

Grassroots Rural Protest and Political Activity in Britain

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Full Report on Research Activities and Results

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Background

Rural Britain has witnessed a remarkable upsurge of political activity over the last ten years. Rural issues such as the future of hunting, farm incomes and agricultural policy reform, housing development, fuel prices, public access to the countryside, windfarm and supermarket developments, the rationalization of rural services and the management of the Foot and Mouth outbreak have all gained prominence on the political agenda and galvanized a disaffected rural population. The apparent rural discontent has found expression in major demonstrations such as the Liberty and Livelihood March, smaller regional rallies, pickets and blockades by farmers, symbolic challenges and direct action, and a plethora of local campaigns and demonstrations. Significantly, these activities have depended on the mobilisation of grassroots activists, many with no previous experience of political campaigning. This is in stark contrast to the conventional picture of the countryside as a peaceful, non-political and conflict-free environment, whose interests were represented by the quiet lobbying of farm unions, preservationist groups and rural parliamentarians.

The new wave of rural protest has occurred in the context of the ongoing social and economic restructuring of rural localities (Marsden et al., 1993; Murdoch and Marsden, 1994; Woods, 2005a); the globalization of economic relations, human mobility and societal values (Woods, 2007); and the development of neoliberal modes of governmentality. These processes have under-mined the post-war political settlement of the British countryside (see Winter, 1996; Woods, 2005b), and produced a transition from a 'rural politics' concerned with the management of the economy, society and environment of rural areas, to a 'politics of the rural' in which the meaning and regulation of rurality itself is the central issue (Woods, 2003). The new political emphasis has required new vehicles for articulation, spawning a plethora of campaign and protest groups. In previous work it has been argued that these exhibit the characteristics of a new social movement and might be considered as an emergent 'rural movement' (Woods, 2003); yet, as critics have observed, the label of a new social movement arguably over-states the coherence and homogeneity of these actions and under-plays the role of established elite actors (Reed, 2004, 2008; see also Woods, 2008).

This study hence aimed to develop a more nuanced understanding of the mobilisation of rural people in protest activity; the organizational forms and tactics adopted; and the significance of the 'rural' in framing protest activity. In doing so, we have sought to both draw on and develop existing literature in four areas: work on *rural politics and rural social movements*, as noted above; work on *political mobilisation*, engaging with resource-oriented and identity-oriented theories of mobilisation (Cohen, 1985; Klandermans et al., 2002; McCarthy and Zald, 1977) and emerging literature on emotions and social movements (Flam and King, 2005; Goodwin et al., 2001; Jasper,

1998); work on *pressure group organisation and evolution*, including theories of ‘insider’, ‘outsider’ and ‘thresholder’ groups (Grant, 2000; May and Nugent, 1982; Seippel, 2001); and work on *place, identity and politics*, including concepts of ‘place framing’ (Martin, 2003), ‘lifescapes’ (Convery et al., 2005), and the ‘politics of belonging’ (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Objectives

The objectives of the research were identified in the original application as:

1. To develop understanding of the significance of place in political participation and mobilisation through an examination of the importance of ‘rural identity’ in framing participation in rural protests and campaigning, and the comparative analysis of protests and campaigns in four different rural localities.
2. To contribute to social movement theory, and in particular the analysis of the emergent ‘rural movement’, through investigation of the organisational structures, relations and strategies of rural protest and campaign groups.
3. To explore the relationship between rural restructuring and the politicisation of rural issues by examining the extent of engagement in protest and campaigning activities within different rural communities and the background of participants.
4. To contribute to the analysis of pressure groups by examining the strategies of established rural interest groups and their relationships to newer rural protest and campaign groups.
5. To inform public understanding of contemporary rural politics, including reactions to the hunting ban and to agricultural reforms, and to assist government departments and agencies in the future implementation of rural policy.

Objectives 1 to 4 have been achieved as described in the results section below, with contributions to literature to be made through an agreed publication strategy. Objective 5 is ongoing, with some engagement with the media and non-academic users undertaken and further dissemination activities planned.

Methods

The research involved four main elements, combining national-level investigation with case studies in four regions: Cheshire, Exmoor and North Devon, Mid Wales and Suffolk. As outlined in the research proposal, these regions were selected to reflect different social, economic and geographical profiles and different observed levels of protest activity.

Firstly, to explore the context of rural protests; organisational structures, histories and strategies; the framing of key issues; and experiences of protest activity, 26 interviews were conducted with representatives of rural interest groups and with key activists in rural protests and campaigns, at national and regional scales. These included prominent organisations such as the Countryside Alliance, National Farmers’ Union, CPRE and Farmers for Action, and smaller groups such as the Small and Family Farmers’ Association, Tescopoly, The Land is Ours and the Union of Country Sports Workers. All interviews were transcribed and analysed using NVivo.

Secondly, as a means of examining the social profile of rural protesters, their views and their degree of involvement, a questionnaire survey was sent to 4344 members of the Countryside Alliance in the four study regions. Usable returns were received from 1243 individuals (28.6% response rate). The questionnaire included questions on campaign activity and membership of the Countryside Alliance, involvement with other organisations and rural activities, social and economic profile and background of respondents, and views on key issues. Data was entered and analysed in Excel, with the targeting of four localities permitting regional comparisons. The survey was conducted with the cooperation of the Countryside Alliance, with questionnaires distributed through the CA membership department to maintain data protection integrity.

Thirdly, research was undertaken in the four study areas to observe and examine campaigning and protest activity in practice and investigate the significance of place. The initial intention had been to focus on specific communities, however preliminary investigations suggested that in the absence of a major national issue at the time (e.g hunting or farm prices), this approach was likely to produce limited returns. We therefore decided to focus on specific local campaigns and protests in the four regions, as listed in box 1, selected to provide a cross-section of different issues but also permit some degree of comparison between localities. These case studies involved interviews with key activists, collation of local press reports and other documentary material, and, where appropriate, site visits and attendance at events.

Finally, information was collated from media reports and organization websites to construct a database of rural protest activity in Britain since 1997 and to assemble examples of campaigning literature and other materials.

Balham Hill Farm occupation, Somerset
Cefn Coch anti-windfarm protest, Mid Wales
Cheshire Anti-Incinerators Network (CHAIN), Cheshire
Den Brook Valley Action Group, anti-windfarm campaign, Devon
Gas pipeline protest camp, Brecon, Mid Wales
Goveton, anti-windfarm campaign, Devon
Powys anti-school closures campaign, Mid Wales
Saxmundham anti-supermarket development campaign, Suffolk
Tesco Turf Wars at Torrington campaign, Devon
Two Moors anti-windfarm campaign, Devon

Box 1: Case studies of local protests and campaigns

Results

1. Rural protests have engaged new political actors.

The research has confirmed that the protests have engaged a new cohort of grassroots activists with little previous experience of political campaigning. Only 10% of the Countryside Alliance members surveyed had participated in a political demonstration or rally before 1997, yet three-quarters had taken part in the Liberty and Livelihood March and significant numbers had participated in other protest events organised by the Countryside Alliance and other groups, including direct actions such as blockades and pickets at ports and supermarkets (table 1).

Liberty and Livelihood March, Sept 2002	75.1%
Countryside Rally, July 1997	56.4%
Countryside March, March 1998	55.6%
Beacon lightings before Countryside March or Liberty and Livelihood March	40.0%
Regional rally, 1999	37.6%
Demonstrations outside Parliament, 2004	22.8%
Demonstrations outside party conferences	17.3%
Direct action activity (e.g. blockade, picket)	17.0%
Long distance marches to London, July 1997	12.2%
'Countryside comes to Town' stall or event, 2004/5	4.5%

Table 1: Participation by Countryside Alliance members in selected protest events and activities. (n = 1207)

Farm protesters and activists in local campaigns against windfarms and supermarkets interviewed also tended to have little previous political experience, although many could draw on relevant professional experience and skills in communication and management. Some farmer activists, particularly in Wales, had been involved in protests in the 1960s and 1980s, and this history is a factor in explaining the initiation of contemporary farm protests in North Wales.

The role of national organisations in stimulating protests has been mixed. Pro-hunting protests have largely been directed by the Countryside Alliance (CA), but with some grassroots innovation. The reluctance of the CA to support more militant direct action led to the breakaway of small groups such as the Countryside Action Network, Real CA and Rural Rebels whose road blockades and 'symbolic challenges' echo Routledge's (1997) 'post-modern politics of resistance' associated with the environmental movement (see also Anderson, 2004) – but were frequently reliant on the wealth and connections of key supporters. In contrast, campaigns against supermarket developments and windfarms tend to be driven by local, grassroots activists with limited contact with national groups such as Country Guardian and TescoPol, but some learning either directly or indirectly from other similar campaigns.

As such, mobile phones, e-mail and the internet have all been significant in enabling the spread of grassroots protests (see also Lusoli and Ward, 2003):

“We developed the Grass e-route, the e-mail communication that now goes to about 50,000 people weekly, and the idea was: ‘ping – do something’. There’s a poll; there’s an interview on radio, listen to it and comment. It was an immensely powerful way of alerting people.”

Countryside Alliance activist

“Ten years ago you just couldn’t have done it like this, because ... the media side of it, you just can’t contact the media, you’ve got to spend hours and hours on the phone. Whereas you can get out one e-mail, and just circulate it to them all, and there you are, they’re all up to speed, they’re all on message, right away. The computer is key to running a local campaign.”

Anti-supermarket campaign activist, Torrington, Devon

2. *Emotion is fundamental to the mobilisation of rural protests.*

The motivations for individuals to join protests are complex and often stem from a convergence of factors. Material interests, such as the protection of household income and property prices can be important, but significantly these tend to be subsumed within a larger set of emotional responses and references (see also Flam and King, 2005; Goodwin et al., 2001; Jasper, 1998). Almost without exception, the activists we talked to expressed a deep sense of belonging and emotional attachment to place, either to the ‘countryside’ as an imagined entity or to specific landscapes or communities. These attachments, though, can take several forms.

Affinity with rural place might be *sensuous*, through emotions related to sensuous experiences of place, for example as sites of solitude or tranquillity; *performed*, tied to emotions associated with performed actions within place, for example linked to hunting or farming (see also Convery et al., 2005); *communal*, evoking emotions of security, belonging and solidarity associated with rural place as community; or *symbolic*, identifying rural places with wider values and identities. Similarly, individuals might relate emotionally to rural place as *natives*, with a long-term embedded emotional commitment; *investors*, seeking to protect a financial and emotional investment; or *pilgrims*, whose attachment is long-distance, but who return repeatedly to particular places of personal emotional importance. We argue that different configurations of these identities and ways of relating to place are significant in stimulating mobilisation around different issues. The ‘performed’ and ‘communal’ ties of ‘natives’ feature strongly as motivations in hunting and farming protests; whilst the ‘sensuous’ and ‘symbolic’ relations affinities of ‘investors’ and ‘pilgrims’ are more important for anti-windfarm protests (figure 1).¹

HUNTING PROTESTS

	Sensuous	Performed	Communal	Symbolic
Native				
Investor				
Pilgrim				

FARMING PROTESTS

	Sensuous	Performed	Communal	Symbolic
Native				
Investor				
Pilgrim				

WINDFARM PROTESTS

	Sensuous	Performed	Communal	Symbolic
Native				
Investor				
Pilgrim				

Figure 1: Significance of different ways of relating to rural place and types of emotional relationship in the mobilisation of protest for selected issues (significance increases with density of shading).

¹ This argument is developed further in papers presented to the AAG conference 2007 and RGS-IBG conference 2007 and an article in preparation for *Social and Cultural Geographies*.

We liken the translation of these emotional attachments into protest participation to climbing a ‘ladder of emotions’.² Attachment to place is the first rung. The second rung is constituted by emotions such as ‘concern’, ‘fear’, ‘distress’ and ‘anger’ provoked when elements of rural lifescapes (Convery et al., 2005; Howorth, 1999) are disrupted or threatened. When these change in the third rung to feelings of ‘beleaguerment’ and ‘desperation’, and ‘frustration’ and ‘disaffection’ with the actions of traditional modes of political representation, protest is positioned as the only course of action:

“We were a group of individuals that were frustrated with the unions that we had. We were all being told that they were doing a good job, but we were all seeing our incomes falling.”

Farmers for Action activist

“There is a hell of a lot of distrust about the political decision making process, a lot of people are quite disturbed about that and a lot of people feel that government, central government particularly, has little understanding of rural communities. A lot of them display very little understanding about how rural communities are being changed. A lot of people think rural communities are just forgotten about.”

Anti-windfarm campaign activist, Devon

Resolution can be strengthened by the emotional frenzy and excitement of public meetings and close-knit communities. Farmers’ protests at docks and oil depots in 1997 and 2000 started with spontaneous decisions by highly-charged meetings (see also Doherty et al., 2003):

“[The fuel protest] was never planned. I’ll look you in the eye now and tell you straight, it was never planned. Nobody knew it was going to happen, not even me. I’d like to claim the credit for it, but ... And this is why I think they were so successful, because there was no planning, it was spontaneous, because it was what was affecting people.”

Fuel protest leader.

Emotions of trepidation, nervousness and excitement ahead of protests – the fourth rung – give way to enjoyment and emotions of pride and achievement on the fifth rung:

“If you go on a march, if you’re one of the marchers who goes on the bus, then you get a great feeling inside you’ve helped, you’ve done something.”

Countryside Alliance regional director

“A jolly atmosphere. It was great fun. It wasn’t like the miners’ strike, or anything like that. There was no aggravation between us and the police, [just] laughing and joking.”

Fuel protest activist

The exhilaration of protest activity becomes self-reinforcing, spurring individuals on to greater involvement and strengthening feelings of defiance, until the final rung is reached with emotional exhaustion and withdrawal (see Goodwin et al., 2001). The

² This argument is developed further in a paper presented at the RGS-IBG conference 2006 and in an article in preparation for *Geoforum*.

‘ladder of emotions’ concept can hence help us to understand the processes by which individuals are drawn into protest activity, and the limitations on the sustainability of protest movements.

3. The framing of rural protests disguises the partial mobilisation of the rural population.

Participants’ attachment to place is also consciously manipulated in the rhetorical devices employed to frame rural protests, particularly the conceit of a ‘rural-urban divide’ (see also Anderson, 2006). This has permitted rural protests to be presented as a mass mobilisation of ‘the countryside’ and positioned events such as the Countryside March and the Liberty and Livelihood March as a ‘convergence space’ (Routledge, 2003) uniting activists with different specific priorities around a shared concern for the countryside:

“It’s very difficult to talk about it without actually getting rather emotional and getting rather over the top. A rural chord of unanimity and solidarity, rather like that Polish Solidarity, actually, which completely transcended all the petty differences. It’s quite extraordinary, it really was astonishing, the feeling. I mean the feeling when you were on that march of everybody, the most unlikely mixes of people – I mean the Terrier men, the rough, the mining packs from Wales, the good old boys coming in, and the gentlemen in their tweed jackets, and all the clubs, all the London clubs, the smartest people around all wading out.”

Former Countryside Alliance Chief Executive.

“We did go on the Countryside March, with a few posters, and got into some very odd conversations with people.”

The Land is Ours activist

Local campaigns also enrol support through ‘place-framing’, aligning the interests and identity of the community with the protest issue (see also Larsen, 2008; Martin, 2003). Where this is not successfully achieved, protests remain detached from local society. A protest camp against a gas pipeline in the Brecon Beacons, for example, whose core participants were transient and motivated by larger-scale environmental concerns, developed only weak connections with the local community despite attempts at local promotion.³

Yet, the number of participants in most protest events has been very small, and the ‘mass mobilisation’ of the countryside is better described as the deep engagement of particular communities of interest within the countryside. Membership of the Countryside Alliance, for example, is highly concentrated and homogenised, as table 2 shows, and based on tight-knit local networks. A quarter of respondents claimed to know over 100 other members of the Countryside Alliance (figure 2), and respondents have an average of 1.26 close family or household members who are also members. Furthermore, in contrast to the broad range of issues emphasised by the alliance nationally, hunting is the over-riding dominant concern for members (figure 3).⁴

³ These arguments are developed further in a paper accepted for the RGS-IBG conference 2008 and in an article in preparation for *Transactions of the IBG*.

⁴ This analysis will be developed further in an article planned for *Sociologia Ruralis*.

Participate in hunting (n=1010)	83.4%
Frequently participate in hunting (n=1010)	44.4%
Member of a hunt (n=1207)	30.6%
Hunting related events 'very important' to social life (n=1097)	39.6%
Hunting related events 'not at all' important to social life (n=1097)	11.2%
Employed in agriculture (n=1207)	30.0%
Members of household of close family employed in agriculture (n=1168)	49.9%
Members of household or close family employed in country sports (n=1125)	19.9%
Member of the Conservative Party (n=903)	52.2%
Member of the Labour Party (n=903)	0.0%
Read the 'Daily Telegraph' (n=1207)	48.8%
Read 'Horse and Hound' (n=1207)	38.7%
Read 'The Field' (n=1207)	31.7%
Annual household income above £50,000 (n=1123)	37.7%
Annual household income below £25,000 (n=1123)	35.6%
Live in the 'open countryside' (n=1207)	36.9%
Live in a town (n=1207)	11.4%

Table 2: Selected characteristics of respondents to Countryside Alliance membership survey

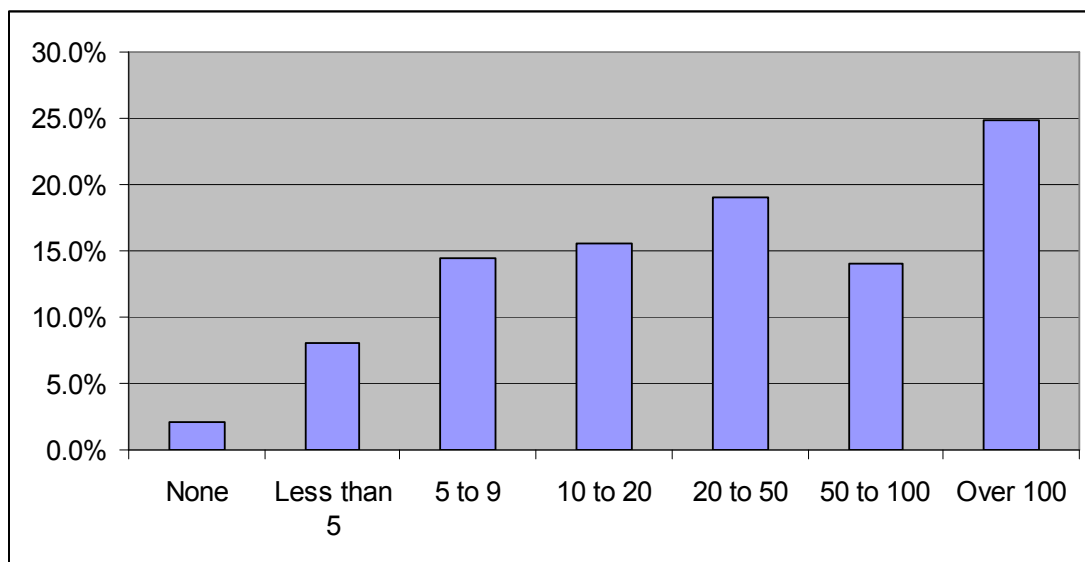


Figure 2: Number of other people known to survey respondents who are also members of the Countryside Alliance (n = 1135)

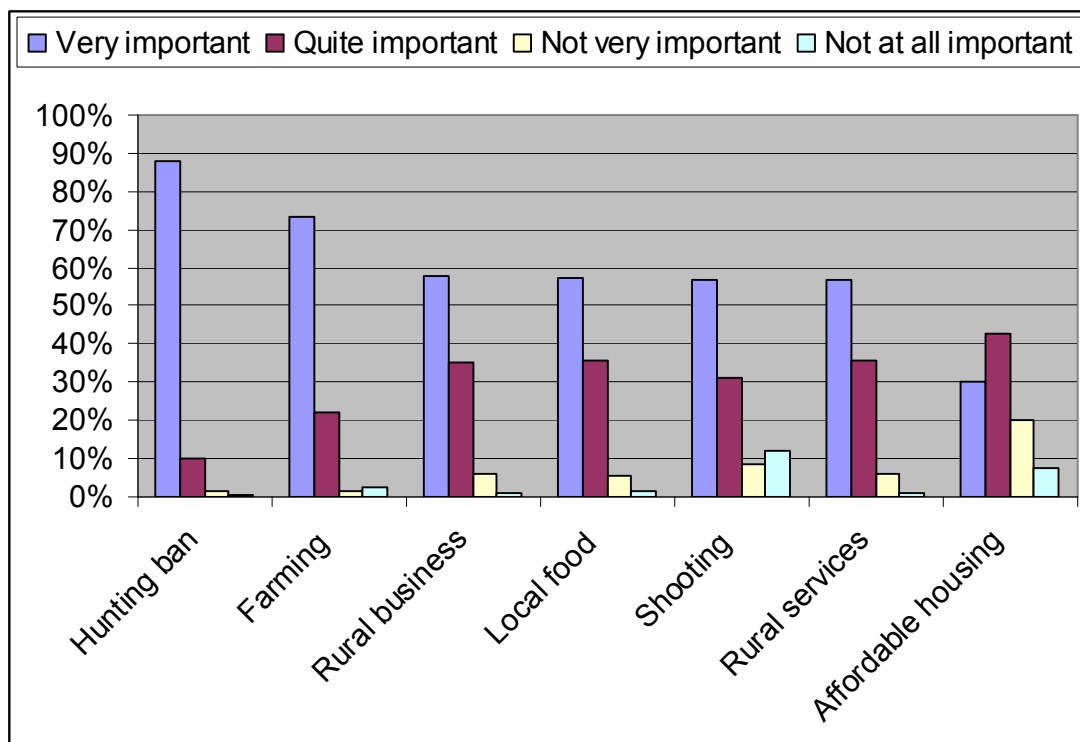


Figure 3: Importance of selected issues to Countryside Alliance members

The framing of rural protests has also attempted to attract broader support by positioning actions in an historical tradition of liberal protest, and employing the language and imagery of civil rights and national identity (see also Wallwork and Dixon, 2004). This has formed part of the dramaturgy of protest, with the display of national flags and singing of patriotic songs (see also Russell, 2002):

“Somebody started singing the Welsh National Anthem. That was one of the most emotional experiences ever. It started in this corner with one or two, then four or five, then fifteen or twenty, and then twenty and one hundred, until in the end they were all stood there ... They said [in Welsh], ‘we’re not going back’. I think that night I realised who I was, I was a Welshman. It was a hell of a feeling.”

Farm protest activist.

However, protests have in practice conflated and combined seemingly incompatible icons of British, English, Welsh, Scottish and Cornish nationalism, as well as of radical and conservative traditions. As such, the primary purpose appears to be to reassure participants that they are part of the majority and acting in an established tradition, appealing to their innate conservatism.⁵

4. Rural protests represent an articulation of rhizomic politics.

Rural protests have been characterised by the emergence of new organisations and networks, including the Countryside Alliance, Farmers for Action, radical splinter groups such as the Countryside Action Network, and various local *ad hoc* protest groups and campaigns. This transition, we argue, is a shift in the style and structure of

⁵ This argument is developed further in a paper presented to the AAG conference in 2007 and an article in preparation for *Area*.

rural political representation that is not adequately captured by existing models of pressure group evolution (Grant, 2000; May and Nugent, 1982; Seippel, 2001). Instead, we have drawn on Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) identification of 'arborescent' and 'rhizomic' assemblages.⁶ Established rural interest groups like the National Farmers' Union and Council for the Protection of Rural England, we suggest, are 'arborescent' in form. They have hierarchical, linear structures, with a centralised leadership delivering benefits to a largely passive membership organised in branches, which in turns feeds the centre with funds and legitimacy. Like trees, they are territorial, tolerate little direct competition, but can harbour parasites. They have gained strength from maturity, enjoying stable relations with policy makers and have become embedded in the social landscapes of rural communities. However, their closeness to government and inability to respond rapidly to change has generated disaffection and suspicion from grassroots members and supporters:

"When the battle got going, I did get really annoyed with the NFU and the other sort of old bodies, because they were pawns in the Government game."

Foot and Mouth protest activist

In consequence, new movements have been stimulated with rhizomic structures: loose, acentred, heterogeneous webs of connections with multiple entry-points, spreading by imitation and 'underground' connections. Rhizomes involve multiple connections between points not necessarily of the same nature, forming unexpected ephemeral alliances:

"We did pick up an awful lot of [what] we termed bunny huggers [during the Foot and Mouth outbreak], but we took their money because they thought we were doing something right at the time."

Farmers for Action activist

They are also without centres or leaders, and thus unencumbered by organisational conventions:

"[Tesco boss Terry Leahy] turned up, and they'd driven all the way down from Kent that night. They said: 'Well, where's your leaders?' 'We haven't any'. We had no leaders at that point, just spokespeople."

Fuel protests activist.

"There's about four of us around here, about four or five of us ... And we just go for it. There isn't anybody sort of in charge, you know, you can go and organise this, let's all talk about it and if we think it's right, if the time's right, we'll go and do it."

Hunting activist.

Rhizomic structures have enabled rapid grassroots responses, but Deleuze and Guattari (1988) allude to the entanglement of rhizomes and trees, and we see this too in rural political movements. There is a fluidity of individuals moving between mainstream and militant groups in both hunting and farming politics, with a tacit division of labour:

⁶ This argument is developed further in a paper presented to a seminar at NUI Galway, and an article in preparation for *Society and Space*.

“Somebody explained it, the NFU was Sinn Fein and Farmers for Action were the IRA ... But because the NFU couldn't demonstrate and things like that, we had to find a way that we could demonstrate and the NFU could negotiate.”

Farmers for Action activist

Moreover, the need to engage with the state draws groups back to an arborescent structure. Thus, the Countryside Alliance was born out of disaffection with the arborescent British Field Sports Society, displayed rhizomic features in its early incarnation, and has since evolved back into an arborescent structure and mode of operation.

5. Rural protests have changed the political culture of rural communities.

The impact and legacy of rural protest is ambiguous. Arguably, few campaigns have been successful in achieving their objectives in changing policy or proposals. However there is evidence of a change in the political culture of rural communities, with a greater readiness to protest and greater acceptance of confrontational tactics:

“I took a page out of the paper, with us all holding these placards and you look at it and think, that little lady there, if you said to her that you'd be holding up a placard for the local paper, even for a post office, they wouldn't have done that before. Somehow, it's made protesting easier, maybe, or sort of the norm.”

Countryside Alliance regional director

There has not particularly been a progression of activists between different campaigns, for example veterans of hunting protests leading anti-windfarm protests, but rather a collective learning and appreciation of achievement that has enabled a capacity to act to be transmitted between different communities of interest within the countryside.

Activities and Outputs

Emerging findings from the research have been disseminated to academic audiences through papers presented at conferences of the Association of American Geographers (2007, 2008), European Society for Rural Sociology (2007) and Royal Geographical Society (2006, 2007, 2008), as listed in box 2. Details of the agreed publication strategy are given in section 2A of the Activities and Achievements questionnaire, with several papers at an advanced stage of preparation.

Media engagement related to the research has included interviews with BBC Radio Wales, BBC Wales Today, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Times*. Dissemination of fuller findings from the project to the media is planned for summer 2008. As a condition of cooperation, a summary report on the Countryside Alliance membership survey is being prepared for the Countryside Alliance. Datasets from the survey are in the process of being offered to the ESRC Data Archive.

The researchers employed on the project completed a number of staff development and training courses during their contracts, as part of probationary arrangements. These included An Introduction to Frontpage (Guilbert, Watkin), Using Powerpoint (Guilbert), Creating Databases with Access I & II (Guilbert, Watkin), Introduction to EndNote (Guilbert, Watkin), Introducing Blackboard (Guilbert), and Excel – a guide (Watkin). Additionally, Woods participated in an ESRC training course on ‘An Introduction to the Media for Senior Researchers’.

Conference presentations:

‘The Countryside is Angry: Emotion and explanation in the representation of rural protest.’ Royal Geographical Society (with Institute of British Geographers) Annual Conference, London, August 2006.

‘Rural Protest and National Identity: Negotiating dual identities in the politics of the Welsh countryside’. Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting, San Francisco, April 2007.

‘Rural Protests and Local Interests: Scales of belonging in rural political activism.’ Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting, San Francisco, April 2007.

‘Resistance as Empowerment: Local repertoires of action and the politics of rural development.’ European Congress of Rural Sociology, Wageningen, August 2007.

‘Emotions, Place and Rural Protest.’ Royal Geographical Society (with Institute of British Geographers) Annual Conference, London, August 2007.

‘Contesting Neoliberalism? Ideology, self interest, identity and grassroots rural protest in Britain.’ Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting, Boston, April 2008.

‘Myth, Mobilization and the Framing of Rural Protest’ Royal Geographical Society (with Institute of British Geographers) Annual Conference, London, August 2008.

Seminar presentations:

‘Revolting rurals: place, emotion and performance in rural protest’, School of Geography, University of Plymouth, November 2006.

‘Rhizomic politics and rural representation: a Deleuzian reading of countryside protests’, Department of Geography, National University of Ireland, Galway, February 2008.

Box 2: Conference and Seminar Papers presented
and accepted from the project research.

Impact

The academic impact of the research is anticipated to result from the series of planned publications detailed in section 2A of the Activities and Achievements questionnaire, which will aim to contribute to literatures on rural politics and protest, social movements, politics and place, emotion and politics and political mobilisation.

The potential broader impact of the research findings relate to lessons to be learned for the future governance of rural society and handling of rural discontent. Two key observations can be highlighted here. Firstly, the experience of rural protests and greater acceptance of confrontational tactics within the population means that rural communities have an increase capacity and propensity to mobilise in opposition to perceived threats. This has potential implications for policies requiring development in rural areas (e.g. windfarm expansion, nuclear power renewal) or rationalising rural service provision (e.g. schools, hospitals, post offices), as well as for agricultural policy reform. Secondly, significant sections of the rural population continue to feel

alienated from contemporary society and disaffected with mainstream politics. This, however, is not a rural-urban faultline, but a polarisation within the rural population. Rural discontent, therefore, is a problem of identity politics rather than territorial politics and can only adequately addressed as such.

These findings will be emphasised in planned media dissemination and in any subsequent opportunities for engagement with policy-makers and interest groups.

Further Research

The study findings have the capacity to directly inform the developing research agenda on social movements and rural politics (see Woods, 2008). We anticipate that project outputs will contribute both conceptual frameworks and empirical contextual and comparative information for future research in this field, both within Britain and internationally. In particular, there is scope for international comparative research (Woods is a prospective Partner Investigator in an application to the Australian Research Council for proposed research on Australian farm protests and politics), as well as for more specific studies of local campaigning in Britain, for example on rural school closures. The connections between the rural protest movement and other campaigns, such as the environmental protest movement, might also warrant further investigation.

Additionally, the concepts of ‘rhizomic politics’ and the ‘ladder of emotions’ developed in this research are not specific to the rural context and we anticipate that there is scope for studies involving their application in urban contexts, as well as for rural-urban comparative research.

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Survey of Countryside Alliance Members

Section 1. Membership of the Countryside Alliance

1.1 When did you join the Countryside Alliance? (year)

1.2 How did you join the Countryside Alliance?

Was a member of the BFSS <input type="checkbox"/> Was a member of the Countryside Movement <input type="checkbox"/> Was a member of the Country Business Group <input type="checkbox"/> Through family contacts <input type="checkbox"/> Through work contacts <input type="checkbox"/>	Through hunting contacts <input type="checkbox"/> Through other social contacts <input type="checkbox"/> In response to an advertisement <input type="checkbox"/> Through the CA website <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/>
---	--

1.3 Are any other members of your household or close family members of the Countryside Alliance? Yes
No
If 'yes', how many?

1.4 Roughly speaking, how many people do you know who are members of the Countryside Alliance?

None Under 5 5-10 10-20 20-50 50-100 Over 100

1.5 Which of the following were important in your decision to join the Countryside Alliance? Please tick all that apply and rate the 4 most important.

	✓	Importance rating (1 = high 4=low)
Support for hunting	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support for farming	<input type="checkbox"/>
Concern at the closure of rural services	<input type="checkbox"/>
Concern at the scale of development in the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support for shooting	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support for angling	<input type="checkbox"/>
Opposition to the Labour Government	<input type="checkbox"/>
Concern for the future of local community	<input type="checkbox"/>
Handling of Foot and Mouth epidemic	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 2. Campaign activity

2.1 Did you participate in any of the following?

Countryside Rally 1997 <input type="checkbox"/> Liberty and Livelihood March 2002 <input type="checkbox"/> Demonstrations outside parliament, 2004 <input type="checkbox"/> Beacon lightings prior to the Countryside March or liberty and Livelihood March <input type="checkbox"/> Regional rally in 1999 <input type="checkbox"/>		Countryside March 1998 <input type="checkbox"/> Long distance rallies to London, July 1997 <input type="checkbox"/> Demonstrations outside party conferences <input type="checkbox"/> 'Countryside to Town' stalls/ activities, 2004 and 2005 <input type="checkbox"/> Please state location of rally: <input type="checkbox"/>
--	--	---

2.2 If you took part in the Liberty and Livelihood March, how did you travel to London?

By chartered train <input type="checkbox"/> By coach with a hunt group <input type="checkbox"/> By coach with another group <input type="checkbox"/>	By own/ shared private transport <input type="checkbox"/> Independently by public transport <input type="checkbox"/> Already in London <input type="checkbox"/>
--	---



2.3 How frequently are you involved with the following activities with the Countryside Alliance?

	Once a month or more	More than once a year but less than once a month	Once a year or less	Never
Read Countryside Alliance literature	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Talk to friends/ colleagues about the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Donate money to the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attend CA social events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attend regional CA meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fundraising for the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Visit CA offices	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Visit CA website	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do volunteer work for CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2.4 Have you ever done any of the following?

	Within last year	More than a year ago	Never
Attended rallies or demonstrations organised by the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Written letters to MPs as part of CA campaign	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Written to the press as part of CA campaign	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Signed a CA petition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bought goods or gifts from the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Purchased insurance through the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taken part in a CA competition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Held an official position in the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sought advice from the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Obtained literature from the CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Displayed CA campaign signs or placards on your property	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2.5 What was the most recent Countryside Alliance event that you attended?

.....

.....

2.6 Do you receive any of the following?

Grass e-route e-mail newsletter	<input type="checkbox"/>	CA Events Update	<input type="checkbox"/>
Regional CA newsletter	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other CA literature	<input type="checkbox"/>
CA campaign Update	<input type="checkbox"/>		

2.7 The following are issues on which the Countryside Alliance is currently campaigning. Please indicate how important they are to you personally

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all important
Affordable housing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farming	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Future of angling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Future of falconry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Future of shooting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
'Game to Eat'	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Moorlands conservation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Promotion of local food	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Repeal of hunting ban	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rural services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support for rural businesses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



2.8 Please identify the two most important of the above issues for you:

.....

.....

2.9 Are there any other issues not listed above which are important to you on which the Countryside Alliance is/should be campaigning?

.....

.....

Section 3. Involvement with other organisations

3.1 Are you a member of any of the following organisations?

National Farmers Union	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cymdeithas yr Iaith	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmers Union of Wales	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cymuned	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmers for Action	<input type="checkbox"/>	CPRE or CPRW	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farm	<input type="checkbox"/>	National Trust	<input type="checkbox"/>
Small Farmers Alliance	<input type="checkbox"/>	BASC	<input type="checkbox"/>
Country Land and Business Association (CLA)	<input type="checkbox"/>	RSPB	<input type="checkbox"/>
Union of Country Sports Workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	Friends of the Earth	<input type="checkbox"/>
Countryside Action Network	<input type="checkbox"/>	Greenpeace	<input type="checkbox"/>
Real CA	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ramblers' Association	<input type="checkbox"/>
Endangered Exmoor	<input type="checkbox"/>	RSPCA	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.2 Do you hold an official position in any of the above organisations? (If yes, please give the organisation/s and your position)

.....

.....

3.3 Have you participated in any demonstration or rally organised by a group other than the Countryside Alliance on any of the following issues?

Hunting	<input type="checkbox"/>	Handling of Foot and Mouth	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farm incomes/prices/imports	<input type="checkbox"/>	School closures	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fuel prices	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other rural services	<input type="checkbox"/>
Affordable housing	<input type="checkbox"/>	Windfarm developments	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.4 Have you taken part in any of the following direct action activities related to a countryside issue?

Blockade of port or depot	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strike	<input type="checkbox"/>
Picket of offices, depot or supermarket	<input type="checkbox"/>	Publicity stunt	<input type="checkbox"/>
Picket of a meeting	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rolling road blockade	<input type="checkbox"/>		

3.5 Before 1997, had you participated in a political demonstration or rally?

Yes No



3.6 How important were the following issues to the way in which you voted in the 2005 General Election?

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all important
Farming	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rural housing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rural services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environmental protection	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Iraq War	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tax	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.7 Did you help to campaign for any candidate in the 2005 General Election? Yes No

3.8 If yes, in which constituency(/ies):

.....

3.9 How did you help with the campaign?

Delivering leaflets
 Door to door canvassing
 Phone canvassing
 Displaying a poster

Clerical work
 Giving lifts to the polling station
 Other

3.10 Was this involvement organised through Vote-OK?

Yes No

3.11 Are you a member of any political party?

Conservative	<input type="checkbox"/>	Countryside Party	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	Green	<input type="checkbox"/>
Liberal Democrat	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plaid Cymru	<input type="checkbox"/>	None	<input type="checkbox"/>
UKIP	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Section 4. Rural Life

4.1 Do you participate in any of the following country pursuits?

	Frequently	Quite often	Occasionally	Never
Legal hunting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shooting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Angling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Falconry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Horse riding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other country sports	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Please state which:				



4.2 Are you a hunt subscriber or member or a member of a hunt supporters' club?

Hunt member	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hunt supporters' club	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunt subscriber	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

4.3 If yes, please state which hunt(s):

.....

.....

.....

4.4 Have you held an official position in a hunt or hunt supporters' club?

Currently Previously No

4.5 Have you participated in any of the following events or activities organised by a hunt or hunt supporters' club in the last twelve months?

Point-to-point	<input type="checkbox"/>	Auctions	<input type="checkbox"/>
Horse show	<input type="checkbox"/>	Whist drive/Race night/Bingo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunter trials	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jumble sale or other sale	<input type="checkbox"/>
Puppy show	<input type="checkbox"/>	Quiz	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pony Club events	<input type="checkbox"/>	Film show	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunt Ball or dance	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunt breakfast/lunch/dinner	<input type="checkbox"/>	None	<input type="checkbox"/>

4.6 Since the implementation of the Hunting Act, has your involvement in hunting changed?

Hunt more frequently	<input type="checkbox"/>	No longer hunt	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunt about the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	Stopped hunting before the Act	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunt less frequently	<input type="checkbox"/>	Never hunted	<input type="checkbox"/>
Started hunting since the Act	<input type="checkbox"/>		

4.7 Do any other members of your household or close family regular take part in legal hunting?

Yes No

4.8 Are any members of your household or close family employed in country sports?

Yes No

4.9 Are any members of your household or close family employed in agriculture? Yes No

4.10 Are you a member of any of the following organisations in your local community?

Farm discussion group	<input type="checkbox"/>	Local campaign group	<input type="checkbox"/>
Young Farmers Club	<input type="checkbox"/>	Local voluntary group or charity	<input type="checkbox"/>
Womens Institute	<input type="checkbox"/>	Local nature preservation group	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other women's group	<input type="checkbox"/>	Social club	<input type="checkbox"/>
Church or chapel	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pensioners' group	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parish or Community Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	Neighbourhood watch or similar	<input type="checkbox"/>
PTA/Friends of a school	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other community group	<input type="checkbox"/>



4.11 How important are the following to your social life?

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all important
Hunting related activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farm union or YFC events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other country sports events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Countryside Alliance events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Church-based activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other community-based events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Workplace based activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Family events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4.12 Do you regularly read any of the following publications?

The Field	<input type="checkbox"/>	Shooting Times	<input type="checkbox"/>
Horse and Hound	<input type="checkbox"/>	The Countryman's Weekly	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Countryman	<input type="checkbox"/>	Local hunt newsletter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Country Life	<input type="checkbox"/>	Village or parish newsletter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmers' Weekly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Local newspaper	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Farmers Guardian	<input type="checkbox"/>	National newspaper	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please state which national newspaper(s):.....

Section 5. About you

5.1 Are you

Male Female

5.2 What age group are you in?

Under 18 18-25 26-35
 36-49 50-69 70+

5.3 What is your type of occupation?

Farmer	<input type="checkbox"/>	Skilled manual work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Professional or higher technical work	<input type="checkbox"/>	Semi-skilled or unskilled manual work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Manager or senior administrator	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unpaid carer	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clerical	<input type="checkbox"/>	Student	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sales or services	<input type="checkbox"/>	Retired	<input type="checkbox"/>
Small business owner	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not currently working	<input type="checkbox"/>
Foreman or supervisor of other workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>



5.4 What is your current or most recent sector of employment?

Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>	Transport and communications	<input type="checkbox"/>
Country sports	<input type="checkbox"/>	Finance	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mining and quarrying	<input type="checkbox"/>	Real estate, renting and business services	<input type="checkbox"/>
Manufacturing	<input type="checkbox"/>	Public admin & defence (e.g. local govt)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy supply/utilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	Education	<input type="checkbox"/>
Construction	<input type="checkbox"/>	Health and social work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wholesale or retail trade	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hotels and catering	<input type="checkbox"/>		

5.5 What is your household income level?

Less than £5,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	£25,000 to £34,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
£5,000 to £9,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	£35,000 to £34,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
£10,000 to £14,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	£50,000 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>
£15,000 to £24,999	<input type="checkbox"/>	Would rather not say	<input type="checkbox"/>

5.6 What are the first four digits of your postcode? e.g. SY23 3

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input checked="" type="text"/>	<input checked="" type="text"/>
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This information will not be used to identify individuals but will help geographical analysis

5.7 In which parliamentary constituency do you live?.....

5.8 How would you describe the place in which you live?

Large town or city	<input type="checkbox"/>	Small village	<input type="checkbox"/>
Small town	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hamlet	<input type="checkbox"/>
Large village	<input type="checkbox"/>	Open countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>

5.9 How long have you lived within the local area of your current address?.....

5.10 If you have moved into the local area from outside, how would you describe the place in which you lived previously?

Large town or city	<input type="checkbox"/>	Small village	<input type="checkbox"/>
Small town	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hamlet	<input type="checkbox"/>
Large village	<input type="checkbox"/>	Open countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>



Section 6. Your Opinion

Please tick the box that you feel most closely fits your opinion of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	No strong opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Farming					
The family farm is central to the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agricultural policy is biased towards large farmers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Small farmers are struggling to survive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmers should produce food and not be paid to manage the land	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Supermarkets have too much power	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There should be more restrictions on imports of food	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rural life					
Rural people are an oppressed minority	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rural culture is under threat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are too many urban people in the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My rural identity is important to me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Schools and post offices are central to rural communities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is too little affordable housing in the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is too much new housing development in the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some development is necessary for the rural economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunting					
Hunting is central to the rural way of life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hunting is vital for the welfare of the fox	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The ban on hunting will be overturned	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The hunting ban is an infringement of human rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shooting and angling will be next	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politics					
Labour doesn't understand the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Conservatives no longer represent rural opinion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The farming unions represent farmers' interests effectively	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Urban Britain does not care about the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The media is biased against rural interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Britain should leave the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmers are the best custodians of the countryside	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Breaking the law on hunting is justified	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Direct action puts off more people than it attracts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have become more militant than I was 10 years ago	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rural protests have not gone far enough	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
We can learn from anti-hunting campaigners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
We have things in common with environmental campaigners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Please return in the enclosed Freepost envelope. A summary of the results will be made available on our website www.aber.ac.uk/ruralprotest where more information about the study can also be found.

If you have any questions you can contact a member of the research team on 01970 621601

COUNTRYSIDE ALLIANCE SURVEY

Surveys were sent to all members of the Countryside Alliance with a home address in one of the constituencies listed below, as recorded in Countryside Alliance membership database.

Region	Constituencies
Cheshire	Chester
	Congleton
	Crewe & Nantwich
	Eddisbury
	Ellesmere Port and Neston
	Macclesfield
	Tatton
	Warrington North
	Warrington South
	Weaver Vale
Mid & West Wales	Brecon & Radnor
	Carmarthen East & Dinefwr
	Carmarthen West & South Pembrokeshire
	Ceredigion
	Llanelli
	Montgomery
	Preseli Pembrokeshire
North Devon and West Somerset	Bridgwater
	North Devon
	Taunton
Suffolk	Bury St Edmunds
	Central Suffolk and Ipswich North
	South Suffolk
	Suffolk Coastal
	Waveney
	West Suffolk
	Llanelli