

**A threatened rural idyll?
Informal social control, exclusion
and the resistance to change in the
English Countryside**

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For Grampy, and Grandma

“You toiled away and at the end of the day you both can look back on a life well played”.

Chapter 1

Introduction:

Framing the parameters of the book

The general consensus amongst social scientists is that we are living in a turbulent world undergoing a major restructuring. Globalisation has had an impact on social life at an unprecedented level. Places are becoming tied together by the compression of time-space through developments in technological communications, cheap air travel and multiculturalism (Giddens, 1991; Massey, 1994; Neal 2009). While the increased connectivity of globalisation has had some positive impact on society, it has not, as some policymakers and politicians have maintained, subsumed or diminished the idea of nation states or ushered in a monolithic, global culture. In many ways, it has done the opposite as when perceptions of uncertainty and change are acute people begin to look for ways in which to latch onto identity to protect who they are and maintain a sense of ontological security.

Britain has not escaped from this global turbulence, the most striking manifestation of which has been Brexit. On 23 June 2016, the British public voted to leave the EU by 52–48 percent. Goodwin and Heath (2016) have claimed that the relatively unexpected victory of Brexit was driven by the same processes which led United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) being voted into the European Parliament in 2014 and gain political footing during the 2015 UK General Election. That is, the vote for Brexit was perceived to be delivered by those ‘left behind’ by globalisation - all those ‘pensioners, low-skilled, less well-educated blue-collar workers and citizens who have been pushed to the margins’ (Goodwin and Heath, 2016: 13).

What was also evident within the discourses surrounding Brexit was the presence of narratives around external threats and internal dangers against whom Britain has often defined and defended itself including, most notably, racialised minorities and migrants (e.g., Habermas, 2016). And there was something about this racialisation of minorities and migrants exhibited in the discursive dimensions of the ‘Leave’ campaigns. For instance, within the discourses of *Vote Leave* – the official ‘Leave’ campaign of the Referendum led by senior Conservative MPs such as Boris Johnson and Michael Gove and a scattering of Labour MPs such as Kate Hoey and Frank Field – a narrative

around a forward-looking ‘Global Britain’ was cast, one whereby leaving the EU Britain could once again secure trade agreements with other commonwealth nations (e.g., Australia, New Zealand) as well as emerging global economies (e.g., China, India). However, this ‘Global Britain’ project was less about creating a forward-looking ‘Global Britain’ and more about invoking warm collective memories of a now lost world where Britain was the global hegemon of the world economy (Gilroy 2005). It was about reminding the British public of those glory days of economic, political and cultural superiority, where everything from ships to spoons was marked with a *Made in Britain* stamp while failing to talk about the corrosive legacies of colonialism and racism, past and present. Likewise, the second campaign, *Leave.EU* – the unofficial ‘Leave’ campaign of the Referendum led by then UKIP leader Nigel Farage – employed a more insular, Powellite narrative of retreat from a globalising world that is no longer recognisably ‘British’. The rhetoric of *Leave.EU* constructed migrants as an economic and security threat to the British public. This argument was made most powerfully in the lead-in to the June 23 vote through *Leave. EU’s* infamous ‘*Breaking Point*’ poster, which pictured Middle Eastern refugees queuing at Europe’s borders, with the subheading reading: ‘We must break free of the EU and take back control.’ This was a message of ‘island retreat’ (Winter 2016): that is, if Britons voted to leave they could successfully keep such people from entering the country. It was these representations of racialised minorities and migrants which gave these visions traction and indeed Brexit vindication, amongst the British public, in which they carefully activated long-standing racialised structures of feeling about immigration and national belonging.

While there has been much political and scholarly debate concerning these issues of globalisation, protection of identity and the resistance to change at the national level, especially in relation to Brexit, little is known about its relational association with local contexts. One particular example of this is within the English countryside. Like national identity, rural identity appears to offer a set of shared bonds. Like national identity, rural identity has pre-modern and almost organic associations; and like national identity, rural identity can offer senses of ontological certainty and reassurance in the face of insecurity and change. Indeed, long-term residents of rural settlements are becoming overwhelmed by globalising forces, since these processes result in feelings of ontological insecurity that they are living in an unstable and uncertain world. Sarah Neal’s (2009) book, *Rural Identities*, suggests these feelings are heightened when long-term residents of rural settlements feel the local rural identity of their area is threatened and at stake of erosion from wider social and spatial change and will extend efforts into actualising a sense of rural community to mitigate concerns of loss of identity.

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