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The farm as an educative tool in the development of place attachments among Irish farm youth

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This paper focuses on the educative role of the farm in the development of relationships between young people and the homeplace they grew up on. The paper is based on qualitative interviews with a cohort of 30 Irish university students (15 men and 15 women) brought up on Irish family farms who would not become full-time farmers. The farm acts as an educational tool through which broader cultural and familial norms of land ownership, succession and affiliations with the land are transmitted to the next generation. This is manifested through, for example, the creation of foundational stories about their forebearers' influence on the physical appearance of the farm. The resulting place attachments are of profound depth and serve a key role in the succession process in helping to build a sense of duty and responsabilisation into the next generation's relationship with the landholding.

Keywords: education; farm youth; memory; place attachment

Introduction

Education for farm youth, as for other cohorts, has a profoundly important role to play in how their lives are shaped and the kind of attachments they develop. However, research that has been carried out on education in rural areas often tends to focus on interpreting it in light of its relationship to migration rather than the influences that are brought to bear on it from the home (see for instance, Dahlström, 1996; Ní Laoire, 2001). In terms of Irish farm youth's education on the farm they grow up on, typically this is framed within its capacity to generate technical learning for the chosen successor, in itself a heavily gendered process. However, the wider research study this paper's findings are drawn from demonstrates that the cooperation of non-succeeding offspring is required to ensure the farm is retained within the family into the next generation (Cassidy, 2014). Therefore, although the apprentice type relationship between a chosen (typically male) heir is of importance in securing a successor and providing them with the local knowledge to manage the farm in the future, this does not account for the deep relationship that other offspring develop with the holding. Indeed, since some successors take on holdings that are not economically viable, it is doubtful if the work-based farmer/heir dynamic can fully account for their attachment to the holding either. It is often emotional attachments, which are crucially important in the commitment to retain the farm in the family both among those offspring who will succeed to the landholding and those who will be expected to migrate away (see, for example, Cassidy & McGrath, 2014).

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This paper discusses some of the educative tools that are used to create attachments to the farm and the consequences for farm youth's relationships with their home place. The argument is made that these educative tools are highly significant elements of the process of creating place attachments for young people. Three of the main tools that are discussed here are foundational stories, parental memories, and the physical landscape of the farm. However, it should be remembered that these tools are not the only influence on young people's attachments to the farm. Instead, they should be viewed as part of a complex amalgamation of personal and parental preferences and aspirations, historical (dis)continuities, working relationships, and so on. The paper argues that these tools help to create a relationship that is gendered, profoundly affective, historically embedded and, yet, is fluid enough to allow the next generation to adapt to changing societal pressures.

The paper begins with a general contextual background based on a review of the literature in relation to place attachment, the relationship with the physical landscape of the holding, and the role of memory. Next it briefly outlines the methodological approach. It then concentrates on the paper's main findings, where the three educative tools are presented. This is followed by a brief conclusion that explores the wider implications of the place attachment that develops for offspring in farming families.

Place attachment for Irish farm youth

In the Irish family farming context, place attachment is crucial to the continued transmission of norms and culture from one generation to the next. The enmeshment of the family's biography and the narrative of the farm in turn reduces the possibility that the sale of the landholding will be contemplated as the farm itself is framed as a crucial element of their emotional and physical domains. In this paper, place is defined as 'a discrete if "elastic" area in which settings for the constitution of social relations are located and with which people can identify' (Agnew, 1993, p.263). In using this definition, the concept of place can be linked to both the individual's sense of self as well as their membership of a group (Corcoran, 2002). A number of elements are identified in the literature as important to the development of place attachments such as the existence of social networks, the culture of a place and crucially for this study the constructed and natural environment and the memories that are triggered by being there (Childress, 1996; Riley, 2002; Simonsen, 1997 all cited in Corcoran, 2002).

The construction of place and spatial identities relies on a multifaceted network of relationships between the individual, their family and particular public or private spaces (Dahlström, 1996). For example, migration research focuses on the complexity of place attachments for young people such as farmers' daughters. Their place attachment is often premised on an interplay between maternal aspirations, local socio-economic opportunities, and family farming's succession norms (see, for instance, Bjørkhaug and Wiborg, 2010; Cassidy and McGrath, 2014; Gidarakou, 1999; Wiborg, 2004). The meaning individuals attach to where they grow up is an important part of how identities are formed, irrespective of whether their life path seems to take them far away from the lifestyle they grew up within. This birth culture can be used in an oppositional sense to create a biography that is urban based or professionally driven (Wiborg, 2004). Therefore, place attachment should be seen as a social construction so that while it may be based on a fixed point in the physical landscape, specifically in the case of this research the farm, it is assigned meaning by

the individuals who inhabit it and is infused with differential access to power (Corcoran, 2002; Dahlström, 1996; Haukanes, 2013; Mahon, 2007; Wiborg, 2004;).

Previous research has demonstrated that the concept of the 'temporal fulcrum', i.e. how the past, present and future are interpreted by farmers, can play a significant role in everyday farming practices (Raedeke & Rikoon, 1997; Riley, 2008). However, temporality can also have an influence on cultural developments in the longer term. Much of the attachment to the idea of retaining the farm in the family is derived from a sense of obligation to previous generations and a wish to honour the commitment and sacrifices associated with this. This norm links back to the concept of place attachment whereby the longer the family's history has been enmeshed with that of the farm the more likely young people are to feel this sense of commitment and duty to preserve it (Vedeld et al., 2003 as cited in Bjørkhaug and Wiborg, 2010). It has also been noted that this kind of belonging and the powerful sentiments bound up in the farm prevent the sale of the property even where it appears to be unviable to keep it on (Flemsæter, 2009 as cited in Bjørkhaug and Wiborg, 2010). Since the family identity is so closely entangled with the farm, the prospect of losing the land represents more than simply a denial of access to an economically important resource but also the means of expressing who they are and their affiliation to a broader and older ideal (Ní Laoire, 2005). In the Irish context, the importance of retaining the farm in Irish family farming culture is reflected in the fact that in 2014 less than 1% of agricultural land was made available for sale. This is in spite of the fall in the number of young people entering the industry, with only 6.2% of farmers under the age of 35 years in 2010 (Central Statistics Office, 2012). In acknowledging the emotional power of retaining the land, and irrespective of the sense of individual obligation to the idea of succession, research has shown this to be weaker than it was in previous generations (Brandth & Overrein, 2013; Villa, 1999). However, this does not mean that family farming and the succession norms that underpin it will be obliterated from the social landscape, but rather that it will be modified and adapted to meet the changing needs of modern society (Silvasti, 2003).

In youth studies there has been a paradigmatic shift towards the concept that in late modern society, individuals have the capacity to choose where is most appropriate for them to claim they identify with. This moves towards the idea of young people creating an identity that is linked to self-chosen markers of how they want to present themselves to the world in a kind of reflexive type of belonging (Beck, 1992; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Kraus, 2006; Marcus, 1992; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005). This can largely be attributed to the growing disconnect between place, time, and space so that attachments are increasingly imagined outside of these boundaries. In fact, Savage et al. (2005) argue that 'elective belonging' whereby individuals have a fluid relationship with what they define as home, grounded within their own life story is the central axis of current forms of attachment. As part of this the idea of attaching to a particular place based on birth or upbringing is no longer of the same importance as in earlier times.

The physical landscape of any place, in this instance, the familial landholding can be interpreted as having particular philosophical implications for each actor, which influences how they act and how they expect others to act (Cosgrove, 1984 as cited in Saugeres, 2002). It is a dwelling place connected to an enduring, temporally entrenched narrative to which each individual has a reactive relationship (Ingold, 1993). Ingold noted that the conceptualisation of landscape is based on individual acts of remembrance that are suffused with traces of the past. Despite the importance of emotion-driven attachments to the farm how individuals are educated about

relationships with it is often framed in the literature within the context of working relationships (see for example, Bjørkhaug & Blekesaune, 2007; Bjørkhaug & Wiborg, 2010; Brandth, 1995; Bye, 2009; Dahlström, 1996; Gray, 1998; Leckie, 1996; Riley, 2009; 2016; Wallace, Dunkerley, Cheal, & Warren, 1994). An example is Saugeres' (2002) study carried out in rural France, which focused on the relationship between gender and landscape with particular emphasis on work practices and their impact on the kind of attachments men and women had with the farm. Similarly, Riley (2009) carried out an ethnographic study on farms in England, which specifically focused on young people's labour inputs. A recent study (Riley, 2016) that explored identities among older farmers also focused primarily on their working relationship with the farm and its impact on their sense of self as well as the cultural value placed on their intimate local knowledge of the holding.

The role of memory

Place attachments are often shaped by and through a collection of common memories and customs. Thus, the idea of place attachment can be seen as bound up in layers of meaning that are in part a merger of these two elements (Corcoran, 2002). However, it should be remembered that memory is not a static concept but rather is a fluid structure in which understandings of recalled events are constructed and distilled according to an individual's present needs (Jedlowski, 2001). Two different types of memory are identified within the sociological literature. The first of these is concerned with individual memories, which are internal and unique in the meaning ascribed to them by that actor. At the same time they are external in how their recollection is located within a complex relational framework. The second type is the collective form. This collective memory is essential for the passing on of a culture and its norms, traditions and artifacts from one generation to the next. These types of memories have a particular function in a group since they allow a common identity to be preserved and handed down, thereby maintaining its continuity (Connerton, 1989 as cited in Jedlowski, 2001).

However, while this collective memory is linked to the perseverance of a group and as such draws much of its energy from within this dynamic, it is the individual who actively sustains this through the act of remembrance (Halbwachs, 1992). There are many individuals and events that could be remembered and drawn upon in the passing on of, for example, norms and customs, but this is a selective process based on their relevance to a particular set of values. This idea of collective memory is applicable to different kinds of groups, but it is at the level of the individual family, which this research is primarily concerned with. Nevertheless, these are undoubtedly permeated by memories from a wider social level so that recollections of events within a particular family can be expected to be filtered through a lens infused with norms of to some extent the rural but especially the farming community. This collective memory is historical in nature and has elements of continuity from the past and tinges of the present in how it is understood. If it was only the present that was considered to be important, then continuity, which is its primary aim, would not be achieved. It should be noted that Giddens (1994) contends that tradition is closely linked to memory and describes it as 'an organizing medium' (p. 64) for it. This would suggest that in any community such as the farming one—where the preservation of traditional patterns of behaviour is essential for its persistence into the

next generation—the notion of memory and how this is utilised could be of great importance.

The literature that was included here serves to frame the paper's empirical findings in two ways. First, the inclusion of place attachment as a broad concept and its subthemes of, for example, the role of temporality, how it is typically interpreted and its significance in the succession process helps to shape how we understand educative processes within Irish family farming. Second, the conceptualisation of memory as an interplay of the personal and the collective, underpins how particular tools such as foundational stories that draw on both of these dimensions are a vital element in the creation of young people's place attachments. These themes are returned to in the conclusion. Attention now turns to the methodological approach underpinning this paper.

Methodological approach

This paper is based on qualitative data gathered in semi-structured interviews with 30 young adults from farming backgrounds who were attending university. The local university was chosen as the site for the study since it was a convenient method of accessing a suitable research sample, and the purposive sampling method was used. University students were chosen as the specific research cohort partly because this is a common transition to adulthood pathway in the Irish family farming community. Research has demonstrated that there is a markedly high participation rate among young people from this background in third-level education (Byrne, McCoy, & Watson, 2008; O'Connell, Clancy, & McCoy, 2006). However, while this was a homogeneous cohort in terms of sharing a farming background, the group itself was internally heterogeneous with regard to farm systems, full-time/part-time farm status, family size, age, and birth orders. This focus on university students is a limitation of the study as there was no comparative group of non-university farm youth to detect differences in attitudes with. However, if any farm youth who had left the farm was included it would have been more difficult to create a coherent sample within which patterns and differences might be examined. The sample consisted of 15 females and 15 males, between 18 and 33 years of age; 17 did not foresee any possibility of succeeding to the farm; 10 possibly would; 2 'probably'; and 1 confirmed that they would definitely inherit the holding. All participants' names are pseudonyms.

Although a relatively small number of participants are quoted in the paper the points are broadly reflective of the cohort's experiences. Within the qualitative framework, narrative inquiry was chosen as the means to examine how individuals make sense of events and actions that happen to them and around them. The stories people tell are constantly produced as a means of organising experiences, and usually involve a temporal element where events are chronologically linked with a beginning, middle, and end (Clandinin & Rosiek 2007; Creswell 2007; Moen, 2006). Narratives are an important element in understanding identities both for individuals and for groups. Their stories become a scaffolding framework through which the participants interpret their past in the present moment of the interview (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). Returning to the focus of this paper, the following section describes the role of foundational stories, parental memories, and the physical infrastructure of the farmyard as educational tools in the development of place attachments for Irish farm youth.

The role of foundational stories

Farm youths' relationships with the home place are tethered to a temporal continuum that in many cases locates actors in a framework incorporating past, present and future generations. The temporal continuum of the family on the farm is largely transmitted through a legacy-based cultural attachment. Their education within this discourse acts as an important feature of their emotional attachment to their cultural and familial background. For some this can be manifested through, for example, retaining the farm in the family even where it does not appear to be economically viable to do so, and for others this involves supporting a succession strategy that largely precludes them from inheriting their parents' landholding. The narrative messages and educative tools that are used to teach offspring about these nuanced place attachments are, thus, often embedded within this particular framework. The historicity of their relationship is shown in the in-depth knowledge some participants had of their family's temporal connection to the farm. These historical memories are actively preserved and transmitted from one generation to the next, and act as important foundational stories for the family's relationship with the farm in the present. This helps to hold the family's offspring in an ongoing relationship with the farm grounded in the concept of legacy and responsibility not only to themselves and their parents but also to their ancestors. Through these historical memories that shape the family's foundational narrative, their history and the history of the farm are unified so that one becomes a means of preserving the other. This contributes to a reluctance to countenance the loss of the farm from the family because of its implications for the family narrative in relation to its past and future. In this way the use of these stories as educational tools assumes significant meaning for the family and their landholding.

For several members of the research cohort these foundational stories were of profound importance to how they framed the farm. These often centred on narratives of ancestral efforts to build a small farm into a prosperous holding through hard work and personal sacrifice. One participant called Joseph spoke of his grandfather travelling to England to work and later returning with enough money to purchase the farm the family now lives on. Another named James proudly described how his great-grand-uncles, from whom his grandfather inherited the farm, had gone to the USA to work as labourers in order to send money home to buy land. This seems to have at least partially influenced his wish to retain the farm within the family as is demonstrated in this quote about these men:

There was certainly I would consider huge accomplishment in the face of conditions and I would certainly like to keep that [the farm] going for the sake of chronology really, for the sake of keeping things ticking over.

These narratives were aided in James' case by visual prompts in the form of memorial cards¹ for deceased relatives, which were present in the family home. These acted as a constant reinforcement of the current generation's positioning within an extended familial lineage. These were his thoughts:

They were inextricably linked these old [memorial cards] or you would have been aware of these people for say the Catholic ritual. You would been made aware of them but at the same time they're your history as well—you know they're the history of the farm as well so they become inextricably linked.

These stories are bolstered by knowledge of more recent generations' sacrifices for the sake of building the farm up. For example, Bridget spoke of her father's hard life in trying to raise a family in impoverished circumstances while simultaneously improving his farm. She captured the importance of these memories in the creation of her attachment to the farm in these comments:

We're very aware you know of where the farm came from, and in time then my father purchased the field across the road and he always tells the story of when that field across from my house came up for sale and he went back to the shop and he didn't have the money to buy it, but some old man back at the shop told him 'Oh, you've no choice! You have to buy that field—you can't have someone else living opposite your house'. So him and my mother just you know begged, stole [sic] and borrowed to get the field.

Through calling to mind these historical and parental memories, the farm is further distanced from the concept of a commodity, which can be bought and sold. The farm, thus, comes to be framed as something beyond financial measure; for what price can be placed on one's family history and intangibles like pride and endurance?

However, not all participants had in-depth knowledge of their family's history on the farm, with some only possessing a vague outline of dates and hazy understandings of it. This was highlighted by Paula:

They [her parents] haven't really talked about it [the family history] but it was just you were kind of conscious that like the Dunphys [her family] were always there.

Neither should it be taken that the farm is viewed as a static entity as what allows the farm to adapt from generation to generation is that it is a kind of palimpsest,² which allows for new directions to be taken while still being shaped by what has preceded it. Without this flexibility new generations would not be able to (re)imagine the farm aesthetically or practically but, instead, would be required to rigidly preserve the landscape. This was demonstrated in Rita's interview:

The slats are new ... but with regards, to the older outbuildings—two of them are totally different looking to what they were when I was a child. I mean, I remember it was a really old (shed) and it had a milking slat in it—it was two levels and there was like two pens like for calves. I mean that's totally gone.

Despite being deeply attached to the holding, her acceptance of the changes that have occurred to the physical appearance of the farm show how the farm can be simultaneously maintained in its essence and transformed in its substance without losing its sense of continuity or its function as an identity marker.

The impact of parental memories

Parental memories are also used as an important educative tool in the creation of attachments to the farm. They help to anchor the individual to the farm and deepen the enduring connection they feel to it. While personal memories can serve as a reminder of ties, which bind them to their own and their family's past, it is parental ones that emerged as a particularly important tool for the transmission of norms and responsibilities to the next generation. These were often presented as cautionary tales that bore the marks of frequent oral retelling or mental recollection. This was shown

in how participants used phrases such as ‘my father often talks about’ or ‘my mother always says’. More generally cautionary tales often serve as both admonitions and catalysts for how actors set their goals and align their paths, past, present and future, within certain frameworks and construct their own personal identity. Importantly for this paper, memories framed as cautionary tales can also play a significant role in the construction of young people’s loyalty to and long-term relationships with the farm. These recollections become a mechanism to aid in the understanding parental sacrifices and, perhaps, meaning to the fact that the family has chosen to remain on the farm in the face of financial pressures and/or unfeasibly small-sized holdings. In addition, they delimit the boundaries of their relationship with both the specific farm they come from and their place within family farming culture.

These stories about the denial of parental opportunities, seemed to have a gendered dimension as they increased male participants’ sense of personal or familial responsibility towards keeping the farm within the family and embedded them more deeply in a formal attachment to the land. Some male participants narrated tales of how their fathers had been forced to curtail their education and take on a full-time role on the farm due to family circumstances such as parental illness. James narrated a dismayed story about how despite being the youngest of three sons his father had been manipulated into taking on the farm at the age of 12 when his own father became ill. James believed that this had limited his life choices and opportunities. While James used this as motivation to pursue his own education, at the same time, if his brother—who is likely to succeed—cannot do, so he will take on the farm and tailor his life plans accordingly. These were his views on the subject:

I know that just at the moment that it [the farm] means so much to my dad and that he truly made the best of a terrible situation and he’s very proud of that. So maintaining a lineage of, paying tribute to who had gone before you was something that from an early age that was something that was [important].

For female participants, similar educative tools are used to develop place attachments even though this loyalty may manifest differently. This is demonstrated in relation to cautionary tales as they do not appear to serve quite the same function for female participants as their male counterparts. For female participants cautionary tales and the socialisation processes which underpinned them, helped to push them away from the idea of succeeding to the farm in the future. In interviews with a few female participants cautionary tales emerged as an influence on attitudes towards the possible nature of their future attachments to the land. For example, one respondent, Shauna, mentioned that her mother often repeated a story about a neighbouring family where the daughter worked with her parents on the farm her whole life. However, when they died it was her brother who was chosen as the successor to the farm and she received nothing. Through this device her mother seemed to be intimating that this would happen if she too tried to take on a farmer role and in the process imagine herself as the potential successor to the farm. This kind of tale is significant in terms of locating someone within a particular relationship with the home place.

The influence of the farm’s physical infrastructure

The physical landscape of the farm, especially the farmyard and the buildings it contains, serve as educational tools for a family’s offspring. Most participants spoke of spending significant amounts of time in this space as children not only for work

purposes but also in their leisure time. It is this kind of intertwining that helps to build deep emotionally infused relationships with the landholding. For many, their childhood memories centred on this domain rather than inside spaces such as the house they lived in. How the farmyard could be used for a combination of educational and leisure purposes is illustrated in the quotes below. The first quote from Rita's interview demonstrates how the farmyard became a site of play:

You know, you'd loads of little buildings to hide in if you were playing hide and seek and everything was kind of an endless game almost you could make anything your castle or your fort or whatever you wanted.

The following quote from Rita shows how the farmyard was also used for educational purposes to teach young children how to appropriately interact with the farm as a work space:

About five ... six, I think it was when we started to be brought around the farm and taught you know don't touch that, don't go in here and leave the door open, and let the rats get in to where all the feed is.

This has at least partially contributed to a determination to maintain much of the holding in her ownership in the future:

I could sell my parents' house. I could probably sell my other grandfather's house. I could probably even sell maybe a bit of land, but when it comes down to the buildings and I suppose places that I grew up in, I'd always feel that attachment of — No, that's mine, kind of like a child almost in a way.

Within this setting there were many visible prompts such as old hay sheds, which helped to preserve the discourse of continuity between one generation and the next. In several interviews participants recalled how the physical handiwork, notably farmyard buildings, of previous generations of their family was pointed out to them repeatedly. These buildings have a powerful impact on these young people and appeared to be actively used to develop particular embedded relationships with the farm. This can be seen in this quote from a female participant named Bridget:

Oh, absolutely, yeah definitely, [the family's history was talked about] 'and this is where your grandfather used keep horses', and we still have our grandfather's hay barn and things like that, even though it wouldn't be the best hay barn in the world. But, oh very much, so we knew exactly where everything was long ago and where everything is now.

Andrew also remarked on the impact the physical infrastructure of the farm had on him:

When you go down there, it's kind of like— wow look at this! This is the house your grandfather built, this is where so many generations grew up.

These memories have a corporeal, solid, quality to them, which help to root young people in their family's past and importantly educate them about the kind of relationship the family is expected to have with the holding. They are also intertwined with the participants' own biographies, so it becomes difficult to pinpoint where one generation's story ends and the next one begins. This was noted by Donal when he said:

Where we are is my dad's family's old house and we're on the original farm, so yeah it would have been going back [the family connection], a fair while alright [...] the old house is still there. So it was nice to be living there.

However, it should be noted that for some their emotional attachments to the farm carried potentially challenging consequences in terms of their future relationship with it. This can be seen in Andrew's story who appreciated the family's historical connection to the farm. However, he also pulled away from this through refusing to learn more about other people who lived on his homeplace a long time ago. They left permanent reminders of their existence in the form of fireplaces clearly visible in buildings, which used to be dwelling places but are now sheds. Since he was willing to contemplate selling the land (one of the few participants to do so) he recoiled from this knowledge because if he were to immerse himself more deeply in this connection he would feel a greater responsibility to preserve the farm into the future.

Conclusion

While place attachment is accepted as a social construction within the literature, little attention is paid to the processes that underpin how it is expressed by individuals. This paper has sought to build on work that has been carried out in rural and youth sociology by, for example, Bjørkhaug and Wiborg (2010), Dahlström (1996), Haukanes (2013) and Savage et al. (2005), by focusing on these processes and some of the educative tools that have been utilised within the family farming community to shape how place attachment is developed. Where rural sociology has interrogated the concept of relationships with the farm, attention has typically been paid to its working life (see, for example, Brandth, 1995; Riley, 2008, 2016; Saugeres, 2002). While this is vital to furthering our understanding of family farming dynamics this paper has demonstrated the need to move beyond this focus. The symbiotic relationship between the family and the farm and the resulting impact of the farm on the family and the family on the farm means that further research on the emotional socialisation of young people such as was carried out in this paper, is needed. This will help to explain how, for instance, the educational power of memory at both the personal and the collective level can underpin changes and, indeed, continuities in succession norms in the family farming community.

Irish farm youth's place attachment to the home place they grew up on is not solely linked to the individual in the current moment but rather is a fluid idea that shifts between the past, present, and future. As a result, many individuals are bound into a sense of moral and familial obligation and rootedness in the landholding they grew up on. Through the educative tools that were outlined here, the farm assumes a quasi-anthropomorphic position, which moves beyond the physical landscape to represent an important component of the family's relationship with their narrative and themselves in the past, present, and future. In this way the farm through the foundational stories that are created about it, the parental memories that are shaped around it, and its physical landscape, has the capacity to act as a catalyst for profound place attachments for young people. While these place attachments are often manifested according to particular roles in the succession strategy, one of their most significant underlying consequences is that there is a strong desire to maintain the farm in the family into the next generation.

However, it should be noted that while there are strong continuities in the relationship with the farm from one generation to the next, among this research cohort

this is not accompanied by an expectation that the farm will be preserved in a kind of fossilised way. Instead, the farm is preserved in its essence rather than in a concrete physical appearance or set of practices. The farm is a kind of palimpsest, which allows adaptations to be made, for example, old sheds can be put to new uses, while still being strongly influenced by what has transpired in previous generations. How place attachment is manifested connects not just to the persistence of the farm in its physical incarnation but also its social, emotional and familial representations. The idea of a temporal continuum, which underpinned many of the findings presented in this paper, also facilitates the passing on of a particular discourse based on responsibility, an appreciation of the history of the farm from one generation to the next and the importance of succession to the continuation of the family's relationship with the landholding into the next generation. As this paper has demonstrated, the transmission of this discourse from one generation to the next largely depends on the use of educative tools to develop particular place attachments and relationships with the home place among young people.

Notes

¹ These are small cards, which include the person's name, their photo and perhaps a passage from the Bible or a poem and are usually given to close family and friends. They are rarely discarded so they are often present in the home long after the individual has passed away.

² A palimpsest is typically taken to mean an old manuscript on which later writing is superimposed but the original script remains visible.

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