

The Global Countryside? Rural Agency and Transformation under Globalization

全球性乡村？
——全球化背景下的
乡村能动性 与 乡村转型



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From the global city...
从全球性城市....



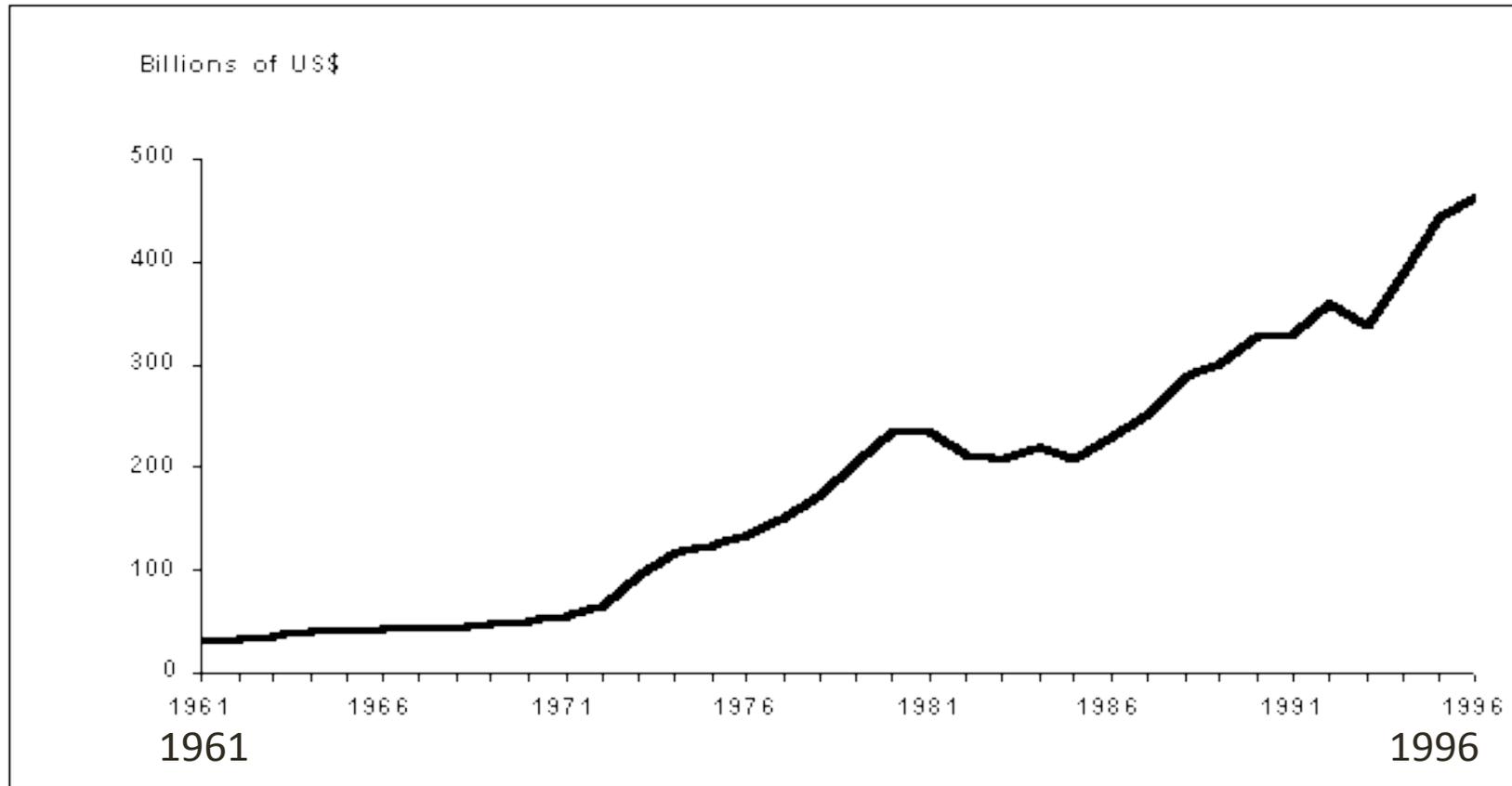
....to the global countryside?
....到全球性乡村?

Evidence for globalization of rural economies and societies

农村经济和农村社会全球化之例证

Value of global agri-food exports

全球农产品出口额



Source: www.agr.gc.ca

Value of global agri-food exports

全球农产品出口额



World exports of selected livestock produce as percentage of world consumption

全球几种畜产品出口量占全球消费量之百分比

| | 1964/66 | 1974/76 | 1984/86 | 1997/99 |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Bovine products 牛肉产品 | 9.4% | 10.3% | 12.2% | 16.4% |
| Pig meat 猪肉 | 5.7% | 6.0% | 7.9% | 9.6% |
| Poultry meat 禽肉 | 4.0% | 4.7% | 6.3% | 13.9% |
| All meat 所有肉类 | 7.4% | 7.9% | 9.4% | 12.7% |
| Milk & dairy products 牛奶及奶制品 | 6.0% | 7.6% | 11.1% | 12.8% |

Source: FAO

'Food miles' travelled by typical food products from source to place of consumption in London

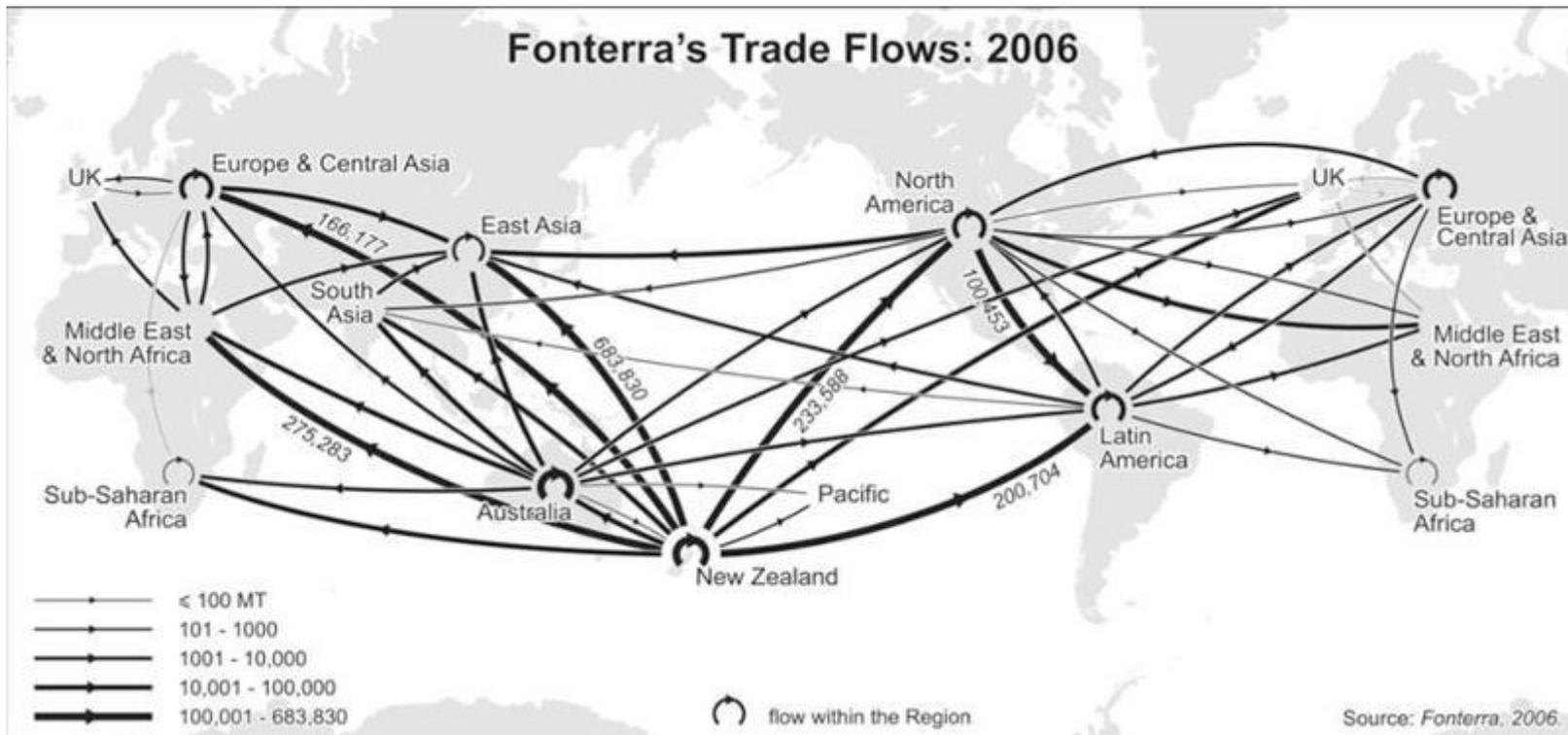
将某类农产品从产地运到伦敦的“食品运输里程数”

| Product | Source | Miles | Kilometres |
|----------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 产品 | 产地 | 英里 | 公里 |
| Chicken 鸡肉 | Thailand 泰国 | 6643 | 10689 |
| Potatoes 土豆 | Israel 以色列 | 2187 | 3519 |
| Carrots 胡萝卜 | South Africa 南非 | 5979 | 9620 |
| Tomatoes 西红柿 | Saudi Arabia 沙特阿拉伯 | 3086 | 4936 |
| Prawns 对虾 | Indonesia 印尼 | 7278 | 11710 |
| Lettuce 莴苣 | Spain 西班牙 | 958 | 1541 |
| Apples 苹果 | USA 美国 | 10133 | 16303 |
| Peas 豆子 | South Africa 南非 | 5979 | 9620 |

Source: Woods (2005) based on *The Guardian*, Food supplement, 10 May 2003

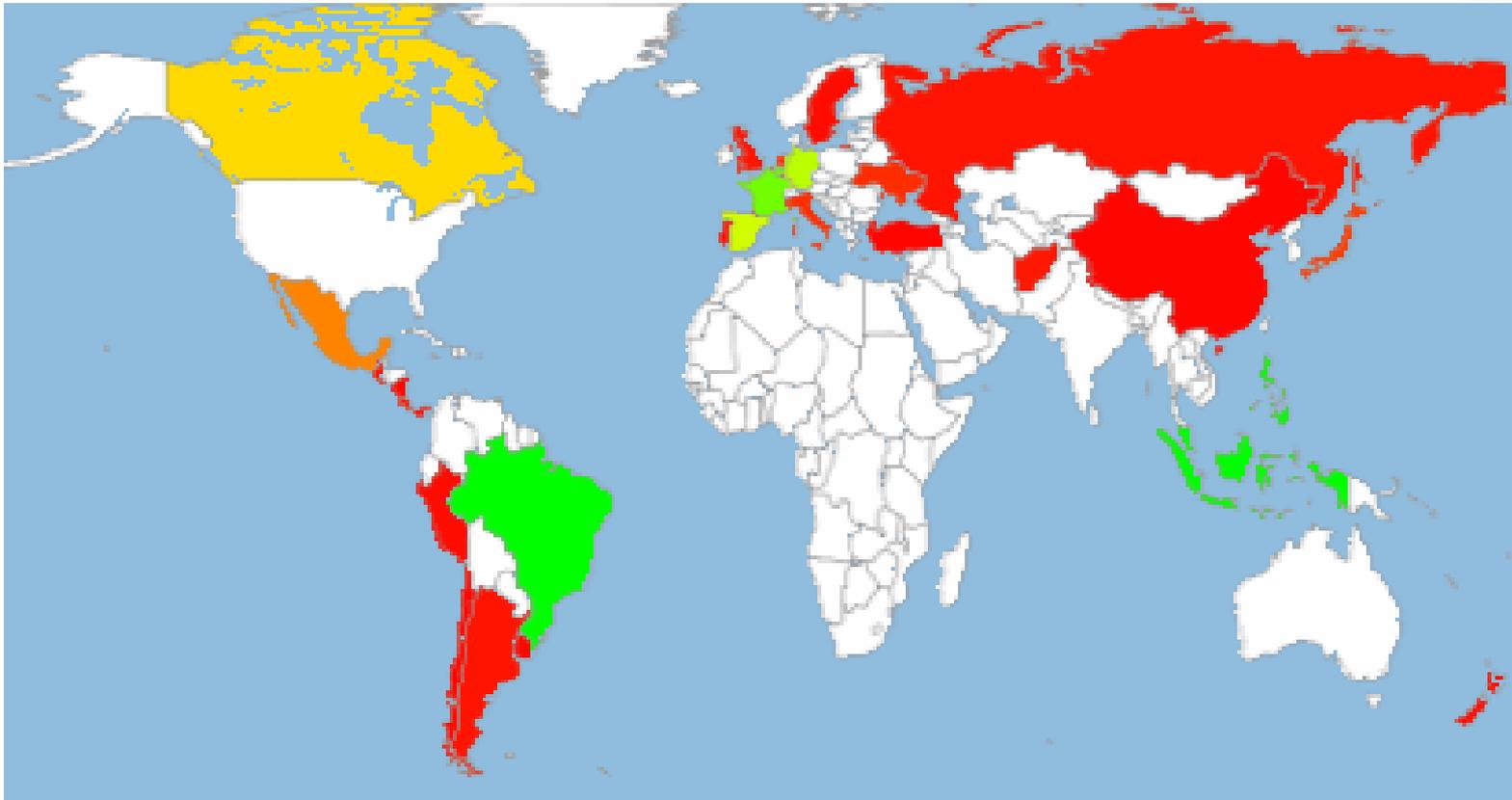
Trade in New Zealand dairy goods by Fonterra cooperative

恒天然公司在新西兰的奶制品贸易示意图



Source: Gray and Le Heron (2010) in *New Zealand Geographer*

Countries from which Cargill imports commodities into the USA 为嘉吉公司提供输美农产品的国家示意图



Source: www.importgenius.com

% of global sales of agricultural inputs controlled by major transnational corporations, 2004

主要跨国公司控制的全球农资销量的百分比（2004）

| | Agrochemicals 农药 | Seeds 种子 | Biotechnology 生物技术 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Monsanto 孟山都 | 10% | 12% | 14% |
| Dupont/Pioneer 杜邦/ 先锋 | 7% | 10% | 13% |
| Syngenta 先正达 | 18% | 5% | 7% |
| Bayer Crop Sciences 拜耳作物科学 | 19% | 2% | 4% |
| BASF 巴斯夫 | 13% | - | - |
| Dow Agrosciences 陶氏益农公司 | 10% | - | 3% |
| Limagrain 利马谷业 | - | 5% | - |
| Other 其他 | 23% | 66% | 58% |

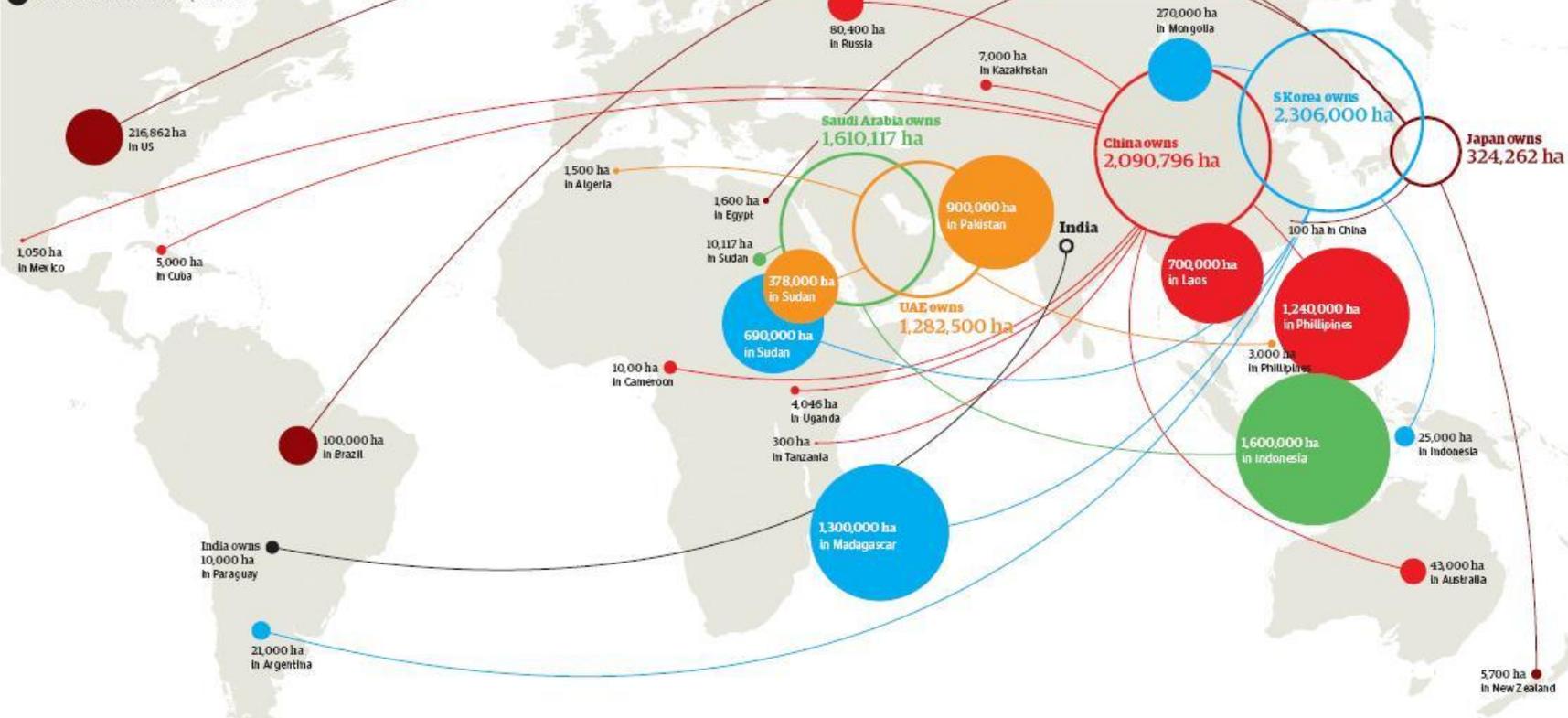
Source: World Bank, *World Development Report 2008*

World land grab

Land purchased by government and private companies from each country, where areas are known

○ Total area purchased by country

● Countries in which land has been purchased



International land investments, 2008

From *The Guardian*, 24 November 2008

国际土地投资，2008

来源：卫报，2008年11月24日

We harvest – you profit



We offer you direct access to low-cost, high potential agricultural land with a valuable high yield crop, annual income and strong capital growth prospects.



Gain exposure to a sector that is attracting significant investment from governments, asset managers and institutional investors.

Investors are entitled to a full refund of their investment if rice production has not commenced within two years.

Rice, like other staple foods, is a very valuable commodity and Agri Capital is providing investors with direct access to the phenomenal potential of this market.

Invest from as little as £5,850
— we harvest, you profit

Investors are entitled to a full refund of their investment if rice production has not commenced within two years.



It is no surprise that investors are searching for less cyclical assets to boost their portfolios. We think our offer is a perfect addition to a well-diversified portfolio. At Agri Capital, we have negotiated the purchase of 3,000 acres of prime rice farming land in Sierra Leone, West Africa on a 48-year lease on behalf of our clients.

Sierra Leone only produces enough rice to feed just under 84% of its population of 6,300,000 people. With each person consuming 100kg of rice a year, that is a shortfall of 290,000 tonnes. Agri Capital expects to produce 9,000 tonnes annually from our land and intends to sell all this production locally.

Demand for rice remains strong all year round and outpaces supply. Agri Capital do not believe that the surge in prices of many soft commodities such as rice in 2016 was a one-off event, so in our opinion now is an ideal time to consider the potential returns from agricultural land development. Through Agri Capital you can access the considerable potential of rice farming from as little as £5,850, with no hidden costs or ongoing fees.

According to Dr Robert Zaiglar, Director General of the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) "To put it simply, there is not enough rice to feed the world" ... many countries do not have the capacity to grow enough rice on their own land to meet existing or anticipated

demand. To meet their needs governments or the private sector import rice and some are exploring ways to invest in rice production or rice-growing land in other countries."

It is clear that many investors are now looking for less traditional forms of investment that can offer the potential for robust growth. At Agri Capital, we aim to provide this through:

- Income estimated to be 15% per year from high yield rice harvests (with the next harvest expected in August 2017)
- The first harvest in January 2017 produced a 16.2% return on investment
- The potential for increases in the value of the land - we would expect an increase in value immediately after the land becomes productive
- Strong annual capital appreciation in agricultural land values
- The support of the local land owners, and the backing of local government
- Generation of returns from a tangible asset - agricultural land
- Strong demand for rice - it feeds around half the world's population
- Sierra Leone is an English-speaking country - supportive of business relationships

Agri Capital's land is ideal for rice production but is underdeveloped and high yield farming has not been utilised in the past

- Non-cyclical investment - excellent diversification prospects from stocks and shares
- Agri Capital is committed to assisting the local population through employment, food, health and education support
- A strong and experienced management team at Agri Capital based in Sierra Leone and the UK

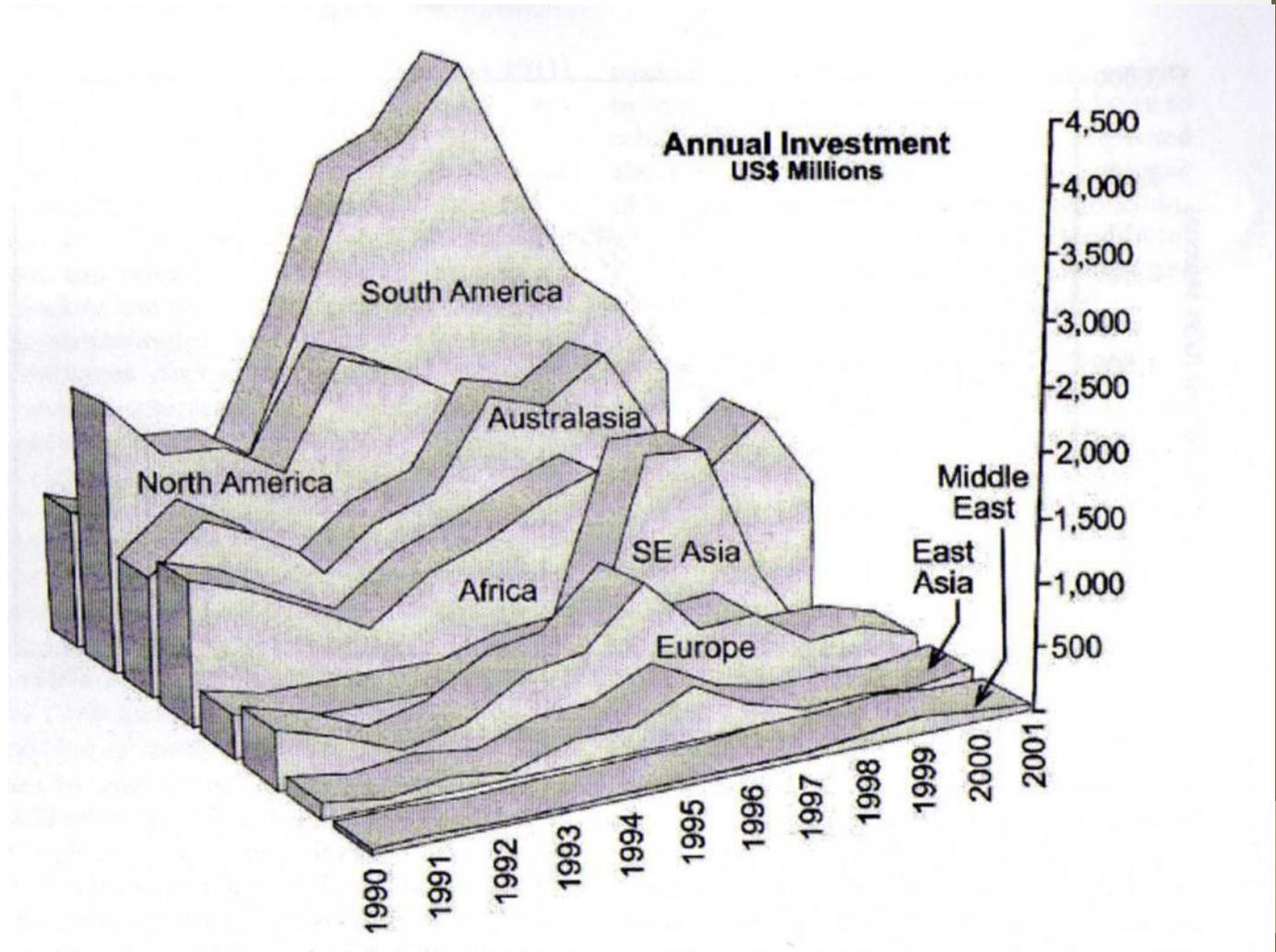
In addition, your investment with Agri Capital is designed to be simple:

- Ease of investment
- Low minimum threshold for investment - from £5,850 (including a £600 cultivation fee per acre)
- A refund of your investment if rice production does not commence within two years (please see page 19 (a) (ii))
- Investors will own the lease to their land - and be allocated their own field providing the investor with security
- The AgriCapital project is recognised and supported by the Sierra Leone Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Security.

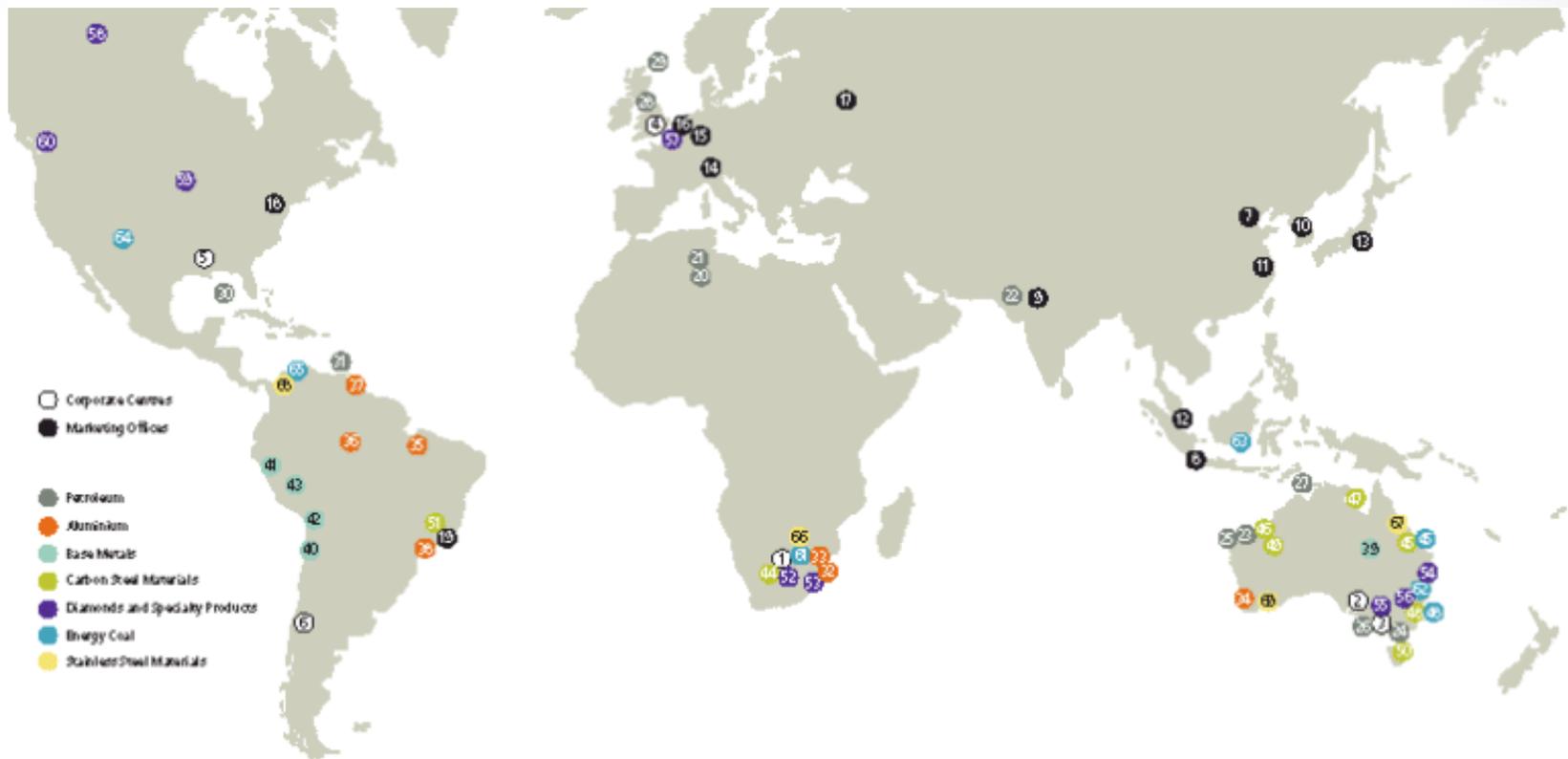
我们收割庄稼，您获益！低成本、高潜能、高产量的土地，为您每年都带来利润，具有强劲的资本增长前景.....
两年内若无大米入仓，全额退款。

Foreign investment in mining, 1990 – 2001

外来资本对矿业的投资，1990—2001年



From Bridge
(2004)
来源:
Bridge(2004)



Global operations of mining corporation BHP Billiton
必和必拓公司全球采矿示意图

Manufacturing 制造业



Foreign direct investment in branch plants in rural towns
外来资本直接在乡镇开设分公司

Decline of traditional rural industries under global competition
在全球竞争下传统农村工业的衰落



Migration 移民



Rural houses for sale to British buyers in Greece 希腊：村舍卖给英国人

Brazilian migrant workers in rural Ireland 爱尔兰乡村的巴西务工者



Tourism (乡村) 旅游



Globalization & Rural Localities

全球化与乡村地区性

- There are many different globalization processes impacting on rural localities
- Globalization has different outcomes in different rural places
- Commonly presented as threats to rural economies, societies and cultures
- But are rural places always victims of globalization?
- 有许多不同的全球化进程影响着乡村地区性
- 全球化给不同的农村地区带来了不同的结果
- 一般表现为对乡村经济、社会、文化的侵害
- 但乡村是否总是全球化的受害者呢？

A relational perspective 一个关系的视角

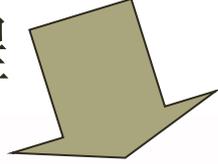
- Globalization is a complex, multidimensional and sometimes contradictory bundle of processes
 - Globalization involves the multiplication, stretching and intensification of the social, economic and political relations that connect places
 - Globalization works through places by altering the already existing relations that constitute place
- 全球化是复杂的、多纬度的、时有矛盾的一系列过程。
 - 全球化涉及到连接各地区的社会、经济和政治纽带关系的繁衍、延展和加强。
 - 全球化通过改变连接各地区的现存关系来改变当地。

The relational rural 彼此关联的农村地区

- The distinctiveness of rural places is comprised by multiple relations between the land and economy, nature and society, rural and urban, etc.
- The hybrid countryside: “defined by networks in which heterogeneous entities are aligned in a variety of ways” (Murdoch, 2003, in *Country Visions*)
- 农村地区的独特性由土地与经济、自然与社会、农村与城市的多种关系构成。
- 杂合的乡村：“特征是网络结构，其中异质的个体通过多种方式结盟”（Murdoch, 2003, 《乡村视野》）

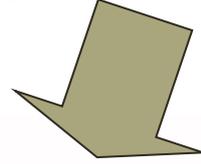
Social processes

社会过程



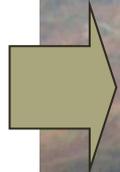
Economic processes

经济过程



Labour relations

劳动关系



Family relations

家庭关系



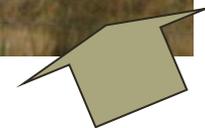
Cultural conventions

文化习俗



Landscape practices

景观实践



A relational perspective 一个关系的视角

- Globalization proceeds by global actors and forces engaging, enrolling, negotiating with, manipulating and being manipulated by local actors and forces
- Experiences and outcomes of globalization will be different in every rural locality
- The outcomes of globalization are not pre-determined.
- 全球化的过程被全球的行动者和力量推动，并将当地的行动者和力量或招至麾下，或与之协商，或加以操控。但同时也被当地的行动者和力量所左右。
- 全球化的实践与结果在不同农村地区可能迥然不同。
- 全球化的结果不是预先确定的。

“In a relational understanding of neoliberal globalisation ‘places’ are criss-crossings in the wider power-geometries that constitute both themselves and ‘the global’. On this view local places are not simply always the victims of the global; nor are they always politically defensible redoubts against the global ... different ‘places’ will stand in contrasting relations to the global.”

如果用关系的视角去理解新自由主义全球化，“地区”就存在于构成其自身与“全球”的更广泛的权力——几何学结构中。从这个观点来看，当地并不总是全球的牺牲品，它们也不是对抗全球化的政治防御堡垒.....不同的“地方”在相对于全球的关系而言可能处于相反的位置。

(Doreen Massey, 2005, *For Space*)

(Doreen Massey, 2005 《为了空间》)

“Through these entanglements, intersections and entrapments, the experience of globalization changes rural places, but it never eradicates the local. Rather, the networks, flows and actors introduced by globalization processes fuse and combine with extant local entities to produce new hybrid formations. In this way, places in the emergent global countryside retain their local distinctiveness, but they are also different to *how they were before.*”

“通过对当地的缠绕，切入与诱惑，全球化改变了农村地区，但它从未能将其特性抹杀。相反，全球化所带来的网络，资源和行动者与当地的实体融合，形成新的杂合形式。由此，逐渐形成的全球性乡村保存了它的地区特性，*但它们也与之前的乡村有所不同了。*”

(Michael Woods, 2007, in *Progress in Human Geography*)

(迈克·伍兹， 2007, 见《人类地理学进展》)

Example 1: Queenstown, New Zealand

例1：新西兰皇后镇



Woods (2011) 'The Local Politics of the Global Countryside', *GeoJournal*
伍兹 “全球性乡村的地方政治”，《地理期刊》

Queenstown: Global Tourism

皇后镇：全球旅游业

- Visitors from outside NZ increased from 20% in 1965 to 51% in 2001 to 61% in 2007
- 来自国外的游客从1965年的20%上升到2007年的61%
- Over 975,000 overnight visits by international tourists to a district of 20,000 population
- 国外游客宿于小镇的人数达到了97.5万，而镇上居民只有2万人。



Queenstown: Global Tourism

皇后镇：全球旅游业

- More than a third of all international tourists to NZ visit Queenstown
- 超过三分之一的到访新西兰游客前往皇后镇
- Part of alliance of ‘four leading mountain resorts of the world’
- 皇后镇成为“全球四大领先山区度假胜地”联盟成员之一。



Queenstown: Global Tourism

皇后镇：全球旅游业

- International visitors spent NZ\$423m in 2004 (US\$345m)
- 外国游客2004年在新西兰的开销达到4.23亿美元
- Around half of workforce employed in tourism
- 过半的劳动力从事旅游业工作
- Untouched World: “Our unique style is equally at home in the New Zealand outdoors, downtown New York or Milan”
- 未受影响的世界：“我们独特的风格在新西兰户外、在纽约或米兰的市中心都安之若素。”



Queenstown: Amenity Migration

皇后镇：为舒适环境而移民

- 2001 – 10.4% of residents had been living outside NZ five years earlier
- 2001年，10.4%的居民5年前开始居住于国外。
- 25% of residents in 2006 had been born outside NZ
- 2006年，25%的居民出生于海外。
- Offshore property sales 10-25% of purchases in district
- 海外资产的销量占地区购买量的10—25%。
- Foreign owned property increased from 4.5% in 2001 to 20% in 2004
- 外国人拥有的资产从2001年4.5%上升到2004年的20%。

Queenstown: Amenity Migration

皇后镇：为舒适环境而移民

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

- “实际上，皇后镇和周边地区已经成了全球的游乐场，吸引了世界各国的兴趣，我们的买家可以成立一个联合国了”
(房地产经纪人)



Queenstown: Development

皇后镇：发展

- Much development led by local investors and entrepreneurs
- Supported by very liberal local administration that deregulated building controls
- Response to decline of agriculture
- Local people taking advantage of globalization
- 许多发展是由当地投资者和企业家促成的
- 得到了非常具有自由主义倾向的当地政府的支持，解除了建筑条例的限制
- 是对农业衰落的一种回应
- 当地人从全球化中受益

Queenstown: Development

皇后镇：发展

“Farming was in the doldrums. Incomes were shrivelling. Assets were diminishing. Survival meant contemplating selling a block off the farm. Who would buy the blocks? Those seeking a rural lifestyle residence. It was the farmer’s only escape hatch or bolt hole.”

Mayor Warren Cooper, *Otago Daily Times*, 16/11/00

- “农业处于萧条期，收入减少，资产缩水，要存活下来意味着要考虑卖掉农场的一部分。谁来买呢？那些想过农村生活的人。这就是农场主唯一的逃生口或避难所。”
- Warren Cooper市长，《奥他哥半岛日报》16/11/00

Queenstown: Development

皇后镇：发展

- Conflict over scale and impact of development by late 1990s
- Opposition led by wealthy amenity migrants
- Motivated by defence of investment in 'rural idyll'
- Emphasized amenity value of the rural environment & its global significance
- 20世纪90年代后期的发展之规模和影响引发的矛盾
- 富有的为了舒适的环境而来的移民成了反对发展的领军人
- 为了保卫对“田园诗”的投资
- 强调农村环境的舒适性所带来的价值及其全球重要性



Queenstown: Politics of Development

皇后镇：发展的政治

“People want to go to Queenstown but not for casinos or fast food restaurants. We have all those and they’re fine, but you’ll find better elsewhere. The skiing’s all right too, but you’ll find better in North America or Europe. No, people go to Queenstown above all because of its unique beauty. It is unlike anything else in the world. If you cover it with suburbs, then that will have gone. We are slowly getting the picture that ecology and tourism are inextricably linked. It is our environment that makes us viable.”

Sam Neill, *The Dominion*,
05/12/00

- “人们想去皇后镇不是想去赌场玩或吃快餐。我们也有这些，而且办得还不错。但是你在别的地方可以找到更好的、类似的设施。在皇后镇滑雪也还好，但在北美和欧洲更棒。不，人们来皇后镇是因为它独一无二的美丽。它与世界其他所有地方都不相同。如果你把它变成城郊，那这种美丽就消失了。我们正逐渐了解到，生态与旅游是唇齿相依的。是环境让我们存活下来。”
- 《领土》05 / 12 / 09

Queenstown: Politics of Development

皇后镇：发展的政治

“They close the door, pull the drawbridge up, and leave the peasants outside, to live in their *elitist* homes in the rural area.”

Warren Cooper, *The Press*,
11/11/00

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

Warren Cooper, *Otago Daily Times*, 09/11/00

- “他们把门一关，把吊桥一拉，把农民关在外面，在村里过着精英的生活”

- “我们不想成为南太平洋的阿斯彭人，我们不想成为一个百万富翁、千万富翁的社区。”

Queenstown: Global Countryside?

皇后镇：全球性乡村？

- Rural town transformed by global tourism and migration
- Global processes of increased mobility, capital flows etc.
- Local agency of developers and campaigners
- Local negotiation of globalization
- 村镇被全球旅游业与外来移民改变
- 流动性在全球范围内增强，资本在全球流动等
- 发展者与推动者的地方能动性
- 全球化的地方谈判

Example 2: Australian Farmers

例2：澳大利亚农民



Cheshire & Woods (2013) 'Globally engaged farmers as transnational actors', *Geoforum*
Cheshire, Meurk & Woods (2013) 'Decoupling farm and place', *Journal of Rural Studies*

Australian Farmers

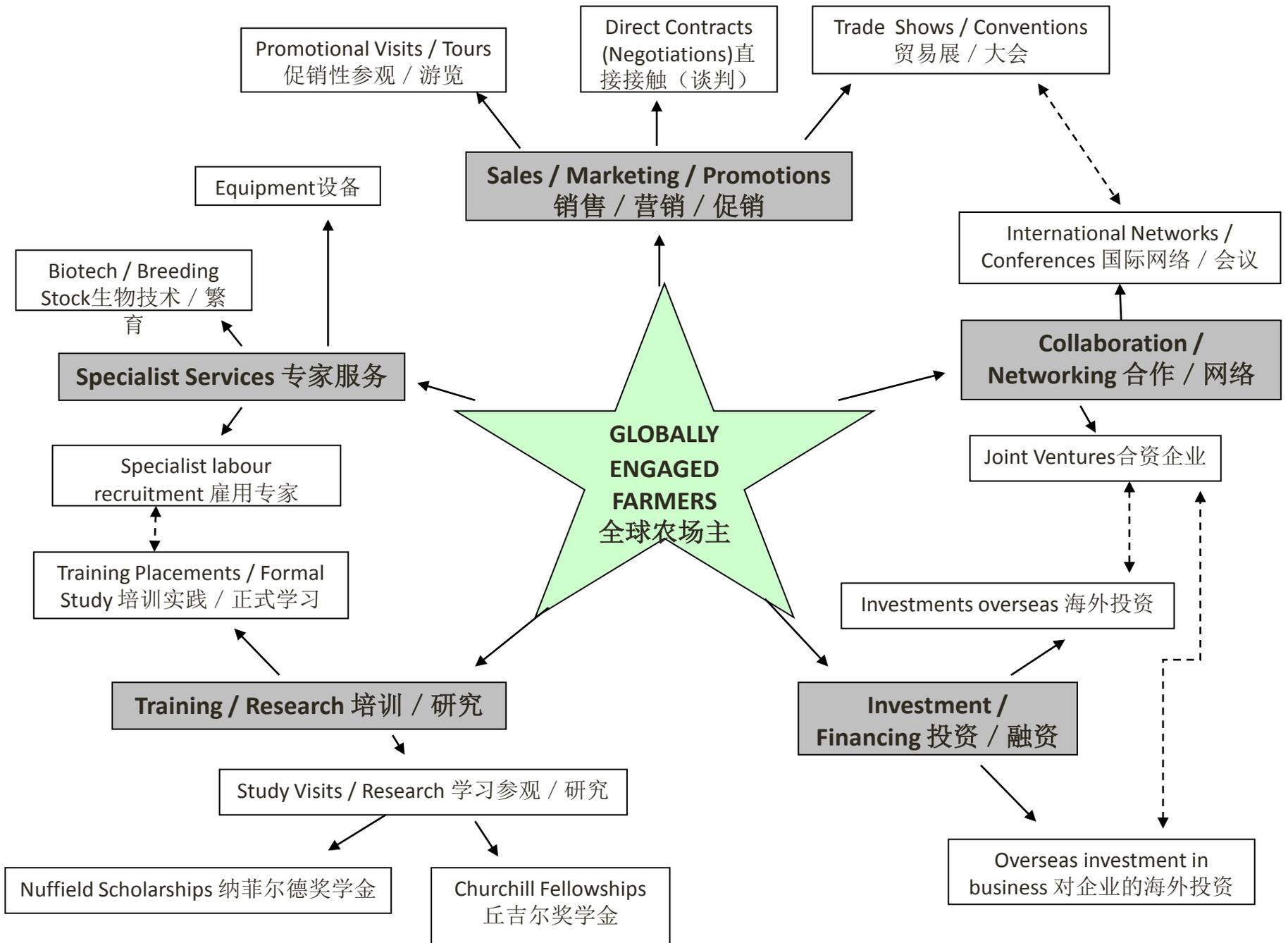
澳大利亚农民

- Australian agriculture always export-oriented
 - Traditional market in Britain closed after UK joined European Community in 1972
 - Restructuring of Australian agriculture on neoliberal principles in 1980s and 1990s
 - Fit to compete in global market
- 澳大利亚的农业一直是外向型
 - 英国传统市场在英国1972年加入欧共体后倒闭
 - 20世纪80年代和90年代的新自由主义原则指导了澳大利亚的农业重组
 - 以适应全球市场的竞争

Australian Farmers

澳大利亚农民

- Deregulation and withdrawal of state subsidies
- Helped agribusiness, but many small farmers went out of business
- But – a small group of family farmer entrepreneurs built their own international businesses
- 取消了管制和政府补贴
- 有助于农业企业，但许多小农因此破产
- 但是一小群家庭农业企业家建立了他们自己的国际业务



Australian Farmers

澳大利亚农民

Paul Brown

- Fruit-grower in Tasmania
 - Switched from apples to Japanese sweet cherries
 - Selling direct to top Tokyo restaurants
 - Travels to Japan to negotiate with clients (and reassure Japanese farmers)
- 坡尔·布朗
 - 塔斯马尼亚水果种植者
 - 从种植苹果到种植日本甜樱桃
 - 直接售往日本顶尖饭店
 - 去日本与顾客商谈（让日本农民放心）

Australian Farmers

澳大利亚农民

Malcolm Shand

- World's largest wheat grower
- First farmer to bypass state wheat board and sell direct
- Exports wheat for noodles & pasta to Japan, Korea, US and Canada
- Regularly travels to Brazil, Argentina, Ukraine and Russia

- 马尔科姆·尚德
- 世界最大的小麦种植者
- 第一个绕过政府小麦委员会直接销售小麦的农民
- 出口的小麦用于制作面条和意大利面，售往日本、韩国、美国和加拿大
- 定期前往巴西、阿根廷、乌克兰和俄罗斯

Australian Farmers

澳大利亚农民

Diana James

- Chief executive of organic farmers' cooperative
 - Sells organic beef and lamb to Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Korea, US, UK & Europe
 - Trips by farmers to Japan & Hong Kong
 - Taking customers to outback Australia
- 黛安娜·詹姆斯
 - 有机农场场主合作社社长
 - 向日本、香港、新加坡、韩国、美国、英国和欧洲地区出售有机牛肉
 - 去日本和香港
 - 将顾客吸引到澳大利亚内陆地区

Australian Farmers

澳大利亚农民

Brian Scott

- Tomato farmer in Victoria
 - President of the World Tomato Council
 - Invested in joint venture tomato farm in Ukraine
 - Advisor to agricultural cooperative in Ethiopia
- 布赖恩·斯科特
 - 维多利亚地区的西红柿种植者
 - 世界西红柿委员会主席
 - 在乌克兰投资种植西红柿的合资农场
 - 是埃塞俄比亚农业合作社的顾问

Australian Farmers

澳大利亚的农民

Jennifer Dawson

- Family farm in Western Australia raises cattle for live export to Indonesia & Malaysia
 - Spent time travelling & studying live export markets and animal welfare concerns
 - “16 countries, over 100 flights and 12 months of diverse travel”
- 詹妮弗·道森
 - 在澳大利亚西部经营家庭农场养牛，将活牛出口到印尼和马来西亚
 - 旅行，研究动物活体出口市场与动物福利关怀
 - “到了16个国家，飞行超过100次，各种旅行长达12个月”

Australian Farmers

澳大利亚农民

“I used to be embarrassed to say that I was a farmer, when I was young, when you're chasing women or going out or whatever. You used to feel that that was detrimental to say that you were a farmer. But I'm now proud of it. I think it's a good honourable profession that we shouldn't shirk away from. So although I could put businessman or something like that at the bottom of any forms when I'm going through the airport, I always put farmer”

(Ben Parsons, poultry farmer).

- “当我年轻的时候，去追女孩儿或出去玩或者干点别的什么，我说自己是农民时感觉很尴尬。你会觉得当农民是不好的。但我现在很自豪。我觉得这是一个很棒、很荣耀的职业，我们不该避之唯恐不及。所以，我在过海关时本可以在所有表格上的最下面填上商人或类似的职业，但我总是填农民。”
- 本 帕森斯，禽类养殖人

Australian Farmers

澳大利亚农民

- Farmers as transnational businesspeople?
 - Creating their own global networks
 - Agents in reproducing globalization
 - Benefits to rural communities
- 农民成了跨国商人?
 - 在全球打造属于自己的网络
 - 在再生产全球化的过程中的行动者
 - 有益于农村社区

Example 3: Larzac, France

例3：法国拉尔扎克



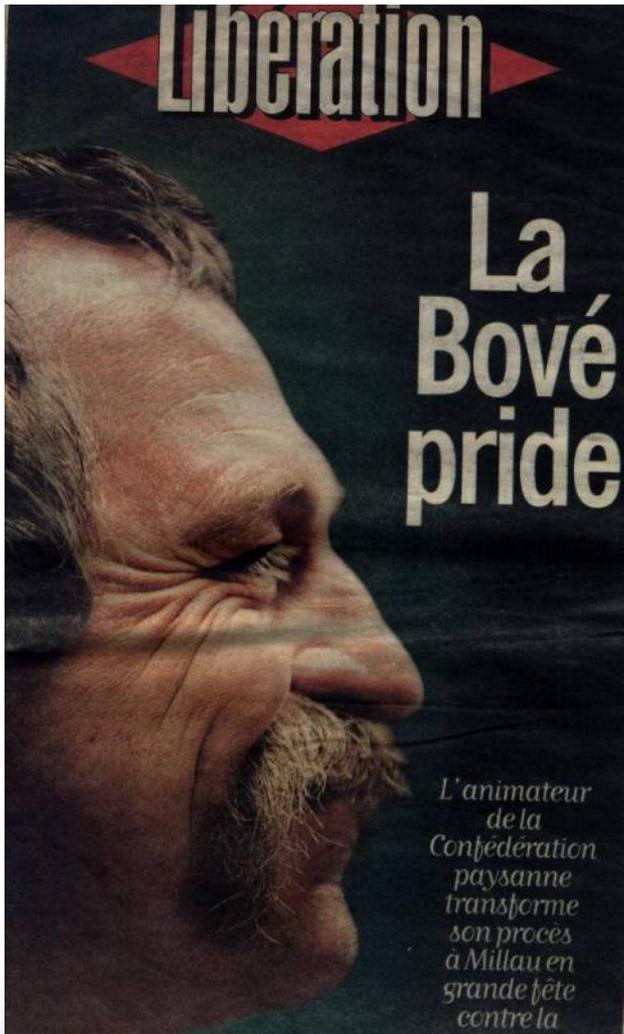
Larzac: Background

拉尔扎克：背景

- Trade war between European Union and United States
- EU refused to permit import of hormone-treated beef from US
- US retaliated by doubling tariffs on selected European products including Roquefort cheese.
- Threatened 30 million franc p.a. export market for Roquefort cheese from the Larzac plateau
- 欧盟与美国的贸易战
- 欧盟拒绝进口美国的含激素的牛肉
- 美国选择欧洲的一些产品征收双倍关税作为报复，包括羊乳干酪
- 威胁到拉尔扎克平原地区出产的价值3千万法郎的羊乳干酪的出口

Larzac: The protest

拉尔扎克：抗议



- Farmers in the 'Confederation Paysanne' (Small farmers federation) led by Jose Bove protested by dismantling the local McDonalds restaurant
- 以乔斯 博伟为领袖的“小农联盟”进行了抗议，拆除了当地的麦当劳餐馆。
- Selected as a symbol of globalization
- （麦当劳）被视为全球化的象征

Larzac: The protest

拉尔扎克：抗议

“We thought McDonalds appropriate for several reasons: the type of food at McDo, which is industrial food requiring industrial agriculture (meat as cheap as possible, one type of potato for all McDonalds worldwide, and three or four varieties of salad). Everything is standardised. It is a multinational firm with a wish of hegemony. Those elements show well that it is a target which corresponds to opposition to globalisation. The decision was to dismantle the McDo under construction in Millau.”

“我们选择对抗麦当劳有很多原因：麦当劳里的食品是用工厂农业生产出来的原料制成的工业食品（尽可能廉价的肉类，全世界的麦当劳都是用一种土豆，三到四种沙拉）。一切都标准化了。这是一个试图称霸的多国企业。这些因素显示麦当劳可以成为反抗全球化的目标。我们的决定就是拆除米洛正在修建的麦当劳餐厅。”

Jose Bove
乔斯 博伟



Liberation, June 2000

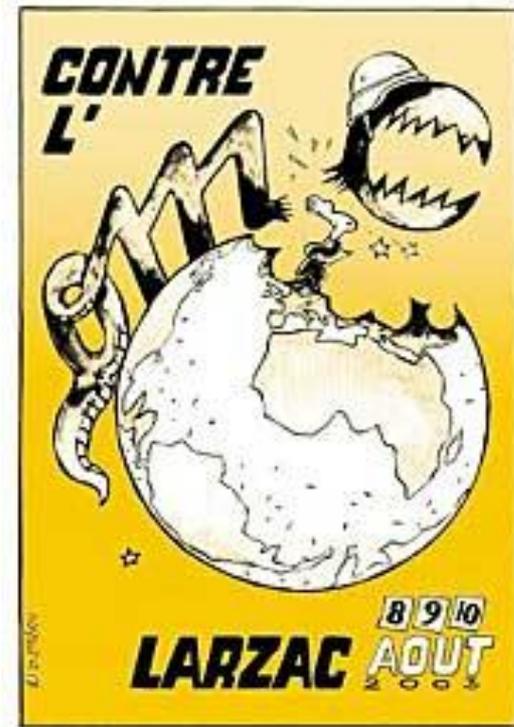


Larzac: The festival

拉尔扎克：盛会



Larzac 2003 anti-
globalization festival
拉尔扎克2003年反
全球化运动



Larzac: Global countryside?

拉尔扎克：全球乡村？

- Farmers caught up in the politics of global trade
- Target McDonalds as a symbol of globalization
- Used global networks (transport, media) to challenge neoliberal globalization
- Turned the Larzac into a centre of the counter-globalization movement
- 农民被卷入全球贸易的政治之中
- 将麦当劳视为全球化的一种象征
- 运用全球网络（交通、媒体）来挑战新自由主义的全球化
- 将拉尔扎克地区变为反全球运动的中心

Summary 小结

- Rural areas are being transformed by globalization
- Different processes have different impacts in different places
- Producing a new geography of the global countryside
- 农村地区正在被全球化改变
- （全球化的）不同过程对不同地区产生了不同的影响
- 带来了一种全球乡村的新地理学

Summary 小结

- The outcomes of globalization are not pre-determined
- Produced through negotiation, contestation and manipulation in place
- Rural actors can have agency to influence globalization outcomes
- 全球化的结果不是预先确定的
- 是通过在当地的谈判、对抗和操控得来
- 农村行动者对全球化的后果具有影响力。