FROM COMMUNITY TO CONSUMPTION

NEW AND CLASSICAL THEMES IN
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Research in Rural Sociology
and Development
Volume 16

Edited by
Alessandro Bonanno, Hans Bakker,
Raymond Jussaume, Yoshio Kawamura
and Mark Shucksmith

RESEARCH IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT
VOLUME 16

FROM COMMUNITY TO CONSUMPTION: NEW AND CLASSICAL THEMES IN RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

EDITED BY

ALESSANDRO BONANNO

Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX, USA

HANS BAKKER

University of Guelph, Guelph ON, Canada

RAYMOND JUSSAUME

Washington State University, Pullman, WA, USA

YOSHIO KAWAMURA

Ryukoku University, Kyoto, Japan

MARK SHUCKSMITH

Newcastle University, Newcastle, UK

United Kingdom – North America – Japan
India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Group Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2010

Copyright © 2010 Emerald Group Publishing Limited

Reprints and permission service
Contact: booksandseries@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. No responsibility is accepted for the accuracy of information contained in the text, illustrations or advertisements. The opinions expressed in these chapters are not necessarily those of the Editor or the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-0-85724-281-5
ISSN: 1057-1922 (Series)

Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Howard House, Environmental Management System has been certified by ISOQAR to ISO 14001:2004 standards

Awarded in recognition of Emerald's production department's adherence to quality systems and processes when preparing scholarly journals for print

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

CONTENTS

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS ix

INTRODUCTION xiii

PART I: SOCIOLOGY OF AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER 1 I HAVE SEEN THE FUTURE,
AND IT WORKS! HOW JOINT FARMING MAY
SOLVE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN
TECHNOLOGICAL LEVEL AND FARM
STRUCTURE IN NORWEGIAN DAIRY
PRODUCTION 3

Reidar Almås

CHAPTER 2 NEW PEASANTRIES AND
ALTERNATIVE AGRO-FOOD NETWORKS: THE
CASE OF RÉSEAU SEMENCES PAYSANNES 17

Alessandra Corrado

CHAPTER 3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF
ALTERNATIVE PRODUCTION AND
CONSUMPTION ACTIVITIES RELATED
TO FOOD SAFETY AND SECURITY AND
ASSOCIATED GENDER ISSUES 31

Hitomi Nakamichi

CHAPTER 4 THE ROLE AND POSSIBILITIES
FOR SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION: REFLECTING
ON THE EXPERIENCE IN JAPAN 45

Keiko Yoshino

CHAPTER 5 THE GLOBALIZATION OF THE
POULTRY INDUSTRY: TYSON FOODS AND
PILGRIM'S PRIDE IN MEXICO

*Douglas H. Constance, Francisco Martinez and
Gilberto Abouies*

59

CHAPTER 6 STUDYING FERTILITY BEHAVIOR
OF FARM POPULATION AS A CONTRIBUTION
TO UNDERSTANDING OVERALL LOW
FERTILITY TRENDS: THE CASE OF
SLOVENIA

Majda Čer nič Istenič

77

PART II: DEVELOPMENT, RURAL,
COMMUNITY, AND MIGRATION

CHAPTER 7 STATE AND MARKET: THE
POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT, "PEASANTIZATION,"
AND AGRARIAN RESTRUCTURING IN
NORTHERN LAO PDR

Jamaree Chiengthong

95

CHAPTER 8 WITHOUT CATEGORIES AND
CLASSIFICATIONS: "RURAL" AS A SOCIAL
EXPRESSION

Loka Ashwood

113

CHAPTER 9 RURAL COMMUNITY IN A
GLOBALIZING WORLD

Josefa Salete Barbosa Cavalcanti

127

CHAPTER 10 ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS
AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN
RURAL AUSTRALIA

*Kirilly Jordan, Branka Krivokapic-Skoko and
Jock Collins*

141

CHAPTER 11 THE REGENERATIVE POWER
OF OLDER MIGRANTS? A CASE STUDY OF
HOKKAIDO, JAPAN

Kayo Murakami, Rose Gilroy and Jane Attention

155

PART III: CONSUMPTION

CHAPTER 12 MAKING DEVICE FOR
SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS:
A CASE STUDY OF JAPANESE FARMERS'
MARKETS

Tadahiro Iizaka and Fumiaki Suda

171

CHAPTER 13 DIRECT SALES SUIT
PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS'
INTERESTS IN VIETNAM

Paule Moustier and Thi Tan Loc Nguyen

185

CHAPTER 14 PARTICIPATION OF THE STATE
IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD TO URBAN
AREAS AND POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS
FOR THE VENEZUELAN AGRO FOOD SECTOR

Agustín Morales

199

PART IV: NATURAL RESOURCES AND
RURAL WOMEN

CHAPTER 15 CAPACITY BUILDING FOR
THE ENVIRONMENT: FOREST POLICY AND
MANAGEMENT IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Sabine Weiland

219

CHAPTER 16 HISTORIES AND CONTINUITIES
OF WATER GOVERNANCE IN NORTHERN GHANA

Jennifer Hauck and Eva Youkhana

235

CHAPTER 17 GENDER, BODIES AND
ETHNICITY IN RURAL PLACES: SETTLEMENT
EXPERIENCES OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN
RURAL VICTORIA

Gayle Farnsworth

251

CHAPTER 18 WOMEN FARMERS'
NETWORKING IN JAPAN: A CASE STUDY
OF A PIONEERING NETWORK

Juri Hara-Fukayo

261

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Gilberto Aboites is a researcher at the Center of Socioeconomic Research at the Autonomous University of Coahuila and a professor of sociology at the Antonio Narro Agrarian Autonomous University, Saltillo, Mexico.

Reidar Alnås is a professor of rural sociology and regional development and the Director of the Centre for Rural Research at the University of Trondheim, Trondheim, Norway.

Loka Ashwood is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Community and Environmental Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA.

Jane Atterton is a researcher in the Rural Policy Centre, Scottish Agricultural College (SAC), Edinburgh, United Kingdom.

Hans Bakker is a professor of sociology and anthropology at the University of Guelph, Guelph ON, Canada.

Alessandro Bonanno is a distinguished professor of sociology and the Department Chair at Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX, USA.

Josefa Salete Barbosa Cavalcanti is a CNPq researcher and associate professor of sociology in the Department of Social Sciences at the Federal University of Pernambuco, Recife, PE, Brazil.

Majda Čerinič Istenič is an associate professor of sociology in the Department of Agronomy, Biotechnical Faculty at the University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia and a senior researcher at the Sociomedical Institute, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Jamaree Chiengthong is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences at Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Jock Collins is a professor in the School of Finance and Economics at the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Douglas H. Constance is professor of sociology at Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX, USA.

Alessandra Corrado is a researcher in the Department of Sociology and Political Science at the University of Calabria, Arcavacata di Rende, Italy.

Gayle Farnsworth is a doctoral candidate at the Hawke Research Institute University of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australia, Australia.

Rose Gilroy is a senior lecturer, at the Global Urban Research Unit, Newcastle University, Newcastle, United Kingdom.

Juri Hara-Fukuyo is a senior researcher at National Agricultural Research Center, NARO, Tsukuba City, Ibaraki, Japan.

Jennifer Hauck is a researcher at the Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research - UFZ, Leipzig, Germany.

Tadahiro Itzaka is a professor at National Agricultural Research Center, NARO, Tsukuba City, Ibaraki, Japan.

Kirritly Jordan is a postgraduate researcher at the School of Finance and Economics at the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia.

Raymond Jussaume is a professor of rural sociology at Washington State University, Pullman, WA, USA.

Yoshio Kawamura is a professor of agricultural/rural development at Ryukoku University, Japan.

Branka Krivokapic-Skoko is a lecturer in economics and management at the School of Marketing and Management, Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, Australia.

Thi Tan Loc Nguyen is a researcher in economics at the Vietnam Fruit and Vegetable Research Institute (FAVRI), Hanoi, Vietnam.

Francisco Martinez is a professor in the Department of Agricultural Economics at the Antonio Narro Agrarian Autonomous University and Head Researcher at the Center of Socioeconomic Research at the Autonomous University of Coahuila, Saltillo, Mexico.

Agustín Morales is a professor in the Department of Agricultural Economics at the Central University of Venezuela, Maracay, Venezuela.

Paule Moustier is a researcher in economics at CIRAD, MOISA unit, Montpellier, France.

List of Contributors

Kayo Murakami is a honorary research fellow at Centre for Rural Economy (CRE), Newcastle University, Newcastle, United Kingdom.

Hiromi Nakamichi is an associate professor in the Faculty of Agriculture at Ehime University, Matsuyama City, Ehime, Japan.

Mark Shucksmith is a professor of planning at Newcastle University, Newcastle, United Kingdom.

Fumiaki Suda is a researcher at the Policy Research Institute of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery of Japan, Tokyo, Japan.

Sabine Weiland is a senior researcher at Catholic University Louvain, Louvain, Belgium.

Keiko Yoshino is a project manager of Institute for Sustainability Research and Education, Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan.

Eva Youkhana is a senior research fellow at the Interdisciplinary Latin America Center, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany.

- Veiga, J. E. da. (2004). Destinos da Ruralidade no Processo de Globalização. *Estudos Avançados*, 51, 51-67.
- Wagley, C. (1964). *Amazon town: A study of man in the tropics*. New York: Knopf.
- Wanderley, M. de N. B. (2000). A Emergência de uma Nova Ruralidade nas Sociedades Avançadas: O Rural Comum Espaço Singular e ator Coletivo. *Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura*, 15, 87-145.
- Wolf, E. R. (1970). *Sociedades Camponesas*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores.
- Wortmann, E. (1992). Da Complementariedade à Dependência: Espaço, Tempo e Gênero em Comunidades Pesqueiras.

CHAPTER 10

ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN RURAL AUSTRALIA

Kirritly Jordan, Branka Krivokapic-Skoko and
Jock Collins

ABSTRACT

Non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants have transformed Australian rural landscape through the construction of public and private spaces expressing their cultural heritage. These sites can also significantly impact the dynamics of social cohesion and intercultural relations in multicultural rural communities. This chapter links heritage and multiculturalism in rural settings and explores the potential role of the sites built by rural ethnic minorities in facilitating intra- and intergroup social networks. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part briefly explores the literature on immigration and heritage, place, belonging and social cohesion, and the relationship between social capital and the built environment. The second part outlines preliminary empirical findings from Griffith in New South Wales. Using the concepts of intercultural dialogue and bonding and bridging social capital, the chapter explores the role of the places built by Italian immigrants in facilitating social networks and improved relations within and between Griffith's ethnic communities.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, issues of ethnicity and diversity have tended to be more associated with urban settings. There are some recent indicators of shifts among scholars and policy makers in terms of recognizing multiculturalism, ethnicity, social cohesion, and intercultural exchange within the rural environment. Ethnic diversity in rural areas has been signposted by a considerable debate examining relations between the concepts of "otherness," marginalization, ethnic landscape, and rurality (Holloway, 2007; Neal, 2002; Williams, 2007; Ray & Reed, 2005; Knowles, 2008; Garland & Chakraborti, 2007).

There has been a strong focus on the role of rurality as a signifier of an exclusive and white national identity. For instance, Agyeman and Spooner (1997) addressed the nature of racism in the context of the English countryside and referred to a series of reports of the 1990s which found an extensive amount of racial violence, harassment and a resistance to the arrival of incomers into rural communities. Similarly, Holloway (2007), Neal (2002), Williams (2007), Ray and Reed (2005), Knowles (2008), and Garland and Chakraborti (2007) investigated the experience of other ethnic groups within the English countryside, highlighting the problems with increasing ethnic diversity in the predominantly white populations. They all pointed to the need to look beyond the idyllic and static representations of the rural environment and combine this romanticized notion with the reality of ethnic exclusivity.

There has been comparatively little research on immigration, ethnic diversity and rurality in Australia, or on the relationship between immigrants and place in these settings. We argue that the contemporary research on rural ethnic landscape should be broadened to discuss the impact of different ethnic groups on the built environment of rural townships. The immigrants settling down in rural areas have transformed the rural landscapes through the construction of public and private spaces expressing their cultural heritage. These sites can significantly impact the dynamics of social cohesion and intercultural relations in multicultural rural communities. This chapter links the built environment and immigration in rural Australia and explores the potential role of the sites built by rural ethnic minorities in facilitating intra- and intergroup social networks. The built environment may be seen as a "form of expression." It is a "mode of communication through which people express to others something about themselves, their values, aspirations, needs and desires" (Lalich, 2003, p. 41). Viewing the built environment as a manuscript of social and cultural

processes, the Australian built landscape is a rich source of information about major demographic, cultural, and political change. However, until recently the places built by non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants in Australia have remained largely overlooked in studies of the built environment, particularly in rural areas.

This chapter first outlines the literature on the immigration, place, belonging, and social cohesion, and the relationship between social capital and the built environment. The chapter then outlines some preliminary empirical findings from applying these concepts to the sites built by Italian immigrants to Griffith, a regional city in south-western National Trust of Australia (NSW). Griffith is an outstanding example of a regional town characterized by a high degree of cultural diversity. Based on preliminary fieldwork involving a small pilot survey carried out in August 2006 and in-depth interviews completed in January 2007, the chapter investigates the significance of the recently built Italian Museum and Cultural Centre to Italian immigrants to Griffith and their descendants, as well as the role of the Museum in intercultural relations. It also explores the social significance of Griffith's four Italian club houses.

IMMIGRATION AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Winkkoff (1992) has argued that "the material evidence of ethnic minority settlement is rarely celebrated" in Australia and that there is "an obvious bias in favour of British influence" in research on the Australian built environment (Lalich, 2003, p. 3). This lack of attention has been partially redressed in recent years with a growing literature on "cultural landscapes" recognizing the places built by non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants (Armstrong, 1997, 2002). This literature has explored the ways in which landscapes can be read as "texts," based on the "proposition that places/landscapes are physical representations of public history awaiting interpretation" (Armstrong, 2002, p. 206).

A major theme within this literature is the sense of place individuals and communities create through enacting their cultural traditions in the spaces they inhabit (Armstrong, 2002; Babacan, 2005). Hage (1997) has described this as part of a process of "home building" which may involve changes to the physical landscape as well as changes to the social landscape through language, food and cultural practices in an attempt to build a comfortable and familiar space in which immigrants feel they can belong.

Some of the places built by non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants in Australia have become iconic sites or landscapes in their own right. Perhaps the most obvious of the places built by immigrant minorities are the grand places of worship, such as the Auburn Gallipoli Mosque in Sydney's West, or the Guru Nanak Sikh Temple in Woolgoolga on the north coast of NSW. But immigrant minorities have also built less immediately striking facilities including cultural centers, social clubs, schools, and aged care facilities. Together, these sites can be understood as "multicultural monuments" (Dunn, 1999) – records of Australia's cultural diversity in its built environment.

Immigrant minorities have also had a dramatic influence on Australia's commercial spaces. In some instances, the businesses established by immigrants have become iconic places in the local landscape. As Collins (2003) has described, in the mid-twentieth century the Greek milk bar and Chinese restaurant became key symbols of immigrant diversity in almost every Australian suburb and country town. Indeed, he suggests that in this way ethnic entrepreneurs have been the "vanguard of cultural diversity" in this country, pushing forward into Anglo-Celtic Australia at the front lines (Collins, 2003, p. 10).

Increasingly, the iconic places built by immigrant minorities are being seen as assets by local authorities (Collins & Kunz, 2005). For example, individual sites and "ethnic precincts" – such as Chinatowns, Spanish Quarters, and Little Italy's (Anderson, 1990; Kinkade, 1993) – may be promoted as tourist attractions, with the "culture industries" such as tourism and the arts seen as the new engine of economic growth in global cities (Zukin, 1995) as well as rural areas (Noussia, 2003). In this context, Helzer (2001) has moved beyond seeing the ethnic landscape as a simple indicator of the persistence of identity among group members. In exploring the emergence of a "Cal-Ital" landscape in northern California's wine industry she outlines how efforts to introduce consumers to Italian wines have led to reinvention, "cultural packaging" and marketing of Italian heritage.

One useful way of understanding the role of place in interethnic relations is through the concept of social capital. The usefulness of the concept of social capital to a study of social cohesion is most obvious in the notions of "bonding" and "bridging" social capital, where bonding social capital is understood as strong ties within a group and bridging social capital is understood as weaker ties between groups (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Putnam, 2000). Characteristics of bonding social capital include trust and networks of reciprocity within the group, whereas characteristics of bridging social capital include trust of strangers (Putnam, 2000) and tolerance of difference (Onyx & Bullen, 2000).

The benefits of strong "bonding" social capital have been much debated. Putnam (2000), for example, has noted that while networks and norms are usually good for those within the network, they can have negative effects on those outside. He suggests that while bonding social capital creates "strong in-group loyalty," it "may also create strong out-group antagonism" (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). That is, close communal ties may hinder interaction between groups. However, Onyx and Bullen (2000) argue that while strong bonding within communities may be associated with exclusivity and intolerance of others, this is not necessarily the case. In research conducted in several Australian communities, they found a "small but positive" relationship between strong connections within communities and tolerance of diversity (Onyx & Bullen, 2000, p. 38). Hence, they argue that it is possible to have both strong bonding capital and bridging between communities, although "we cannot ... expect it to follow" (Onyx & Bullen, 2000, p. 38). Leonard and Onyx (2004) argue further that strong bonds within communities may actually facilitate stronger bonds between groups, with society being a "mesh" of bonded communities with some strong ties between them. Interestingly, Onyx and Bullen (2000) suggest that while rural communities are likely to have strong bonding social capital, they are less likely than urban areas to have significant bridging social capital, so that minority groups in rural areas are less likely to receive support.

Studies of the relationship between social capital and the built environment have explored the social impacts of neighbourhood design (Leyden, 2003) and urban and regional museums (Burton & Griffin, 2006). As Burton and Griffin (2006) note, in positing a link between buildings and social capital a further conceptual point must be clarified. That is, unless the previous stock of social capital is known, it cannot be assumed that the current stock was entirely created by the presence of the building. Hence, rather than measuring the stock of social capital, a more productive approach is to examine how the "programs, policies, and activities" associated with the building lead to increases or decreases in social capital (Burton & Griffin, 2006, p. 4).

ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: GRIFFITH, NEW SOUTH WALES

Griffith, a small rural town of around 24,000 people, is located in the Riverina region south-west of NSW. It is one of the largest wine and vegetable production areas in Australia. It has a long history of multiculturalism, with

the Wiradjuri, the Indigenous owners of the land, joined by Anglo-Celtic immigrants in the early nineteenth century and southern European immigrants (particularly Italians) since the early 1900s. The first Italian immigrants to Griffith were mainly Trevisani from the Veneto region of northern Italy. Subsequent immigrants came from many other regions of Italy: before World War II they were mostly from the northern provinces, especially from the north-east of Veneto and Friuli (Piazza, 2005; Huber, 1981). Following World War II a new wave of Italian immigrants arrived, this time mostly from the southern regions, particularly Calabria and Sicilia (Piazza, 2005, p. 10, 19). Those from the south eventually came to outnumber those from the north (Kabaila, 2005, p. 53). Other Italian immigrants came from Abruzzo, Toscana, Piemonte, Marche, and Campagna (Piazza, 2005, p. 10, 19). Recent estimates put the proportion of the population in Griffith with Italian ancestry at up to 60 per cent of the total population (Sims, 2004) and some "Italian" families are now into their fifth generation in Australia (Kabaila, 2005).

The influence of Italian immigrants on Griffith's built environment is evident in, among other things, the Italian Coro and Yoogali clubs, the Italian Museum and Cultural Centre, the Scalabrini retirement village and the Our Lady of Pompeii and Sacred Heart Catholic Churches. In addition, many of the town's public buildings were built by Italian immigrants and their descendants. Although the evidence is subtle, several Italian immigrants have also expressed their heritage through "ethnic nostalgia" in their homes (Kabaila, 2005, p. 127). For example, several of the homes in Griffith have adopted Italian elements such as elaborate metalwork fences or arched verandas. On the outskirts of town, the Italian influence on some farming houses is also apparent, incorporating Italian-style columns or statues of lions, the latter a symbol of Venice.

Construction of the Griffith Italian Museum and Cultural Centre was completed in 2003. A 2005 study of local history recommended the Museum be listed on local and state heritage registers for its "high significance to the Italian community" (Kabaila, 2005). The museum traces the history of Italian immigrants to Griffith and the surrounding region. Photographs and artifacts point to the central role of Italian immigrants in the economic and cultural development of the town. They are a clear illustration that Italian immigrants and their descendants not only belong to Griffith but were an integral part of its growth.

The design of the building was deliberately inclusive. It is intended to reflect both Griffith's Italian heritage and Australian rurality, with the front of the building consisting of Italian columns and arches with a *torre*, or bell

Fig. 1. The Griffith Italian Museum and Cultural Centre.

tower, that is reminiscent of building designs in Italian villages (Kabaila, 2005, p. 151). The back of the building with its corrugated iron roof represents a common rural Australian shed (Fig. 1). One of the members of the original museum committee, a middle-aged man with Italian heritage, here called Lorenzo, described the significance of the design:

This was meant to mould the two communities together, the Anglo-Saxon and the Italian ... the building had the arches and the tiled roof at the entrance as a portico, and that's typically Italian, and then the rest of the building is in zinc alum iron, which is styled like a shearing shed, like an early Riverina shearing shed, so that the two came together ... Rather than build a typically Italian building we just wanted to show the community that we wanted, we weren't being divisive, and here it is, a building that it achieved, that the two cultures could meet and live together. (Interview G2)

A major event that occurs in the grounds adjacent to the museum is the annual *Festa Delle Salsicce* (Salami Festival), organized by the Italian Museum Committee. The festival is a fundraiser for the museum and was originally conceived as a way to showcase the museum to the public. The festival was first held in 2003 and has grown steadily, in 2008 attracting

around 600 people including locals of both Italian and Anglo-Celtic heritage, as well as visitors from other states (Pattison, 2008).

The relationship of the museum to social cohesion among Italians and Italian Australians in Griffith is complex. According to Joe, an elderly Italian immigrant who is on the current museum committee, one aim of the museum is to remind young Italian Australians about their cultural backgrounds and the heritage of Griffith's Italian pioneers (Interview G5, not his real name). The museum's visitor book shows that the site has certainly been visited by these younger generations, particularly those attending with school groups. As well as being important for a sense of identity and belonging for first generation immigrants, places built in their new environment can also be central to the transmission of culture to future generations. This has important implications for cultural continuity and the intergenerational sustainability of minority cultures in multicultural environments.

When the original idea of the museum was proposed, there was widespread enthusiasm from within Griffith's Italian-origin community. For example, many Italian groups – including regional associations (such as the Abruzzo, Calabrian group, Trevisani, Veronesi, Vicentini, and Fogolar Furlan), armed forces groups (such as the Alpini and Marinai D'Italia) and sports and social groups (such as local *botce* clubs, the Italian Sports Club and the Italian Republic Day Committee) – generously donated funds (Piazza, 2005, p. 53). But the museum has also aroused tension and division within the Italian-origin community. For example, there is some perception that the museum is largely a celebration of northern Italian heritage. This highlights a longstanding tension between northern and southern Italian immigrants to this area. As current committee member Angelo explains, the broader Italian community in Griffith:

thought that there was an overbearance of northerners in the committee, or not only on the committee, but also what was going to be displayed ... So that alienated the groups from the south, who thought 'this is a northern thing'. And I don't think that's warranted yet, I think that's still there. They feel that the committee, that it's mainly the northerners that want to ... establish it and therefore put their ideas which is a bit of a shame. (Interview G7, not his real name)

In addition, with the museum's curator deciding on a minimalist display, a large number of items donated to the museum by the local community have been retained in storage. Many people have consequently been upset that their cherished belongings have not been included in the museum's public display.

The *Festa Delle Salicce* adds yet another layer of complexity to the impact of the museum on relations within the Italian-origin community. For example, the festival involves traditional Italian music, dancing and food, with food and wine for the day donated by local businesses and an Italian-style lunch cooked by local women. These processes can be seen as part of community-building through shared traditions as well as an operationalizing of informal networks in organizing and preparing for the day. In this way, it can be seen that the museum has played a role in developing social networks among some Italians and Italian-Australians, whereas at the same time decisions over the museum's display have played into existing tensions and arguably undermined trust among other members of the community.

The Italian Museum and Cultural Centre also impacts the relations between ethnic groups in Griffith. Visitors include locals from Anglo-Celtic, Italian, and Pacific Islander backgrounds, as well as diverse groups from local primary schools. The *Festa Delle Salicce* provides opportunities for participatory intercultural exchange. A scoping survey of those at the festival asked people if they thought that the festival was meaningful, and, if so, why. Many said it was an opportunity to catch up with old friends and spend time with other long-time residents, with one respondent commenting that "We're all local people, part and parcel of our community" (Interview G5). A number of people also commented on the mixing of cultures. For example, one respondent argued that:

[It's meaningful] because it's all the different nationalities ... it's nice and harmonious, there's no hate ... For integration it's really great'. (Interview G8)

Another suggested that:

[It's meaningful because it's] seeing the heritage of the past, Italian heritage, and there's other people who get involved too. It's very pleasant to see that – everybody amalgamates. (Interview G3)

The opportunity provided by the *Festa Delle Salicce* to strengthen and develop informal networks between the Anglo-Celtic and Italian-origin communities suggests that the festival, and hence the museum, can have an important role in interethnic dialogue.

Although the Griffith Italian Museum and Cultural Centre is a relatively new building, Griffith has been home to a number of "Italian" club houses for a much longer period. Although these were originally established by Griffith's Italian immigrants, today they are recognized much more as public recreational clubs. There are four Italian club houses in Griffith and surrounds. The first to be built was the Italo-Australian Club, established in

1937 at the Coronation Hall. The club was forced to close during World War II, and when it re-opened after the war it became the Coronation Club. Today it exists as the Coro Club. In 1946, both the Yoogali and Yoogali Catholic Clubs were opened, followed by the Hanwood Catholic Club in 1955.

The clubs have been key places where Griffith's Italian immigrants have forged their sense of belonging. In particular, they have been used to maintain cultural traditions such as *bocce* and Italian card games while also speaking Italian dialects. This allowed Griffith's Italian immigrants to create a space to feel at home and secure in their new environment. For example, Joe, the elderly Italian immigrant referred to earlier, suggests that without these clubs, he would not have stayed in Australia:

There was a dance there [at the Coronation Hall] on a Saturday night and that's how we met, yes, even that was something that was lovely to newcomer. If it wasn't those for those places there, I would not stay here in Australia, no, I would go back to Italy. Otherwise live here like animals, you know, you got nothing. So, we started to build things ... and started to build up here a good community until we felt ... it was good to live here. (Interview G5)

As Armstrong (1994) has argued, such sites are important parts of the inheritance of contemporary society and facilitate a way of life or continuing cultural practices. They can play a valuable role in transmitting culture, educating the public, and facilitating social and cultural exchange. The clubs Italian immigrants built in Griffith can be regarded as an adaptation of a traditional *osteria* and simultaneously as media for partial integration (Huber, 1981, p. 56). These processes can be seen as part of immigrant adaptation to a new Australian landscape where ethnic groups who build their own community facilities demonstrate that they have "roots in transferred cultures" as well as being firmly embedded in the local context and social space (Lalich, 2003, p. 11).

Our fieldwork also suggested that the four Italian clubs were built, at least in part, as a response to the exclusion Italian immigrants felt from mainstream society. Tony, an elderly Italian immigrant who arrived in Griffith as a young man, stated explicitly that:

The reason why the Italian clubs were first initiated was that we were not allowed to join the Ex-Servicemen's Club, or what was then the Jondaryan Club. I was barred from entering the Ex-Servicemen's Club after a football game. I was playing football for Griffith, and all the team went in after the game and I was stopped at the door. So I then took on board the Italian clubs and patronized them. (Interview G1, not his real name)

It can be argued that the establishment of the Italian clubs was, therefore, a way of claiming citizenship through the social use of space. Like the Italian

Museum and Cultural Centre, Griffith's Italian clubs tell a complex story about place and social cohesion in an ethnically mixed rural city. A number of the clubs have had a historic association with Italians from a particular region. For example, when the Yoogali Catholic Club was opened, it specifically excluded southern Italians. Today, the membership is more mixed, but the members who are Italian migrants are still predominantly from the north. In contrast, the Yoogali Club, located immediately next door to the Yoogali Catholic Club, is today seen as a predominantly southern Italian club. The Hanwood Catholic Club has taken a different trajectory. Tony, the elderly immigrant introduced earlier, suggests that the club was instrumental in building relations between northern and southern Italians, as well as aiding integration with the non-Italian club members:

The Hanwood Club was in trouble and it looked like closing down ... There was disenchantment with the board of directors or committee at the time ... [there were] Italian factions from different regions of Italy. At the time the different factions wouldn't fraternise. (Interview G1)

Although being flavored with intra-ethnic tensions and competition, the Italian clubs have made a point of being open to non-Italians. Today, members of the clubs are of diverse ethnic backgrounds, from Anglo-Celtic to Pacific Islanders. For these reasons, the clubs are no longer popularly known as being "Italian." The mixed membership of the clubs has provided a forum for members to meet and socialize with people from other cultures, as well as helping the Italian immigrants to make connections beyond the Italian community.

CONCLUSIONS

The buildings examined in this chapter are just a few of the sites through which the Griffith region's non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants and their descendants have enacted and expressed their belonging to place. The relationship between the immigrant impact on the built environment and social cohesion warrants careful consideration. The concepts of bonding and bridging social capital are useful avenues with which to explore this relationship. The research presented here highlights the broad issues. The Griffith Italian Museum and Cultural Centre may have facilitated some cultural exchange between younger and older generations in the Italian community and has formed part of the town's social infrastructure, providing physical infrastructure and social services as well as a place for

social encounter. However, it has also re-inflamed old intra-ethnic tensions. Although some of the Italian clubs have at times been associated with one or another regional group, they have also opened possibilities for intra-ethnic dialogue and the development of social capital within Griffith's diverse Italian community.

The study also draws attention to the potential of built sites to generate interaction and exchange between cultural groups. The Italian museum serves an educational purpose for visitors from all cultural backgrounds. Through the *Festa Delle Salsicce*, it is also a site that enables the engagement of people from non-Italian backgrounds in an active experience of Italian food, culture and traditions, and a space of substantial intercultural exchange between Italian and Anglo-Celtic Australians. By opening their doors to non-Italians at a time when Anglo-Celtic clubs denied Italians membership, the Italian clubs have also provided space for the development of bridging social capital in an ethnically diverse rural setting.

REFERENCES

- Ayeman, J., & Spooner, R. (1997). Ethnicity and rural environment. In: P. Cloke & J. Little (Eds), *Contested countryside cultures* (pp. 197-218). London: Routledge.
- Anderson, K. (1990). Chinatown re-oriented: A critical analysis of recent redevelopment schemes in a Melbourne and Sydney enclave. *Australian Geographical Studies: Journal of the Institute of Australian Geographers*, 28(2), 137-154.
- Armstrong, H. B. (1994). Cultural continuity in multicultural suburban places. In: K. Gibson & S. Watson (Eds), *Metropolis now*. Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Armstrong, H. B. (1997). Migrant heritage places in Australia. *Historic Environment*, 13(2), 12-24.
- Armstrong, H. B. (2002). Landscapes of hope: Migrant spaces on the margins. In: S. Akkach (Ed), *De-Placing difference: Architecture, culture and imaginative geography*. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture, Faculty of the Professions, South Australia: The University of Adelaide.
- Babacan, H. (2005). Locating identity: Sense of space, place and belonging. *International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, 5(5), 113-124.
- Burton, C., & Griffin, J. (2006). *Investigating social impacts of small museums in local settings*. Paper presented to the Fourth International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, Vienna, July 12.
- Collins, J. (2003). *Ethnic entrepreneurship in Australia*. Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, 1/02, School of International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmö University, Sweden.
- Collins, J., & Kunz, P. (2005). *Spatial dimensions of the commodification of ethnicity in the city: Producers, consumers and the critical infrastructure in four Sydney ethnic precincts*. Paper presented at the IMISCOE Cluster B6 Workshop on Ethnic, Cultural, and Religious Diversity, Amsterdam, May 26-28.
- Dunn, K. (1999). *Mosques and Islamic centres in Sydney: representations of Islam and Multiculturalism*. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Newcastle, Australia.
- Garland, J., & Chakraborti, N. (2007). Protean times? Exploring the relationships between policing, community and 'race' in rural England. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 7, 347-365.
- Hage, G. (1997). At home in the entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, "ethnic food" and migrant home building. In: H. Grace, G. Hage, L. Johnson, J. Langworth & M. Symonds (Eds), *Home/world: Space, community and marginality in Sydney's West*. Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Helzer, J. (2001). Old traditions, new lifestyles: The emergence of a cal-ital landscape. *American Pacific Coast Geographer Year Book*, 63, 49-62.
- Holloway, S. (2007). Burning issues: Whiteness, rurality and the politics of difference. *Geoforum*, 38, 7-20.
- Huber, R. (1981). Italians in Griffith, NSW. In: M. Bowman (Ed.), *Beyond the city: Case studies in community structure and development* (pp. 45-70). Melbourne, Australia: Longman Cheshire.
- Kabaila, P. (2005). *Griffith heritage: A thematic history*. Canberra: Piton Publishing.
- Kinkead, G. (1993). *Chinatown: A portrait of a closed society*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Knowles, C. (2008). The landscape of post-imperial whiteness in rural Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31, 167-184.
- Lalich, W. (2003). *Ethnic community capital*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Technology, Sydney.
- Leonard, R., & Onyx, J. (2004). *Social capital and community building: Spinning straw into gold*. London: Janus Publishing Company.
- Leyden, K. (2003). Social capital and the built environment: The importance of walkable neighbourhoods. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(9), 1546-1551.
- National Trust of Australia (NSW). Available at <http://www.nsw.nationaltrust.org.au>.
- Neal, S. (2002). Rural landscapes, representations and racism: Examining multicultural citizenship and policy - making in the English countryside. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(3), 442-461.
- Noussia, A. (2003). Heritage recycled: Migration and tourism as factors in the heritage of vernacular settlements. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 9(3), 197-213.
- Onyx, J., & Bullen, P. (2000). Measuring social capital in five communities. *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science*, 36(1), 23-42.
- Partison, T. (2008). Aussie salami snags top award at Italian festival. *The Area News*, 20 August. Available at <http://griffith.yourguide.com.au/news/local/news/general/aussie-salami-snags-top-award-at-italian-festival/1249137.aspx>. Retrieved on September 16 2008.
- Piazza, G. B. (2005). *A history of Italian settlement in Griffith*. Unpublished local history, Griffith, New South Wales.
- Punnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ray, L., & Reed, K. (2005). Community, mobility and racism in a semi-rural area: Comparing minority experience in East Kent. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(2), 212-234.
- Sims, G. (2004). Italian story. *ABC Broadcast*. September 13, 2003. <http://www.abc.net.au/stateline/nsw/content/2004/s1197534.htm>. Retrieved on September 11, 2008.
- Williams, C. (2007). Revisiting the rural/race debates: A view from the Welsh countryside. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, 741-765.

- Winikoff, T. (1992). Big banana and little Italy: Multicultural planning and urban design in Australia. In: S. Gunew & R. Fazal (Eds), *Culture, difference and the arts* (pp. 130-146). Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Woolcock, M., & Narayan, D. (2000). Social capital: Implications for development theory, research and policy. *World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2), 225-249.
- Zukin, S. (1995). *The cultures of cities*. Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishers.

CHAPTER 11

THE REGENERATIVE POWER OF OLDER MIGRANTS? A CASE STUDY OF HOKKAIDO, JAPAN

Kayo Murakami, Rose Gilroy and Jane Atterton

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores how the retiring Japanese "baby boomer" generation is rethinking the role of later life and potentially provides a new future for depopulated areas in rural Japan. Drawing on a case study of the Hokkaido prefecture, the chapter highlights three points. First, the baby boomer generation in Japan has very different ideas about the meaning of later life, and the spatial implications of these may present opportunities for regeneration. Secondly, hard-pressed rural local authorities are looking to exploit these opportunities to build a new socioeconomic base from the needs and aspirations of older people. Third, the chapter questions what kind of rural futures might be built.

INTRODUCTION

While the aging of the population is a global issue felt in the developed and developing world (Harper, 2006), the ratio of older to not old in Japan coupled with the rapidity of its shift from a young to an old society