as well as the pavement of some muddy areas, seriously contributed for a less chaotic and degraded image of the farms.

The complexity of a lived and, therefore, sloppy weathered place was replaced by a simplicity and neatness that highlights the place's picturesque potential, but that has taken the richness of a daily existence. This consequence was foreseen by the project's authors, who were aware of the difficulty in maintaining the place's authentic aura after the demanded cleansing and transformation operation.

Therefore, if on the one hand there was an urgency to clean and order a place that, although valued, was considered dirty and degraded, there was also the wish to keep many of its original elements that gave it a rustic singular atmosphere.

The will to preserve as much as possible the space's architectonical, iconographic and decorative characteristic in an idyllic way led to the purification of the rustic aura of the place, through the exclusion of its residential and agricultural uses and the consequent discomforts (bad smell, mess, degradation, animal waste). Just like in a destillation process, there is an effort to preserve some elements and make others disappear (especially those which are less compatible with the demands of public equipments and urban expectations), but paradoxically it is clear the simultaneous ambition to maintain the set's original atmosphere, for its inhabited, live, rustic, authentic and rural character (Baudrillard 1981; Sorkin 2004).

However, electric circuits, thermal insulation, heating and telecommunication systems and all infrastructures due in commercial and hotel establishments have been installed, besides the above mentioned connection to the public sanitary net. In other words, the set was adapted to the comfort, communication, neatness and modernization demands of any public equipment, mainly due to the diversity of uses it has. The almost two million Euro expense for the recovery and almost the same amount for its permanent maintenance are mainly justified (according to the people in charge of its requalification and transformation) by the place's patrimonial function, which intends to work as a tribute to the city's memory. First, for its very recent rural past, as a wide part of the city has only been urbanized in the second half of the twentieth century, and then, because a large amount of its population, resulting from rural exodus, has origins in the villages of the North of Portugal.

That being so, the idea that the city needs a space to meet its rural past legitimates the valuing of *Beco de Carreiras* and its later transformation into public equipment. The center, in its public version, works as the use of a degraded area in need of change, but mainly (according to political, technical and promotional discourses) as a bit of rural Oporto, which is important to preserve and caress, for the sake of the city's identity health. Parallel to that, we highlight the space's commercial and educative function, which due to its characteristics potentiates the symbolic value of the equipment it shelters. And this happens because the center's context and suggestive power widens its educative and commercial functions. Thus, trade and educative activities live on its bucolic atmosphere, at the same time they encourage and enrich the space's virtues. The center's association with these equipments, gathered in the same space, reinforces the symbolic correspondence of this universe of values (ecology, tradition, quality, health) to rurality in urban imaginaries.

Thus, the dominant version of discursively fed rurality, made possible in this kind of recreations inside the city, is also implied in the nature preservation's ethics, besides being associated with memory. Memory and heritage, sustainability and ecology seem, actually, to support the discursive importance of rurality, and this recreation is marked by the social function of feeding that association. *NRA* not only fulfills the social function of preserving the city's memory, as its historical patrimony and identity reference but also feeds the association of rural life to the values the urban life supposedly threatens.

14.4   Conclusions

Summarizing the previous theoretical and empirical analysis, we shall underline that the rural reinvention discourse, its cultural 'raw material' (the countryside ideal) and the interests behind it have an urban origin, if we think that the valuation of rurality as a cultural and natural heritage sanctuary, as a consumption and touristic landscape as well as a new business and real estate market makes sense and favors urban needs and interests, and reveals an external perspective of rural potential. Rural products are directed to urban demand, rural heritage and idyllic features are valuated firstly by the urban gaze (even if local population grabs this interest as an opportunity and progressively promotes their resources in the same logic) (Figueiredo 2003b). Thus, following the root of this discourse and development perspective, it became clear that we should search in the urban context for the territorial archetype that influences development and consumption expectations around rural areas and products.

Through a profound ethnographic approach, we have analyzed two rustic niches in Oporto to better understand how rurality is represented in the urban context. The selected landscape design projects were specially created to recreate idyllic rural settings and have a strong visibility and prestige in the metropolitan area. Despite the differences between *Mata-Sete* and *NRA*, considering their distinct origin, motivation and history, it is clear that both projects represent an urban conception of rurality that stand in a delicate balance between nostalgia and utopia, simulation and dissimulation. Firstly, because they evoke the nostalgia for a 'better' past, while they project the utopia of an idyllic place which combines rural and urban best features. And secondly, because they are a result of rural discomforts dissimulation and also of the dramatized 'hyper-rurality' simulation that responds to the rural idyll demanding expectations (Baudrillard 1981).

Despite the fact that *Mata-Sete* has more visitants during the week, because of an intense scholar activities program, while *NRA* has more affluence during the weekend, as an important point of family walks on the park, both places are very similar in their thematic character and have very similar functions. *Mata-Sete* must be considered a double recreation, in two different moments: firstly by private initiative, when it was originally designed and built under the influence of European rural valuation cultural and artistic trends of the nineteenth century, and secondly by its adaptation to public use, by a public institution, reinforcing again its iconic association to agriculture and rural life. This adaptation and opening to the city brings *Mata-Sete* closer to *NRA*, in the sense that, despite their historical differences, they are both converted into public equipments with very similar purposes.

We can also say that *NRA* is like a contemporary and public version of *Mata-Sete*, built under the influence of contemporary heritage and rural valuation cultural trends. Moreover, it is interesting to add that it is a democratized version, if we think that, since its creation, it has always been a public space, with a free entrance, and that it represents the mainstream appropriation of the nineteenth-century elitist pastoralist trend (see Silva in this book). To reinforce, we shall recall that *NRA* was originally a

set of popular little farms that were elevated to urban heritage by this recreation project, while *Mata-Sete* was built from scratch by an aristocrat business man.

Analyzing both cases, we find the same clean version of rurality, where all the urban commodities are guaranteed and all the inconvenient discomforts of rural life are avoided. The mix between rustic details and contemporary equipments, pastoral aura and modern commodities is clear, as an apparent well-accomplished fusion of both worlds' best features. In both cases, there is an environmental education center, which reinforces the association of rurality with nature protection and the mission of preserving our collective future. The connection between rurality and organic or traditional food is also reinforced in what concerns the commercial dimension of the spaces (in *NRA* stores and weekly organic farmer's market and in the *Serralves*' online and museum store). We can also say that these places' social function is associated with the recreational, educational and commercial dimension, as a stage for urban people to contact with nature, rurality and the city's own memory. They are supposed to appeal to the urbanites' rural roots and work as a selection of some aspects of the rural iconography, architecture and material culture that are worth preserving. These places are elevated to become 'urban heritage' and are integrated in urban equipments with great visibility and importance, which leads us to underline the strong symbolic value that rurality gathers nowadays.

These places work as an idyllic and urban-friendly picture of rurality (what it supposedly is, or what we collectively wanted it to be). They are molded by urban imagination and, as a nostalgic celebration, they represent a project of desirable territories rural and urban (better) territories. We can summarize this project by saying that this is a simplified and purified or sanitized version of a rural landscape. An idyllic and urban conception of rurality, associated with ecology and culture. It is educative, stable and consumable. It works as an escape and as a rupture from urban life and landscape. An imaginary alternative, based on the contrast and opposition to the dominant and criticized idea of urbanity. 'Imagination is, after all, the place where our landscapes begin' (Hoppkins 1998: 79).

References

Andrade, S. (2009). *Serralves – 20 Anos e Outras Histórias*. Oporto: Fundação de Serralves.

Andresen, T. (1988). O Parque de Serralves. In AA.VV. (Eds.), *Casa de Serralves – Retrato de uma Época* (pp. 52–57). Oporto: Fundação de Serralves.

Andresen, T., & Marques, T. (2001). *Jardins Históricos do Porto*. Lisbon: Edições INAPA.

Ayres, I. M. (1981). *O Porto e o Desenvolvimento na região norte. Revista de História. Actas do Colóquio 'O Porto na Época Moderna III'* (Vol. 4, pp. 203–205). Oporto: Centro de História da Universidade do Porto.

Barrado Timón, D., & Castiñera Ezquerra, M. (1998). El turismo: último capítulo de la idealización histórica de la naturaleza y el medio rural. *Estudios Agrosociales y Pesqueros, 184*, 37–64.

Baudrillard, J. (1981). *Simulacro e Simulação*. Lisbon: Relógio de Água.

Bunce, M. (1994). *The countryside ideal*. London: Routledge.

DuPuis, E. M. (2006). Landscapes of desires? In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 124–132). London: Sage.

Espeitx Bernat, E. (1996). Los 'nuevos consumidores' o las nuevas relaciones entre campo y ciudad a través de los 'productos de la tierra'. *Agricultura y Sociedad, 80–81*, 83–116.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press.

Fernandes, A. (2011). *Do Discurso ao Projecto Urbano de Reinvenção da Ruralidade*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Human Geography, University of Barcelona, Barcelona.

Ferrão, J. (2000). Relações entre o mundo rural e o mundo urbano: evolução histórica, situação actual e pistas para o futuro. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas, 33*, 45–54.

Figueiredo, E. (2003a). Sol na eira e chuva no nabal: que rural propõem as políticas de desenvolvimento? In *Futuro dos Territórios Rurais numa Europa Alargada: Vol. 2 – Tema B – As políticas de desenvolvimento rural e os nossos modelos de utilização do espaço* (20pp.). Bragança: Escola Superior Agrária de Bragança.

Figueiredo, E. (2003b). *Um Rural para Viver, Outro para Visitar – O Ambiente nas Estratégias de Desenvolvimento para as Áreas Rurais*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Environmental Sciences, University of Aveiro, Aveiro.

Francés i Tudel, G. (2003). *Las redes de cooperación y colaboración en la gestión del turismo rural: un reto para el desarrollo de turismo rural*. In XII Simpósio Internacional de Turismo y Ocio ESADE, Barcelona.

Hoppkins, J. (1998). Signs of the post-rural: Marketing myths of a symbolic countryside. *Geografiska Annaler, 80 B*(2), 65–81.

Kneafsey, M. (2000). Tourism, place identities and social relations in the European rural periphery. *European Urban and Regional Studies, 7*, 35–50.

Marques, T. (1996). Parque de Serralves. Passado e Actualidade. *Horto do Campo Grande Magazine, 2*, 16–27.

Millan, M. (2000). *Parque de Serralves – Intervenções*. Unpublished Graduation thesis in Architecture, University of Oporto, Oporto.

Millán Escriche, M. (2002). La diversificación en el medio rural como factor de desarrollo. *Papeles de Geografía, 36*, 223–238.

Remy, J. (2004). Compte rendu thématique. La ville et la nature: de la mise à distance à l'imbrication. *Espaces et Sociétés, 3*(118), 251–266.

Santos Solla, X. (1999). *Reflexions en torno ó papel do turismo no desenvolvemento local. Desarrollo Local y Regional en Iberoamérica*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

Silva, L. (2009). *Casas no Campo. Etnografia do Turismo Rural em Portugal*. Lisbon: ICS.

Sorkin, M. (Ed.). (2004). *Variaciones Sobre un Parque Temático – La Nueva Ciudad Americana y el Fin del Espacio Público*. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili.

Tavares, A. (2007). *Os Fantasmas de Serralves*. Oporto: Dafne Editora.

Truninger, M. (2010). *O Campo Vem à Cidade*. Lisbon: ICS.

Vandergeest, P. (1996). Real villages: National narratives of rural development. In E. DuPuis & P. Vandergeest (Eds.), *Creating the countryside* (pp. 279–302). Philadelphia: Temple.

Veiga, J. (2006). Nascimento de outra ruralidade. *Estudos Avançados, 20*(57), 333–353.

Whalen, P. (2007). Burgundian regionalism and French republican commercial culture at the 1937 Paris international exposition. *Cultural Analysis, 6*, 31–69.

Chapter 15
Cross-Cultural Perceptions and Discourses Between Rural and Urban in Galicia

Xerardo Pereiro and Santiago Prado

15.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the relationships between rural and urban imaginaries in Galicia. We also discuss the role of the Galician nationalist movement and other ideologies on new rural identifications. In the 1950s, some 11 million people lived in towns of less than 2,000 inhabitants in Spain; today, there are less than seven million (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2011). Currently, in spite of peri-urbanisation and 'rurbanisation' processes, only 24 % of the Spanish population (45,989,016 inhabitants) lives in localities considered 'rural', which from an administrative and technical point of view are those with less than 10,000 inhabitants. In Galicia (an autonomous political territory located in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula), more than 70 % of the population lives in localities considered 'urban' from the administrative point of view.

The so-called traditionally rural spaces are being redefined globally and in particular on the Iberian Peninsula (Roseman 2008; Silva 2009). People now labelled neo-rural and 'rurban' have assumed a leading role in the reconstruction, appearance and meaning of the 'old' rural and have entered a process of dialogue with other actors and institutions. The truth is that we are witnessing a series of social, economic, political and cultural transformations of what 'rural' means, making it necessary to rethink the theoretical and methodological framework.

X. Pereiro (✉)
CETRAD, University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro (UTAD), Chaves, Portugal
e-mail: xperez@utad.pt

S. Prado
Department of Psycho-socio-educational Analysis and Intervention, Social Anthropology Area, Faculty of Education Sciences, University of Vigo, Vigo, Spain
e-mail: chagopc@uvigo.es

The hegemony of urban over rural, which was generated by capitalism in order to seize its natural resources, is a historical process that led to changes in the way we look at relationships between these two spaces. The changes, adaptations and transformations of this new relationship between the rural and the urban must be contextualised both in time and in space, because there are differences among the social, political and economic contexts of the rural and urban historically and still today. Far from being two separate unconnected worlds, the rural and the urban are part of the same multicultural, multilingual, multiracial, multimedia and, maybe, even multipurpose society. The rural and the urban are not absolute categories, but relative categories that frequently interpenetrate, although this may contradict the objectivised and quantitative thinking that seeks to divide and delimit everything into tight categories.

Different models for, and ways of thinking about, the relationship between these two spaces have now converged into an approach that ceases to use twentieth-century assumptions when conceiving of the rural, that is, in reference to dichotomous models employing the idea of a continuum or the modernisation of the rural. The multiple influences – social, political and economic – in the global world where we live also generate transformations that are not only experienced by rural areas but also by the entire global society (Comas d'Argemir and Contreras 1990). Referring, nowadays, to the rural and the urban means taking into account how historical configurations were constructed and how they are mediated at present.

In this chapter, the analytical focus will be on rural-urban perceptions in Galicia (Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula) and how they have been constructed historically within Galician nationalist ideologies.[1] We will also pay attention to the influences of these perceptions on the development of rural areas. The main aims of this chapter are: (a) to present the main theoretical social sciences' perspectives on rural-urban perceptions; (b) to discuss the distinct application of these theories in diverse cultural contexts, taking Galicia as a good example; (c) to make the claim that political ideologies have created a rural-urban imaginary; and (d) to interpret the daily life of Galicia's rural inhabitants as an appropriation of the 'rurbanisation' process.

Our contribution is grounded in our own fieldwork in rural Galicia undertaken since 1993. Xerardo Pereiro (2005) has researched the urbanisation of rural spaces and the role of the Galician small towns, called *vilas*, in the changes of meanings and functions of space, time and cultural heritage. Santiago Prado (2007) has researched the causes of low school performance among rural young people and the impact of the Galician small town in the construction of rurban identities in Central Galicia. Both of us have conducted multilevel ethnographic studies and collected data for this chapter, using comparative perspectives and other qualitative methodologies, such as interviews and the analysis of documents.

---

[1] In the case of Xerardo Pereiro, this work is the result of a Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology sabbatical grant (SFRH/BSAB/1186/2011) developed at the University of Santiago de Compostela's Department of Philosophy and Social Anthropology from January to July 2012. In the case of Santiago Prado, this work is part of his research for CETRAD, a research centre funded by the Portuguese Government through the FCT, within the framework of the Pest-OE/SADG/UI4011/2011 project.

In the first part of this chapter, we will give a brief presentation of social scientific approaches to the rural-urban relationship: the rural-urban polarising dichotomy of Tönnies (1979 [1887]), the different types of rural-urban continuum introduced by Sorokin and Zimmerman (1929) and Redfield (1947), as well as the theories of modernisation that Comas d'Argemir and Contreras (1990) analysed, showing how they were also imbued with the idea of a continuum. As explained by Pereiro (2005, 2013), from the 1970s onwards, other considerations came into play, such as the models of depopulation-population-repopulation and counter-urbanisation, the revitalisation and renaissance of the rural, the post-rural, the neo-rural and the rural-urban.

These more recent models are not exclusive but are instead bringing in new perspectives to understand these relationships as complementary in nature. The starting point is that everything is interconnected on a global scale and, so, attention must be also paid to the flows and connections between different spaces, times and structures (social, political and economic, among others) present both in the local context and at a global level (Hannerz 1989; Appadurai 2004 [1996]; Tsing 2005). Our attention should, therefore, focus on the processes, both on those already presented and on those that revolve around mobility, hybridity, translocality and globalisation.

In the second part of our chapter, we shall discuss a new approach to the role of Galician nationalist ideologies, which are constructing new ruralities and rurban identities. And in the third part we shall present the role of the Galician small towns (*vilas*) in the crossing of rural-urban imaginaries. We are, therefore, going to analyse the maintenance of the rural-urban dichotomy from the 'emic' point of view of Galician people. These processes and mechanisms produce new senses and meanings of the so-called rural places from an urban point of view that transformed them in spaces of cultural and natural heritage, second homes, renaturalisation, tourism and gastronomic experiences and new agriculture and neo-rural repopulation.

15.2 Understanding the Relationship Between the Rural and Urban

15.2.1 The Dichotomous Polarisation Between the Rural and Urban

In the past, analyses of the rural and the urban were about the opposition between the rural and the urban as two different worlds socially and spatially (e.g. Maciver 1917; Maciver and Page 1949; Tönnies 1987 [1931]; Durkheim 1977 [1893]; Marx and Engels 1970 [1846]; Wirth 1979 [1938]), and the domination of the urban over the passive rural. In this model, the prototypical social relationships of the rural were face-to-face, and kinship, neighbourhood, friendship and place were the important social forces in semi-isolated small rural communities. The social relations in urban areas were thought as secondary, ideological and more open than rural areas. Individualism, secularisation and heterogeneity were the processes associated with

this urban model. The rural was represented as an anti-urban model and claimed as negative, as not urban. Arts, cinema and fiction literature contributed to the reproduction of this model of interpretation and of the less favoured rural stereotypes, such as the character of the Spanish *paleto* (hick), who represented the underdevelopment of the rural, the disorientation in the cities and the subordination to the bourgeois and urban culture.

15.2.2   The Urban-Rural Continuum

As an intellectual answer to the rural-urban opposition, some authors produced a different model to interpret this relationship – that is, the urban-rural continuum (Williams 1973; Newby 1983). Urbanism as a way of life has been associated with the transition from rural to urban. In this model, urbanism means disorganisation, secularisation and individualism. The rural world does not have the capacity to change without the urban in this model, and then the rural is a simple recipient of external influences. The transformations of the rural are referred to as acculturation, modernisation and social change, but they do not leave aside another dichotomy: tradition/modernity (Comas d'Argemir and Contreras 1990).

In anthropology, this model was created by Robert Redfield, supported by his fieldwork in Latin America, but it has been spread in the past to Europe by the anthropologists who have studied the Mediterranean area and other authors (Frankenberg 1966; Lefebvre 1975; Pahl 1966; Lewis 1953; Newby 1980). In Europe, some of the social agents of this continuum were the part-time peasants and commuters between villages and cities. This continuum has meant the social-cultural urbanisation of the country, new ideas and values about the rural and the differentiation between the rural and agricultural production.

This thesis has been criticised by several authors (Gans 1962; Lewis 1953; Mitchell 1990 [1966]; Whyte 1955 [1943]; Vidich and Bensman 1958) that have questioned the idea of the passivity of rural inhabitants in processes of social change. They have questioned the myth of the small community as a representation of an isolated and functionalist social space without the influence of social forces such as the State and its power mechanisms (Lewis 1953, 1960). The ruralisation of cities and the active participation of peasants in social change (Lewis 1985 [1959]) was another critical perspective of this dichotomous model.

15.2.3   Theories of Rural Modernisation

Since the mid-1950s, the rural-urban dichotomy was assumed and a group of theories called 'theories of modernisation' was formulated. From the point of view of this theoretical perspective, the rural represents a level of social and economic underdevelopment and needs to experience modernisation in imitation of urban

patterns (Rogers and Svenning 1973). Modernisation is conceived as a positive process linked to technological advances and economic development (Comas d'Argemir and Contreras 1990: 7).

Some examples of the application of these theories are the analyses proposed by William Douglass and Josep Aceves (1978 [1970]) for the Spanish case. Their interpretation of the rural in that work was that rural communities were closed, isolated, autonomous, conservative, subsistence producing and traditional groups. These ethnocentric theories have been criticised by several authors, but they can be summarised as theories that do not pay attention to the historical contexts of change, and that are very linear; that do not include analyses of power relationships and conflicts; that promote essentialist and idealistic views of the rural and the urban as homogeneous entities throughout the world; that define the rural and the urban as absolute categories and not as relative and dynamic social-cultural positions; that do not take into consideration the influences of capitalism in rural areas and even less the local–global links (Comas d'Argemir and Contreras 1990: 22).

15.2.4   The Depopulation-Population-Repopulation and Counter-Urbanisation Models

Since the 1970s, the relationship between the rural and the urban has been described from the perspective of the depopulation-population-repopulation model (Lewis and Maund 1976; Wilson 1942). The urbanisation of rural spaces is said to be due to the promotion of prevailing urban values, changes in rural values and new social and political structures installed in rural spaces. These processes are not homogeneous in every rural area and have three stages:

1. Depopulation of rural areas and out-migration to more industrialised urban areas.
2. Population of rural areas after the industrialisation period. It begins with a part-time return to the rural at weekends and holidays, new residences, new styles of urban middle-class life, second houses and commuting.
3. Repopulation, when all the family returns, including elderly people and new rural people to work in the third sector or in ecological agriculture, for example.

Another theoretical perspective associated with the previous linear model is counter-urbanisation, a theory that explains decentralised urbanism. Some authors such as Berry (1976) and Champion (1989) claim that the social and environmental problems considered as urban (i.e. pollution and stress) are a reason for people to go out to rural areas, which are thought of as calm and quiet, closer to nature and rich in human relations (i.e. community and neighbourhood relations). Another element that explains counter-urbanisation is the creation of infrastructure (roads, trains, and so on) and the existence of new (communication and information) technologies that allow people to work in these rural areas while being connected with others parts of the world.

Other authors such as Harvey (1992 [1973]), Lefebvre (1975) and Gottdiener (1988) said that this decentralisation is produced in a context of capitalist development by crises of capitalism, but not by improvements in transportation. The crisis of capital accumulation influenced the expansion of capital into rural areas to continue the accumulation.

And from a rural perspective of some authors (e.g. Cloke 1985), the counter-urbanisation process means that the people come back or go to rural areas due to infrastructural factors (roads, accessibility, services, etc.) and superstructural factors called rural attraction (prices, community life, quality of life, landscapes, nature, housing, cultural heritage). This interpretation underlines the positive and active participation of rural territories in their conversion to attractive areas for a good standard of living.

15.2.5   *The Revitalisation and Renascence of the Rural*

A group of perspectives tried to analyse the Western revitalisation of rural areas (Kayser 1990; Camarero Rioja 1991; van der Ploeg 2010). The rural spaces have become an alternative model of life (Entrena Durán 1998: 149) in association with the ideologies of sustainability, naturalist society and pastoralist ideology (Carson 1962; Marx 1964; Seymour 2006; Halfacree 2007). This is an answer to the urban economic and values crises, which questioned development and modernisation. The rural has become a fad, a resource for development and a prestigious and symbolic status. Here we can integrate the post-rural model (Ferrão 2000; García Sanz 1996), the neo-rural model[2] (Kayser 1990; Moya 1991; Rodríguez and Trabada 1991; Del Barrio 1999; Bryden 2000) and the rurban[3] model (Dodson 1939; Arensberg and Kimball 1965; Bauer and Roux 1976; Baigorri 1995; Berger et al. 1980; García de León 1996; Miquel 2000; Pereiro 2005; Voyé and Rémy 1994 [1992]) as proposals for the interpretation of the rural areas' new meanings and uses.

Rather than being the simple opposite to the 'urban', the 'rural' must be thought as part of larger territories that are globalised and urbanised and as part of a historical process that has led to urban domination. Indeed, the idea of rurality is a metaphor and an emblem for many local, regional and national identifications. This leads us to engage in a more in-depth research on the meanings associated with rurality and related social-cultural changes. Rural areas are known to be redefined within a global context (Cloke et al. 2006; van der Ploeg 2010) and particularly so in the Iberian Peninsula (García Sanz 1996; Portela and Caldas 2003; Pereiro 2005; Roseman 2008; Silva 2009; Figueiredo et al. 2011).

---

[2] See http://www.neorural.com/ ; www.cdrtcampos.es/plataforma_rural/ and www.abrazalatierra.com

[3] See Professor Dr. José Graziano da Silva's 'rurbano' project (Instituto de Economia – UNICAMP): www.eco.unicamp.br/projectos/rurban21.htm

The so-called new farmers, newcomers to rural areas or rurban inhabitants have had a major influence on redefining and revitalising long-standing rural areas. From this perspective, we may regard the concept of new ruralities (Rodríguez and Trabada 1991; Covas 2008; Roseman 2008; Rivera 2009; Oliva 2010; Pereiro 2013) as a useful analytical tool for understanding contemporary rural change. It is what Jesús Oliva (2010) called the 'new rural melting pots', which contribute decisively to the rural tourism associated with the ideologies promoting a 'return to nature', a focus on cultural heritage, the symbolic re-signification of food products and the multifunctionality of rural landscapes.

These new meanings are found in discourses on rural development in Europe and have now led to a recreated rural which is thought of as holding the core of traditions lost through modernisation. The countryside is no longer solely an area for agricultural production; it has become a space of consumerism and leisure. We could say that rural spaces have begun to develop new products (landscape, rurality, tranquillity, roots, identifications, new sociability, cultural and natural heritage) with an urban orientation. The concepts of agricultural and agribusiness have come to be signified with 'rural' and 'field', representing a manifestation of the change from agrarian and industrial societies to postindustrial societies.

15.2.6   The Rural and the Urban in Galician Nationalist Thinking

Galicia is one of the 17 autonomous regional governments that were created in Spain in the 1980s. In the Spanish Constitution, Galicia is framed as one of the 'historic nationalities' of Spain, along with Catalonia and the Basque Country. It has nearly three million inhabitants living in four provinces: A Coruña, Lugo, Ourense and Pontevedra. Galicia is world renowned because of pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela, the regional capital. Although Galicia was historically dominated by a rural economy (e.g. in 1950, 80 % of the population lived and worked in rural areas), in the last five decades, it has experienced a slow but very strong process of urbanisation, in social, cultural, political and economic terms (Lois 2004; Pereiro 2005). In the 2006 census, 68 % of Galician people were registered as living in urban settlements of over 10,000 inhabitants (Instituto Galego de Estatística 2007). In Galicia, the urbanisation process has been very intensive since the 1960s, and the long-standing rural areas are today part of urban society. But the truth is that the people, the laws and the politics maintain the rural-urban dichotomy as a principle of social life. This 'emic' perspective is confronted with a more dominant and complex urban reality with most of the territory organised in towns, small towns and villages.

Nevertheless, the identification of Galicia with the rural was very important as a repository for Galician national identity and for the external image of Galicia. The idealised Galician peasant became the representation of the Galician people, but the urban has never been less important in the discussions about Galician identity.

From the point of view of several authors (Cores Trasmonte 1973; Castelao 1986 [1944]; Pereiro 2005), the Galician rural-urban differentiation was more important than class differentiation in the classification of social identities. Today, these differences are more blurred and complex but persist in the imaginaries of Galician people and in areas such as legislation and politics.

In the contemporary history of Galicia, there is a long-standing and enduring debate about if Galicia needs a big city or several small cities and towns with a network of villages, and also whether Galician culture is more urban or rural. In this chapter, we are going, first, to analyse the ruralist perspectives which defend a rural identification and later the urban and rurban models of development and cultural identification for the Galician case.

Benito Vicetto (1983 [1865]) was a nationalist intellectual and historian who defined a dichotomy between rural Galicia and *civil* Galicia (urban), two Galicias. From his point of view, rural Galicia was characterised by social and physical isolation, inaccessibility, human groups with no intellectual or societal relations, a quiet and simple life, children of nature, with love for the work, family and God and also by being of less value and subordinated to urban Galicia, but not less important in terms of a Catholic model for the reproduction of Galicia.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, a Galician rural social movement, *agrarismo* (agrarianism), defended the role of the rural and agriculture in Galicia. *Agrarismo* is a:

> Complex movement that attempts to mobilize a social group, such as the peasantry, who until then had not even found an expression of their own interests in order to achieve a broad range of goals that can mostly be summed up in two aspirations: obtaining the conditions that make feasible the survival of the small family farm in the framework of a capitalist economy that is increasingly invasive, and articulating the political interests for the consolidation of land for Galician peasants, so that they match the status of other agricultural cases existing in Spain and of other social groups (Cabo Villaverde 1998: 11, our translation).

Another ruralist vision of rural Galicia as a cultural model for the development of Galicia was introduced by the ethnographers Florentino López Cuevillas and Xaquín Lorenzo Fernández in the first decades of the twentieth century. One good example of their thinking is their defence of rural architecture in the *vila* of Calvos de Randin, next to the Portuguese border:

> Calvos's peasant houses are neither polluted by Americanism nor by the influence of city buildings, two diseases that are slowly killing our traditional rural architecture. There is still no heinous urban-looking building next to the brand new road, nor Swiss cottages with pointed roofs, nor overseas-style terraces or banisters; not even concrete balconies (López Cuevillas and Lourenzo Fernández 1930: 31, our translation).

In their book *Parroquia de Velle* (written in 1936 and reissued in 2005), Florentino López Cuevillas, Vicente Fernández Hermida and Xaquín Lorenzo Fernández noted how the process of urbanisation transformed the peripheral rural areas around the town of Ourense. They constructed a portrait of the tension that existed between the rural and the urban in Galicia before the Spanish Civil War. Peasants became part-time industrial and handicraft workers in this town, but, as part of multi-occupationality, they maintained their residence and their agrarian work at the

village of Velle, very close to Ourense. This commuter way of life in the early 1930s in Galicia contributed to the introduction of left-wing ideologies and the Spanish language in rural spaces, an attraction to urban entertainment, and the assimilation of new ideas about change. But this urbanisation process was questioned by the authors as being very critical and negative (2005 [1936]: 170) because, from their point of view, it transformed the agrarian, Catholic, community-based and rural Galician culture.

On the other side, other nationalist intellectuals from the early twentieth century such as Antolín Faraldo, Valle-Inclán, Antón Villar Ponte, Alfonso Daniel Castelao and Ramón Otero Pedrayo preferred a big city and urban model, Barcelona being an example to mimic in Atlantic Galicia. Otero Pedrayo stated his preference for the big city in Galicia as a model of development, but 'We cannot lose sight of the eternal peasant background from which Galician towns come, with their culture more or less suited to the modern pace' (Otero Pedrayo 1973: 79, our translation).

In his central work *Sempre en Galiza* (Always in Galicia), written in 1944, Castelao promoted the adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon and Catalan models of the garden city to Galicia, paying attention to an harmonious relationship between the urban and the rural: 'I see a rich land, where everybody works and lives in peace, I see my land as one city, the most beautiful garden-city in the world, the ideal city for people who wish to live near nature' (Castelao 1986: 122, our translation).

Nevertheless, other nationalist intellectuals such as Xoán Xesús González said that the Galician way of life was the small-town life, and that he preferred a rurban model (González 1925) in which the bourgeois were the protagonists of development. Along the same lines, Ramón Otero Pedrayo's literary work *Os Camiños da Vida* (1928) shows us examples of the dialectical discussions among the small Galician aristocrats, who declined in the nineteenth century, and the rise of small-town bourgeois as social leaders and as protagonists of the urbanisation of rural Galicia. Another important author of this period, Vicente Risco (1990), provided a broad overview of how the urban crushed the rural in a conflict won by the urban.

But with the arrival of the 1960s, the architect Andrés Fernández-Albalat (1968) created the idea of 'City of the Rías', inspired by the Dutch Randstand's idea of an urban region. Therefore, if the domination of the urban over the rural was a reality in the historical evolution of Galicia since this period, a great part of the Galician nationalist movement continued to identify Galician national identity with the rural cultural universe. Other master symbols such as the town of Santiago de Compostela or the Way of Santiago are articulated with rural identifications and their objectification in museums, rural tourism, cultural heritage, tourist images and other cultural expressions (Pereiro and Vilar 2008). Behind this thinking we can see a pastoralist (Marx 1964), naturalist and ruralist ideology (Seymour 2006) that was created and reproduced from the nineteenth century on by the Galician nationalist movement.

This process of signification has turned the rural into an emblematic symbol for Galician identification both inside and outside of Galicia. Today, Galicia is an urban territory, but the rural image represents and objectivises a version of Galicia's national identity just has occurred in other locations such as Portugal (e.g. Lela 2000; Silva 2009) and the United Kingdom (e.g. Lowenthal 1996).

15.2.7   Cross of Imagery and Discourses Between the Rural and the Urban in Galicia

Based on the outcomes of our own primary research (Pereiro 2005; Prado 2007), the Galician small town helps to overcome the traditional dichotomy (Leeds 1975; Cohen 1985; Goetze 1994) of rural-urban in Galicia (Lorenzo 1982). The polarity of these two worlds is diluted in the small town, which instead of being fragmented and divided is part of both of them in its heterogeneous nature, being partly rural and partly urban. In this sense, it is a hybrid reality, a rural-urban space, a subculture and a chronotope in which creolisation is expressed between centres and peripheries. In the small town, the rural world and the urban world are simultaneous and coexist in space and time; the urban is relocated from the locus city and the rural is no longer confused with agriculture. This does not mean that urbanity and rurality are part of the same moral universe. Understood from this perspective, the majority of people in small towns are currently engaged in professing a faith in urbanism, through recognising that urban values prevail and are being implemented in the consciousness of the inhabitants of towns as well as cities. In this sense we can understand the small town as a process, a setting that is undergoing social and cultural construction.

In Galicia, the small towns assume the role of being hinges between the rural and the urban worlds, generally as the seats of rural areas with dispersed populations (usually as the capitals of the municipalities) (Fernández de Rota 1989). Their populations vary from 1000 to 15,000 inhabitants, but their area of influence can affect from 5000 to 30,000 inhabitants. Their role as intermediaries between these two worlds gives them a very intense commercial and administrative life. The small town is a specific cultural form, urban-looking but at the same time having rural and urban characteristics. Its own specificity distinguishes it from both the village and the city, and so it will be defined from within and from outside, in reference to a series of boundaries that reinforce its specificity. In many cases, these limits are not free of permeable barriers and apparently anomalous ambiguities. Moreover, we have to take into account that, within a shared cultural logic and a system of ordered relationships, they are linked with the other two areas under consideration: the village and the city.

Depending on the social sphere in which we place ourselves, the small town will be defined from one or another perspective, and its limits are not the same for all of those who interact with it, from the villagers themselves to young people who visit it during weekends. At an 'emic' level, city and countryside, the urban and the rural and tradition and modernity are going to look at each other, to conceptualise and judge each other as opposites sometimes, as part of flows some other times, and even the town will be shown as a hybrid form that draws on certain elements of the rural to construct its identity as distinct from the city or on other more urban elements to distinguish itself from the rural.

The rural and the urban, far from being two separate unconnected worlds, are part of the same multicultural, multilingual, multimedia and maybe even multipurpose society. The rural and the urban are not absolute categories, but relative categories

that interpenetrate, although this may contradict the objectivised and quantitative thinking that tries to divide and delimit everything into watertight categories. In this sense, rurbanism refers to the urban penetration into the rural, as the trigger of the globalised world we live in, or, in other words, the process of urbanising rural areas. But rurbanism also stresses the urban articulation with the rural, which is not a unidirectional process anymore, but has turned into modes through which rural society is being specialised, where limits, heterogeneities and discontinuities are established.

Urban spaces are one predominant location where one finds that the reinvention, reconstruction and recontextualisation of certain aspects of tradition take place, while other disappears. Rural worlds and the world of small towns are also transformed through new identities and new sociocultural processes. In the case of small towns, this process goes beyond a rural-urban polarisation and becomes much clearer when looking at which leisure spaces are developed in a town and what their effects are on different individuals depending on rural-urban precedence, social class, language, gender, age, etc. In other words, the small town, as a space tending towards urban patterns, plays a predominant role in all social groups accessing its spaces, also allowing the development of differentiated patterns according to various participating social groups.

15.2.8 The Discourse of Small Towns: Between the Town, the Village and the City

Although the spatial limits of small towns seem to be very clear for people, they are too often questioned because urban-looking areas coexist with other areas devoted to agricultural activities. This situation keeps small towns from being completely urban, and certain social actors' discourses highlight such. The lack of many of the cities' leisure services makes small towns closer to big villages than to the small cities many inhabitants would like them to be. Equal, better or different from cities, small towns are interpreted by their inhabitants as a specific spatial and cultural field, but their ideal and aspiration is to be urban and to have the prestige that goes with an urban way of life (consumerism, work, social relations, leisure, vacations, public services, etc.).

The inhabitants of Galician small towns define their communities in symbolic terms as being different from villages due to their role as centres for commercial and public services: 'more commodification' and 'a space more advanced than rural areas', 'more people to talk to', 'a better social atmosphere for leisure', 'more amusements (fairs, festivals, etc.)' and 'the small-town inhabitants dress in a more charming and modern way' (repetitive discourses during our fieldwork). Very often this prestige contributes to young people being attracted to towns and cities, who are able to leave their home areas in search of new ways of life and new job opportunities.

If small-town inhabitants live in situation of experiencing tension between the rural and urban worlds, the aspiration to be urban must be seen as often emerging

from an 'emic' perspective as opposed to simply rural experience. However, this is not always the case, because the inhabitants of small towns also choose elements with a rural origin to redefine their identity, and this is why this space is defined as rurban, having characteristics of two worlds: the urban and the rural worlds. The dialectical relationship between these two symbolic universes, with asymmetry in favour of the urban universe, is what is changing rural value systems and redefining the rural world as a social, cultural, geographic and economic universe.

Every identification is constructed in relation to other identifications (Barth 1969; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Hannerz 1998). Opposition, conflict, tension, negotiation and consensus are processes through which identity is constructed. In this sense, 'town' and 'village' are two intertwined categories in the small towns, which get mixed together and yet, sometimes, are applied to individuals who may despise each other for being the 'other'. They are two hierarchically related and asymmetrical distinctions, wherein the former is pre-eminent. There is an asymmetrical discontinuity in recognising the other, a conception of the rural as subaltern, and of villagers as an anti-value. But the values of town inhabitants are better reflected in the image of villagers that they constructed than in the values of villagers. This image is the result of exaggerating the differences and suppressing the similarities between towns and villages, wherein the latter is imagined pejoratively and is considered to be a boundary area where people live in some kind of different time, in part belonging to the past. From a dichotomous and evolutionist point of view, villagers are, for certain small-town sectors, their 'primitives'. Sometimes the debt owed to the village is acknowledged by the small town, since villagers consume in the small town, which maintains it economically.

However, not every inhabitant of rural areas falls under the same category, since those who settled there as their residence or who live there but work in towns, especially those practising prestigious professions (e.g. medical, lawyers) or are commuters. They are not part of the characterisation and opposition that has to be portrayed in order to establish the distinction. The inhabitant of rural areas is not considered to be urban, but a villager in sociocultural and symbolic terms. It is the inhabitant whose activity is agriculture or cattle farming for whom no kind of change is recognised to have taken place in rural areas. For instance, this is the case of the *nouveaux riches* that are always concerned to conceal their origins and are uncritical advocates of the town against a rural past that deserves to be forgotten due to its negative associations.

Here are some ethnographic examples of discourses collected through our fieldwork research (using the methods of participant observation and interviews) that underscore negative visions of rural Galicia elaborated by the inhabitants of small town: 'Those living in the village are retarded and slaves'; 'Ignorants!'; 'Farmers have the best life, while they go to bed the hens lay eggs, the cow's milk and they even throw back to earth the rest of the crop'; 'There are poor people who will never get rich because they don't want not, as they are stupid because they will not be'; 'In the village you face many difficulties. My brother stayed at home and he is getting along, he has a car, and he has to work hard in order to earn for his children. He refused to come with me to Bilbao, and now he does not have a day off or

vacation. He earns little and has to work hard'; 'Here there are still rich people. Those who used to be the richest in the village are still the richest and my parents still owe them because one day they helped with the farm'; 'There is a lot of deception and you're always wedged in [by others]. On an individual level, rural people might have more vocabulary, but they might also have more deficiencies, as poorer experiences, such as having less of a relationship with their parents, and fewer resources, might lead to narrower attitudes within the family. Also, I don't know, there is an understatement about their lives, that they do not pay attention to the welfare of their children'.

15.2.9 Village Discourses

Just like the discourses evoked from those living in small towns, a set of justifications are created by villagers, which are also related to social status. Despite divergences, it can be said that, generally, the small town is described by the villagers as a place full of opportunities, providing access to modernity, leisure and sociability, as well as a prestigious place and a stairway to a higher social status, which means that there are expectations that a certain degree social mobility would attend living in a town.

We now present some ethnographic examples of discourses collected in our fieldwork (including participant observation and interviews) that were stated by village inhabitants: 'Women do not want to work in agriculture, despite having good returns… People run away from the village, they just want to walk over there… You must care for and pamper the countryside'; 'Melide has grown a lot. Although it is not a city, you find there what the city lacks: security'; 'Currently, you have it all in Melide. It is not like when I went to A Coruña, when there was not even a supermarket'.

Therefore, living in rural areas does not involve taking part in the relationships and ways of life of one's rural neighbours, since middle-class rural inhabitants focus on making sure that their children connect with urban people of small towns, to have the same education as the inhabitants of small towns, the same car and the same access to leisure spaces and activities and to speak Spanish and not Galician, or, in other words, to share the same social practices as those living in towns, through which they are distanced from rural lifestyles, regarded as being of the peasantry, in order to avoid stereotypes, mockery and the minoritisation of their ancestry (Prado 2007).

Attending formal educational institutions and obtaining the corresponding academic qualifications is a requirement of the middle-class inhabitants of Galician small towns, who invest in their children over the long term so that they can place themselves in more prestigious positions and, through them, start to move up in the social structure. Ethnographic examples of that goal are: 'Manolo studies hard, he is always studying. He wants to become somebody in life'; 'If you study hard you might get a good job, with your month off'; 'Look, the girl does study, and she studies hard, she is always studying and that's what she must do. I do not want

her to be distracted by anything'; 'If you don't study you cannot want the same job than someone who has a career. While I study there are many kids who are having fun instead'.

This is how stereotypes regarding the rural are created, as well as distinct attitudes towards a specific way of living and acting, by using the word *bruto* (uncouth, ignorant) to refer to the fact that some did not acquire the only behaviours and manners considered valid by others. That is to say that they do not share the same cultural capital. Despite comparisons and negative images, the small town as a place for socialising is also giving rise to villagers and the working classes of towns creating their own spaces. Just like the town's middle classes, in their spaces, these social groups develop a whole private symbolic system of relations and leisure that is not easy to observe.

For villagers, the small town is a space where they can get everything that is out of reach for them in villages. The small town means a place where they can have a salaried job, as well as contact with other diverse people, and where they can spend their leisure time. Here again are some repetitive discourses from our fieldwork data: 'In Melide people are more refined because they have more free time. I do not mean that I don't find the village people are not refined, because we are as much refined or even more'; 'Apparently in Melide there are more opportunities to have fun'.

This place, the small town, is represented by the consumer spaces villagers come in contact with, mainly bars and cafés, and by the culture of consumption and salaried employment which are approach to the urban world. This is how new spaces are created, together with new relationships that are no longer antagonistic but involve close relationships. On the one hand, this is because villagers with salaried positions get together with people who have a salaried job just like them and, on the other hand, because they find, create and recreate a space where social distinction practices are not explicit or are different from those in other spaces of the town.

While small towns are immersed in an undervaluation of the rural world, some villagers are critical of small towns, presenting alternatives and future aspirations entailing a reflection upon tradition and revitalising those aspects of tradition that are considered to be more positive if creatively combined with modernity. It is difficult to hide what links villages and towns at a stroke. Sometimes, prototypical rural elements, such as certain farming products (sausages, vegetables, fruits, cheese, eggs) or stone architecture (agrotourism guest houses), are presented with a neo-rural discourse for urban consumers, based on 'patrimonial' quality, presentation and labelling. This is a way of resolving the prototypical rural-urban tension, incorporating rural elements to construct a new rurban identity.

15.3   Conclusions

An approach to the main models for thinking about rural-urban relationships was the starting point of our text. These models served us as a contextualisation in order to show on the one hand, how nationalist ideologies in Galicia linked identity to the

agricultural rural universe, even when Galicia began an intense urbanisation from the 1960s onwards. On the other hand, we presented the role played by the small town in the imaginary of the rural and urban and in the crossed discourses between the rural and the urban in Galicia. This role has to be understood in terms of the various mechanisms, processes, actors and stakeholders involved in the formation of new Galician ruralities and cultural landscapes.

We have referred to 'small town' and 'village' as two moral categories that are expressed through social images and discourses. These images define social spaces that are formed by historically conditioned relationships. These perceptions and representations do not only belong to a mental world; instead, they are also portrayed in cultural behaviours and in everyday social interactions which, although not subject to analysis here, are extremely interesting when coming to understand how mental images influence their participants' social action.

Therefore, the main conclusions of this chapter are that there are many rural spaces in the world and many different relationships exist between these spaces and urban milieu, as the Galician case demonstrates. The chapter emphasises the cultural diversity that exists in terms of understandings of urban-rural relationships and the transformations of rural areas (new ruralities or post-ruralities). In their diversity, rural spaces have become a model for an alternative lifestyle (Entrena Durán 1998: 149) in association with the ideologies of sustainability, naturalist society and pastoralist ideology (Carson 1962; Halfacree 2007). This is a cultural response to the urban economic recession and to the crisis in values, which question development and modernisation. The rural has become a fashion, a resource for development, a prestigious status symbol and a way of adapting to the new global conditions.

The impact of this social trend is the symbolic change in the meaning of rural areas in Galicia, from a view tied to ideas about underdevelopment to idealised cultural landscapes. In this way, the abandonment, ageing and depopulation of Galician rural areas is being articulated with contra-urban, rurban, post-rural and neo-rural models of life that transform rural areas into parts of urban regions. Other effects are the increase of production in industrial agriculture and ecological agriculture, new forms of mobility between rural and urban areas, increase offerings in rural tourism, the repopulation of the rural areas closer to Galician towns, the reinvention of new models of rural sociability such as festivals and traditions and the new value for local food products.

The ideas of rural and urban are not absolute and precise concepts; they are metaphors with discursive imaginaries and ideological categories and are diverse in specific sociocultural contexts. Historically, in Galicia, the nationalist movement has identified rural traditions and spaces as a master symbol of Galician identity. In the past, this political choice has left aside the urban, but today it is integrating the urban in a rurban identification. But what should be seen as cross-cultural perceptions between the urban and the rural in Galicia are still a little negative with respect to the urban view of rural areas. This may be due to the revitalisation of the rural in Galicia being a very slow process that also began later than in other parts of Europe, such as France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

References

Appadurai, A. (2004 [1996]). *Dimensões Culturais da Globalização.* Lisbon: Teorema.

Arensberg, C., & Kimball, S. (1965). *Culture and community*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Baigorri, A. (1995). *De lo rural a lo urbano.* http://www.unex.es/sociolog/BAIGORRI/papers/rurbano.pdf. Accessed 26 Feb 2003.

Barth, F. (1969). Introduction. In F. Barth (Ed.), *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of cultural difference* (pp. 9–38). London: George Allen and Unwin.

Bauer, G., & Roux, J. (1976). *La Rurbanisation ou la Ville Éparpillée*. Paris: Seuil.

Berger, M., Fruit, J., Plet, F., & Robic, M. (1980). Rurbanisation et analyse des espaces ruraux peri-urbains. *L'Espace Géographique, 4*, 303–313.

Berry, B. (1976). *Urbanization and counter-urbanization*. New York: Arnold.

Bryden, J. (2000). ¿Declive? ¿qué declive? *Leader Magazine, 22*, 10–12.

Cabo Villaverde, M. (1998). *O Agrarismo*. Vigo: Edicións A Nosa Terra.

Camarero Rioja, L. A. (1991). Tendencias recientes y evolución de la población rural en España. *Política y Sociedad, 8*, 13–24.

Carson, R. (1962). *Silent spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Castelao, A. D. (1986 [1944]). *Sempre en Galiza.* Vigo: Galaxia.

Champion, A. G. (Ed.). (1989). *Counterurbanization. The changing pace and nature of population deconcentration*. London: Edward Arnold.

Cloke, P. (1985). Counterurbanization: A rural perspective. *Geography, 70*(1), 13–29.

Cloke, P., Marsen, T., & Mooney, P. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of rural studies*. London: Sage.

Cohen, A. (1985). *The symbolic construction of community*. London: Tavistock.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (2009). *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Comas d'Argemir, D., & Contreras, J. (1990). El proceso de cambio social. *Agricultura y Sociedad, 55*, 5–64.

Cores Trasmonte, B. (1973). *Sociología Rural de Galicia*. A Coruña: Librigal.

Covas, A. (2008). *Ruralidades III. Temas e Problemas da Ruralidade Pós-agrícola e Pós-convencional*. Faro: Universidade do Algarve.

Del Barrio, J. M. (1999). *Proceso de Cambio y Tendencias de Futuro de la Sociedad Rural de Zamora*. Zamora: Fundación Afonso Henriques.

Dodson, L. S. (1939). *Social relationships and institutions in an established urban community, South Holland, Illinois*. Washington, DC: United States Department of Agriculture, the Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Cooperating.

Douglass, W., & Aceves J. (Eds.). (1978 [1970]). *Los Aspectos Cambiantes de la España Rural.* Barcelona: Barral.

Durkheim, E. (1977 [1893]). *A Divisão do Trabalho Social.* Lisbon: Presença.

Entrena Durán, F. (1998). *Cambios en la Construcción Social de lo Rural. De la Autarquía a la Globalización*. Madrid: Tecnos.

Fernández de Rota, J. A. (1989). Mundo rural y mundo urbano en una villa gallega: Betanzos. In F. López-Casero (Ed.), *La Agrociudad Mediterránea* (pp. 359–398). Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura.

Fernández-Albalat, A. (1968). *La Ciudad de las Rías*. A Coruña: Instituto de Estudios José Cornide de Estudios Coruñeses.

Ferrão, J. (2000). Relações entre mundo rural e mundo urbano. Evolução histórica, situação actual e pistas para o futuro. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas, 33*, 44–54.

Figueiredo, E., Kastenholz, E., Eusébio, M. C., Gomes, M. C., Carneiro, M. J., Baptista, P., & Valente, S. (Eds.). (2011). *O Rural Plural – Olhar o Presente, Imaginar o Futuro*. Castro Verde: 100luz Editora.

Frankenberg, R. (1966). *Communities in Britain: Social life in town and country*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Gans, H. (1962). *The urban villagers*. New York: The Free Press.

García de León, M. A. (1996). El rurbanismo o las transformaciones del campo español. *Fundamentos de Antropología, 4–5*, 221–229.

García Sanz, B. (1996). *La Sociedad Rural ante el Siglo XXI*. Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura.

Goetze, D. (1994). Reflexiones sobre la imagen de la comunidad. In R. Sanmartín (Ed.), *Antropología sin Fronteras. Ensayos en Honor de Carmelo Lisón* (pp. 279–293). Madrid: CIS.

González, X. X. (1925). *Hacia una Morfología de la Vida Gallega*. Santiago de Compostela: Talleres El Eco de Santiago.

Gottdiener, M. (1988). *A Produção Social do Espaço Urbano*. São Paulo: EDUSP.

Halfacree, K. (2007). Trial by space for a 'radical rural: Introducing alternative localities, representations and lives. *Journal of Rural Studies, 23*, 125–141.

Hannerz, U. (1989). Culture between center and periphery: Toward a macroanthropology. *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology, 54*, 200–216.

Hannerz, U. (1998 [1996]). *Conexiones Transnacionales. Cultura, Gente, Lugares*. Valencia: Cátedra and Universitat de Valencia.

Harvey, D. (1992 [1973]). *Urbanismo y Desigualdad Social*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.

Instituto Galego de Estatística. (2007). *Dados de Poboación*. www.ige.eu. Accessed 14 Mar 2007.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (2011). *Censos de población*. www.ine.es. Accessed 5 June 2011.

Kayser, B. (1990). *La Renaissance Rurale. Sociologie des Campagnes du Monde Occidental*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Leeds, A. (1975). La sociedad urbana engloba a la rural. In J. E. Hardoy & R. P. Schaedel (Eds.), *Las Ciudades de América Latina y sus Áreas de Influencia a través de la Historia* (pp. 317–336). Buenos Aires: Siap.

Lefebvre, H. (1975). *De lo Rural a lo Urbano*. Barcelona: Península.

Lela, J. (2000). *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970): Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional*. Lisbon: Dom Quixote.

Lewis, O. (1953). Controls and experiments in fieldwork. In A. L. Kroeber (Ed.), *Anthropology today* (pp. 452–475). Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lewis, O. (1960). *Tepotzlan: Village in Mexico*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Lewis, O. (1985 [1959]). *Antropología de la Pobreza*. Mexico: FCE.

Lewis, G., & Maund, D. (1976). The urbanisation of the countryside: A framework for analysis. *Geografiska Annales, 58B*, 17–27.

Lois, R. (2004). Planificar o urbano e vivir nas cidades. Guía dos libros novos. *Revista de Cultura e Pensamento, 2ª etapa, 6*, 5.

López Cuevillas, F., & Lourenzo Fernández, X. (1930). *Vila de Calvos. Notas Etnográficas e Folklóricas*. Santiago de Compostela: Seminario de Estudos Galegos.

López Cuevillas, F., Lourenzo Fernández, X., & Fernández Hermida, V. (2005 [1936]). *Parroquia de Velle*. Ourense: Centro de Cultura Popular Xaquín Lorenzo – Museo do Pobo Galego.

Lorenzo, X. (1982). Do noso antroido: os escabicheiros. *Brigantium, Boletín do Museo Arqueolóxico e Histórico da Coruña, 3*, 265–269.

Lowenthal, D. (1996). Paysages et identités nationales. In M. Jollivet & N. Eizner (Eds.), *L'Europe et ces Campagnes* (pp. 245–274). Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale de Sciences Politiques.

Maciver, R. (1917). *Community. A sociological study*. London: Macmillan.

Maciver, R., & Page, C. (1949). *Society: An introductory analysis*. London: Macmillan.

Marx, L. (1964). *The machine in the garden: Technology and the pastoral ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1970 [1846]). *La Ideología Alemana*. Barcelona: Grijalbo.

Miquel, A. (2000). *El Campo en la Cabeza. Pervivencia del Agrarismo en la Construcción de la Identidad*. Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata.

Mitchell, J. C. (1990 [1966]). Orientaciones teóricas de los estudios urbanos en África. In M. Bantom (Ed.), *Antropología Social de las Sociedades Complejas* (pp. 53–81). Madrid: Alianza.

Moya, C. (1991). Viajes y retornos de una y otra parte, interview of Josechu V. Mazariegos. *Política y Sociedad, 9*, 97–107.

Newby, H. (1980). Urbanización y estructura de clases rurales. *Agricultura y Sociedad, 14*, 9–48.

Newby, H. (1983). Algunas consideraciones teóricas. In H. Newby & E. Sevilla-Guzmán (Eds.), *Introducción a la Sociología Rural* (pp. 38–52). Madrid: Alianza University.

Oliva, J. (2010). Rural melting-pots, mobilities and fragilities: Reflections on the Spanish case. *Sociologia Ruralis, 50*(3), 278–295.

Otero Pedrayo, R. (1928). *Os Camiños da Vida*. A Coruña: Nós.

Otero Pedrayo, R. (1973). A cultura dos paisanos. In C. Baliñas (Ed.), *Ramón Otero Pedrayo. Parladoiro. Artículos* (pp. 79–80). Vigo: Galaxia.

Pahl, R. (1966). The rural-urban continuum. *Sociologia Ruralis, 6*(3–4), 299–327.

Pereiro, X. (2005). *Galegos de Vila. Antropoloxía dun Espazo Urbano*. Santiago de Compostela: Sotelo Blanco.

Pereiro, X. (2013). O fin? do rural? Galego?. In *II Forum do Feismo*. Ourense: Difusora das Letras, Artes e Ideias (forthcoming).

Pereiro, X., & Vilar, M. (2008). Ethnographic museums and essentialist representations of Galician identity. *International Journal of Iberian Studies, 21*(2), 87–108.

Portela, J., & Caldas, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Portugal Chão*. Oeiras: Celta.

Prado, S. (2007). *Novas Minorías nas Institucións Educativas*. Santiago de Compostela: Sotelo Blanco.

Redfield, R. (1947). The folk society. *The American Journal of Sociology, 41*, 293–308.

Risco, V. (1990). *Las Tinieblas de Occidente. Ensayo de una Valoración de la Civilización Europea*. Santiago de Compostela: Sotelo Blanco.

Rivera, M. J. (2009). La neorruralidad y sus significados. El caso de Navarra. *Revista Internacional de Sociología, 67*(2), 413–433.

Rodríguez, A., & Trabada, E. (1991). De la ciudad al campo: el fenómeno neorruralista en España. *Política y Sociedad, 9*, 73–86.

Rogers, E., & Svenning, L. (1973). *La Modernización entre los Campesinos*. Mexico: FCE.

Roseman, S. (2008). *O Rexurdimento dunha base Rural no Concello de Zas: O Santiaguiño de Carreira*. A Coruña: Baía Edicións.

Seymour, J. (2006). *Guía Práctica Ilustrada para la Vida en el Campo*. Barcelona: Blume.

Silva, L. (2009). *Casas no Campo. Etnografia do Turismo Rural em Portugal*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Sorokin, P., & Zimmerman, C. (1929). *Principles of rural–urban sociology*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Tönnies, F. (1979 [1887]). *Comunidad y Asociación*. Barcelona: Península.

Tönnies, F. (1987 [1931]). *Principios de Sociología*. Mexico: FCE.

Tsing, A. (2005). *Friction: An ethnography of global connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

van der Ploeg, J. (2010). *Nuevos Campesinos. Campesinos e Imperios Alimentarios*. Barcelona: Icaria.

Vicetto, B. (1983 [1865]). El pensamiento de Galicia. In F. Fernández del Riego (Ed.), *Pensamiento Galeguista do Século XIX* (pp. 73–81). Vigo: Galaxia.

Vidich, A., & Bensman, J. (1958). *Small town in mass society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Voyé, L., & Rémy, J. (1994 [1992]). *A Cidade: Rumo a uma Nova Definição*. Oporto: Afrontamento.

Whyte, W. (1955 [1943]). *Street corner society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Wilson, G. (1942). *An essay on the economics of detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*. Livingstone: Rhodes Livingstone Institute.

Wirth, L. (1979 [1938]). O urbanismo como modo de vida. In O. Velho (Ed.), *O Fenômeno Urbano* (pp. 90–113). Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

Chapter 16
Concluding Remarks on Perceived and Lived Ruralities and the Future of Rural Europe

Luís Silva

The previous chapters dealt with the effects of urban perceptions of rural spaces and the consequent demands on rurality on the present and future configurations of rural territories in Europe in the early twenty-first century. The conference session from which most of these chapters evolved addressed some key questions. These were: How the rural is perceived nowadays? To what extent do these perceptions shape the reconfiguration or reinvention of rural areas? What type of disputes over rural areas do they facilitate? What happens to the lives and living spaces of rural dwellers? Answering these and some other relevant questions from different disciplinary perspectives (mainly anthropology, sociology and geography), the contributions gathered in this volume provide a diversity of empirical case studies as well as theoretical and methodological approaches which may soundly contribute to foster the debate and the understanding of the processes shaping rural areas and rurality, focusing in particular on the links between urban perceptions of rurality and the daily lives of rural dwellers.

The research carried out by the authors provides a strong empirical evidence of the persistence of the rural–urban divide in European and Western culture (cf. Tuan 1974; Williams 1973). There is, of course, no standard definition of the rural, largely due to its cultural specificities (e.g. Halfacree 1993, 1995; Pratt 1996; Mormont 1990; Woods 2005a: 3–4). However, it is, nowadays, widely accepted in the research literature that the rural is where urban societies project their counter-images. As van der Ploeg points out,

> Through images used to describe the countryside, urban culture provides information about itself. When the town are felt to be ugly places, the rural is "pastoralized", if not reified. And when the town is seen as a fountain of change, progress and dynamism, the countryside is depicted as a place of stagnation and the peasant or farmer as a laggard. (van der Ploeg 1997: 66; quotation marks in original)

L. Silva (✉)
Centre for Research in Anthropology (CRIA/Faculdade de Ciências
Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa), Lisbon, Portugal
e-mail: luis.silva98@gmail.com

In recent decades, the urbanisation of most European countries and societies (European Environmental Agency 2006: 5) and the concomitant acceleration, stressful and perceived superficiality of city life have been accompanied by an increasing symbolic significance of the countryside as a more natural, simple, slower, authentic and, thus, better state compared to the city (cf. Hall et al. 2003: 10).

The celebration of rural life in contrast to city life is not by any means a new phenomenon in European or Western culture (e.g. Bunce 1994, 2003; Marx 1964; Short 2006; Tuan 1974; Williams 1973), but the case now is very different, for two interlinked reasons. On the one hand, that celebration is no longer exclusive of the elites as in previous decades, but instead widely popular. In this regard, Woods reminds us of the '*popular discourses of rurality* that are disseminated through cultural media including art, literature, television and film', '[o]ne of the most important' of which 'is that of the rural idyll' (Woods 2005a: 13; emphasis in original) – which is itself a varying concept (cf. Bell 2006; Mingay 1989: 6). In Cloke's words,

> Rurality is idyllic, we are told. You can't get away from it. The long fingers of idyll reach into our everyday lives via the cultural paraphernalia of film, television, art, books, magazines, toys and traditional practices. (Cloke 2003: 1)

On the other hand (and as a result), it exerts significant impact on the lives of many urban and rural dwellers, influencing both thought and action (cf. Cloke 2003: 1; Halfacree 1995, 2006; Marx 1964), even though the 'manner in which images are translated into action is not straightforward' (Hoggart et al. 1995: 25). As Woods comments, '[w]hilst the "rural idyll" is a myth, it has been influential in encouraging people to visit the countryside as tourists, and to move there as in-migrants' (Woods 2005a: 13; quotation marks in original). This is particularly the case of numerous actual and former European city dwellers. For many (but not most) city dwellers, especially those who are part of the middle or upper classes, idyllic representations of rurality function as pull factors in the context of tourism, as some chapters in this book (Silva, Prista) illustrate (see also Blaine et al. 1993; Moinet 2000; Rogers 1989; Silva 2007a, 2009, 2010). For other (although far less) city dwellers, mainly the descendants of ex-rural dwellers, idyllic representations of rurality are part of the reasons for neo-rural in-migration processes or other residential trends, including second houses, as the case studies presented by Rivera and Hämeenaho show (see also Dubost 1998; Halfacree 1994; Lowe 1989; Urbain 2002; van Dam et al. 2002), although Halfacree in this book argues that neo-rural in-migration is linked to non- or more-than-representational aspects of the daily life.

Another example is the introduction of rural products in the dietary practices of many urbanites seeking for extraordinary and/or quality food experiences. This is especially evident in the urban foodscapes studied by Truninger (see also Bell 2006: 157–158, particularly his idea of 'gastro-idyll'; Bessière 1998; Sidali et al. 2011; Truninger 2010). Kennedy's analysis of mushrooming in Britain provides another good example of practice induced by representations, revealing also the gap between media narratives of rurality and engagement with nature and the locally constructed ones.

Often, and due to their idyllic nature, these dominant perceptions of the rural are not matched by the reality on the ground. In other words, there is a gap between perceived and lived ruralities. In this regard, while analysing the case of Britain, Williams (1973) notes that the idea of rural life as simple, natural and unadulterated associated with an image of the countryside as a Golden Age is 'a myth functioning as a memory' that pretends to overlook class conflict and enmity in existence in the British countryside since the sixteenth century. Likewise, in Europe, nowadays, the rural idyll conceals social and economic problems such as declining and ageing populations, socioeconomic fragility, poverty, lack of services and social infrastructures, crime and drug addiction, environmental pollution and the spreading of non-productive areas, as some chapters in this book illustrate. In this regard, Cloke notes that

> The idea of idyllic rurality, with its own country voice with which to lobby for distinct rural futures, has tended to render invisible the seamier side of rural life. For example, the cultural constructions of rurality which associate rural England with some form of arcadian and pastoral idyll have exerted a pervasive yet obfuscatory influence over the ability of decision makers, urban residents and rural residents to recognize the existence of poverty in the midst of that idyll. Similar socio-cultural barriers exist to the recognition of homelessness in rural areas. (Cloke 2003: 2–3)

Plus, as Ilbery points out, '[n]ot all people living in rural areas conform to the rural idyll of a white, heterosexual, middle-class male who is able and of sound mind' (Ilbery 1998: 4). However, the rural idyll exerts a considerable effect on the real lives of rural dwellers. The rural idyll 'not only hides social problems such as poverty and homelessness, but also establishes a political and cultural expectation of orthodoxy which actively seeks to purify rural space from transgressive presences and practices' (Cloke 2003: 3) and, thus, to shape its configurations.

Rural dwellers have often alternative perceptions of the rural and rurality, mainly associated with the understanding of the rural as a living space, as research presented in this book (Uusitalo and Assmuth, Dabezies and Ballesteros-Arias, Hämeenaho, Pereiro and Prado, Szabó, and Szőke) illustrates (see also Halfacree 1993, 2007; Woods 2011). But they experiment the impact of hegemonic urban perceptions and demands on rurality in a number of ways. In fact, in this volume, it is argued that not only the rural is closely linked to the contrasting idea of the city, but that also its images and actual and future configurations are being shaped by dominant narratives of rurality that are urban in their genesis, hegemonic in character and broadly idyllic in nature.

This is especially evident in many rural development policies and measures supported by European Union funding. The research presented by Szőke provides a striking example. Through a rural village included in a bottom-up development initiative for the most disadvantaged regions of Hungary, she shows how external understandings of 'disadvantage' shape significantly the present and future trajectories of rural areas, in a context marked by what she calls the 'projectification of development' that created a new elite social class – the 'project class' – comprising project-related development actors who do not live in the localities but play a critical role in rural development goals, practices and outcomes. The study by Szabó reiterates the situation.

Not only rural dwellers in Transylvania (Romania) have other perceptions of rurality, particularly as concerns the role of agriculture, but they also do not have the means ('knowledge and economic capital') to properly respond to the demands of hegemonic urban culture that are shaping rural economies and rural development policies, witnessing and suffering from the marginalisation of small-scale farming in domestic units in the context of what he calls 'inappropriate agrarian policies' at the national and European Union levels.

In distinct ways somehow, both contributions remind us of the limits to rural development discussed by Woods. With respect to the new paradigm of development shifting the responsibility for development from the state to local communities that emerged in the late twentieth century, the author argues that

> bottom-up, or endogenous, rural development is not a panacea for all rural ills. Not at rural localities are equally able to regenerate themselves through the enhancement of their endogenous resources, and not at rural localities are equally equipped to compete successfully for external funding and support. As such, 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. (Woods 2005a: 158)

Tourism occupies a prominent place in development or restructuring rural policies and efforts, either in the context of top-down or bottom-up initiatives. The role of tourism in driving changes in rural areas has been increasing in recent decades as many of them have undergone socioeconomic decline and restructuring. Especially since the late twentieth century, the support for rural tourism has become a widespread practice in both developed countries (e.g. Cavaco 1995a; OECD 1994; Sharpley 2002) and developing countries (e.g. Briedenhann and Wickens 2004; Hampton 2005; Sharpley 2009).

Underpinning this extensive support for tourism, much evident in European Union- and State-driven rural development policies and measures (designed by urbanites) (e.g. Jenkins et al. 1998; Silva 2007b, 2009, 2011), is the assumption that it provides a number of potential benefits to rural areas. According to Hall, Roberts and Mitchell, benefits can be summarised as follows: 'revitalising and reorganising local economies, and improving the quality of life'; 'supplementary income for farming, craft and service sectors'; 'opening up the possibility of new social contacts, especially in breaking down the isolation of remote areas and social groups'; 'providing opportunities to re-evaluate heritage and its symbols, "natural" resources of landscape and the accessibility of open space, and the identity of rural spaces'; 'assisting policies of environmental, economic and social sustainability'; 'and helping to realise the economic value of specific, quality-based production of foodstuffs, as well as of unused and abandoned buildings, unique scenery spaces and culture' (Hall et al. 2003: 6).

Nonetheless, it is, nowadays, widely recognised in the research literature that tourism is not a universal panacea to the challenges facing rural areas, that not all rural spaces are suitable for the development of tourism and, equally, that the development of tourism frequently fails to stimulate the anticipated social and economic development (e.g. Hall et al. 2003: 5; OECD 1994; Silva 2012). In fact, the contribution of rural tourism to socioeconomic development varies from case to case, and

some studies reveal that rural tourism provided social and economic benefits in some areas, contributing to income growth and to reduce rural out-migration (e.g. Cánoves et al. 2004; Fleischer and Pizam 1997), while other studies show depressing results (e.g. Cavaco 1995a; Smith 1989; Sparrer 2005).

Several authors (Cavaco 1995b; Gannon 1994; Lane 1994, 2009; OECD 1994; Sharpley and Sharpley 1997) have identified a number of factors that hamper the contribution of tourism to rural development: new firm creation and employment generation tend to be limited due to the small-scale of businesses and the dispersed nature of the industry, significant investment required to create a tourism business, low return on investment, limited number of entrepreneurs, little training in tourism and marketing strategies of entrepreneurs, increased intra-rural competition and not all rural spaces are equally attractive to rural tourists (cf. Iorio and Corsale 2010: 153–154). Moreover, as Butler and Clark point out,

> The least favoured circumstance in which to promote tourism is when the rural economy is already weak, since tourism will create highly unbalanced income and employment distributions. It is better as a supplement for a thriving and diverse economy than as the mainstay of rural development. (Butler and Clark 1992, quoted in Woods 2005a: 69)

As part of this wider process of global commoditisation of the rural and rurality, cultural representations of it have spread throughout rural Europe, making their presence in the city as well, as Fernandes's study shows. What is arguably not good for the out-of-ordinary required in modern tourism (Urry 2002; see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998) is that these cultural representations of the rural and rurality may generate similarity in terms of tourist experiences. Figueiredo provides a good illustration of this situation through the idea of 'McRuralisation' of the countryside, associated with a staging and globalisation of rurality not far from other kinds of staging situations in the leisure and tourism contexts (not only in rural areas), as suggested by recent experience marketing proposals (e.g. Stamboulis and Skayannis 2003).

As it has also become clear from the research presented in this volume, tourism may also become a 'bone a contention' for residents to the extent of causing social fractures. The situation is well demonstrated by the Finnish case study presented by Uusitalo and Assmuth, where the local population is divided between tourism supporters and opponents. This division is also present in the Island of Ons in Galicia (Spain), where space is an arena of social conflict between groups of people with competing interests over the same resource beyond residents pro-tourism or against tourism, as described by Dabezies and Ballesteros.

Moreover, as a result of practices of actual and ex-urban dwellers, as well as of rural development policies and measures shaped by dominant narratives of rurality, rural areas are increasingly a 'contact zone' (Clifford 1997), or a zone of cross-cultural contacts or encounters between people with different backgrounds (tourists and residents, city dwellers and rural dwellers, external experts and residents, 'natives' and recent newcomers), who hold diverging visions, interests and expectations over the same spaces, often leading to controversies about the rural territories, its resources and its futures (see also Cloke and Little 1997; Figueiredo 2004; Hall et al. 2003; Lowe 1989; Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Murdock et al. 2003; Newby 1988; Silva 2011; Woods 2005a: 211–220, 2005b).

It is impossible to foresee all the processes of reconfiguration taking place in the countryside, as they are diverse and complex, as the contributions in this volume show. But the future of rural Europe is a matter of great concern, for various reasons, but above all because the urban sprawl is expected to grow and the rural population to diminish, thereby accentuating our environmental problems and challenges. In this respect, the European Environment Agency estimates that 'by 2020, approximately 80 % of Europeans will be living in urban areas, while in seven countries the proportion will be 90 % or more', and this will adversely affect the quality of life for urbanites (European Environmental Agency 2006: 5). Thus, we are looking forward to the multiple futures of the diverse countryside in Europe, and, much like Rogers (1989: 119), we strongly believe that the rural idyll will survive, although much probably in different forms, as 'the property of the masses'.

References

Bell, D. (2006). Variations on the rural idyll. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 149–160). London: Sage.

Bessière, J. (1998). Local development and heritage: Traditional food and cuisine as tourist attractions in rural areas. *Sociologia Ruralis, 38*(1), 21–34.

Blaine, T., Mohammad, G., & Var, T. (1993). Demand for rural tourism: An exploratory study. *Annals of Tourism Research, 20*(4), 770–773.

Briedenhann, J., & Wickens, E. (2004). Tourism routes as a tool for the economic development of rural areas – Vibrant hope or impossible dream? *Tourism Management, 25*(1), 71–79.

Bunce, M. (1994). *The countryside ideal*. London: Routledge.

Bunce, M. (2003). Reproducing rural idylls. In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 14–30). Harlow: Pearson.

Cánoves, G., Villarino, M., Priestley, G., & Blanco, A. (2004). Rural tourism in Spain: An analysis of recent evolution. *Geoforum, 35*(6), 755–769.

Cavaco, C. (1995a). Tourism in Portugal: Diversity, diffusion, and regional and local development. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 86*(1), 64–71.

Cavaco, C. (1995b). Rural tourism: The creation of new tourist spaces. In A. Montanari & A. Williams (Eds.), *European tourism: Regions, spaces and restructuring* (pp. 127–149). Chichester/New York: Wiley.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes. Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cloke, P. (2003). Knowing ruralities? In P. Cloke (Ed.), *Country visions* (pp. 1–13). Essex: Pearson.

Cloke, P., & Little, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Contested countryside cultures: Otherness, marginalisation and rurality*. London: Routledge.

Dubost, F. (org.). (1998). *L'autre maison: La 'résidence secundaire', refuge de générations*. Paris: Autrement.

EEA. (2006). *Urban sprawl in Europe. The ignored challenge*. Copenhagen: European Environment Agency.

Figueiredo, E. (2004). Struggling for rural environment: Conflicts between desires and needs in Portuguese rural areas. In A. Cristóvão (Ed.), *Farming in rural systems research and extension – European farming and society in search for a new social contract – Learning to manage change, pre-proceedings of the 6th IFSA symposium* (pp. 311–324). Vila Real: University of Trás-os-Montes and AltoDouro.

Fleischer, A., & Pizam, A. (1997). Rural tourism in Israel. *Tourism Management, 18*(6), 367–372.

Gannon, A. (1994). Rural tourism as a factor in rural community economic development for economies in transition. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 2*(1), 51–60.

Halfacree, K. (1993). Locality and social representation: Space, discourse and alternative definitions of the rural. *Journal of Rural Studies, 9*(1), 23–37.

Halfacree, K. (1994). The importance of 'the rural' in the constitution of counterurbanization: Evidence from England in the 1980s. *Sociologia Ruralis, 34*(2–3), 164–189.

Halfacree, K. (1995). Talking about rurality: Social representations of the rural as expressed by residents of six English parishes. *Journal of Rural Studies, 11*(1), 1–20.

Halfacree, K. (2006). Out of place in the country: Travellers and the 'rural idyll'. *Antipode, 28*, 42–71.

Halfacree, K. (2007). Trial by space for a 'radical rural': Introducing alternative localities, representations and lives. *Journal of Rural Studies, 23*, 125–141.

Hall, D., Roberts, L., & Mitchell, M. (2003). Tourism and the countryside: Dynamic relationships. In D. Hall, L. Roberts, & M. Mitchell (Eds.), *New directions in rural tourism* (pp. 3–15). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hampton, M. (2005). Heritage, local communities and economic development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(3), 735–759.

Hoggart, K., Buller, H., & Black, R. (1995). *Rural Europe: Identity and change*. London: Arnold.

Ilbery, B. (1998). Dimensions of rural change. In B. Ilbery (Ed.), *The geography of rural change* (pp. 1–10). Harlow: Longman.

Iorio, M., & Corsale, A. (2010). Rural tourism and livelihood strategies in Romania. *Journal of Rural Studies, 26*(2), 152–162.

Jenkins, J., Hall, C., & Troughton, M. (1998). The restructuring of rural economies: Rural tourism and recreation as a government response. In R. Butler, M. Hall, & J. Jenkins (Eds.), *Tourism and recreation in rural areas* (pp. 43–65). Chichester/New York: Willey.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture: Tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

Lane, B. (1994). Sustainable rural tourism strategies: A tool for development and conservation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 2*(1), 102–111.

Lane, B. (2009). Rural tourism: An overview. In T. Jamal & M. Robinson (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of tourism studies* (pp. 354–371). London: Sage Publications.

Lowe, P. (1989). The rural idyll defended. In G. E. Mingay (Ed.), *The rural idyll* (pp. 113–131). London: Routledge.

Macnaghten, P., & Urry, J. (1998). *Contested natures*. London: Sage Publications.

Marx, L. (1964). *The machine in the garden: Technology and the pastoral ideal in the America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mingay, G. E. (1989). Introduction. In G. E. Mingay (Ed.), *The rural idyll* (pp. 1–6). London: Routledge.

Moinet, F. (2000). *Le tourisme rural: Comment créer et gérer* (3rd ed.). Paris: France Agricole.

Mormont, M. (1990). Who is rural? Or, how to be rural: Towards a sociology of the rural. In T. Marsden, P. Lowe, & S. Whatmore (Eds.), *Rural restructuring – Global processes and their responses* (pp. 21–44). London: David Fulton.

Murdock, J., Lowe, P., Ward, N., & Marsden, T. (2003). *The differentiated countryside*. London: Routledge.

Newby, H. (1988). *The countryside in question*. London: Hutchinson & Co.

OECD. (1994). *Tourism strategies and rural development*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Pratt, A. (1996). Discourses of rurality: Loose talk or social struggle? *Journal of Rural Studies, 12*(1), 69–78.

Rogers, A. (1989). People in the countryside. In G. E. Mingay (Ed.), *The rural idyll* (pp. 103–112). London: Routledge.

Sharpley, R. (2002). Rural tourism and the challenge of tourism diversification – The case of Cyprus. *Tourism Management, 23*(3), 233–244.

Sharpley, R. (2009). Tourism and development challenges in the least developed countries: The case of The Gambia. *Current Issues in Tourism, 12*(4), 337–358.

Sharpley, R., & Sharpley, J. (1997). *Rural tourism: An introduction*. Oxford: International Thomson Business Press.

Short, B. (2006). Idyllic ruralities. In P. Cloke, T. Marsden, & P. Mooney (Eds.), *Handbook of rural studies* (pp. 133–148). London: Sage.

Sidali, K., Spiller, A., & Schulze, B. (Eds.). (2011). *Food, agri-culture and tourism. Linking local gastronomy and rural tourism: Interdisciplinary perspectives*. Heidelberg: Springer.

Silva, L. (2007a). A procura do Turismo em Espaço Rural. *Etnográfica, 11*(1), 141–163.

Silva, L. (2007b). Sortelha e Monsaraz: estudo de caso de dois lugares turísticos no interior de Portugal. *Análise Social, 42*(184), 853–874.

Silva, L. (2009). *Casas no Campo. Etnografia do Turismo Rural em Portugal*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Silva, L. (2010). Perspectiva antropológica do turismo de habitação em Portugal. Pasos. *Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural, 8*(1), 31–46. [Online] http://www.pasosonline.org/Publicados/8110/PS0110_3.pdf. Accessed 29 Oct 2012.

Silva, L. (2011). Beneath the surface of the heritage enterprise. Governmentality and cultural representation of rural architecture in Portugal. *Ethnologia Europaea. Journal of European Ethnology, 41*(2), 39–53.

Silva, L. (2012). Built heritage-making and socioeconomic renewal in declining rural areas: Evidence from Portugal. *Etnográfica, 16*(3), 487–510.

Smith, M. (1989). *Behind the glitter: The impact of tourism on rural women in the southeast*. Lexington: Southeast Women's Employment Coalition.

Sparrer, M. (2005). *Turismo no Espazo Rural e Desenvolvemento. Estudo Comparativo da Província da Caruña e o Landkreis Wittmundbrr*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia.

Stamboulis, Y., & Skayannis, P. (2003). Innovation strategies and technology for experience-based tourism. *Tourism Management, 24*(1), 35–43.

Truninger, M. (2010). *O Campo Vem à Cidade: Agricultura Biológica, Mercado e Consumo Sustentável*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Urbain, J.-D. (2002). *Paradis verts. Désirs de campagne et passions résidentielles*. Paris: Payot.

Urry, J. (2002). *The tourist gaze* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

van Dam, F., Heins, S., & Elbersen, B. (2002). Lay discourses of the rural and stated and revealed preferences for rural living. Some evidence of the existence of a rural idyll in the Netherlands. *Journal of Rural Studies, 18*(4), 461–476.

van der Ploeg, J. (1997). On rurality, rural development and rural sociology. In H. de Haan & N. Long (Eds.), *Images and realities of rural life. Wageningen perspectives on rural transformations* (pp. 39–76). Assen: Van Gorcum.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. London: The Hogarth Press.

Woods, M. (2005a). *Rural geography: Processes, responses and experiences in rural restructuring*. London: Sage Publications.

Woods, R. (2005b). *Contesting rurality: Politics in the British countryside*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Woods, M. (2011). *Rural* (Key ideas in geography). Oxon/New York: Routledge.

Index