

27th Colloquium of the IGU Commission on the Sustainability of Rural Systems

> St. Paul, Minnesota, USA Eau Claire, Wisconsin, USA 21 - 26 July, 2019

Macalester College University of Wisconsin - Eau Claire

Sustaining Rural Systems: Rural Vitality in an Era of Globalization and Economic Nationalism

Program









Sustaining Rural Systems: Rural Vitality in an Era of Globalization and Economic Nationalism

27th Colloquium of the IGU Commission on the Sustainability of Rural Systems

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Co-Chair: Professor Holly R. Barcus, Macalester College
Co-Chair: Professor Paul Kaldjian, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire (UWEC)
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Acknowledgements

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Macalester College Geography Department

University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Department of Geography and Anthropology

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2019 IGU-CSRS Organizing Committee Members

IGU-CSRS Steering Committee Members

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Featured Speakers



Professor Emeritus David A. LANEGRAN, Macalester College Agricultural and Demographic Change in Minnesota

David Lanegran is a professor emeritus in the Geography Department. He continues to love teaching geography, exploring the cities of the world and rural Minnesota. He has a special interest in historic maps of Minnesota and the use of historic maps as primary documents in social studies education.

Since retiring from full-time teaching in 2015, he has continued to teach a section of Human Geography for the Department each year and coordinates the Minnesota Alliance for Geographic Education, a group of educators who advocate for geographic literacy. In addition, he is currently working with a team based at the University of Minnesota, studying geography of modern commercial agriculture.



Associate Professor Laura SMITH, Macalester College Native American Lands and Land Tenure in the American Midwest: History and Contemporary Issues

Laura Smith teaches courses in urban economic geography, U.S. and Canada, and statistical research methods. She also teaches an urban GIS seminar, a class that connects with a community-based project. Her recent research projects focus on mortgage foreclosure patterns in the Twin Cities, transportation and development, and issues of American Indian land ownership.

Laura Smith is a recipient of the Association of American Geographers' (AAG) Enhancing Diversity Award for pioneering efforts toward encouraging a more diverse discipline over the past decade by working to expand the presence and participation of indigenous peoples in the AAG, and geography more broadly, through sustained partnerships and visionary leadership in the association, academia, and beyond.



Associate Professor Ezra ZEITLER, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

Cheesemakers, Hodags, and Indians: Rural Identities, Local Distinctiveness, and Controversy in the Use of Secondary School Team Names

Rural areas are central to my identity. I was raised on a dairy farm in northeastern Wisconsin, graduated from a small public high school in rural and tourism-dependent northern Wisconsin, and attended graduate school in Nebraska. I'm an Associate Professor of Geography in the Department of Geography and Anthropology and an Affiliate of the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. I instruct a number of human, regional, topical, and techniques courses, including Native Geographies, Geography of North America, Tourism Geographies, and Cartographic Design. I am honored to have received a Distinguished Teaching Award in Higher Education from the National Council for Geographic Education in 2017.

My current research examines historical and contemporary aspects of place promotion and attachment in rural areas of the United States, including ways in which they maintain economic and social inequalities, and seeks best practices for addressing and mitigating those inequalities. One project, being conducted with my UWEC colleague Dr. Ryan Weichelt, utilizes GIS landownership data in Wisconsin's Northwoods region to locate concentrations of remotely-owned second home properties, assess the degree of place attachment towards the region by seasonal visitors, and investigate the economic benefits of non-resident property taxes for local educational institutions. Another project, which is the focus of my featured presentation, explores the impact that secondary school sports team names – some captivating, some controversial – can have on local identity and distinctiveness in rural regions of the United States.

Conference Themes

The key organizing theme for the 27th Annual Colloquium of the Commission on the Sustainability of Rural Systems (CSRS) is "Sustaining Rural Systems: Rural Vitality in an Era of Globalization and Economic Nationalism." The Midwestern region of the United States will be the "living laboratory" in which Colloquium participants will explore the increasingly diverse economic and social trajectories of rural communities. Research papers addressing the Colloquium theme and sub-themes (detailed below), from any rural area in any part of the world, are welcome and offer space for dialog about sustainability as it applies to local areas that may be vastly different from one another.

The terms "globalization" and "economic nationalism" often stand in contrast to each other. For example, Cawley notes that "Globalization is a defining feature of recent decades. Places at great distances from each other throughout the world are linked together through flows of ideas, people, goods and investment, facilitated by advances in information and communication technologies (ICTs) and in transport..." (Cawley 2013 p. 1). In this framing, the global flow of goods, services and peoples extends beyond national boundaries. However, as a counterpoint to globalization, economic nationalism suggests the privileging of one's own national economy over that of other countries or regions. As noted by Baughn and Yaprak, "The readiness to support nationalist economic policy is a function of the perceived economic threat posed by foreign competition. Economic nationalism is linked with personal job insecurity, authoritarianism, and intolerance of ambiguity. Economic nationalism is also found to be negatively related to individual cosmopolitanism" (1996, p. 759). While narratives of globalization have highlighted the danger of homogenization of cultures and places for several decades, recent discussions of and trends towards economic nationalism have spawned increasing debate over the complexities of local, regional, and global economies. Despite trends towards globalization and counter arguments for economic nationalism, however, local places remain important.

This Colloquium and Field Study is organized around four key sub-themes highlighting the importance of "local" while interrogating the relationships between local social and economic vitality and national and global trends. The first sub-theme of the Colloquium is titled "Rural Innovations: Entrepreneurship and Rural-Urban Partnerships." This sub-theme highlights conventional and perceptual barriers between rural and urban regions and examines activities and opportunities for building healthy and sustainable regional networks, including innovative and collaborative activities (economic, social, administrative, etc.) which demonstrate the opportunities gained from regional collaborations. These collaborations combine the complementing strengths and resources of rural and urban areas. The hope is that, by not only validating, but valorizing, the role of rural regions, there will be greater acknowledgement of rural regions as mutually benefiting partners in a system, and not losers in a zero-sum equation of human and economic resource distribution. This sub-theme also attempts to provide insights into the experiences of local school administrators, government officials, and local businesses with the perspectives and support of academics. The emphasis is on linking local knowledge with global knowledge (Sanders 1994), recognizing opportunities, empowering people, and building regional networks. This sub-theme is infused throughout the Field Study, through organized discussions and panel sessions with local civic and business leaders at many of the Field Study sites, discussed in more detail in the other sub-themes.

The second sub-theme, "Recognizing Rural Demographic Diversity," highlights the rapidly changing demographic landscape of rural regions. Academic papers within this sub-theme will focus on questions of changing ethnic, racial, age, and indigenous profiles for rural communities in the Midwest region and case studies from around the world. Some rural areas, particularly those with natural amenities, struggle to manage the social and economic disparity created by second home ownership, tourism economies and seasonal work (Amit-Cohen 2013, Stedman 2006, Jones and Selwood 2013). In other places, long-term economic decline and out-migration creates challenges for rapidly aging populations and their increased need for healthcare options, rural poverty alleviation, and provision of services, such as schools, and employment opportunities for youth and young adults (Long et al. 2013, Woods 2005). Further challenges arise when new industries relocate to rural places and bring with them new ethnically and socially diverse populations (Maher 2013, Barcus and Simmons 2013), creating demands for rural communities to provide education, housing, and healthcare for new populations. While these challenges are exemplified in many rural regions of the U.S., including the Field Study area of the Midwest, they also manifest in communities across the globe. The Field Study incorporates several opportunities to meet with new populations to discuss the changing the social and economic fabric of rural places. For example, participants will visit the Fond du Lac Cultural Center and the Hmong American Farmers Association.

The third and fourth sub-themes are titled "Land Use Transitions" and "Agricultural Transitions," respectively. The restructuring of rural economies and "trends within global economic restructuring such as the liberalization of global trade and the increasingly 'foot-loose' nature of economic enterprises as dependence on particular resources in particular places has been diminished by technological advances; as well as more locally contingent factors such as improved infrastructure in rural areas, and higher levels of educational attainment in the rural population" (Woods 2005, p. 63). One of the primary processes of restructuring has been the shift from production-oriented rural economies to consumption-oriented rural economies (Woods 2005, p. 173). Post-productive rural landscapes herald less favorable economic prospects for production-based, or "traditional," rural economies such as mining, forestry, fishing, and agriculture. Post-productive, consumption-based rural economies are often based on tourism or other service-oriented development, such as telephone call centers (Woods 2005, p. 63). New economies and land uses are cause for a range of conflict between different user groups. For example, conflict over rangelands in the western U.S. between traditional ranchers and new residents has resulted in a range of new policy implications for these areas (see for example Loffler and Steinicke 2006). Globally, questions of tourism development and who benefits (and loses) from such development have also garnered attention (see for example Chio 2014). Concerns over the conservation and preservation of natural areas, particularly in areas where such preservation might be perceived to impede other types of economic development, can lead to highly charged social environments. One such example is the recent controversy over copper-nickel sulfide mining in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area (Forgrave 2017). The traditional economies of northern Minnesota, including mining and logging, stand in contrast to a view of nature as needing protection from development. Similar conflicts over preferred land uses arise between tourists or short-term, summer residents and long-term full-time residents, with summer residents often favoring recreation amenities and conservation of wild areas, while full-time residents may favor resource development with greater economic opportunities, such as logging. Participants will have the opportunity to discuss these tensions with local leaders and residents at several of the Field Study sites.

Embedded within these overarching debates about land use changes in rural places are specific changes in the food production systems. Globally, agricultural production ranges from mega farms and international agribusiness to individual subsistence farming practices. How these systems are both competitive and interlinked is subject of much academic and public debate (Robinson 2013). Key agricultural debates surround the sustainability of large-scale agriculture and its impact on natural systems, while small-scale agriculture, sometimes viewed as more environmentally and socially sustainable, is challenged for its economic viability in the largely corporatized agribusiness.

Participants in the Colloquium will have the opportunity to learn more about different forms of agriculture in this region of the U.S. as well as the rural-urban linkages inherent in this rapidly diversifying economy. For example, participants will tour the Four Cubs Dairy Farm in Grantsburg, Wisconsin, the largest roboticized dairy farm in Wisconsin and fifth largest in the U.S., as well as the Eau Claire Farmers Market, which hosts local food producers in downtown Eau Claire. The Burnett Dairy Cooperative, in Grantsburg, Wisconsin, is an example of a local agricultural enterprise linking the smaller regional dairies with a regional distribution network. Time spent on a Duluth Harbor overview tour provides an example of the global shipping fleet that connects rural mining and farming operations in the upper Midwest to global markets. The Colloquium will conclude at the Common Harvest Farm, in Osceola, Wisconsin, as an example of farm-to-table agriculture. All of these sites provide opportunities to engage with local experts and industries, both small and large-scale, which comprise the rural economies of the upper Midwest region.

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Program at a Glance

Sunday, 21 July	Registration Opening Session and Dinner	5:30 pm - 6:00 pm 6:00 pm - 8:00 pm
Monday, 22 July	Registration Welcome and Featured Speaker - David A. Lanegran Morning Paper Sessions Lunch and Featured Speaker - Laura Smith Afternoon Paper Sessions Break with Light Refreshments Regional Paper Session and Field Study Overview	10:00 am - 11:40 am 12:00 pm - 1:40 pm 2:00 pm - 3:40 pm 3:40 pm - 4:00 pm
Tuesday, 23 July	Field Study: The Urban Fringe-Rural Transition Zone Reception and Featured Speaker - Ezra Zeitler	•
Wednesday, 24 July	Field Study: Western Wisconsin	All Day
Thursday, 25 July	Field Study: The Cutover Region IGU-CSRS Steering Committee Meeting	•
Friday, 26 July	Field Study: Between Duluth and the Twin Cities	All Day

Sunday, 21 July

Registration 5:30 pm - 6:00 pm

Briggs House (Alumni House), 1644 Summit Avenue

Opening Session and Dinner 6:00 pm - 8:00 pm

Briggs House (Alumni House)

Monday, 22 July

Registration 8:00 am - 8:30 am Campus Center, 2nd Floor

Welcome and Featured Speaker 8:30 am - 9:40 am

John B. Davis Lecture Hall, Campus Center, Lower Level



Professor Emeritus David A. LANEGRAN, Macalester College Agricultural and Demographic Change in Minnesota

The expanding Euro-American urban and agricultural system reached the northern regions of the Mississippi River Valley and adjacent watersheds in the first half of the nineteenth century and gradually replaced the fur trade focused on Montreal and the northern boreal forest. Unlike the fur trade developed by the French, the American urban/agricultural system required a transfer of landownership from the indigenous population. The expanding Americans displaced the indigenous people and established an economic and social system based on resource exploitation and agriculture that eventually produced a dynamic settlement system of urban nodes supported by a commercial agricultural landscape. The glaciated geomorphology and humid continental climate, which ranges from warm summers in the south to cool summers in the north, presented a range of environments that were developed by the agriculturalists. The initial settlers plowed

up both the tall grass prairie of southern Minnesota and the short grass prairie of the Red River Valley of the north and exposed some the world's most fertile soils. The forest and marsh region of the northeast was lumbered and then opened for agricultural settlement. However, the few farmers that settled in this region did not flourish. The demand for food and materials created by the American Civil War facilitated a rapid transfer from frontier subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture and soon a strong regional pattern emerged. Mixed crop and livestock based on corn dominates the southern more fertile and humid region while extensive small grain farms dominate the dryer, more northern sections. Dairying, a derivative of mixed crop and livestock farming, developed on the northern edge of the Corn Belt. An urban hierarchy developed to process and market the agricultural output as well as provide social services for the rural population. Based upon a highly profitable grain milling and food processing industry, the Twin Cities emerged as the primate city in the region. Today, the state is a major exporter of agricultural commodities, especially corn and soybeans. Farmers responded to the commercialization of agriculture by forming cooperatives to both process, market their products, and provide needed inputs. Population peaked in rural Minnesota in the 1930s. Rapid mechanization of agriculture and farm consolidation resulted in large rural to urban migration during the last half of the twentieth century. Consequently, the urban system experienced consolidation and specialization. The cash grain regions experienced the great population decline and have limited growth potential. An analysis of change in the urban system reveals a pattern of farm trade centers, agricultural based industrial centers, as well as resort and retirement communities. Farm trade centers in the Corn Belt counties are stable or declining while towns more directly connected to the expanding Twin Cities are growing. Refugees and immigrants from Mexico, Southeast Asia, and East Africa provide a much needed labor force in rural Minnesota. National trade and immigration policies have a major impact on the rural economy of Minnesota.

Morning Session 10:00 am - 11:40 am

Agricultural Transitions 1

Room 215

Session Chair: Ana Firmino, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

	Session Chair: Ana Firmino, Universidade Nova de Lisboa
10:00 am	Ana Maria de Souza Mello BICALHO, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Urban Agriculture, Challenges for Food Security and Social Dignity for the Urban Poo of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
10:20 am	Michael WOODS, Aberystwyth University Agribusiness Towns, Globalization and Negotiating Possible Futures in Rural Australia and Brazil
10:40 am	William G. MOSELEY, Macalester College Boserupian Intensification under Geopolitical Isolation: A Political Ecology of Crop-Livestock Integration in Burundi
11:00 am	José Domingo SÁNCHEZ-MARTÍNEZ & Antonio GARRIDO-ALMONACID, University of Jaén Permanence and Versatility of the Olive Grove as Agrarian Land Use in the Guadalquivir River Basin
11:20 am	Cornelia STEINHÄUSER, University of Muenster Resilience Strategies of Young Farmers
	Recognizing Rural Demographic Diversity 1 Room 206 Session Chair: Doo-Chul Kim, Okayama University
10:00 am	Karolina DMOCHOWSKA-DUDEK, Marcin WÓJCIK, Paulina TOBIAZ-LIS, & Pamela JEZIORSKA-BIEL, University of Łódź Socio-Spatial Changes in Rural Areas of Poland: Lessons from Villages of the Krobia Commune
10:20 am	Aleksandar LUKIĆ, Petra RADELJAK KAUFMANN, & Šimun NEJAŠVIĆ, University of Zagreb Comparing Generational Views on the Future of Rural Karst Periphery in Croatia
10:40 am	Keith HALFACREE, Swansea University The Place of the Rural in an Era of Mobilities: Global Asset to Local Mooring
11:00 am	Scott William HOEFLE, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro Between Objectivity and Subjectivity in Rural Research: Bourdieu, Longitudinal Ethnography and Participant Objectivation
11:20 am	Gabriel SCHWARTZMAN, University of Minnesota Understanding Appalachia's Economic Transition: Community Development, Populist Nationalism and the Long Decline of Coal

Rural Innovations: Entrepreneurship and Rural-Urban Partnerships 1

Room 214

Session Chair: Serge Schmitz, University of Liège

	Session Chair. Serge Seminiz, Oniversity of Liege
10:00 am	Paul B. FREDERIC, University of Maine An International Line through the Woods: Electrical Energy Transmission Conflict in Rural Maine, U.S.
10:20 am	Daichi KOHMOTO, Nara University of Education
	Sustaining Rural Educational Systems in Japan: Problems and Possibilities for the Sustainable Future
10:40 am	Yuheng LI, Jiayu YAN, & Chuanyao SONG, Chinese Academy of Sciences Community Factory in Rural China: An Innovative Path to Rural Revitalization and Sustainability
11:00 am	Rubén C. LOIS-GONZÁLEZ & Lucrezia LOPEZ, University of Santiago de Compostela
	Rural Vitality Through Visuality: Filming on the Way of St. James

Tony SORENSEN, University of New England

Agile Ruralities: Let's Leave the Past Behind and Invent the Future

Lunch and Featured Speaker 12:00 pm - 1:40 pm

Weyerhaeuser Boardroom



11:20 am

Associate Professor Laura SMITH, Macalester College Native American Lands and Land Tenure in the American Midwest: History and Contemporary Issues

This presentation contributes to the Colloquium theme of "Recognizing Rural Demographic Diversity" by introducing participants to historical and contemporary issues of Native American lands and land tenure in our field study region of the American Midwest.

The Native American population in the U.S. suffers from a range of social and economic disparities, even as compared to other rural populations. The ownership and control of land has been a major factor in conflicts between Native Americans and the dominant white population for over two centuries and has contributed significantly to these contemporary inequities.

Across the Midwest, most Indian reservations and tribal lands are resource poor and located far from urban areas and population centers. Tribal control of land within reservations is further complicated by historical policies promoting the assimilation of the Native population, such as the Dawes Act of 1887. Overall, federal policy has greatly affected regional geographic patterns of the Native American population and limited their development opportunities within the U.S.

However, the unique political status of Native American tribes also poses opportunities for regional economic development; Native trust lands are not subject to local government regulation. Thus, the rise of tribal casinos in recent decades has enabled some tribes to support expanded social services and infrastructure development, to reacquire reservation lands that have fallen out of tribal ownership, or even to expand tribal land ownership and development beyond reservation boundaries. In many cases of tribal land acquisition and development, perceptions of unequal opportunity strain the relationships between tribal and non-Indian communities, as will be illustrated by the case of the Shakopee Mdewakanton Dakota Community in the Minnesota River Valley.

Afternoon Session 2:00 pm - 3:40 pm

Agricultural Transitions 2

Room 215 Session Chair: William Moseley, Macalester

2:00 pm	Ana FIRMINO & Francesca POGGI, Universidade Nova de Lisboa Carob – Much More Than Just Chocolate?
2:20 pm	Suk-kyeong KANG, Niğde Ömer Halisdemir University Life Quality of Seasonal Agricultural Migrant Women in Turkey
2:40 pm	Doo-Chul KIM, Okayama University & Duong Thi TUYEN, Hue University of Economics
	Does Agriculture Products Certification System Reorganize Vegetable Farmers? A case of VietGAP in Lam Dong Province, Vietnam
3:00 pm	Li MA & Hualou LONG, Chinese Academy of Sciences
1	Coupling Analysis of Labor Changes and Economic Development in Chinese Agriculture
3:20 pm	Felipe da Silva MACHADO, University of Plymouth
0.20 pm	More Than Just Fruit: A Relational Rural Geography for Understanding Quality Turn and Farming Knowledge in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
	Land Use Transitions
	Room 206
	Session Chair: Valerià Paül, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
2:00 pm	Lisa M. Butler HARRINGTON, Kansas State University & John HARRINGTON, Jr, Independent Scholar Backwater: Conditions and Stresses in a Traditional Rural U.S. West Coast Area
2:20 pm	Jeffrey WIDENER, University of Oklahoma Agritourism as Land Saving Action in the New West
2:40 pm	Roy JONES, Curtin University & Alexandre M. A. DINIZ, Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais A Sustainability Perspective on Twentieth Century Land Settlement Schemes
3:00 pm	Joan TORT-DONADA & Jordi FUMADÓ-LLAMBRICH, Universitat de Barcelona
	A Strategic Model for Sustainable Agriculture in the Mediterranean Countries? The <i>Hortec</i> Cooperative, in Catalonia, as a Case Study
3:20 pm	Giacomo ZANOLIN, Università degli Studi di Milano & Valerià PAÜL, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela Disputing the Notion of Wilderness in the European Context: Environmental Protection, Tourism Development, and the Omission of Locals in Val Grande (Piedmont, Italy) and O Invernadeiro (Galicia, Spain)

Rural Innovations: Entrepreneurship and Rural-Urban Partnerships 2

Room 214

2:00 pm	Salah EISA, Menofia University Potentialities and Challenges of Rural Tourism in Egypt in Globalization and Economic Nationalism Era		
2:20 pm	Rubén C. LOIS-GONZÁLEZ & Miguel PAZOS-OTÓN, University of Santiago de		
	Compostela		
	Building Synergies Between Rural and Urban Areas: New Transport Services in Galicia		
	(Spain)		
2:40 pm	Helena PINA, University of Porto, Carlos GONÇALVES, Sysadvance, & Pedro TEIXEIRA, Da_Vide, Sanfins do Douro		
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	Innovation in the Douro Demarcated Region: Two Best Practice Approaches		
3:00 pm	Serge SCHMITZ, University of Liege		
r	The Evolution of the Sense of Heritage in the Walloon Countryside (Belgium)		
3:20 pm	Sang-Yool LEE, Daegu Catholic University		
•	The Pursuit of Energy Policy and Resistance in the Local Area		
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Break with Light Refreshments 3:40 pm - 4:00 pm Weyerhaeuser Boardroom

Regional Session & Field Study Overview 4:00 pm - 5:40 pm Weyerhaeuser Boardroom

4:00 pm	Holly R. BARCUS & David A. LANEGRAN, Macalester College Ethnic Restructuring, Land Use Change and New Farmers: The Case of Dakota County, Minnesota	
4:20 pm	Ezra ZEITLER & Ryan WEICHELT, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire Economic Sustainability in Wisconsin's Pleasure Periphery: A Case Study of Second Home Ownership in Grantsburg and Hayward	
4:40 pm	Ronald F. ABLER, The Pennsylvania State University Life in the Cutover, 1890-2020	
5:00 pm	Field Study Overview	
5:20 pm	Preview of 2020 Colloquium	

Tuesday, 23 July

Depart for Field Study 7:45 am

Board bus in front of Carnegie Hall, 90 Macalester Street

Main Street Project/Regeneration Farms St. Olaf College Hmong American Farmers Association (HAFA) Farms

Eau Claire Reception and Featured Speaker 6:30 pm - 8:00 pm

The Local Store



Associate Professor Ezra ZEITLER, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

Cheesemakers, Hodags, and Indians: Rural Identities, Local Distinctiveness, and Controversy in the Use of Secondary School Team Names

Associating a nickname and mascot with an athletic team, such as the Minnesota Vikings and Green Bay Packers of the National Football League, is a distinct tradition in the U.S. These are used at all levels of amateur and professional sport. Their use in private and public secondary schools plays a central role in galvanizing communities through a collective sense of pride and place attachment. This presentation discusses the various types of team names and mascots used in secondary schools, with an emphasis on geographically distinctive names such as Cheesemakers,

controversial names, including Indians and Rebels, and how imagery associated with these team names is displayed in schools. To identify the number and geographic patterns associated with these monikers, team names were collected and analyzed from the Clell Wade Coaches Directory, a compilation of general school information for every secondary school in the country. A fieldwork component documented the cultural landscapes of many communities and the manner in which team name and mascot imagery was displayed on school grounds.

Three major themes that emerged from an analysis of the nearly 21,000 team names in the directory were 1.) a tendency to adhere to a short, conventional, and commonly used list of team names such as Eagles, Tigers, Panthers, and Bulldogs; 2.) aggressive fauna, from Alligators to Yellowjackets, and humans associated with war and lawlessness, including Knights, Pirates, Indians, and Rebels are common; and 3.) a limited but noteworthy collection of team names that highlight local distinctiveness and the desire of a school to be recognized for an aspect of local physical or cultural geography. These team names, such as the mythical Hodags of Rhinelander, Wisconsin, evoke a strong sense of place and pride among community members and can become synonymous with the community by outsiders. Local pride elsewhere is reflected in the use of demonyms, biogeography, and natural phenomena, including the Zee-Bees of Zion-Benton Township, Illinois, the Key West, Florida Conchs, and Sishmaref, Alaska Northern Lights, respectively.

As trivial as these team names may sound, they have become iconic in the communities that they represent and can be difficult to alter if contested. The presentation will conclude with a case study of place identity and the use of Indigenous team names in western Wisconsin secondary schools.

Wednesday, 24 July

Field Study: Western Wisconsin

Eau Claire Farmers Market
Durand Smokehouse
Lock and Dam No. 4
Danzinger Vineyards
Suncrest Gardens
Great River Organic Milling
Cowsmo Compost/Rosenholm Farm

Thursday, 25 July

Field Study: The Cutover Region: The Agricultural-Forest Frontier

Chickadee Hills Homestead Farm
Pine Brook Farm
Duluth Harbor and Boat Tour

IGU-CSRS Steering Committee Meeting

Friday, 26 July

Field Study: Between Duluth and the Twin Cities

Fond du Lac Cultural Center and Museum
Brickfield Brewing
Four Cubs Farm
Common Harvest Farm
Buffalo Viewing

Abstracts

Ronald F. ABLER, The Pennsylvania State University Life in the Cutover, 1890-2020

My presentation will provide an overview of the economic, technological, and social changes that occurred in largely rural Forest County in northeastern Wisconsin over 130 years. By interweaving the experiences of members of my extended family I will raise critical questions regarding conceptions of rurality and sustainability in such locales. Although distinct, Forest County is representative of places in the northern tier of Wisconsin counties and similar areas of Michigan and Minnesota. Forest County is of special interest because of the recent prosperity of its formerly poverty-stricken American Indian residents.

Forest County's population has remained stable at about 10,000 residents since 1920, suggesting sustainability. But population stability has been achieved by continued out-migration of most residents immediately after finishing secondary school, leaving a skewed population pyramid dominated by the young and the elderly. Forest and other northern counties were targeted for agricultural development by Progressive Madison-based planners in the early 1900s, a program that failed largely owing to the planner's unfamiliarity with the region's physical environment. The attempt to establish lower latitude agriculture in northern Wisconsin, however, foretold Forest County's future. The county has historically been buffeted by metropolitan forces rather than in control of its own destiny. Are its service occupation inhabitants rural in any way other than locationally?

My presentation will employ traditional historical geographic analysis supplemented by vignettes of my mother's forebears, parents, and siblings, thus grounding general processes with concrete examples. My mother was born in Forest County in 1916 and reared there. I resided there intermittently as a small child, for three years in the late 1940s, and I have consistently maintained contacts with relatives there.

Holly R. BARCUS & David A. LANEGRAN, Macalester College Ethnic Restructuring, Land Use Change and New Farmers: The Case of Dakota County, Minnesota

Demographic change in the rural Middle West is an ongoing process, substantively transforming the economies and futures of many small communities. Just as the notion of economic restructuring suggests a significant shift from one community economic profile to another, so too does demographic restructuring describes changing age profiles as well as potentially changing racial or ethnic group representation. Ethnic restructuring, a process by which a once small ethnic group grows faster than other groups, often through the dual processes of in-migration and natural growth, has stemmed overall population loss in a growing number of communities experiencing overall population decline. New residents mean new opportunities and challenges for communities. While much has been written about new rural entrepreneurs in rural communities far from the urban core, less attention has been paid to the rural periphery – the zone of contention and change in close proximity to an urban environment.

In this research, we adopt a political ecology framework to evaluate the multi-faceted set of changes, social, economic and policy linkages that facilitate a linked economic-demographic change in small farm operations, specifically the advent of ethnic minority-owned alternative farming operations in the rural periphery. We utilize both quantitative and qualitative case study data, including local interviews and GIS mapping, to evaluate two case studies focusing on linkages between local and regional land preservation policies, new farmers, and new models of agricultural production in Dakota County, Minnesota. Preliminary results suggest that within the highly contested rural periphery, local leadership and innovative policies and strategies are key factors in fostering new farmer success.

Ana Maria de Souza Mello BICALHO, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Urban Agriculture, Challenges for Food Security and Social Dignity for the Urban Poor of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Urbanization in Brazil is synonymous with social disparity and extreme poverty, which is often masked by the city as a place of opportunity, employment and economic growth. This is a reality in many countries of the world, and especially in Latin America. Urban agriculture is increasingly used to promote social inclusion and to improve livelihoods of the poor, and this activity is now considered to be part of innovative urban social policy. Rio de Janeiro (pop. 6,320,446) serves as an example of this trend whereby public policy and social movements promote urban agriculture for poor people. The objective here is to evaluate the effectiveness

of urban agriculture for improving food security and social dignity in Rio de Janeiro. The study focuses on municipal government initiatives for creating agricultural plots in slum areas, locally called favelas. Favelas are squatter neighborhoods which include 23% of the city population and are poorly served by basic services and infrastructure. In the past they were often left out of land use planning entirely. Poverty, social marginalization and violence are basic facts of life in the slums. Agriculture was recently incorporated into municipal policy as a way to deal with these problems. Methodology used to research exclusion, marginalization and poverty consisted of: 1) participatory observation of meetings and events involving different actors who pursue public policy for urban agriculture, 2) interviews conducted with representatives of the municipal horticulture program and 3) visits made to horticultural plots located in slums where local leaders were interviewed. Production was found to attend mainly social functions: self-provisioning, donation to schools and socially vulnerable local people, local sale at low prices and instilling motions of self-worth and accomplishment. 2017 and 2018 were active years marked by widening social alliances and expanding the horticulture program to 36 communities.

Karolina DMOCHOWSKA-DUDEK, Marcin WÓJCIK, Paulina TOBIAZ-LIS, & Pamela JEZIORSKA-BIEL, University of Lódź

Socio-Spatial Changes in Rural Areas of Poland: Lessons from Villages of the Krobia Commune

The essence of the paper is to identify various practices applied in the process of positive changes in rural Poland, as a result of mobilization and coordination of creativity and work of people, supported by various external incentives. Therefore, empirical findings will be confronted with theories of local rural development, especially with the neo-endogenous approach, where the endogenous part refers to development along bottom-up approach and the "neo" part identifies various manifestations of the supra-local and their roles in local development (Ray 2006, 279).

Three villages of the Krobia Commune (Wielkopolskie Voivodeship) were selected, as examples of actions aimed at improving living conditions, fostering integration and bridging social gaps. The presentation is based on quantitative and qualitative data gathered both in field and along the desk research.

From the presented case studies, three aspects emerge, all of which are closely interrelated and significant for local development, community integration and place attachment. The first was creating social ties within the community as well as with external actors (increased trust and growth of social capital). The second was the 'cascade effect' of the first projects in the community, which led to the creation of many other initiatives. The third was bringing together areas and sectors that had previously been disconnected (breaking down barriers between the local community, local stakeholders, entrepreneurs). Discussion over the local development activities as exemplified in selected rural areas of Poland might be underpinned to such issues as: 1) impact of the territory on the establishment of institutions (Syssner 2009, Kockel 2002, Biscoe 2001); 2) impact of social capital on the success of undertaken development activities; and 3) relations between local and supra-local functioning of the society (Thrift 2000, Biscoe 2001, Keating et. al 2003, Syssner 2009).

Salah EISA, Menofia University

Potentialities and Challenges of Rural Tourism in Egypt in Globalization and Economic Nationalism Era

Egypt enjoys a remarkable reputation on the world tourism map, benefiting from its rich archaeological and cultural heritage beside its desert and coastal attractive sites. Humble interest is devoted to rural tourism in Egypt, although its countryside, which occupies the largest inhabited area, is sheltering more than half of the population and includes plenty of unused tourist potentialities. The current research aims at reaching the most appropriate usage of rural tourism potentialities in Egypt, considering advantages and limitations of globalization and economic nationalism.

Economic nationalism in a globalizing world demonstrates significance of national identities in the current age. The term globalization refers to a process that has brought about significant changes in all social, political and economic spheres of life. The global economy has led to the liberalization of international activities, one of which is tourism industry, especially mass tourism. Globalization leads to both positive and negative consequences on the hospitality industry in particular.

The rural tourism experience is shaped by distinct geographical, cultural, social, political and economic conditions. Its fundamental elements are: nature landscape, outdoors recreation, authenticity, healthy lifestyle and food, hospitality, and nostalgia. This study adopts a spatial analytical approach to trace, investigate, and classify sites that deserve to be developed as rural tourist destinations. It also applies an empirical case study approach. Field observations are conducted for rural tourism and entertainment probable sites, plus reviewing data and statistical information reports from multiple sources.

Sites of potential rural tourism in Egypt could be broadly classified into types: riparian landmarks, farms, heritage buildings and museums, irrigational and agricultural enterprises, pristine rural life communities, rural recreation resorts. It is highly anticipated that the development initiatives for rural tourism destinations in Egypt will make use of globalization advantages and will contribute to the national economy as a support and compensation for the current retreat of tourism sector revenues.

Ana FIRMINO & Francesca POGGI, Universidade Nova de Lisboa Carob – Much More Than Just Chocolate?

The carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) is native to the Mediterranean Basin, Canary Islands and Macaronesia and is traditionally found in mixed dry-farming systems, together with almond and fig trees. Carob pods are a common cattle feed but their flour is also an excellent ingredient to bake bread, cakes and brew beer. More recently, carob flour has been used by industry because it is gluten and other allergen free, rich in protein and vitamins, and low in fat. This is relevant to niche markets such as gluten free range and baby food, and as a substitute of chocolate, as well as a thickener in pharmaceutic industry, due to its cheaper price.

Nevertheless, theoretical insights indicate that carob can contribute to the mitigation of climate change creating at the same time territorial dynamics by promoting traditional products (local ingredients and wood), animating the touristic sector (routes), supplying pharmaceutic industry and innovating in the framework of food niches. The demand for carob pods also contributed to the plantation of more carob trees, which diversifies landscapes and controls soil erosion, even in dry areas, since they have very scarce hydric needs. While there is growing interest in carob exploitation, there still exists a lack of awareness on the aforementioned outcomes at local scale. This paper aims to address this gap by presenting the findings of a series of exploratory interviews conducted with producers, industrials, tourism promotors and academicians, in Algarve, South Portugal, during summer 2018. Nestlé answered our inquiry in January 2019.

The results of this survey are analysed and discussed, highlighting the different interviewees' view and perception on carob exploitation. We conclude with the suggestion to consider "carob - much more than just chocolate?" as a way to stimulate a different dialogue on its promotion within a more sustainable development at local scale.

Paul B. FREDERIC, University of Maine An International Line through the Woods: Electrical Energy Transmission Conflict in Rural Maine, U.S.

I examine how rural citizens and their community leaders understand and react to global environmental and economic trends that impact perceived local and regional quality of life vulnerability. The case study is a proposed 145-mile (234-km) corridor and transmission line through rural, economically stressed west central Maine to transport Canadian hydro generated power to markets on the New England electric grid. Massachusetts represents nearly half that market. In 2016, that state enacted legislation to reduce its dependency on fossil fuel produced electrical energy. A plan was developed to purchase renewable non-fossil electricity from hydropower in Quebec. Central Maine Power Company (CMP), a Spanish owned enterprise, won a contract to build a transmission line through Maine. The proposed project, known as the New England Clean Energy Connect (NECEC), is facing substantial opposition from the fossil fuel industry, selected environmental groups and some recreational interests. Proponents are many of the municipalities that benefit from an expanded tax base, labor because of construction jobs, electric rate payers, potential broadband users and people that encourage reduced fossil fuel consumption. My research methods include monitoring the ongoing permitting process and interviewing leaders in each of the host municipalities along the route to determine rationale for decisions. NECEC is working its way through the permitting process with a projected timeline of 2019 for all permits and 2022 for all construction. As of March 1, 2019, no permits had been granted to CMP. However, the next few months are critical as the mix of major players to weigh in continues to change. For example, in late February 2019, the Governor of Maine and many stakeholders reached an agreement to support NECEC.

Keith HALFACREE, Swansea University The Place of the Rural in an Era of Mobilities: Global Asset to Local Mooring

Numerous academics, not least the late John Urry, have argued that we now live in an era where a multiple sense of mobility has displaced a more fixed or sedentarist everyday existence. Whilst expressed daily in news stories of international migrants and the contested politics of their migrations, it extends far beyond to diverse expressions of human migration overall. It is a condition, moreover, closely allied to the more generally and widely noted 'globalisation'. In the context of these background concepts, this contextual overview paper will address the central question of where 'the rural' fits within this new everyday social and existential reality. It engages directly with the global-national tension noted in the Colloquium outline and in its drawing out of the continued importance of local place. On the one hand, consolidating its position within 'modernising' discourses, the rural may be

seen as an increasingly anachronistic category, out of date and out of step with the twenty-first century. It is a spatial term to be discarded. On the other hand, it can be seen as reinvigorated and of considerable contemporary relevance. Here, it will be argued that the rural can be both complicit with the era of mobilities and also highly critical of it, often at the same time. These latter readings will be illustrated with reference to counterurban forms of migration and rural leisure consumption, from modest working class to exclusive second homes, where aspects of place, home, relaxation and nature will be drawn out. The paper will ultimately propose the rural as a fecund source of twenty-first-century identity, feeding into the noted demographic diversity of the rural today, and even as a radical socio-cultural force.

Lisa M. Butler HARRINGTON, Kansas State University, & John HARRINGTON, Jr, Independent Scholar

Backwater: Conditions and Stresses in a Traditional Rural U.S. West Coast Area

Not all rural areas are seeing major shifts in economic connections related to globalization. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate environmental conditions and challenges facing Willapa Bay, Washington, and its surroundings. While current theory emphasizes globalization trends and changes to post-productive land uses, it is important to recognize that for some rural places, changes are more subtle and less connected to globalized economies. The key stresses in some rural areas of the more developed world are related to the tension between local resource conditions, broader political control, and conflicting perceptions of threats and related management options. This research provides a review of relevant science, state regulatory actions, and local viewpoints expressed in the media and elsewhere. The focus is on management of two invasive aquatic species: ghost shrimp (Neotrypaea californiensis) and cordgrass (Spartina alterniflora). Control of both to maintain oyster farming has depended on the use of pesticides, but local views of the safety and need for pesticide use vary. The views of resource users (e.g., oyster farmers) can conflict with those of 'ecotopian' urban dwellers who affect state policies developed at some distance from the rural locale. Findings indicate that understandings of the environment and productive use of natural resources differ, with both 'sides' often identifying themselves as environmentalists. Rural studies/theory should thus do more to address the continuing divergence of rural life and resource-based livelihoods with broader societal trends. Increasing social/cultural 'distance' from the countryside for a majority of the population limits an understanding of ecological functioning and rural resource conditions. Differences have increased between resource-dependent rural residents, and urban residents and policymakers.

Scott William HOEFLE, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro Between Objectivity and Subjectivity in Rural Research: Bourdieu, Longitudinal Ethnography and Participant Objectivation

This paper explores the middle ground between objectivity and subjectivity in rural research using two methods first devised by Bourdieu: 1) dialectical practice attained through long-term ethnography and 2) participant objectivation meant to control researcher biases. With the cultural turn in rural studies during the late twentieth century, a good deal of criticism was directed to possible biases in research (Cresswell 2013; Philips 1998). Philo (1992) once complained about distorted research done by older generations of rural geographers who were white, male, middle-aged, married, middle class, sound of mind and body, and city dwellers, who preferred to study successful farmers with many of the same social attributes. The rural sociologist Robert Chambers (1983) listed a number of biases which steer researchers away from deep rural space and blind them to rural poverty: spatial (asphalt and roadside), projects (atypical, show-piece experiments), personal (elite, male, active, present & living), dry season (avoid travel difficulty, when the harvest is in), diplomatic (politeness & timidity of poor, not shown shameful poverty) and professional (emphasis on innovators, academic specialization prevents seeing the whole picture). Bourdieu (1978, 2003) offered two strategies for exorcising these biases: 1) dialectical practice, today longitudinal ethnography and 2) participant objectivation. Dialectical practice becomes evident in long-term ethnographic research which goes beyond merely learning idealized social rules and involves observing how individuals bend and break rules in their day-to-day life. Bourdieu suggested that researchers should systematically consider how their personal and professional biases could steer investigation one way to the detriment of other ways of seeing local realities. His basic dictum was "know thyself in order to understand others". A number of possible cases of subjectivity encountered in fieldwork undertaken by the author in Brazil are presented to illustrate problems with subjectivity and how Bourdieu can be used to resolve them.

Roy JONES, Curtin University, & Alexandre M. A. DINIZ, Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais

A Sustainability Perspective on Twentieth Century Land Settlement Schemes

During the twentieth century, the development of agricultural or pastoral land beyond the pre-existing settlement frontiers was a daunting proposition. By 1900, most new land that was brought into production was environmentally marginal, far from markets,

or both. Furthermore, the twentieth century was a period of rapid technological change in agriculture and transport, political upheaval, and economic globalisation. Twentieth-century land settlement schemes therefore faced considerable challenges in achieving sustainability and many ended in relative or absolute failure. In a co-edited book on this topic, the authors compiled a series of case studies of land settlement schemes that were commenced at various times, in countries as diverse as the Netherlands and Papua New Guinea and for a range of economic, social and political purposes. Not surprisingly, the variables of time and space were critical to the success of these ventures. Those schemes that were commenced during or immediately prior to periods of economic crisis, notably the Great Depression, were most prone to failure, while those commenced in the postwar 'long boom' were most likely to succeed. Similarly, the greater the distance, in spatial, economic, political and/or cultural terms, between the settlement area and its markets and proponents, the less were its chances of success. A comparison of the case studies led to two general conclusions: notwithstanding the competence (or lack of it) of the settlers in their local contexts, their success largely depended on events beyond their economic or political control; and, as is the case more generally, the sustainability of rural systems is most likely to be achieved through constant adaptation to these external changes.

Suk-kyeong KANG, Niğde Ömer Halisdemir University Life Quality of Seasonal Agricultural Migrant Women in Turkey

Over a million migrants move for seasonal work with their families every year in Turkey. Many people are forced to choose seasonal agricultural labor for their economic activities because of the imbalance of land ownership in Turkey. In particular, in the eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey, where a small number of landowners own most of the land, most farmers who do not own land are engaged in agricultural seasonal migrant work. They migrate along the agricultural specialization region of Turkey, from their own area to a distance of 1,200 km away with their families by car. Migrant workers mostly live in temporary tents for 2-3 months in the suburbs, or on working farms. Their temporary housing environment is very poor. In particular, the quality of life is low for women workers who are dedicated to household activities as well as agricultural labor. They are exposed to very poor hygiene conditions, such as the use of unclean water and temporary restrooms, due to the absence of electricity and water. This study focuses on women workers among the seasonal agricultural workers, to examine their quality of life by evaluating the amount and type of work they did during the seasonal work by a time-series. This study was conducted with data collection by in-depth interviews and questionnaires for seasonal women workers in 2018. The field survey began in July 2018 in Niğde and Şanlıurfa prefectures. The study indicates that in recent years, seasonal worker residence has been shared with Syrian refugees and Romans, which caused various security problems and low social perception of local residents towards seasonal workers.

Doo-Chul KIM, Okayama University & Duong Thi TUYEN, Hue University of Economics Does Agriculture Products Certification System Reorganize Vegetable Farmers? A case of VietGAP in Lam Dong Province, Vietnam

In the end of the 1990s, incidents related to unsafe vegetable consumption created an increase in consumers' demand for safe vegetables in Vietnam (Figuié 2003; Mergenthaler and Weinberger 2009; Nakayasu 2006). The higher demand for "safe vegetables" was caused by the emergence of the middle class and the rapid increase in the number of supermarkets in big cities, especially in Ha Noi and Ho Chi Minh City (Cadilhon, Moustier, Poole, Tom, and Fearne 2006; Maruyama and Trung 2007). In 2008, Viet-GAP (Vietnamese Good Agricultural Practice) was first introduced and received strong support from the Vietnamese government to cope with the issues of unsafe vegetable production due to the excessive use of agro-chemical inputs. The contradiction between increasing demands for safe vegetables and the limitation on the diffusions of VietGAP vegetable production has promoted the research to clarify how VietGAP implementation has impacted the supply chain of vegetables. The research was conducted in the Duc Trong district, one of the areas of concentrated vegetable production in Vietnam. A field survey was conducted in five communes of the Duc Trong district in September, 2017. In-depth interviews were carried out to collect information from fifteen vegetable farmers and six VietGAP vegetable suppliers by semi-structured questionnaires. The results of this research revealed that VietGAP implementation has impacted the reorganizing of stakeholders in the supply chain to develop a specific distribution channel for "VietGAP vegetables". It has also strengthened the linkages among stakeholders in the supply chain by contractual relationships as well as promoted the production transformation from individual farms to larger-scaled cooperative farming areas. Notably, farmers' decisions on switching to VietGAP vegetable production are highly dependent on their relationships with supermarket suppliers. The social networks of farmers, thus, play an important role in the transition to VietGAP vegetable production.

Daichi KOHMOTO, Nara University of Education Sustaining Rural Educational Systems in Japan: Problems and Possibilities for the Sustainable Future

The existence of public schools is as necessary for sustaining rural areas as our habitats, although the numbers of these schools are decreasing mainly due to economic reasons of municipalities. Therefore, rural education in Japan is examined from the viewpoints of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). Methodologies are as follows. Firstly, backgrounds and present situations of rural education in Japan are shown by using statistics and maps. Secondly, relationships between rural education and ESD are examined by written materials. Thirdly, problems and possibilities for the sustainable future are discussed.

There are few studies that combine ESD and rural education. Numbers of rural public elementary and junior high schools certified as UNESCO Associated Schools are smaller. And ESD has hardly been conscious by the Japanese Federation for Rural Education Research. However, the development of ESD based on the local area learning is easier in rural areas since schools tend to be located inside the local community and educational materials for local area learning are easily available from regional resources. ESD based on local area learning needs to be systematic which organizes the qualities and abilities to develop. Furthermore, utilizing Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) makes realizing "glocal area learning" possible if we combine the experience of rural education in each area and the situation where developing countries are faced. Moreover, utilizing opportunities for joint learning with other schools would be effective to disseminate the results of local area learnings and to improve linguistic expression capabilities of children. These educational activities may change urban residents' and politicians' attitudes toward rural education and rural areas.

Sang-Yool LEE, Daegu Catholic University The Pursuit of Energy Policy and Resistance in the Local Area

The Korean government at present has a goal of developing a solar energy system that is subject to 'Renewable Energy Plan 3020'. A considerable amount of the plan is expected to be solar energy development in rural areas. However, the plan faced many obstacles from pursuing the goal prior to the implementation of the plan. The current government which is more liberal and environmentally oriented has also been facing difficulties in their efforts due to some issues raised by residents' complaints. Residents' arguments against the plan have spread around the country as issues such as an unorganized development, environmental damage, and agricultural loss from the collection of sun light have been raised in many parts of the country.

While the plan in national scale has been gradually accepted in rather social justification and political debate, the conflicts and resistance at the local level still prevail. In particular, residents assume that they take a toll on the cost of their lives, but the benefits of pursuing the plan tend to move to developers. This study tries to explore the main arguments against the diffusion of renewal energy policy in some local areas, and some solutions. Also, this study examines institutional regulation in order to reduce the conflicts between local residents and developers. It is focused in this study that the introduction of minimum distance from rural settlement plays an important role in evaluating the suitability of solar energy business. Through a case study of conflicts, the opinions of policy makers, their advisors for them, and residents are examined in northern Gyeongbuk rural area.

Yuheng LI, Jiayu YAN, & Chuanyao SONG, Chinese Academy of Sciences Community Factory in Rural China: An Innovative Path to Rural Revitalization and Sustainability

Owing to the long period of the urban-rural dual system, rural China is lagging behind cities in various aspects. As a result, depopulation and the induced problems like left-behind populations and its social security system, industrial recession, local market shrinkage, closing of schools and land abandonment are all challenging rural sustainability in China.

This paper aims to investigate the emerging community factory in rural China. Research focuses on what are the differences between rural community factory and the small town enterprises which flourished in the late 1980s and early 1990s but declined or even vanished afterwards in rural China. Then, the paper further analyzes how rural community factories bridge villages with the external world. And in this process, how the rural community factories contribute to peasants' income increase, and to the social stability in terms of left-behind population care and rural governance by acting as a "social glue" (social capital). The research methodology consists of theoretical interpretation by viewing urban-rural linkage theories, and empirical analysis by way of field study of several cases.

The findings show that the rural community factories emerged as a response of rural system to the external development processes of globalization, urbanization and industrialization. It plays an important role in rural transformation to make it adapted in both economic and social aspects, to the external challenges. We also find that rural resilience is enhanced where there are rural community factories.

Rubén C. LOIS-GONZÁLEZ & Lucrezia LOPEZ, University of Santiago de Compostela Rural Vitality Through Visuality: Filming on the Way of St. James

In recent years, the audiovisual industry has become increasingly interested in cultural routes because their landscapes form authentic sets for film productions that, as a result, share territorial visual and textual discourses (Hurault-Paupe 2014). Following this trend, this proposal aims to contribute to the ongoing contemporary need to reflect on the sustainable development models that pilgrimages and religious and cultural tourism can create if combined with the audiovisual industry (Beeton 2005; Lopez, Nicosia and Lois 2018). The case study refers to the medieval pilgrimage route, the Way of St. James (Spain). It was declared the First European Cultural Route in 1987; in 1993, the French Way was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. It crosses urban and rural centers that have benefited in different ways from this international recognition and the subsequent arrival of pilgrims and tourists. In order to examine the activities and opportunities that can pave the way for sustainable local development, we selected some rural areas along the Galician Way that are undergoing a process of abandonment. We then established a set of qualitative and quantitative criteria and analyzed their territorial resources and potentialities. We found that there is a need to implement a collaborative urban-rural network within the audiovisual industry as a strategy for ensuring visibility while contributing to the construction of attractive, unique tourist spaces. In conclusion, we defend the view that film-induced tourism can play a pivotal role for the endogenous economic awakening of selected rural areas. For rural communities, becoming a film location can be a way of reinterpreting their vitality; in fact, thanks to the positive impacts of this growing creative industry, they might plan new sustainable economic trajectories by taking part in an innovative and collaborative development model.

Rubén C. LOIS-GONZÁLEZ & Miguel PAZOS-OTÓN, University of Santiago de Compostela Building Synergies Between Rural and Urban Areas: New Transport Services in Galicia (Spain)

Galicia is an autonomous region in the northwest of Spain, with unique territorial characteristics. Although Galicia has urbanized rapidly in recent decades, a significant percentage of its population lives in rural areas with low densities and a lack of economic dynamism and advanced services. The rapid urbanization of Galicia and the diffusion of urban lifestyles mean that rural population has an important dependence on mobility in order to have access to advanced services. Obviously, in a context of low rural densities, conventional transport services are not profitable. For more than fifteen years, the regional government of Galicia has been working on the implementation of alternative rural transport services, which allow greater integration between rural and urban spaces. In this text we will make a diagnosis of the situation, which will contain the identification of main barriers. Subsequently, we will analyze the experiences that have been developed so far and we will give our vision on which elements could be improved to achieve greater territorial cohesion and integration. We will focus on two case studies. The first one is a mountainous area in the southeast of Galicia (Viana do Bolo and surroundings). This low density mountain area hosted the Spanish demo in ARTS Project (5th Framework Program, EU) in year 2002. Our goal is to evaluate the situation of rural transport services in this area nowadays. The second one is the municipality of Santiago de Compostela. Although Santiago de Compostela is a medium-sized city and also the capital of Galicia, the municipality includes genuine rural areas, not well connected with the municipal capital by public transport. Regular services are not working properly, and another ways of provision of transport services should be explored, in order to guarantee the synergies between rural and urban areas in the municipality of Santiago de Compostela.

Aleksandar LUKIĆ, Petra RADELJAK KAUFMANN, & Šimun NEJAŠVIĆ, University of Zagreb Comparing Generational Views on the Future of Rural Karst Periphery in Croatia

Leaving the countryside to seek new life and opportunities in cities or abroad, getting education and valuable experiences, is seen as a normal part of the formative process for young generations. However, the situation becomes alarming when the vast majority decide never to return to villages and small towns of their childhood due to the lack of any perceived prospects. Current youth migration trends in Croatia as well as in some other new EU member countries, clearly indicate described undesirable scenario, especially affecting both traditional marginal areas and new types of inner peripheries. By using a multidimensional model of understanding the periphery, which includes both objective and subjective factors, this research focuses on discussing developmental measures in the rural periphery of Croatia. We further develop this research by comparing generational views on "what should be done and by whom" in order to build more realistic recommendations for decision-makers, reflecting both adult expert knowledge and young generations' (student) opinions. Expert insights into developmental opportunities were collected in a wider scenario-building exercise using the Delphi method with two rounds of written questionnaires (37 academic experts). Conducting a questionnaire survey using quota sampling, whereby 490 students from the University of Zagreb were included, assessed young people's attitudes. Besides the revitalisation potential for Croatian peripheral karst areas, the willingness of respondents to return or move to peripheral karst areas was examined. More than 80% of student respondents' answered that they haven't considered moving or returning to peripheral karst areas. The results indicate some similarities between two generational views, especially in desirable economic measures (e.g. tourism and organic agriculture). On the other hand, the most striking difference is the

preferred governance model: majority of students advocate top-down approach from state and regional level while adult experts predominantly support bottom-up development and networking of local actors.

Li MA & Hualou LONG, Chinese Academy of Sciences Coupling Analysis of Labor Changes and Economic Development in Chinese Agriculture

Based on panel data from 1991, 2000 and 2010 at the county level in China, this study analyzed the coupling characteristics and spatio-temporal patterns of agricultural labor changes and economic development under rapid urbanization using quantitative and GIS spatial analysis methods. Three primary conclusions were obtained. 1) During 1991–2010, China's agricultural labor at the county level showed a decreasing trend, down 4.91% from 1991 to 2000 and 15.50% from 2000 to 2010. In spatial distribution, the agricultural labor force has evolved by decreasing eastward and increasing westward. 2) During 1991–2010, China's agricultural economy at the county level showed a sustained growth trend, with a total increase of 140.13%, but with clear regional differences. The proportion of agricultural output in national GDP gradually decreased, characterized by decreases in eastern China and increases in western China. 3) The coupling types of economic-labor elasticity coefficient are mainly growth in northwest China, for both the agricultural economy and labor, and are intensive in southeast China, with growth of the agricultural economy and reduction of agricultural labor. Regions with lagged, fading, and declining coupling types are generally coincident with the high incidence of poverty in China. However, different coupling types had a positive developing trend for 1991–2010. Finally, based on the coupling types and spatial distribution characteristics of economic-labor elasticity coefficients, some policy suggestions are proposed to promote the integration of the primary, secondary, and tertiary industries and the vitalization of rural economies.

Felipe da Silva MACHADO, University of Plymouth More Than Just Fruit: A Relational Rural Geography for Understanding Quality Turn and Farming Knowledge in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

Rural dynamics in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro have long been characterized by fragmented patterns of land ownership, land-intensive productive systems, and by direct forms of marketing to consumers made possible by proximity to urban market. Pressured by urban expansion and economic globalization, rural activities have diminished in the metro region but have not disappeared. A 'rural Rio' still exists where, depending on the relative distance from the built-up metropolitan core and local agrarian history, rural actors actively contest their permanence in an urban-pressured multifunctional countryside.

This research seeks to understand whether governance arrangements (Wilson 2008, 2010), farming knowledge (Ingram 2018), and learning capacities (Darnhofer 2010; Darnhofer et al. 2016) effectively enhance the quality system of small-scale fruit farming in Greater Rio de Janeiro. It is based on primary research undertaken with farmers over the last years. The need for a relational approach, combining a place-based foundation and translocal perspectives are timely. This analysis is based on bottom-up information flows and qualitative investigation.

This study highlights patterns of fruit production and its quality within the contradictory relationship between urban, industrial and global forces on the viability of farming systems and rural landscapes. Learning practices, knowledge sharing, and cross-scale linkages are part of this process in which farmer-led networks have been proactive in the context of rural change. Farmers have long played a significant role in shaping and maintaining rural landscapes, and their necessarily embodied practices and experimental knowledges create a particular relationship between themselves and the land. Fruit trees both performed and enunciated a permanent change in Rio de Janeiro. Once a tree is planted, the land is in agricultural use. Orange, guava and banana trees thus make things happen – they re-shape social relations and transform the rural economy in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro.

William G. MOSELEY, Macalester College Boserupian Intensification under Geopolitical Isolation: A Political Ecology of Crop-Livestock Integration in Burundi

While the New Green Revolution for Africa, a donor-supported approach emphasizing high external input agriculture, is all the rage in many African countries, political pariah states like Burundi face a different set of constraints and opportunities. Due to political irregularities, international human rights concerns, and tensions with its neighbors, Burundi is increasingly isolated from international markets. This isolation, combined with poorer households' more limited access to credit, means that donors remaining in the country must consider different approaches to improving agricultural production and household food security. One such

donor supported initiative, known as the ILRI/IITA Crop Livestock Integration Project (CLiP), is focused on crop-livestock integration and intensification using locally available and affordable resources. An assessment conducted by the author in late 2016, based on interviews with key informants and farmers, suggests that CLiP is promoting a model of pro-poor, Boserupian intensification that makes sense in a place like Burundi. While this innovation is occurring under very challenging circumstances, it may serve as a model for promoting resilience and food security at the community level. This is not to say that the project does not face challenges, foremost among these being gender power dynamics which disfavor women who are the major food producers in the country.

Helena PINA, University of Porto, Carlos GONÇALVES, Sysadvance, & Pedro TEIXEIRA, Da_Vide, Sanfins do Douro

Innovation in the Douro Demarcated Region: Two Best Practice Approaches

A privileged wine-growing area, the Douro Demarcated Region (DDR) is remarkable not only for its outstanding landscape, but also for its distinctive architectural, cultural and social heritage. Despite this setting, multiple obstacles to its development ensue, and there is a need to reverse this situation. Thus, new investments arise, forged by young people with university qualifications. Innovation takes place in DDR. This is the case with the Da_Vide Project, where a young engineer, perceiving the environmental pollution caused by burning vines after pruning, has tried to optimise this resource taking into account environmental issues and energy efficiency, as well as social and economic benefits. Through the "Agricultural Production Model in Open Carbon Cycle" the vines are turned into biodegradable handicrafts, wood, paper and cardboard products, bioenergy, solid fuels. Also noteworthy is the "Eco-House Douro Valley" where the use of biocomposites are applied as flooring, wall and ceiling coatings, as well as used to produce small amounts of electrical energy, which provide the building with power autonomy.

Another distinctive investment is that of Sysadvance, which started operations in 2002, as a spin-off from a university R&D centre. Knowing that the air is composed of 78% nitrogen, 21% oxygen and 1% carbon dioxide, water vapour and other gases, as well as the utility of nitrogen for a wide range of applications, namely during wine production, Sysadvance developed a Nitrogen Generator that purifies the nitrogen in the air and reduces the winery's costs by 80%. There are several examples today in the Douro Valley and, hence, the quality of the wines has risen. In this paper, we rely methodologically on extensive fieldwork that we combine with documentary research and semi-structured interviews with local development managers, but above all entrepreneurs mentioned here. Slowly, a new future for the DDR is being prepared.

José Domingo SÁNCHEZ-MARTÍNEZ & Antonio GARRIDO-ALMONACID, University of Jaén Permanence and Versatility of the Olive Grove as Agrarian Land Use in the Guadalquivir River Basin

The prestige of olive oil as a healthy product, its prominence in the Mediterranean food culture, as well as its high price in relation to other edible vegetable fats, explains the constant increase in the surface area dedicated to olive groves, reaching 11.5 million hectares distributed all over the world. The present work analyses the expansion that is taking place in the lowlands of the Guadalquivir River Basin in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. The methodology employed for the study combines the use of statistical sources, the management of spatial information and the collection of qualitative information from interviews with the protagonists of the process, placed within a theoretical framework related to rural development and the analysis of formal and informal institutions operating in the territory.

The interest in this geographical area lies in the fact that it is being replanted rapidly and intensely in an olive grove region that, although it has known moments of great prosperity throughout history, until a few years ago—in radical contrast to what was happening in the rest of the Andalusian region—was characterized by the mass uprooting of this woody crop. In addition to mapping, quantifying and explaining the reasons that allow us to understand the processes and dynamics to which we are referring, the results also show the characteristics of the agricultural holdings lying behind these drastic changes in land use, in this way identifying the olive agribusinesses that have burst onto a landscape still dominated by family farming and cooperation. Ultimately, it is a discussion about how these Mediterranean woody crops, while being associated with traditional agricultural strategies with a commitment to permanence, have come under the logic of short-term profitability and neo-productivism.

Serge SCHMITZ, University of Liège The Evolution of the Sense of Heritage in the Walloon Countryside (Belgium)

Since 1976, the NGO "Qualité village Wallonie" works on safeguarding and highlighting local rural heritage. The NGO helped to realize 2,500 projects in 850 villages in Wallonia. Yet, the workers of the NGO have noticed important changes in rural communities including other perspectives on the common heritage. This could be linked with rapid changes of demography,

including aging and decline of native population and arrivals of commuters. Another hypothesis is that the Belgian society has lost the sense of local heritage. Factors like the rejection of Catholicism, the increase of mobility, the increase of consumerism, including frequent leisure travels, could contribute to the explanation. Based on interviews with the workers and administrators of the NGO and on an e-survey of rural people, the research describes and suggests explanations of this apparent loss of sense of local heritage. The first results show a shift of attention away from the religious and farming heritage to places and buildings that make the village unique. There is also a reluctance to commit oneself to a long period. Therefore, fellow citizens are more selective and want to see fast results. Indeed, local heritage gains in importance when it helps distinguishing the village from the others. More than a loss of the sense of heritage, the notion of heritage is evolving. It increasingly shifts from something from the past that requires protection to things that could be useful for the present and future generations.

Gabriel SCHWARTZMAN, University of Minnesota Understanding Appalachia's Economic Transition: Community Development, Populist Nationalism and the Long Decline of Coal

Drawing on the work of geographer Gillian Hart (2018), in this paper I apply conjunctural analysis (Moore 2005) to investigate the development of contemporary nationalist-populist rural politics in the Appalachian region. Appalachia is a region once defined by labor-left politics where, with the advent of neoliberalism of the 1980s and 90s and subsequent steep decline of the coal industry (both in production and employment), its electoral politics have become a popular stand-in for rural conservatism and economic nationalism in the U.S. (Catte 2018). In this paper I situate the contemporary community development regime in Central Appalachia within a long history of rural development policy that has, advertently or not, supported the accumulation of capital and furthered accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2001; Stoll 2017). Engaging Stuart Hall's (1988) analysis of articulation, I explore the lineage of community development regimes of the 1930s, the 1960s, and the 2010s, as articulated to the long process of Appalachia economic transition: declining employment in resource extraction industries, including coal mining, chemical manufacturing and timber, and the ultimate transition to post-productive land uses (including tourism, military and carceral uses). I then analyze the conjuncture of economic transitions, community development agendas and contemporary populist-nationalist politics in the U.S. within the Appalachian regional context. I find that economic transitions, community development responses and populist-nationalism are inseparably linked pieces of contemporary Appalachian economic nationalism. In conclusion, I open a relational comparison (Hart 2018) of rural politics in Appalachia and emergent Brazilian nationalist-populist rural politics.

Tony SORENSEN, University of New England Agile Ruralities: Let's Leave the Past Behind and Invent the Future

It is well established that the massive array of new and transformative technologies forming the 4th Industrial Revolution will likely impact seriously every dimension of rural economy, society, polity, and even environmental management. This will have two serious impacts on the work of our Commission. First, sustainable rural economy and society will have to become highly adaptive to changing circumstances. In other words, many dimensions of rural life and environment many be unable to survive in their current form but have to evolve rapidly. Indeed, we might have to focus increasingly on imagining or analysing future ruralities. This task will have to confront the major problem that rural spaces and opportunities are highly variable according to local geographies and resources., with the implication that regional outcomes can vary wildly from success and failure. The second theme concerns how we might go about creating what I call Agile Ruralities. These are in effect constellations of cultural traits that enable communities to move rapidly from past economic and social structures to reposition themselves for future circumstances. Simultaneously, we will find ourselves conceiving strategies to assist damaged communities to minimise the hard-ships they experience. There is a rapidly growing literature focusing on agile business practices of the kinds used by Google, Amazon and Microsoft. But it seems to this author that many of their strategies could be applied beneficially by various regions and communities to accelerate their future transformation in beneficial and sustainable ways. Thus, this paper is highly theoretical and conceptual, drawing heavily on literature from economics, business and environmental management, infrastructure, public policy and so on. I then apply these ideas to a wide range of geographical circumstances.

Cornelia STEINHÄUSER, University of Muenster Resilience Strategies of Young Farmers

Diverse research has shown how modes of life shape valuable cultural landscapes and create identity. This case study in rural communities of Sierra Santa Victoria, Argentina, and Alta Badia, Italy, points to the intimate relation between collective imaginaries of liveable landscapes, routines and practices for the vitality of agro-biodiversity and resilient social ecological systems. However, in both research sites interviewees expressed their concern about the subsistence of the current traditional rural landscape in approximately 15 years due to migration and changing lifestyles. On the other hand, focus group discussions, participant observation

and walking interviews with young people (16-30 years old) in these communities revealed a self-determined projection towards the future, that, though reflecting a multiplicity of visions, does not coincide with a more resigned vision of the elder generation. The study opens questions for future participative research about structures that could foster the success of the observed transition to agroecology, co-creation and intergenerational exchange of different forms of knowledge, as well as integration with transformative movements in cities.

Joan TORT-DONADA & Jordi FUMADÓ-LLAMBRICH, Universitat de Barcelona A Strategic Model for Sustainable Agriculture in the Mediterranean Countries? The Hortec Cooperative, in Catalonia, as a Case Study

The high degree of urbanization recorded in the last seventy years in the European countries adjacent to the Mediterranean has led to a very significant decline in their agricultural spaces and the loss of prominence of the rural world in favour of the urban and industrial environment. In Spain, and above all in Catalonia, agriculture has become a residual, highly specialized economic activity with low employment capacity, a situation that contrasts with the sector's historical importance and its relevance for the cultural construction of the so-called Mediterranean landscape.

In this context, is it possible to speak of an agrarian sector and rural world with a future? Are there any real possibilities for the young population to develop their future in this world? A number of recent initiatives point to significant changes in the approaches being taken to agricultural production and its marketing, and to other facets of the agrarian economy. Specifically, in our paper, we analyse the case of an agricultural cooperative, known as *Hortec*: an initiative that, despite its humble origins, today leads the way in the agro-ecological subsector in Catalonia. Founded in 1991 by a small group of farmers, the association oriented its activity exclusively (and in this they were pioneers) to the growth of organic produce. Adopting a cooperative business structure (one that has a long tradition in Catalonia), Hortec explicitly defends innovative values such as agro-environmental sustainability and the adoption of an integrated production and marketing line – designed to "connect" small producers throughout Catalonia (32,000 km², 6.3% of Spain) with centralized distribution centres that include Barcelona's fruit and vegetable market, Mercabarna.

Jeffrey WIDENER, University of Oklahoma Agritourism as Land Saving Action in the New West

Colorado's upper Grand Valley is a tiny example of the modern American West. This region has experienced it all—the phasing out and in of the Old West, booms, busts, droughts, recessions, and the phasing in, as a High Country News reporter termed it, the "new" New West. Farmers in the upper Grand Valley have a formula for conserving farmland and for preserving their way of life—via technological improvements in irrigation, land trusts and conservation easements, and through agritourism. Agritourism is blooming across the U.S., and, in the American West, farmers are seeing this activity as a valuable enterprise. The economic importance is a given. But, perhaps just as important is that agritourism activities educate those who partake in them. This paper, based on over three years of archival and field research, showcases how farmers in this precious region have preserved their way of life, their landscapes, and their industry for posterity amid the chaos of changes taking place around them—amenity migration, exurbanization, rural gentrification, and natural resource development—by exploring the theme of agritourism and its associated landscape changes.

Michael WOODS, Aberystwyth University Agribusiness Towns, Globalization and Negotiating Possible Futures in Rural Australia and Brazil

The globalization of agriculture is reconfiguring the geography of farming, with increasing concentration of commodity production in favourable regions recast as 'global farmlands' capable of producing food and other agricultural commodities for world markets. Such areas have become targets for investment by transnational agribusiness, with a growing presence in all aspects of farming systems, from land to inputs to farm management to technology to crop processing, to logistics and export to finance. Yet, in such localities, the influence of agribusiness can extend further, shaping local political processes, land and labour markets, and processes of urban development. This influence is captured in the concept of the 'agribusiness city or town' (cidade do agronegócio) coined by Brazilian geographers Denise Elias and Renato Pequeno. This paper examines the case of a smaller established agribusiness town in Brazil, Dom Pedrito in the province of Rio Grande do Sul, and explores whether the concept can be translated to other countries by comparing this with the town of Smithton in Tasmania, Australia. In both cases, the paper documents the reorientation of local agriculture towards export markets, the involvement of transnational agribusiness, and the impacts on the wider local economy, society, environment and politics – drawing out similarities between the two towns, but also contrasts that arise from the different geographical and political- economic contexts. Finally, drawing on the analytical framework developed in the GLOBAL-RURAL project, the paper considers the possible future trajectories of the towns, and how these are

being negotiated by local and external actors. The findings show that the enrolment of the towns into global networks is facilitated by agribusiness practices and by discourses that prioritise agribusiness development, but that the capacity to act of agribusiness is contested and constrained by local actors and that analyzing possible futures can produce more inclusive development strategies.

Giacomo ZANOLIN, Università degli Studi di Milano, & Valerià PAÜL, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Disputing the Notion of Wilderness in the European Context: Environmental Protection, Tourism Development, and the Omission of Locals in Val Grande (Piedmont, Italy) and O Invernadeiro (Galicia, Spain)

Wilderness, a construct imported from the English-speaking world, above all the U.S., is of problematic application in Europe for many reasons, but particularly because long-term human transformations of the environment have necessarily resulted in the highly complex management of wilderness-designated areas, where little of the authentic natural environment actually remains. Indeed, the wilderness category has tended to be over-exploited since protection measures first began to be implemented in Europe in the early twentieth century, taking their inspiration from the U.S.'s National Park designations. This paper specifically addresses the complexities of applying the wilderness construct to two study areas located in the Alpine Region and the Iberian Peninsula, respectively, and undertakes a comparative analysis based on intensive fieldwork and the insights gained from interviews.

The cases studied show that the notion of *wilderness* has been heavily promoted by the public agencies concerned with the direct management of the two protected areas, primarily, it would seem, for purposes of tourism. The notion is rooted in the areas' natural heritage that has been mobilised for marketing and labelling. It appears to constitute an imaginary of the landscape that is not entirely consistent with the complexities of the secular human/environmental interactions that are documented in the two areas. In addition, the notion has a direct impact on tourists' perceptions, with visitors tending to consume some of the areas' specific assets linked to this fixed landscape imaginary. More generally, locals feel excluded from the dominant images of the areas they inhabit, resulting in a sense of disconnection with the landscape protection tools and policies that have been implemented. In short, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the notion of wilderness needs to be critically re-considered in its application in Europe, to reach a new definition of natural heritage as a result of both human and environmental factors.

Ezra ZEITLER & Ryan WEICHELT, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire Economic Sustainability in Wisconsin's Pleasure Periphery: A Case Study of Second Home Ownership in Grantsburg and Hayward

The economic evolution of northern Wisconsin from an extraction frontier into a post-WWII tourist haven is well-documented, and geographers have long been interested in the economic linkages that exist between tourist sending areas in the Midwest and the lakes and forests of northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Resulting linkages in northern Wisconsin have left an indelible mark on the rural landscape through the presence of lakefront vacation homesowned by non-residents, which are primarily used during the summer months, and seasonally dependent, service sector businesses in the nearby small towns that serve the demands of these visitors. What roles do these second homes have on the economic sustainability of their communities? Using the communities of Hayward and Grantsburg as case studies, this research draws upon Schumpeter's Creative Destruction Theory and qualitative research methods to demonstrate how cultural amenities have evolved to match the changing commercial tastes and needs of tourists for generations. Tenets of neoliberal policy are also employed to compare the impacts of recent changes in Wisconsin's property tax policy on funding in two school districts that host varying percentages of second homes. A parcel dataset, provided by the Wisconsin State Cartographer's Office, was mapped and analyzed in a geographic information system. Addresses of property owners were used to identify the primary addresses of resident and non-resident property owners, and assessed parcel values and property tax revenues were used to examine the influence of second home ownership on school funding in each community. Statewide property tax cuts in 2011 created a funding crisis, and while the greater presence of high-valued second homes in Hayward produced much needed revenue to maintain its funding stream for its schools, Grantsburg, with fewer and lower-assessed second homes, resorted to budget cuts to keep its schools open.

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