SOCIAL IDENTITY INFLUENCES IN TWO SMALL AUSTRALIAN RURAL COMMUNITIES

A Thesis submitted by

Saleena Ham

Bachelor Applied Science (Agriculture), Master International Studies (Peace and Conflict Resolution), Diploma Professional Coaching

For the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

2022

ABSTRACT

Social identity in rural communities can explain the common tendency to resist change. Well-established social identity theory identifies how membership of social groups influences beliefs and behaviours. This qualitative social research gathered real-world data from two anonymous small rural communities in regional Queensland, Australia. Eighty-nine interviews with residents were transcribed verbatim and coded for social identity phenomena using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework. Social groups define themselves with unique qualities. Insiders must comply with those qualities to belong and be trusted. There is a limited range of social groups in small communities and well-defined social hierarchies, reflected in local narratives of who has social legitimacy and privilege. In this research, those with highest status are referenced as Locals and the founding Old Families or Originals. Insiders in small rural communities will defend identity boundaries against newcomers or outsiders whose new ideas and proposals are framed as a disruption to established sociocultural norms. Defence includes social censure (i.e., exclusion, shame or blame or derision talk) and personal attack, extending to associates (family members and friends). Social censure is aversive; newcomers are mindful that to challenge the community's dominant norms and narratives, implicitly or explicitly, is to risk being socially unsafe. Being socially censured in a small community, where there is little compartmentalisation, is of immediate and long-term consequence. Such social dynamics anchor the community within a relatively rigid and narrow master narrative of acceptable local identity and hold the status quo. It potentially undermines the community capacity for positive

change, revitalisation and resilience. Mechanisms to foster change include supporting additional narratives under the radar, building social support networks for divergent local leaders, and fostering personal connections across the marginalised social sets. Building personal exposure to diversity, framed as non-threatening can foster a sense of social certainty and belonging, as part of a legitimate celebrated broader identity of the rural community.

CERTIFICATION OF THESIS

I, Saleena Ham, declare that the PhD Thesis entitled 'Social Identity Influences in Two Small Australian Rural Communities' is not more than 100,000 words in length, including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes.

This Thesis is the work of Saleena Ham except where otherwise acknowledged, with the majority of the contribution to the papers presented as a Thesis by Publication undertaken by the Student. The work is original and has not previously been submitted for any other award, except where acknowledged.

Signed: Date: 17.05.2022

Endorsed by:

Professor Peter McIlveen
Principal Supervisor

Dr Geoffrey Woolcock
Associate Supervisor

Student and supervisors' signatures of endorsement are held at the University.

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION

Paper 1:
Ham, S. (2022). Social experiences of newcomers in two Australian small rural communities: Working to belong.

Submitted: Journal of Rural & Community Development

Paper 2:
Ham, S. (2022). 'You weren't born here'—Maintaining social identity entitativity and benefit in two Australian small rural communities

Submitted: Journal of Community Development

Paper 3:
Ham, S. & Woolcock, G. (2022). 'Who do they think they are?' social identity and conflict in small rural communities, Rural Society https://doi.org/10.1080/10371656.2022.2061723

The student contributed 90% to this paper, and Associate Supervisor G. Woolcock contributed the remainder.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the input of my initial supervisory team, Professor Jim Cavaye and then Professor Geoff Cockfield, who left the University during my study, and Dr Geoffrey Woolcock, who continued as an Associate.

In particular, Professor Peter McIlveen encouraged and instructed me with clarity and optimism. I also thank Janet Verbyla for her guidance and encouragement at pivotal points. I thank Nicola Anne Wright for diligently reading drafts and providing structured and critical feedback that enhanced the work.

I thank the residents of the anonymous research communities. They are wonderful people who have inspiring stories to teach and tell. There is good happening in a time of immense change, and while the tensions and challenges are pressing, there is great potential for more good things in these communities and others like them.

I thank Marlyn McInnerney, my student colleague, for frequently sharing the ups and downs of the student research experience, with wise insight, pathways and processes, and for the ever-present confidence of Dr Ben Lyons who kept urging me forward. I am sincerely grateful for the regular encouragement of my closest circle of supporters, Tony, Meg, Rory and Erin, Elizabeth Jackson and Jennifer Sneddon.

This research was supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship which was sincerely appreciated.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTON

1.1 Research Context

Australia is an island continent, almost 80% the size of the United States. With a population of 22million, 77.2% live within urban areas, mostly the major cities and around the coastlines of the nation. Few regional communities are greater than 20 000 in population and 10% live in communities under 10 000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2016). Since the global financial crisis, economic rationalism emphasising self-reliance saw many rural and regional services and programs withdrawn on the basis of being not cost-effective (Sotarauta & Beer, 2017).

Considerable community development attention has been focussed towards initiatives and policies that can retain and drive population stability and resilience in rural and regional communities, to understand what will help them survive and thrive independently. Regional migration from capital cities to the regions, is mostly to coastal communities and townships (Survey Matters, 2021; Regional Australia Institute, 2021). Due to changing socioeconomic and environmental drivers, Australia has experienced a population reduction in rural regions (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2020). While there is recent increased migration from capital cities (Bourne et al., 2020) to mostly coastal areas many inland small towns have been reduced in number and population (Frost et al., 2014; Holmes et al., 2005; Smailes et al., 2018). The inland towns often find it harder to attract residents (Bourne et al., 2020; Race et al., 2010). As small-town residents depart for education, work, health, family and amenity reasons (Alston, 2004; Dufty-Jones et al., 2016; Gray & Lawrence, 2002), government centralisation and loss of local services has resulted.

Without population stability, small town populations shrink, services and business opportunities reduce, shops are shut, schools face closure, community groups shrink. The vulnerable and the elderly can find themselves socially isolated from friends and families (Winterton & Warburton, 2012). Young men often find it harder to find a life partner as there are more local single men than women (Alston, 2002; Dufty-Jones et al., 2016). Dedicated contributors to community clubs and events find themselves unable to take a break or unhappily stretched across too many obligations. Those who remain in the shrinking towns have access to fewer local services, and people are less able to contribute to the community's collective life due to aging or commuting. For local governments, a lower population affects the cost efficiencies of service provision and decreases real income. Reduced population threatens the existence of small communities.

Not all rural communities are in decline (Kenyon et al., 2001; Plowman et al., 2003). In some areas, recent population flows are from urban to coastal and regional centres (Bourne et al., 2020; Regional Australia Institute, 2021). Some small Australian communities have embraced the challenge of stabilising or growing their populations. Initiatives include promoting empty houses for peppercorn rents, actively welcoming migrant and refugee newcomers, developing incentives to attract critical services (e.g., general practitioners) and supporting local initiatives such as creative or iconic tourist events (Locke & Hoffmann, 2018; Michelmore, 2018; Rennie & Morris, 2018).

Retaining the population and growing small communities' resilience is a pressing issue for community leaders and policymakers and therefore there is interest in the factors and qualities that might sustain population. Many local governments have attempted to retain residents through initiatives creating employment, promoting affordable housing, health and education

services and amenity (McManus & Connell, 2014; Argent et al., 2010). For small-town leaders, population sustainability and attracting newcomers rely upon offering a matrix of services and facilities, economic opportunity and stability, local environment and lifestyle, positive social connections and a positive culture of tolerance, inclusion and optimistic leadership (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Halstead & Deller, 2015; Morton, 2003; Woolcock, 2001). Community satisfaction is achieved through friendships and socially affirming interactions more than through amenity factors (Ragusa, 2022). Social qualities of belonging, connection and inclusion underpin positive social capital and community resilience. Therefore, this research seeks to explore the motivations of social inclusion as it matters greatly to newcomer commitment and belonging. To survive, communities must integrate incoming residents and support the community's capacity to be flexible and adapt (Plowman et al., 2003). They must cultivate the psychosocial qualities of resilience.

1.2 Research Problem

Small communities rely on positive social capital to retain their populations, build resilience and thrive. These outcomes rely on positive social dynamics within small communities. Inclusion can result in enhanced education and health outcomes, better wellbeing, access to housing, reduced poverty and a more connected community willing to assist each other (Bauer et al, 2019; Costello, 2007; Genaeo et al, 2016; Kilpatrick et al, 2011; Redshaw & Ingham, 2018). However, rural communities are known to be often reluctant to embrace inclusion (Irwin, 2019; McHenry-Sorber & Schaffit, 2015; Paull & Redmond, 2011; Waytz & Epley 2012) representing a loss of potential for small communities. By contrast, small rural communities may seek to in fact, limit population growth to avoid disrupting local norms and narratives of

familiar community identity from outsiders (Smith & Krannich, 2000).

Communities able to enhance qualities of resilience can also deal with change and recover in response to unexpected shocks more quickly (Burton, 2015). Therefore, how resilience manifests is a useful means for understanding what might help small communities thrive and survive (Cutter, Ash & Emrich, 2014; Faulkner, Brown & Quinn, 2018; Leykin et al, 2013). Resilience in small towns is reliant on multiple factors including environment and lifestyle, infrastructure and support services, an innovative economy and also on factors of social capital. Resilient community traits include quality social networks, a positive outlook, ongoing learning, positive early newcomer experiences, the capacity to embrace differences, beliefs, and a shared sense of purpose and leadership (McIntosh et al., 2008). Social capital can also highlight a sense of inclusion or exclusion where investing in social networks and a sense of belonging and social obligation, supports access to insider information, provides social status and affirms identity narratives and behavioural norms that build trust when shared (Lin, 2001). Despite evidence of the importance of social capital to resilience (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015) and the negative impacts of exclusion (Buikstra et al, 2010), there has not been an investigation of the theoretical causes of social exclusion within small communities even as social capital factors are of increasing interest for retaining newcomers and the capacity of small communities to embrace the change necessary to thrive (Kulig et al.,2013).

This study sought to explore the newcomer experience of exclusion through the lens of social identity, understanding what motivates exclusionary behaviours from existing residents even when this is detrimental to community social capital, to community resilience and resident wellbeing. The study also examined

newcomer intentions and experiences, the actions and attitudes of established residents towards out-group members and the dynamics of social identity conflicts. It explores whether social identity theory (SIT) can explain and provide causal motivations for negative social capital in small rural communities. The thesis presents a portfolio of sequential studies prepared for publication and presented as a Thesis by Publication.

1.3 Research Objectives

This research will contribute to the literature by providing richer information on the local dynamics in small communities. The research aims and objectives are to contribute a more nuanced understanding of the factors in the social life of small rural communities. It will explore the motivations of newcomers and established residents. It will outline the nature and effects of conflicts arising from social identity contests. The research will contribute to knowledge and inform the practices of community leaders and development practitioners seeking to introduce and support change and build social capacities within small towns.

1.4 Thesis Overview

This research investigates the social dynamics of small rural communities through the lens of social identity, seeking to understand how group memberships influence social choices. The thesis comprises seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction, overview of the research focus and objectives. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology and the approach to data collection, selection and analysis. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the completed research papers, including a brief overview of the introduction and methodology. These papers have been submitted for publication in the Journal of Rural and Community Development, and the Journal of Community Development and Paper 3 has been published in

modified form in the Rural Society journal. These chapters are short to meet journal word limits for papers, have a degree of repetition as a result of needing to be stand-alone documents that must situate the research literature and describe the methodological approach. Chapter 7 summarises the key findings and the contribution these studies offer to the body of literature.

Paper 1, presented in Chapter 4, examines the social motivations and experiences of newcomers to small rural communities. It found that they seek information on the local social landscape, looking to access and understand the local social codes for belonging. Newcomers look for social groups to fulfil their social needs, seeking alignment with themselves. They seek to demonstrate merit by contributing from their life experience, expertise and energy. To varying degrees, they adapt and adopt local social norms and narratives as a sign of becoming a local and to achieve social safety from local censure.

Paper 2, presented in Chapter 5, explores the antisocial actions of the established residents—a cause of negative social capital. Newcomers seeking to belong are intrinsically disruptive and create social uncertainty for many established residents who take various actions to censure them. Established residents seek to restore the familiar order by attacking or suppressing proposals for change. Newcomer residents notice the social censure of themselves and others for offending the established residents' norms and narratives which is aversive. This experience heightens newcomers' awareness of the consequences of challenging aspects of local culture regarded as essential to the identity integrity and benefit of the established locals. They can be recruited into adoption of local realities, making social choices to suppress personal preferences or qualities and opinions, to avoid offending those sociocultural norms of which they have awareness, and to belong through compliance with local social expectations.

Paper 3, presented in Chapter 6, focuses on the effects of community conflicts associated with social identity challenge. Community conflict may result in some residents withdrawing from civic engagement to avoid risk of social censure, uncertainty or conflict, finding discrete social groups with greater social certainty, acceptance and acknowledgement. In avoiding disruption to the local identity narratives and norms, the status quo is preserved, eroding community capacity to embrace change and resilience.

1.5 Anticipated Contributions

This research has three anticipated contributions. First, understanding newcomers' efforts to contribute and belong in small rural communities shows the influence of social experiences on social impressions and choices. It highlights the crucial influence of initial social interactions for newcomers' social integration. Second, understanding established residents' actions and drivers of antisocial behaviours allows future research to determine better what ameliorates the undermining of positive social capital and local resilience. Efforts for building social capital in rural communities will be undermined if established residents reinforce and legitimise the local exclusive social hierarchies and cultures of exclusion or newcomers are stymied by underlying social walls. Third, understanding tensions between newcomers and established residents, and psychosocial strategies applied to protect identity integrity and benefits, has implications for community leaders and development practitioners. Such insights may better inform rural community capacity for resilience by fostering and facilitating openness to diversity and managing change.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Factors Fostering Resilience

Rural newcomers can contribute to community resilience by sustaining population and contributing when included and yet they commonly experience exclusion in small rural communities (Irwin, 2019; McHenry-Sorber & Schaffit, 2015; Paull & Redmond, 2011; Waytz & Epley 2012). Social capital, being closely linked to social inclusion can strengthen resilience (Marchant, 2012). Exploring the social dynamics within rural communities that drive exclusion and inclusion will inform leaders and community development practitioners regarding motivations for antisocial practices and potentially lead to more effective inclusion (Buikstra et al, 2010; Kulig et al., 2013).

Resilience is associated with a community's capacity to cope and adjust in the face of economic, environmental and social change (Faulkner et al., 2018). Community resilience is a term that has been used in association with community capacity to overcome vulnerability and adapt to change; it is associated with wellbeing, quality of life, vibrance and innovation in local development (Matarrita-Cascante et al., 2017). Community resilience has been defined as a process and a collection of qualities supporting the capacity to thrive under challenge (Kulig et al., 2013). It is established through a community's social connections, networks, social capital and various social and material community infrastructures. Resilience qualities include social cohesion, optimism, capacity to cope with social divisions, ability to work together, strong networks, embracing change, local leadership, problem-solving, community pride and residents' sense of belonging. The influential qualities are psychosocial, correlated with residents' acceptance, meaningful involvement, safety and

creative opportunities (Rogers & Ryan, 2001)—including the capacity to embrace new people and their ideas (Buikstra et al., 2010; Irwin, 2019; McShane et al., 2016). This thesis seeks to expand understanding of psychosocial dynamics that undermine resilience by applying the lens of social identity theories to the social experiences of inclusion in small rural communities.

Social inclusion and connections support community capacity to manage change and resilience. It brings material benefits for rural communities, as those living in the community are socially motivated to participate and contribute to the community (Australian Board of Social Inclusion, 2009; Costello, 2007; Kilpatrick et al., 2011). New residents and outsiders can bring new ideas, energy and skills to the community, theoretically providing greater capacity for embracing change. Studies of corporate work teams have found that newcomers contribute to innovation when they find the right social connections (Jokisaari & Nurmi, 2012) and supervisors have an important bridging role in assisting integration (Montani et al., 2019). The newcomers must access the local sociocultural norms to understand the local and contextual social expectations. Frequently this is done through casual exchange such as gossip.

Gossip as the language of cooperation and social code signalling can build or erode social connections that underpin resilience (Smith, 2010). Gossip is known to frame social identity (Tracy & Naughton, 2000), and the corridor anecdotes in organisations about social contexts and incidents create and affirm organisational hierarchies and other identity boundaries and cultures (Wasserman et al., 2008.) Whether these phenomena are regularly present within rural communities is unclear, as little work has been conducted in a rural context. Rural case study research has found that rural communities use informal social controls to maintain the master narrative of identity (Bamberg, 2005),

protecting familiar social identity structures and qualities (Kerrigan, 2018). Such informal social controls can result in rural communities exhibiting constraining conservative social requirements (Sherman, 2009). Pressures to conform to social norms for fear of social censure or rejection can present as resistance to change.

Capacity and willingness to embrace change is an important component of resilience (Faulkner et al., 2018) and is influenced by norms of social identity. Fielding et al. (2008) examined primary producer resistance to practice change. One factor in resistance to new land management behaviour (riparian restoration) promoted by an urban out-group, was their considered illegitimate status to advise primary producers. Landholders with the most negative perception of rural–urban relations were the most resistant to adapting new environmental management. The more marginalised producers felt within their rural social identity group, the more unwilling were they to adjust practices. In Fielding's research high identifiers looked more to in-group norms for guidance, without reference to the out-group expectations, while intergroup perceptions more greatly influenced the low-identifiers. Lloyd et al. (2013) assessed rural producers' involvement in protest against coal seam gas. An emerging tension for rural people in this case study was that their collaboration with environmentalists, an out-group categorised as disrespectful disrupters, would compromise the integrity of their identity as primary producers. This would normally impede cooperation and trust. They adopted strategies to maintain their particular unique identity boundary within the social action by wearing distinct farmer apparel (Lloyd et al., 2013) locating themselves as participants and separate in social identity from environmental activists.

Social identity governs community behaviours and values in other ways. It has been explored as a local influence on loyalties to

local businesses in rural communities of population 10,000 or less (Addis & Grunhagen, 2014). It was an influence only where positive identity associations were associated with the community.

Social identity as a factor in exclusion and therefore a factor in community resilience, has been explored relatively rarely in rural community. In contrived experiments and some workplace contexts, extant literature shows a range of social dynamics of exclusion (Daly & Silver, 2008; Hogg, 2005). This literature indicates that the established often resist newcomers (Hitlan et al., 2006; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Shore et al., 2011) to protect their own social identity boundaries, hierarchies, norms and narratives. Stories and gossip define and maintain social boundaries and frame response to change (Scott et al., 2011).

Exclusion of newcomers is evident in rural communities, which undermines social capital and community resilience and capacity to initiate and embrace change. This thesis will explore what motivates such discriminatory behaviours using social identity theories as a lens but first to set the scene, I will explore the literature on rural identity and belonging and the experience of newcomers in small community.

2.2 Rural Identity and Belonging

Rural communities, especially small population communities are therefore thought of in this research as a psychological phenomenon, not just one of geographic boundaries. Massey (2004) emphasises the complexities of communal identity, ambiguously defined by connections and relationship, narratives and histories of social encounter rather than fixed or defined borders.

Rural identity in Australia has been represented with nostalgia as the soul of Australia. Rural people have been represented as the ‘real Australians’ associated with larger-than-life characters, stoic eccentrics enduring hardship in the bush,

being white, mostly male and rarely indigenous (Curthoys, 1999; Prout and Howitt, 2009). Country communities and regional residents have been portrayed as the essence of what it means to be Australian This has been represented as unique and superior framing and one in which many rural residents are deeply invested (Elder, 2007; Galligan 2014). Social identity is created and performed within a context, in this case, small rural community.

The identity of the community is communally owned and shaped in everyday social life. This is where the business of identity construction occurs, where the critical discourse of power in hierarchy and status is negotiated, performed and contested (Amin, 2004). The nature of a unique local place evolves through the local sociocultural norms and narratives, the habitus accessed to understand the social landscape and therefore the implications and meaning of interactions and incidents. This is conceptually applied by residents to understand where one belongs, the place one occupies and the value one has as insider or outsider, elite or marginalised within community. Place identity thus becomes integrated into the sense of self (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006**;** Pretty et al, 2003). It is bound into social affiliations within the community (Taylor, 2001) that foster a sense of belonging, a narrative of personal identity and meaning. Being associated with a unique place, such as a particular rural community carries an implicit message of ingroup status. Social identity and social connection is integrated within a sense of place (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996) and therefore it develops deep salience. It is an emotional relationship. Place attachment in rural community is a factor of duration of residence, and this in turn, is an attachment to status. Local residents have a great deal invested in their sense of place and belonging and might therefore be highly motivated to defend and preserve aspects that are attached to personal identity. A perceived threat to the nature of place is equated with a threat

to sense of belonging (Winterton and Warburton, 2012). This is channelled into motive to control how place is defined because it is connected to power and allows retention of social certainty, self-esteem and personal coherence (Korpela, 1989). This then shapes the response to newcomers.

2.3 Newcomers' Arrivals in Rural Communities

Newcomers arrive in rural towns for family support, housing, employment or lifestyle reasons (Butt, 2014; Davies & James, 2011; Rural Australia Institute, 2018; Stockdale & Macleod, 2013). In organisational development literature, newcomers seek to learn the social norms of a place (Korte, 2009; Korte & Lin, 2013) to find social connection and belonging (Mahar et al., 2013). Without an active culture of welcome, induction and integration, newcomers can feel ignored in new social settings (Sluss et al., 2012).

There is no clear definition or consistent framing of what constitutes a newcomer or how long they remain an outsider. Various terms differentiate non-locals from locals, often diminishing and separating them from locals with longstanding or generational connection to the community (S. Davis et al., 2012; de Rijke, 2012; Obst & White, 2004; Paull & Redmond, 2011). Non-locals are not necessarily recognised as insiders, even when they have lived in and contributed to the community for years. As a collection of social groups in a common place, rural communities can be socially difficult for newcomers (Cooke, 2016; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 2000). Kilpatrick et al. (2011) found that some felt they were newcomers even after decades of residence.

Inclusion and exclusion are an outworking of broader social rules that are often invisible to the newcomer (Patten et al., 2015). Newcomers in a workplace must access and then find their way through the local sociocultural norms (Wang et al., 2015). To fit in and avoid social missteps, newcomers must show respect and

deference to the established members and navigate existing social networks to locate a place to belong and gain acceptance (Byles-Drage, 2005; de Rijke, 2012).

Several rural community case studies portray the social responses of existing residents and newcomers' experiences of exclusion in rural contexts (Jones et al., 2009; Macgregor, 2010; Paull & Redmond, 2011; Shucksmith & Chapman, 1998). Incoming residents often experience rejection and prejudice (Kilpatrick et al., 2011; Paull, 2009). This phenomenon was originally framed in Elias and Scotson's (1965) seminal community case study. Their subject community was divided into prototypes: the dominant cohort of established insiders and a subclass of newcomers. Compliance with local norms was necessary for residents to access power, social certainty and esteem for self and salient social groups. The dominant prototype protected their beneficial dominance through internal codes of conduct and social expectation, which constrained the input of the newcomer and divided the community (Elias & Scotson, 1965). Subsequent literature on rural community newcomers has a recurring theme of established residents resisting newcomer involvement in social networks and activities, of intolerance, and regarding newcomers as responsible for their exclusion (S. Davis et al., 2012; Kilpatrick et al., 2011; van den Hoonaard, 2002).

Exclusion of newcomers takes various forms, including withholding information and support (Jones et al., 2009), blocking initiatives and participation (Irwin, 2019), enforcing social hierarchy that locates newcomers as socially inferior, and bullying tactics (Lake, 2011). To justify and signal exclusion as a social norm, locals frame out-group members negatively and with stereotyped references undermining their legitimacy as community members, defining them as socially inferior. Socially inferior labelling can then morally justify antisocial action (McHenry-Sorber

& Schafft, 2015) and serves to control and contain newcomers within the social scope of that label, creating invisible barriers to community contribution or engagement. Without help, these social barriers and risks can be socially painful and hard work to challenge, drawing social censure and making newcomers averse to community participation. This is heightened where they do not know the social codes (Garbutt, 2009; Patten et al., 2015) because they have no induction. The social norms and narratives conveying those norms of behavioural expectations are not accessible or visible to them.

Newcomers often seek to participate in the community in meaningful ways to find social similarities and connections, belong and enhance their esteem (Obst & White, 2004; Paull & Redmond, 2011). However, they can find themselves unwittingly caught in prejudicial local sociocultural expectations. This experience is heightened for newcomers with less in common culturally with locals, for example, newcomers with ethnic differences (Arrow & Burns, 2004; Wilding & Nunn, 2018).

These phenomena are well-known insider–outsider experiences, but there is relatively little evidence about what motivates such antisocial exclusionary tactics, undermining the desirable traits of community resilience and capacity (Agnitsch et al., 2006). The literature indicates that these phenomena occur and that they are damaging to community cohesion. While social capital supports strong social connections and resilience, negative social capital fosters intolerance and exclusion. However, the motivations and causes of positive and negative social capital are unexplored (Daly, 2008). This study considers small community motivations for exclusive antisocial behaviours, that may drive newcomers to withdraw and leave, that act against stated objectives to enhance and retain population and civic engagement. A novel way to understand the unconscious drivers for resistance

to new ideas and individuals in antisocial behaviours and exclusion in rural communities is by applying well-established social identity theories (SIT) and relevant psychosocial insights to rural community social dynamics.

2.4 Considerations of Theory

2.4.1 What is SIT?

Social identity is a psychosocial construct covering categorisation and concepts of self, intragroup dynamics and intergroup exchanges (Hogg et al., 1987; Hogg, 2006; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The social world and self are conceptualised through social categories and groups with importance and relevance. People find a social place and understanding of the world as members of groups. Individuals seek belonging in groups to achieve positive esteem, a sense of purpose and social identity.

According to SIT, different social categories compete for social benefits, including material and symbolic advantage creating conditions for conflict or cooperation and impetus for change or defending the status quo. SIT explains divisions between groups, motivations for discrimination, prejudice against others, preference and bias for our own. It can explain the causes of conflict and power struggle, the quest to protect the status quo and resistance to change. Self-categorisation theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and social uncertainty theory (Hogg, 2007) are types of SIT.

SIT has been researched widely in manipulated and controlled experiments but also applied in a number of real world settings. For example, in health and education professional environments practitioners are invited to be aware of the salience of social group membership on the quality of client or student experience and the social dynamics of prejudice and the nature of interactions (Kreindler et al., 2012; Nieuwenhuis, 2019).

Social identity has been examined within corporate contexts as influencing team functioning and leadership (Hogg et al., 2012; Reicher et al., 2018; Slater et al., 2019;. Group membership of corporate teams shapes what is valued and associated behavioural choices. High-identifiers within the group integrate these qualities with self implicitly assume certain social choices of others. To be influential within a group, one must exhibit the values, qualities and attitudes of that group (Bagozzi & Kyu-Hyun, 2002; Turner, 2005). To have legitimacy and influence leaders will align with the core group values as a requirement for influence and authority.

SIT is well established as a means for understanding social group dynamics, however within a rural community context there are other theories explaining the social choices within small rural towns.

2.4.2 Self-Categorisation

Tajfel and Turner (1979), found that human interactions occur on a spectrum. They range from being wholly interpersonal where individuals relate with no reference to social group membership, to relating with no reference to personal qualities or preferences, relating totally as representatives on the basis of salient group membership. Self-categorisation affects how people perceive self and others (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social categories are known as *prototypes*, a loose and somewhat fluid set of attitudes and behaviours that differentiate one social group from others. Prototypes have *entitativity* and *valence*. Entitativity is the extent to which groups identify as a unique entity, the identity qualities (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996). Valence is the material or symbolic benefit gained from particular group membership (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Self-categorisation references the cognitive processes that prompt people to categorise themselves and others into social groups and then integrate those group norms into their self-

identity (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People join social groups to achieve positive self identity, for self esteem and enhancement. How people achieve these occurs within a social context, their subjective awareness of the interactions between social groups in local status, legitimacy, permeability and stability (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Self-categorisation with a specific group identity creates a sense of social safety by prescribing patterns of expected social behaviours and choices and creating consensual validation. Group norms are shared beliefs that shape expectations for behaviour, and they are communicated directly and indirectly in social interactions. These codes guide how one should respond, assess, feel, choose and act (Jenkins, 2004). It includes particular worldviews, in- and out-group definitions, and where people fit.

Groups give members a sense of positive esteem but group boundaries are only real when they exist in comparison to other groups. This motivates competitive distinction between groups, where members strive to define and defend a positive distinction of ingroup membership, creating stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981). Stereotypes help to make hierarchical sense of the social landscape, justify group boundaries and shift according to context (Haslam et al., 1992). Group members understand what they have in common and what makes them unique from other social groups. The tendency is to emphasise both the similarities of members of the in-group and the differences of out-groups. This creates *entitativity*, the sense that the group is cohesive, structured, bounded and bonded (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996). It generates perpetual intergroup comparisons to create and affirm group qualities. This differential framing of differences may be subtle among important familiar groups but is drawn much more distinctively with unfamiliar group types.

When people belong to a prototype that has a low status they may leave the group, in a psychological sense or physically where they have options or create a narrative that emphasises and exaggerates qualities that make their group superior (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). They may seek to shift the existing social hierarchy by forcing wider recognition of these qualities as superior. The path selected depends upon how easy it is to leave or join available social groups and the degree to which relative status is locally recognised as legitimate (Mackie et al, 1996; Turner, Oakes & Haslam, 1994).

When people are categorised, a stereotype is attached to describe their qualities as members of a social group. They are depersonalised and viewed as representing that stereotype rather than being a unique and particular individual. The stereotypes frame expectations of roles, values and behaviours. Self-categorisation has a similar effect on the sense of self, as certain values are integrated and contain what is thought possible for a member to do or be, depending on their alignment with salient social group characteristics and norms. Integration of self-identity with a salient group identity drives unconscious degrees of compliance to a particular worldview, an understanding of reality.

Social identity is competitive and integrated with concepts of power. Power is fundamental to agency, to being able to express one’s own authentic self and to make a difference. Social group membership curtails or enlivens power, according to one’s fit and place in the culture and structure of the group. The social dimensions of power have identified pertinent overlaps in the consideration of competitive social identity phenomena. Table 2.1 indicates some of the social identity practices of the established residents towards newcomers, to apply power and retain entitativity and valence of salient identity.

Table 2.1:

Summary of Dimensions of Power & Implications for Newcomers

Dimension of power in social interaction	How it works	Implications for newcomers
Fundamentals of Agency	Being aware they must access or have knowledge of the resources of power to fit in successfully and knowing they don't have that access.	Aware of their vulnerability, outgroup members comply or give a semblance of compliance, to adopt or adapt proactively to local cultures and hierarchies, without the powerful taking any social action to censure (Dowding, 2003)
Structural elements of power	Newcomers experience structural constraints within community – they are not considered equals.	Excluded from particular decision-making arenas by virtue of cultural norms that stereotype newcomers as being improperly positioned to make decisions or voice opinions about the community (Garfinkel, 1984).
Epistemic nature of interaction	To successfully fit in, they must access the local *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990), the implicit knowledge of local social norms and narratives that establish local 'reality' that must be drawn upon to understand and interpret actions and implications within a particular social context.	Residents (ingroup) validate a set of stereotypes as incontestable truth, justifying acts of exclusion and withholding recognition. Exclusive knowledge of the way the community works is power. Newcomers are recruited into this epistemic nature of the community, accepting their constrained place as social inferiors.
Social ontology	Social conformity in institutionalised beliefs and actions protects familiar order and social discipline. Residents exercise power and socially censure the non-compliant.	Newcomers self-constrain their behaviours to find a place of social certainty within the socially constructed narrative, the "iron cage" (Weber 2011) of how a particular community operates.

Groups adopt expressions of these dimensions of power to defend and preserve their valence and entitativity. Distinctive, homogenous groups with clear structures or high entitativity give clear direction to the members on how to behave, present and position themselves. Membership requires some degree or at least a perception of compliance if not complete acceptance of a set of defined values, opinions, responses, understanding and beliefs to conform with a salient social group. Compliance is necessary to establish trust, to belong (Haslam, Oakes, Turner, 1996). Degrees of conformity with ingroup norms reflect social hierarchy within the social set and depend on what social prototypes are available, individual accessibility and fit (Mackle et al., 1996; Oakes, 1987). People seek to belong to achieve social certainty, knowing where

they fit and how to behave. A challenge to familiar identity norms brings social uncertainty and is disruptive.

The greater the individual's self-uncertainty, the more attractive is membership of groups with clearly defined entitativity as it provides unambiguous rules and codes for social place and belonging. When social groups have less defined prototypes for identity, that is, lower entitativity, they do not serve sufficiently those with a higher need for self-certainty.

2.3 Social Certainty and Uncertainty

Social certainty is a driving motive for people to engage socially (Hogg, 2012). In search of social certainty, people seek salient social information to determine if there is opportunity or risk for them within a particular social prototype, and, given their personal psychological history of social expectation and experience, they make choices. They find social groups that may be aligned with some facet of their self-identity or choose to comply with the requirements of a social prototype to find a social place (Rucker et al., 2014). They may gain symbolic or material benefits or valence via social group association. People may see opportunity in establishing themselves as valuable or of service to enhance their status. Alternatively, they may see social risk and withdraw either to the margins or completely. A risk may exist because of perceived inadequate alignment with a person's self-categorisation and the social prototype's qualities, too much social uncertainty about the dynamics within the social prototype, or both. They do not see social opportunity (Clarkson et al., 2013).

For established members, social identity prototypes offer validation of social norms that may be under threat elsewhere or poorly regarded (Kruglanski & Orehek, 2012; Stollberg et al., 2015). Membership in a social group that validates threatened identity norms provides individuals with a sense of social safety among the like-minded and entrenches the narrative of their

difference as superior, as an affirming truth (Clarkson et al., 2017). It puts a high stake on accepting a change that breaches the social prototype norms. Challenging established norms is discomforting, reduces trust and creates uncertainty.

Belonging to a social group reduces uncertainty and gives comfort in the known social processes and paradigms of membership (Hogg, 2007, 2012, 2018). When a particular social group is an important expression of our self-identity, and much is invested in that group membership, there is less tolerance of perceived threats to the group's entitativity or valence (Christensen et al., 2004). Uncertainty about self or factors that matter to one's identity or values creates tension. People find uncertainty aversive (Lüders et al., 2016). There is a powerful incentive to reduce uncertainty, to return to a place of assuredness and stability about who they are, where they fit and what they must properly do to be socially safe.

2.4 Other Motivations for Social Choices

Other constructs that inform collective motivations include the social psychology of place attachment, place identity and group dynamics in conflict (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Wilson & Croucher, 2017). Place attachment presents as both process and effect of emotional association with locations including duration of presence (Giuliani, 2002; Manzo, 2003, 2005) and influences individual and collective social action (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Place attachment fosters shared and defended conceptions of a place, resisting changes that erode values associated with esteem and status. It is shown to influence collective coping, fostering solidarity in the face of unchosen change such as natural disaster (Stancua et al., 2020). This is not out of alignment with social identity motivations where place is considered as an integrated identity value and defining quality of prototype membership. Place identity (Proshansky et al., 1983) similarly represents the adoption

of symbolic and material aspects of a location into personal and social constructs of self (Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995), a form of social identity. This aligns with the influences of categorisation upon self, covered within SIT (Bonnes, & Bonaiuto, 2000). Place identity emphasises personal attitudes and the influence of language (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004) to convey and contest meanings and definitions of place between individuals and groups, influencing perceptions of reality and behavioural choices (Stedman, 2002). Disruption to a shared perception of place identity motivates social coping mechanisms exhibiting as place attachment. These explain collective and individual social actions to protect and defend against change. Action seeks to preserve symbolic meaning, distinctiveness due to associated factors of esteem and self-efficacy (Devine-Wright, 2009). They explain protest behaviours and resistance to change.

Others attribute issues of exclusion and inclusion to the framing of and responses to conflict. However, this present research argues that social identity is the framing influence, as people draw upon their shared interpretive repertoire of sociocultural norms to firstly identify their group membership and status, and also to interpret a new scenario comparatively, choosing a social position and response (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Wilson & Croucher, 2017). SIT does not argue with the influence of group dynamics, but explains them.

So, overall, SIT does not challenge these alternative concepts of social choice. SIT as a well-established theory of social psychology, explains the complexity of group dynamics and individual social motivations through concepts of relative status, belonging and conformity. The workings of power and influence including qualities of place attachment and place identity can be viewed as elements of prototype identity. This has particular relevance within a small rural community context where resistance

to change, presenting as place attachment and framed as solidarity in the face of perceived threat to place identity, may be cover for a sense of threat to prototype. Specifically, social identity phenomena may be an influence within small rural communities and an influence on existing resident attitudes towards newcomers and new ideas. Social identity may explain why and when these may be resisted or embraced. Social aspects have been recognised through the lens of social capital as a measure of social cohesion, which aligns with social identity phenomena (Davis, 2014).

2.5 Social Dynamics in Small Rural Communities

2.5.1 Social Capital and Social identity

The success of a community or a society is often attached to perceptions of social cohesion through the well-established measures of bonding and bridging social capital (Claridge, 2018; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Putnam, 1995). Social capital drives resilience (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Maclean, 2014). For this work I will use the Coleman (1988) definition for social capital, which recognises underlying social structures and cultures supporting or suppressing the presence, agency and actions of individuals within that social container, consistent with local discourse. Social capital itself has a number of intangible and tangible qualities in its function, explicit and implicit expressions that results in material benefit and non-material gains such as status, for individuals as well as social groups. Coleman sees social capital as a mechanism for introducing rational justification of social action that is negative. In this exploration of social capital he examines the nature of obligations and expectations, access to information and social norms. Social capital is reliant on the social network, but also on access to a common set of interpretive reference points, arising out of relationship. This overlaps all the elements of social identity – norms, narratives, values, informal and formal sanctions fostering hierarchy, cooperation and compliance. Ingroup members

know the rules, have an expectation of reciprocity and trust. Outgroup members don't know the rules, are less trusted, considered inferior, threaten the values and standards and boundaries of the ingroup. Thus the ingroup members feel no shame in social hostility. They may feel it is righteous because of a moral framing that depicts exclusion as an expected, right and proper social approach, a social norm (Maskell, 2000).

Positive social capital supports economic growth, social wellbeing and community resilience, while negative social capital results in exclusion and decline (Byrne, 2005; Falk, 2000). Social capital has distinguished, including bridging and bonding types (Claridge, 2018; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Putnam, 1995). Bridging occurs across heterogenous groups, a cooperative network that serves a purpose shared within a recognised relational identity, such as a community. Bonding social capital is more associated with membership of a homogenous categorical social identity minimising differences. It emphasises what is common and is a mechanism that unites for social benefit, also generating social obligation. Both relational and categorical social identity obligations motivate people's social action beyond their personal interests.

Social capital exists in two functional types: bonding and bridging. Both are essential to positive economic outcomes (Murdoch, 2000; Sorensen, 2000; Terluin & Post, 2003); (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2000; Woolcock, 1998). Bonding capital is created and shared within established social groups. It has a cohesive function. It supports keeping things internally cohesive, is protective of homogeneity within a community. We like people more who are most like Us. We look out for each other. We preference Us against the Others. Members from closed communities rely more on "ascribed trust" (Zucker, 1986) based on who you are, a social typing, rather than on actual experience in

dealings. We like the certainty of a known social pecking order and hold internalised beliefs about the safety of that.

Bonding capital becomes a "sociological superglue" (Putnam, 2000, p. 23) inhibiting change, openness to new ideas and resisting commitment to benefit for the whole community as opposed to benefitting just Us or Me, at the expense of the Others. The down-side of relatively homogenous social connection is that it suppresses inclusion of newcomers and regards difference as threatening to the known social order. Engagement within these rigidly defined social circles entrenches norms of behaviour, attitude, outlook and beliefs that foster social exclusion, conservatism, even fundamentalism (Gray & Lawrence, 2002). The consequences flow into inhibited economic progress (Whyte, 1993) less openness to adopting new initiatives (Terluin & Post, 2003) and weakened willingness to initiate and foster interactions with outsiders.

Bridging capital is created and shared through quality connections with diverse social categories and networks (Putnam, 2000, pp. 19-21). This is essential to advance community because it fosters willingness to embrace change. It has an expansive function, engaging on common interests, sharing information across the gap. Positive interaction between diverse groups, prevents or reduces the negative stereotyping that feeds prejudice, inequality and fear of the Other. The cross-boundary 'strength of weak ties' builds resilient community (Granovetter, 1973). The idea of community is here more broadly constructed as sense of Self is situated in a more complex set of networks. There is less fearfulness where working relationships and connections are positively maintained. Bridging capital increases capacity for collective action by making inclusion easier and it fosters commitment to a wider set of interests, rather than smaller. In this way, economic advancement and greater equality is nurtured.

Healthy rural communities need tolerance and inclusive attitudes to successfully collaborate in problem solving, create innovations, reflect and plan (Caccamo, 2002; Vidich & Bensman, 1958). "Bonding social capital is…good for "getting by" but bridging social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead'" (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). Both cohesive and expansive social capitals (bonding and bridging) are necessary for economic success (Narayan & Pritchett, 1999; van Deth & Zmerli, 2009; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Bridging capital is a preventative, fostering tolerance and greater civic participation through the engagement of multiple social groups, bringing accountability and accessing collective identities that are not reliant on the same closed social networks.

Specifically, where there is limited exposure to diverse social categories, there is a tendency to mistrust those from outside *because they are from outside*. Where communities as a unit feel excluded they recognise their mutual pain and tend to bond along socio-political divisions, threatening initiatives reliant on participation, cooperation and collaboration (van Deth & Zmerli, 2009) and externally applied 'capacity building'. This becomes a cycle of inward-focussed justification of social superiority and relational wall-building that leads to community decline. These worst aspects of social capital are more prevalent in isolated and inward looking communities (Li, Savage, & Pickles, 2003; Paxton, 2002). This is very relevant to rural communities that are in transition from an historical identity and challenged to find a new place and purpose in Australian society. To develop greater understanding of the micro (individual), meso (group) and macro (community) level interactions within rural community, this research intends to explore the nature, function and influence of social groups using social identity theory.

Putnam (1995) regards bonding and bridging capitals as existing on a spectrum, being more or less conducive to supporting

trust and cooperation. Generally, bridging capital horizontal social networks are more supportive of community cohesion than hierarchical bonding capital. The identity obligations of bonding capital may be dominant drivers in conflicts. Belonging to a common social identity with others means that the collective identity integrates with self-identity. Salient group goals are conflated with the individual's goals; criticism or threat to the group is considered a personal affront. People are motivated to defend or achieve a benefit for the salient identity group by their membership (J. B. Davis, 2014). The salient identity group values are prioritised more than apparent individual benefits.

Social capital is assessed through membership and engagement in social groups and participation in community activities and in levels of trust, tolerance, reciprocity, social sanctions and community cohesion. Inclusion and equality may be framed as a threat to group entitativity, the integrity of identity qualities valued by the group as unique and defendable. The benefits of internal bias or favouritism are attached to membership as valence. Valence emphasises loyalty and establishes status and certainty for the individual within the salient identity group (Peters, 2019). Members are implicitly expected to circumvent social principles of inclusion and equality towards outsiders and maintain group member privilege over the interests of the wider collective (Gargiulo & Benassi, 1999; Numerato & Baglioni, 2012). Such group member privileging represents negative bonding capital. The effect of bonding capital is out of balance with bridging capital when it works to undermine collective cohesion and resilience. Bonding capital is then divisive, as 'the networks that serve some groups may obstruct others, particularly if the norms are discriminatory or the networks socially segregated' (Putnam, 2000, p. 358).

Intergroup conflict or cohesion in rural communities is therefore understood as a function of social capital. However, the psychosocial motivations for social bonding and bridging are less studied in rural contexts. In social identity theory, conflict or cohesion arises primarily from social categorisation, driving competition or collaboration for resources or reward (Tajfel, 1982). Social identity undermines cohesion and resilience as those outside the salient social prototypes are purposely disadvantaged, excluded from the benefits and privileges implicitly attached to insiders or prototype members. Furthermore, this becomes a cultural framing that does not just affect group members but applies to all who accept the community's local master narrative of social identity (Forrest & Kearns, 2001).

Social categorisation within a salient social group brings social certainty, and a sense of self conflated with the salient group identity defended against perceived threats. It explains bonding and bridging social capital that underpins community resilience, including the motives of negative bonding capital. Humans seek social certainty to know if a social context presents opportunity or risk (Lopes, 1987). Newcomers particularly seek to know what is required of them in a particular context to retain social safety. Being observant of social information about salient social identity prototypes provides information and knowledge about the social context, the means to social certainty.

Social capital and social identity are connected. The question is how is the information around prototypes, stereotypes, social norms and expectations conveyed to residents? How is it created and affirmed as a sociocultural frame referenced for social choices? The answer to this is in the community's discourse, the shared communications in language and culture reflecting codes of social expectation, structures and values of power and society, a set of taken-for-granted assumptions (Combs, 2012; van Dijk, 2015).

Small stories shared in daily interactions contain local beliefs around of social place, behaviours and embedded beliefs (Baumeister, 2004; Redshaw & Ingham, 2018). These narratives hold the community's social codes.

2.5.2 The Function of Narrative

Narrative performance is an outworking of social identity, affirming and preserving social norms and hierarchies of social power (Stapleton & Wilson, 2017). The story of community identity, created and affirmed in daily exchanges as part of discourse activities, affirms and creates an underlying master narrative of community sociocultural reality (Bruner, 1991). The community's overarching story infuses into each small story to create and recreate a 'shared reality' and signal how one should interpret incoming stimuli, including newcomers, new ideas, initiatives and changes (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). It is the master narrative of community reality and cultural identity.

Narrative performance becomes an interpretive tool for assessing people, events and contexts (Blount-Hill, 2021; du Toit, 2003). Narratives carry codes created in everyday anecdotes, gossip, greeting and interaction and implicitly convey identity paradigms and norms, values and expectations. Narratives provide a shared interpretive repertoire for social identity performance, guidance on how to behave towards newcomers, new ideas and other changes in the community (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Luhman & Boje, 2001). Invisibly, it runs underneath daily activities, implicitly influencing and informing daily actions as a cultural script accessed to make sense of facts, unconsciously performed, creating and recreating the relative status and social truths affirming reality (Brown et al., 2008). Social information is conveyed implicitly and explicitly through labels, tone, body language, anecdotes, what is said and not said, done, or not done (Baumann, 2000; du Toit, 2003; Hogg & Tindale, 2005).

Affirmation of shared identity motivates the transformation of personal opinions into socially accepted reality (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). In this research, the data from socially situated language provided a vignette of the beliefs and social values by telling experiences, opinions and expectations of social life in the community.

2.6 Key Thesis Research Questions

How social capital presents and affects rural communities is acknowledged, but the causes are less known. This thesis research uses SIT as a new perspective for understanding social behaviours as the product of unconscious psychological drivers.

Can SIT provide insight into the newcomer's social experience within small rural communities?

Can SIT explain the psychosocial motivations of antisocial behaviours of the established residents towards outsiders? How does this present within the community?

What are the consequences of social uncertainty within small rural communities, and how do they present? What are the implications for community leaders and development practitioners?

2.7 Conclusion

Research into the social dynamics of small rural communities is fundamental to understanding the barriers to and opportunities for supporting community leaders and locals to embrace new ideas on with resilience and development. Social identity theory has not been commonly applied to small rural communities to understand the social drivers that influence newcomers' experiences in these communities. Attention has been given to attracting newcomers with employment, infrastructure and cultural attraction. However, comparatively less attention has been given to the importance of social connection, the necessity of transitioning new people into the sociocultural norms and narratives of place, that is, to facilitate

inclusion and belonging. While some communities have given attention to holistic welcoming and social embedding, this has been done intuitively rather than based on accumulated evidence.

This research seeks to integrate social identity principles into understanding the social dynamics of small rural communities that may have relevance for community leaders and development and extension practitioners. That insight may open opportunities and awareness of conscious actions to address and mitigate barriers to social inclusion—often unconscious but deeply influential factors of resistance to initiatives, innovations and insights newcomers bring to the community.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to understand social dynamics within an ethnographical study of two small rural communities. It critically explores narrative within discourse as an indicator of social identity phenomena and related effects on newcomers' inclusion in two Australian small rural communities and the implications for community leaders and practitioners in small communities.

3.1 Conceptual Frameworks

Social identity theory forms the conceptual frame for exploring social phenomena in a community (Abrams et al., 1990; Tajfel, 1982). Through the lens of SIT, the analysis takes an inductive, interpretive approach using CDA to identify social identity phenomena. A critical interpretive paradigm assumes that coinciding realities are constructed in participants' minds, language and actions to make sense of a sociocultural context (Schwandt, 1998). Discourse is both sense-making (meaning) and sense-giving (influencing) and is a system of representation (Foucault, 1980). The study's epistemological assumptions are that behaviours, consciously or unconsciously, are socially located and anchored in a community's social and cultural context and an interpretation of broader social and political norms and pressures (Ferguson, 2004). This discourse embedded in language, social structures and practices implicitly governs and organises social life, reproducing tacit social knowledge of local norms, values, expectations and beliefs (Fairclough, 1995).

Sociocultural realities are constructed through language as a communal process with meaning negotiated interactively through narrative. Narrative as an element of discourse is purposeful (Bruner, 2010). Residents are immersed in discourse as a shared

means of constructing and understanding reality, identity, history and cultural expectations (Bruner, 2010; De Fina et al., 2006; Ezzy, 1998; Fiske, 1993; Roundy, 2016). Narrative creates and draws upon a cultural resource of shared understandings within discursive interactions, including implicit codes signalling embedded beliefs and social expectations. Narratives are built as a communal project to serve particular social identity objectives. Discourse contains a library of conceptual interpretive tools—a shared knowledge of context, social maps, institutions and individuals. Discourse includes tacit understandings, implicit codes and assumptions that community members produce and reproduce to serve identity objectives (De Fina et al., 2006; Ezzy, 1998). This framing of reality flows into and reflects sociocultural norms in unconsciously performing and replicating the discourse of who we are, what matters and how things are done.

Therefore, knowledge is created and shared socially, and truths are influenced within a context of power relations and embedded societal ideologies (du Toit, 2003). Based on their social standing and local privilege, some people and social groups are more influential than others in defining reality (Foucault, 1980). Social identity phenomena are at work as the dominant defend their preferred discourse; they use their influence to protect identity entitativity and control social norms and narratives (Castano et al., 2002). Social change, often a necessary component for innovation (McIntosh et al., 2008), challenges the established or familiar sociocultural norms. Social change is often first championed by outsiders or minorities seeking to embrace the new and pushing through defensive resistance from those invested in the status quo (Martin & Hewstone, 2007).

This thesis research investigates the social experiences of newcomers within small rural communities, geographically located places identified as a stage for collective social relations. Critical

interpretivism seeks to bring awareness to social cultures, structures and influences that are taken for granted. Therefore, methodologies centre around individuals' perceptions of meaning and reality. A prototype or social group is an evolving dynamic, a fluid process rather than a fixed or static object. As people develop an emotional attachment to belonging, they adopt prototype qualities to some degree to comply with the locally established sociocultural norms and gain inclusion. Seeking acceptance, they may adopt locals' attitudes and beliefs about out-groups and outsiders (Hogg & Reid, 2006) and their narratives on other issues such as politics.

The focus of this research is situated within a conceptualised boundary of the community as a physical and social place. Place is an inhabited space with a sense of a boundary; within it is a set of relationships, experiences and understandings held as a common connection. Place may reference environmental qualities, how people use the environs, socially created associations, and a sense of attachment and meaning (Creswell, 2004; Luloff, 1998; Stedman, 2003).

3.2 Explicating the Researcher in the Research

The researcher's assumptions and prejudices can bias the collection and interpretation of data, especially as this research seeks to illuminate the unseen and reflect upon unconscious social patterns that create exclusion and inclusion, privilege and inequalities. A critical interpretive analysis consists of researcher interpretations and is concerned with social justice and social change; therefore, the researcher must be situated within the research (McIlveen, 2008; Morrow, 2005). Accordingly, I present a reflexive commentary about my background and personal influences on the research.

I was brought up with my brothers on a mixed farming property in western New South Wales, riding motor bikes, driving

farm vehicles, working in the paddocks and yards, engaged as extra labour when required. My mother's father, surviving the World War II battle of Gallipoli, an iconic symbol of white Australia's nationhood, came home to soldier settlement land and added to it. He later donated land for the local town's showground. The main pavilion is branded with his name in thanks. A local church recognises my mother's maternal grandparents with their names in a stained-glass feature located prominently above the pulpit. My parents volunteered as leaders and participants for various community organisations and events.

As a child, I was schooled by Distance Education until Year 4 and then attended the local town public schools. I went to a Sydney boarding school for the final four years of high school then gained a degree in agricultural science. My brothers remained on the farm while I moved to Queensland, where I worked with and within regional and rural sectors for the next 25 years, a career of empathy and advocacy for rural people. Two memorable career experiences shaped my interest in social identity.

While working for the Queensland Farmers' Federation as a Brisbane-based advocate for primary producers, I attended a rural property near Longreach. After completing the business purpose, I was to stay overnight with the family. They told of being third-generation on that property; the fourth was at boarding school. The next morning, the owner had mustering to do but was without staff. I offered my help. The owner, a good and decent man, looked at me very doubtfully but gave me a motorbike. I participated in moving the mob, with just me on the ground and the owner in the air in a small two-seater aeroplane. The pilot producer expressed astonishment that I rode the bike and managed the stock successfully. He seemed to have not heard the several times I mentioned where I grew up. On the UHF radio, the telephone and at the airport, I heard him repeatedly mention to his peers that I

was returning to the city and that he had shown me what it was like to be a real Australian, differentiating qualities and status.

A decade later, I frequently worked in and around a small mining and grazing community in Central Queensland over several years. In addition to my local consulting work, as side interests, I gathered a collection of resident life stories for the local historical society and occasionally helped the local Chamber of Commerce. I noticed that some young couples arrived in the town planning to stay five years but often left within 18 to 24 months. In one conversation, a young mum told me that she had to go home because ‘in this town, if you are not a local or the wife of a mine manager, you cannot make a friend’. She said that the mining hierarchy was strictly mirrored and managed by the women. Another newcomer, a businessman's wife, mentioned that no locals spoke to her at social functions; she felt she could not fit in. The locals did not offer a welcome, and she was not in the mining circles. Within the community groups, there were cliques and conflicts, making it socially awkward or unpleasant for new people. In the same community, a newcomer business owner put up a sandwich board café promotion in the main street but soon received a call from the Council, located an hour away, indicating a local by-law was being broken.

There was limited sport and cross-community engagement due to the mine's 12-hour shifts, seven days a week. While the men had social contact with workmates, the women often felt isolated. There were shame-based stories told of a high-status family locally feared and regarded as powerful among longstanding residents. No one wanted to be overtly offside with them. My experience with a leader of that family was of his sense of social self-preservation, wariness and isolation. I reflected upon these difficult social dynamics, resulting in so many lonely people, and as an influence on the community’s potential, its cohesion and

resilience. I advised the Chamber, 'If you want to keep the men as town residents, help the women find a friend', but their focus remained on attracting new business and employment.

These experiences speak to my interest in the social dynamics of small communities. Personally, the transition experiences of my childhood made me conscious of inclusion, fitting into new social contexts, seeking alignment with the familiar. The experiences and observations of social stereotyping, of rural exceptionalism and exclusion made me conscious of identity as a factor that framed persons, regardless of rational evidence. It constrained thinking about their capacities.

3.3 Study Design

3.3.1 Case Studies

This research applies case studies as an interpretive paradigm to understand the interpretations of research participants. In this research there is no experimental treatment, nor any relationship between variables as might be found in empirical studies, but the spoken recollections of participants, as multiple data points, prompted by interview with open-ended questions. Themes within and across cases were able to be identified and an interpretation made of learning (Guba, 1985). Case studies have limitations on the transferability of findings from one site to another, but nevertheless provide valid data within that case's circumstances. There are a variety of options in approaching case study methodologies and I will cover those of Stake (1995), Merriam (1998) and Yin (2003).

Stake (1995) defines a number of framings including "naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, and biographic" (p. xi). He firmly urges constructivism and existentialism as epistemological positions, viewing researchers as interpreters of data, making explication of their position particularly important as an influence in findings. He does not

require explicit definition of cases as these are likely to be contested by other disciplines but it should be a defined system, observed as an entity rather than as a process. Stake is open to the advantages of flexibility in design as long as it serves the research questions. Stake expects researcher conclusions to be the result of sense-making from the data rather than protocols.

Merriam (1998) applies qualitative research principles to case studies, defining case study, how it is distinct from other forms of qualitative research and when it should be applied. Similarly to Stake (1995) she maintains that individuals construct reality from their understandings of experience in the world, and the researcher function is to understand the participants' interpretations, rather than create their own although this is recognised to be inevitably present as a further layer. A case should have a clear boundary as an entity, one that can be specified as an area of enquiry. This may include a particular context, incident or phenomenon that provides detailed data giving new knowledge. She provides highly structured guidance on building from literature theoretical frameworks to serve research inquiry. She applies elements of both Yin (2003) and Stake (1995) in this approach, with some flexibility towards sampling and data collection.

Yin (2003) views a case as useful to understand a target phenomenon within a real-world situation, that is hard to control in a research sense. He emphasises qualitative and quantitative design and methods to test theoretical propositions, outlining steps to undertake, analyse and prevent problems in compiling data. Yin (2003) emphasises 'how' and 'why' questions, and the importance of logical choices in case selection. Yin (2003) advocates study design considering the study questions, propositions, means of analysis, criteria for interpretation of findings and being able to soundly connect data to the research propositions. Considerable

discipline is urged towards planning and adhering to design prior to research, with any changes requiring a restart on the research. In terms of analysis Yin (2003) suggests a focus on validity and reliability, suggesting a result can be drawn that is objective.

In this present research two cases were chosen as means of enquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2005) for replication of structured questions that would elicit in-depth understandings of participants' social experiences and interpretations of those experiences within small rural communities, a bounded geographic place. The case studies allowed learning about influential factors of context essential to social identity. A flexible approach was taken to analysis, having some defined phenomena as subject but allowing for associated themes to emerge from the data after collection and transcription. Interview questions did not change throughout data collection, but demographic capture did shift as population sectors become apparent. The Fairclough (1992) critical discourse analysis frame provided a structured means for decoding the data, rather than relying entirely on intuition and researcher perception.

3.3.2 Case Selection

The research explored the social experiences of residents and newcomers in typical inland small rural communities experiencing newcomers. The selected inland rural communities were in dryland agricultural areas, with populations under 2,000 and subject to social pressures for change, particularly from an incoming population. Having a small population, the communities more likely to offer a limited number of possible internal social connections. Small populations intensified the visibility of social dynamics, which were less diluted than in a larger population with more social group choices and greater diversity. The qualities sought in subject communities were that they had a surrounding mixed rural use and sufficient internal and social services to allow for sustainable life

without frequent travel beyond the community. A supermarket, medical support, schools and vehicle support were necessary core services, accompanied by a community meeting place. The communities considered maintained a population density of more than 8 km^2 per person, which is a factor in sustaining rudimentary services (Holmes, 1981, 1987). It was envisaged that the findings from selected case studies might have some transferability, if not generalisability, by providing detailed descriptions of the communities (Guba & Lincoln, 1998).

Queensland is the north-eastern state of Australia, covering 1.853 million hectares. It is 2.49 times larger than the state of Texas, USA and in the Australian Bureau of Statistics census of 2016, had a population of 4 703 193 with 48.3% of that population living in the State capital city of Brisbane. Assessment of potential subject communities began with desktop research and informal visits in December 2018. Sixty-three communities were identified in Queensland with populations of 1,000–2,000. Twenty-one were eliminated from consideration for their location on the fringes of South East Queensland metropolitan areas. An additional 17 coastal or island communities were excluded due to the risk of perceived cultural differences and other social influences that might raise questions about the legitimacy of the definition of ‘rural’. Seven Indigenous communities were considered as having unique qualities and removed from consideration. The remaining communities were assessed for the degree to which a self-contained life would be possible based on locally accessible physical education, health services and supermarket.

Eighteen communities remained in this pool. Preference was given to communities likely to experience newcomers due to employment opportunities, lifestyle potential and common political, economic and social factors. The final consideration was the practicality and logistics of travel distances for the researcher,

prioritising locations within four hours of driving. Five potential communities were identified; visits followed to gain a sense of the community, to orientate and familiarise with elements of the local culture. All of these five communities would have been suitable subjects. However, two were selected for study based on their distinct geographic differences. Both communities were within the same local government area and within 40–85 km of a major community centre, the region's hub.

3.3.3 Case Description

The selected communities were surrounded by mixed rural activities, including extensive and intensive agricultural production and rural residential areas, and had sufficient internal commerce and social services (see Table 3.1). The median age of the study's communities is higher than the state's median age and is increasing. The proportion of people identifying as having a First Nations background is lower than for the state, as are the proportions of people born outside Australia. Of the people born overseas in Jaroville, more than 96 per cent come from one country, unnamed to protect town anonymity. Of those born overseas and resident in Tookton, approximately 90 per cent come from Western European or British colonial countries. Median household incomes are lower than for the state, especially in Tookton. The proportions of the population with post-secondary qualifications are lower than for the state, especially in Jaroville. There is a higher proportion of the population in management roles, but the proportion of professionals is much lower. As indicated by a change of address, the mobility rate is somewhat lower in the study communities than in the state.

Table 3.1

Social Indicators for Study Communities

	Jaroville	Tookton	State
Road distance to regional centre (km)	80–85	40–45	
Road distance to state capital (km)	210–20	150–160	
Median age 2016 (y)	45.0	47.0	37.0
Median age 2006 (y)	39.0	43.0	36.0
First Nations background (% of pop.)	2.7	3.1	4.0
Born outside Australia (% of pop.)	3.1	8.4	21.6
Profess no religion (% of pop.)	16.5	20.9	29.2
Median household income ($/week)	1,121	954	1,402
Post-secondary qualification	28.7	37.2	45.2
Work in agriculture (% of workforce)	36.1	22.5	2.8
Work as managers	23.3	22.5	12.1
Work as professionals	5.8	12.0	19.8
Work as technicians, trades	12.6	12.0	14.3
Town population range	1,500–1,700	2,000–2,200	
Same address 1 year before census	77.5	78.1	72.8
Same address 5 years before census	53.2	53.0	45.0

Source: ABS (2016).

The selected communities comprised a cross-section of established residents and newcomers. The study communities are similar to other Australian rural communities with populations under 2000 that are not on the coast. The communities are located 45–60 minutes from a major service centre, away from the population influences of coastal city centres and not on the absolute aprons of metropolitan areas. Both proposed communities interface with neighbouring communities of strangers, such as residents from surrounding small communities or rural subdivisions. The study communities are located on a major highway with feasible access and manageable travel and accommodation.

Both communities have a Prep to Year 10 school, an aged care facility, residents employed at mines and power stations, a community bank, swimming pools, a historical society, a Country Women's Association, a Men's Shed, a Garden Club, a Show Society, a sports centre and gymnasium, and childcare facilities. Both have a history based on agriculture that begins about the same time and established long-time families with town streets named after them. They have similarities in location, population size, history and demographic qualities, which allows some analytical generalisations from observed phenomena. Both locations draw newcomers to the surrounding area for affordable landholdings that offer a lifestyle change. Both communities are marked by damaging and significant internal conflict. They have a story of loss attached to Council (local government) amalgamations 11 years earlier. The communities are looking to travellers to strengthen their economic future.

There are also differences between the two selected communities. The physical amenity of Tookton differs from that of Jaroville, affecting its economic opportunity. Jaroville has a solid and diverse economic base and a significant multicultural community. While Tookton has a smaller multicultural community, it has a solid economic base and the potential to grow tourism; it is closer to a major centre with capacity as a potential commute to employment. Jaroville offers a choice of schools, Tookton has a strongly developed arts and craft community. Overall, the two communities were reasonably similar. Both communities identify as rural and are largely conservative politically and socially. Politically, Tookton and Jaroville have a very high percentage of support for conservative politics, favouring right-wing politicians over decades of elections; socially, they had a high percentage of NO votes in the 2017 voluntary, non-binding referendum on legalising same-sex marriage. For reference, of the 79.5% of all Australians who

participated, a majority, 61.6%, voted YES, but this was not reflected in these anonymous rural communities (ABS, 2017).

3.3.4 Interviews as Data

Interviews are useful tools for insight into cultural structures (Lamont & Swidler, 2014; Pugh, 2013; Viterna & Maynard, 2002) and reveal something of the experience, internalisation and reproduction of cultural norms. Lizardo (2017) views public culture as an interface between the contextual cultural institutions and practices and a person's individual action and awareness. Therefore interviews providing an insight into individual actions and perceptions speak to the broader community cultural norms.

It is recognised however, that people, may say one thing but do another. An interview is a social experience where people explore particular experiences, observations, thoughts and emotions (Wuthnow, 2011). For this reason, care was given to the nature of the interview questions and conduct. Interview data was not collected in a sterile context. Data collection involved informal engagement over several months prior to data collection occurring, meeting with various residents and community representatives, being present in the community by walking locally and frequenting cafes, attending the local government offices and shops. To collect data, the researcher lived in each community for several weeks, attending multiple community events and festivals. In addition, the researcher accessed community social media and newsletters, and collated broader statistical, demographic and historical information about the community. In this research, the interviews' value is their location in an ethnographic context, a window into the local discourse, expressed to the researcher reflecting a narrative of community identity and the social dynamics within it.

3.3.5 Selection of Interviewees

At the time of the interview, participants were asked to complete acknowledgement of their research participation and

provide demographic details, including contact details, gender, age, length of time living in the community, intended duration of living in the community and potential reasons for leaving the community (an open-ended question).

The objective of the interviews was to explore facets of social experience through participants' narratives of their personal social experience in the community. Diverse demographic representation was sought across a range of criteria:

- duration of living in community
- newcomers as labelled by self or others
- those on the social edges (a purposefully ambiguous term that allowed local interpretation)
- a cross-section of ages
- non-Anglo community members
- rural and out of town citizens who identified the community as their hub (their community).

Those interviewed included community members who were very or not engaged in community life, employed, not employed, retired, or running their own or another's business. Initial introductions of the researcher were made into the community via service providers and local government representatives. The snowballing technique was used, asking for an introduction to people fitting the criteria who might participate. Snowballing allows access to hard-to-reach cohorts; however, it also relies on social connection for inclusion (Atkinson & Flint, 2011). The researcher actively sought and invited people who met a cross-section of demographic categories, and it was easier to find representatives for certain categories than others. It took patience and several months to find the social connections to achieve a representative sample of interviews from a cross-section of community members.

3.3.6 Data Collection

The research was granted ethics approval (H19REA123) through the University of Southern Queensland in May 2019. Initial contacts were made with local government staff in each community for subject recommendations and introduction. Participants were given a letter from the university with an overview of the research purpose (what makes people stay in small rural communities), an introduction to the researcher and their rights as research participants. Participants understood that there was no obligation to participate and that interviews would be recorded. At the start of each interview, participants signed consent forms. They were again advised that they were not obliged to participate and could withdraw their data after the interview was completed.

Interviews in Jaroville were gathered from June to August 2019 and in Tookton from September to November 2019. More than 70 hours of semi-structured interviews, 35 hours in each community, were collected. Seventy-four interviews were completed with 89 individuals. Interviews were conducted at locations where participants were comfortable. Sometimes this was outdoors in the local park, at a residence, a community centre or a workplace. One interview was conducted in a truck's front seat as the participant ran errands. Locations were selected for participant comfort and convenience, to prevent the conversation from being overheard, and to minimise interfering noise and distraction.

Interview duration varied from 15 minutes to 105 minutes (multiple participants). Most interviews were with one individual, some with couples and two interviews with a trio. Interviews with multiple participants were longer in duration. Interviews were audio-recorded with a smartphone and transcribed verbatim by the researcher. The transcripts provided a snapshot of discourse (talk as text) reflecting the social experience of place for that individual

within a story of perceived community identity (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

3.3.7 Interview Format

The ethnographic interview protocol sought interviewees' observations, interpretations and experiences (Roulston, 2010) to inform the research questions about social experiences within small rural communities. The semi-structured interview questions were designed from the researcher's experience of small community life to elicit data about social identity phenomena. It was intended that the interviews would reveal interpretations of values, concerns, impressions and dynamics of identity most salient for the participant.

Questions were structured to elicit input on social identity, uncover aspects of community discourse and focus on knowledge, beliefs and values about newcomers and 'people on the edge of community' (see Table 3.2). Responses provided insight into the interviewees' most readily accessed interpretive repertoires, as well as highlighting interviewee interpretations to questions phrased with a degree of ambiguity. For example, rather than asking participants for their role in the community, or other social identifiers that might implicitly infer researcher assumptions of what has value, the question was phrased 'What is your place in this community?' This somewhat ambiguous question produced diverse responses, revealing what was salient for the individual. Responses included titles and roles in community groups or workplace, personal qualities of friendship or trustworthiness, indicators of duration in the community or referenced generational connections. This diversity indicated some success in avoiding leading interviewees' responses.

Similarly, 'What matters in this community?' was asked. Responses to this question often began with generic descriptions of the community. As the interviewer repeated this question, it often

resulted in in-depth responses until the participant indicated they were complete in their answer. The degree of response may reflect the degree of comfort and trust the interviewer established with the participant (Heyl, 2001).

Table 3.2

Interview Questions

Question	Purpose	Considerations
Personal Social Location in this Community		
How did you come to this community?	Easy to answer and unthreatening/neutral question that provided a context	No mention of roles, purpose or anything inferring status
How long have you lived in this community?	Provided a duration that framed subsequent questions	Duration did not necessarily equate to 'belonging'
What's your place in this community?	'Place' was a consciously employed ambiguous term that could be, and was, variously interpreted	Sought self labels and awareness of what mattered regarding self-esteem and social certainty
Understanding Community Identity—Values & Beliefs		
What do you know about this community?	An open-ended question to access 'the story of community' that was repeated multiple times until interviewees ceased to provide an answer	Sought individuals' narratives about the community, speaking with an outsider, the researcher. The question was repeated to test and reveal narratives
What's important around here? What matters? (Why?)	An open-end question seeking insight on values	Accessing values and beliefs about community
What could the future hold for people in this community?	Seeking perspectives on the story of the community's future, beliefs of what might be possible	Accessing aspirations, narratives of potential, possibility and limitations
Tell me something you've experienced living in this community? (something that happened)	Seeking personal experience of social life, values and experience in the community	Personal narratives of perspectives and beliefs about the nature of the community; people choose to tell something that matters to them in an important way
Social Identity—Power and Standing		
How are you seen in this community? (What is said of you?)	Seeking insight into personal evaluations of status and the basis on which that might rest	An indication of personal perspective on the structures of the community
Can you tell me about newcomers who have come into this	Seeking an understanding of how newcomers were framed, qualities that	Sought insight into narratives and beliefs

Question	Purpose	Considerations
community? (What do you know of them?)	attributed to them and stories associated with this social category	about newcomers as a social category
Can you tell me about any people you notice on the edges of this community? Those a bit different, stick to themselves, don't fit in. (What's happening there?)	A purposefully ambiguous term to understand who might be framed under this term, their qualities and associated stories	Sought awareness of exclusion, who is noticed, and narratives held about those
What could help them in this community?	Seeking the degree of insight into the experience of edge-dweller and what might position them in this social location	Testing beliefs about responsibilities, possibilities
Have you made any observations about any social groups or sections of the community, hierarchies or observations about ranking or status?	Seeking willingness to share insight into the community's social stratification and associated beliefs	Testing social boundaries, categorisation narratives, stratification and associated narratives (e.g., accepted or resented)
Nature of Social Networks		
Who inside this community would or has given you kindness or interest?	How well did they feel seen and cared for in this community?	Exploring personal social capital and the community's key social capital figures
Who is an important connection in this community for getting things done?	How well were they aware of and able to access influencers?	Exploring personal social capital and the community's key social capital figures
Who in this community has useful info on what's happening around the place?	How well were they informed of community information?	Exploring personal social capital and the community's key social capital figures
Finally, any thoughts about what could make this a great place for new people and locals in this community?	A concluding question regarding the nature of community change that might be considered possible and desirable	A question implicitly about the nature of the community and personal aspirations for it

3.3.8 Conduct of Interviews

I have more than 20 years of professional facilitation experience, which requires the application of active listening skills. The discipline of attentive silence, curiosity, and focus on the speaker's intended meaning was invaluable for data collection. The intention was to minimise my voice in the process, attend to active

listening in clarification, reflection and summation, and maximise the participant's voice. The repetition of a question and inviting expansion by asking a version of 'What else?' were follow-up options. When participants queried a question, asked what it meant, what was wanted, I demurred, 'It is an open question'. This response resulted in diverse interpretations and responses and rich data. During interviews, I consciously adopted generative listening and reflective listening skills, summarising what I heard and clarifying terms or labels to minimise assumed meaning. This practice was affirmed by occasional unexpected perspectives shared through participant clarification. I occasionally breached this discipline with an observational remark, but my voice was minimised in the data for most recorded conversations.

In interviews, the researcher will influence the exchange (Lamont & Swidler, 2014). Nevertheless, by my presence, selection of keywords as prompts and manner of summation, I noticed that participants sometimes vocalised tentative or qualified agreement with my summation but did not give emphatic affirmation. In such situations I sought to let the participant clarify, giving space for their voice to help me correctly understand their intent.

In the interviews, several questions were asked multiple times resulting in access to deeper levels of participant insight and experience, which was frequently helpful. Some participants responded by expanding or deepening the information provided; others declined to provide further information or indicated they had no information. Declining further information was done socially, for example, declaring that they were at the end of their knowledge or that nothing more came to mind or that what had been shared was 'enough'. This declaration could be a genuine statement for some persons very new to the community. For other participants who have lived in the community, sometimes for decades, declining to provide further information was interpreted to represent reaching a

social boundary for sharing information with me as a researcher or their comfort or consideration of the matter. Their declining was accepted and informative, and I moved on. After each interview, I endeavoured to give an acknowledgement and thanks.

Saturation, as a measure of when sufficient data had been collected, was considered against responses to the research questions, theoretical framing and the analytical framework to be applied (Saunders et al., 2018). There were evident themes emerging, and recognisable presentation of type in particular experiences though the details were expressed differently about the same topics or incidents. While every individual contributed new and unique perspectives from their own experience about the nature of social life in the community, it was possible to reach a point where no new details were occurring within the data that expanded a priori identified SIT codes or the qualities of a coding category. Many examples became available for coding categories and instances of the experience or interpretation were repeated leading to conclusion that the coding point was saturated. Interviews were transcribed, creating written verbatim records of the participant–researcher conversations, following a consistent question structure. Transcripts were coded according to a three-part analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Coding of Interviews

The researcher transcribed the interviews to provide a data set of locally situated discourse in language. Language and narratives are the vehicles of discursive struggle, where ideologies compete for dominance. Dynamics of social struggle are revealed through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of individual and collective narratives (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Potter, 1996; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This research’s interview data

were analysed using Fairclough's (1992) three CDA dimensions shown in Table 3.3.

The interviews were coded using NVIVO 12 qualitative data analysis software (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019). In Fairclough's framework, coding is based on predetermined themes reflecting social identity phenomena to identify commonalities and differences in the data, including subject reactions and interpretations (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019; Schegloff, 1997). The assumption in this research using CDA is that a critical social problem exists, that is, that newcomers find it hard to belong and be included within small rural communities. The approach to the interview transcripts seeks to identify aspects of this problem, to determine what makes it difficult to resolve, to understand how it emerges or is embedded as part of cultural and structural social order. Discourse supports existing power structures and means of domination, which leads to an ideological question - does social order in small communities require newcomer exclusion? This informed the choice of social identity theory to create some pre-existing coding categories.

Data analysis occurred in three passes through the transcripts. The linguistic analysis was limited to terms used to socially categorise. This first pass began with a search for labels or identification terms, however it became apparent that often, particular anecdotes, coded references and assumptions, were being used to distinguish social categories. For example, a reference to particular persons coming into town from rural subdivisions on a named day of the week, was an inference that they were coming to collect welfare cheques, once distributed fortnightly, although this system of social security payments is long defunct, now being electronic and occurring throughout the week. Without use of a label, this was an implicit reference to a social categorisation. The coding process was adjusted to include such

references and the interpreted implications or inferences. This relied upon having access to the local master identity narratives conveying sociocultural values which emerged as a whole in the interview data, but could be assumed imperfect, because the researcher was an outsider to the community. Nevertheless it did reveal considerable categorisation material.

The second pass sought evidence of interactions, the social life practices that comprise social norms, beliefs, expectations and culture. These macro social interactions have meaning and create meaning. They reveal interpersonal and intergroup relations, social identities, cultural values, means of producing power, creating and preserving group distinctions. They reveal consciousness. In the data they were characterised as actions, experiences, exchanges, observations, feelings, responses that reflected power, status, privilege, aspirations for social place and mechanisms for conveying or achieving the same. They showed a social order within the communities: dominance, marginalisation, discretion, censure and compliance. The macrosocial interactions within the discourse indicated social intentions, justifications and motives.

Lastly, the third part of the analysis looked for overall emergent interpretive themes. These were found in the consistency of social responses to particular triggers and in contradictions, where the transcript contained a presentation of the local beliefs or values accompanied by an example that contradicted this belief, but which was unnoticed by the speaker. These indicated meta-themes emerging as overarching behaviours or beliefs embedded as cultural framings of local reality, relatively rigid master narratives, unmoved by evidence to the contrary.

These themes were refined through inductive content analysis to locate recurring patterns and themes of local cultures and apparent contradictions reflecting overall shared narratives as influences on identity.

Table 3.3

Critical Discourse Analysis of Interviews

Analytical frame	Data element	Examples social identity phenomena	Impacts
Linguistic	Labels, associated anecdotes	Categorisation, group or individual attributes, boundary setting	Proffered truths about delineation, nature and status of institutions, social groups and individuals
Macro social	Narrative discourse indicating social behaviour norms and codes, consequences for breaching norms, the micropolitics of Us and Them	Indications of social identity, power, status in effect; motives and response re entitativity and valence	Establishing practices, structures and narratives, mechanisms of dominance and contest, social certainty or uncertainty
Interpretive	Themes, implicit sociocultural beliefs, norms and narratives of local 'reality'	Normative views, value paradigms, unconscious worldview acceptance, immersion in belief systems	Interpretive repertoire for understanding the world and phenomena; adoption, adaptation, antagonism and avoidance

3.4.2 Data Presentation

Anonymity is an important protection and ethical obligation for the participants in research. While ethical guidelines provide some means for this, for example, using codes instead of names within contained populations of participants this may not be adequate to protect identity. However in qualitative research this is a methodological axiom (Nespor, 2000).

Within the community, I used the snowballing method of seeking participants, recommendations of persons who met criteria for interview. This immediately compromised anonymity to some extent, though it was not disclosed by the researcher whether or not those recommended agreed, and not all did.

As characteristics of events or participants or indeed even of the communities are shared in the presentation of data, it is possible for those who are familiar with such details to recognise identity. If a person is referenced as a doctor and there are only one or two doctors in town, then their identity is hardly anonymous

even though their names are not used. If a community conflict is described with sufficient references to incidents or structures, then those aware of the town's social life can determine what is referenced and therefore, depending on shared perspective, who is contributing data. Within a small community this risks a breach of undertaken confidentiality and consequences within the community for participants (Clark, 2006). I realised that in presenting the data meaningfully, in acknowledging the pain, initiatives and strategies of residents in coping with and co-opting the social dynamics of community, that their anonymity may be compromised.

Ethically, the researcher has an obligation to protect the participants from detrimental outcomes resulting from that participation. For this reason some aspects of the presented data is generalised or redacted to blur the roles, structures and timelines of incidents and participants, while retaining a focus on the specific beliefs, perceptions, interpretations, responses or observations that show relevance to the research. However, context is an important consideration, an influence that has in some presentation of data lost clarity to protect participants.

There is also a risk that the researcher draws on wider information, including personal bias, to interpret what was provided in the process of data collection (Cameron et al, 1993). It risked the participants being subjectified. In the original research proposal, this was to be addressed by returning to the communities to present key findings and ask for the participants to provide review. However, as the data was collected in 2019, I ran immediately into COVID-19 lockdowns through the next two years and then the pressure of time constraints in completing the thesis. In 2020, I provided a short video of key findings and emailed this to the anonymous list of participants. However, the response was limited to thanks that they received feedback on the findings, rather than engagement with them. I cannot be sure that they all

received or viewed it. I cannot be sure that they would agree or endorse the findings as this researcher interprets them. For this reason, some attention has been given in this work to explicating the role of the researcher, to make clear the potential for my own bias to skew the findings made.

3.5 Research Limitations

The risk in using an inductive approach is that meaning is contrived according to preconstructed expectations, in this case, around SIT. I approached this research with questions reflecting a predetermined focus on particular social phenomena (i.e., pre-existing framing). This community case study was to notice patterns and contradictions and draw from participants' experience themes that may have a broader application in other rural community settings.

Knowledge arising from the critical interpretive framework is constrained in its applicability because it is anchored within a particular context. There are limits to the empirical links that can be made using interview data to interpret participants' perceptions, social identity prototypes and the influence directly towards other members of the community. Other factors also affect the degree of community inclusion—individual psychological and social issues. However, there were examples of difficult persons with poor social skills who seemed happy to self-isolate but happily changed to engage within the community under certain social circumstances.

With only two case study sites, this study's findings have constrained generalisability to other communities (Walford, 2001). However, it offers some potentially transferable case-derived knowledge for further research. Both communities lacked identifiable locally recognised leadership, which could be a strong factor for sociocultural results and be a critical factor in limiting the extension of these findings to those communities that do have a

recognised leader, such as a local Mayor or other civic leader. This could be a worthy subject of further research.

While all participants had some sense of association with the primary township community due to service proximity or social connection, there were communities and subgroups within communities. A social and physical definition of the whole community was not neatly bounded nor consistent, nor shared across social group boundaries. Social settings are not neatly bounded, static objects waiting to be noticed. Community boundaries were not clear-cut for all participants but porous and ambiguous. The setting of conceptual boundaries means caution should be held for the conclusions as it is impossible to know what the participants had in mind as they spoke precisely. This research reflects a particular situated reality, and care should be exercised in extrapolating to other contexts.

3.6 Thesis by Publication

This is a research thesis presented as a scholarly work contributing to the body of knowledge, including publications. As such the following chapters are papers that have been submitted for publication (Paper 1 and Paper 2) or have been published (Paper 3). Paper 3 (Chapter 6) has been accepted and published in *Rural Society* with amendments and is located at Appendix 1.

As each paper must stand independently and meet the criteria for publication there is duplication as they outline theoretical framing, location within the literature and methodology.

3.7 Methodological Conclusions

This research harvested rich information samples from small communities to evaluate social identity phenomena through resident discourse about the social workings of their community and the implications for themselves and others. This study's range of views and results may depict some characteristics of other small

rural communities sufficiently to offer transferability as situationally relevant results with at least potential for testing usefulness in other situations (Patton, 2002, p. 583). It presents information relevant to community practitioners and leaders, informing of unseen social impediments as risks, opportunities and challenges in fostering positive social support for newcomers within small rural communities.

CHAPTER 4: PAPER 1: SOCIAL IDENTITY EXPERIENCES OF NEWCOMERS IN TWO AUSTRALIAN SMALL RURAL COMMUNITIES: WORKING TO BELONG

ABSTRACT

Small rural communities need to attract and keep newcomers to maintain population, to retain services and community capacity to revitalise. However, small communities are known to commonly resist and exclude newcomers, with existing residents often adopting antisocial behaviour towards them. In this research 89 interviews were conducted in two small rural Australian communities to understand the social experiences of newcomers and the tactics that they use to fit in and belong. Analysed using social identity theory and layers of critical discourse analysis it was found that newcomers seek to find social connections that affirm self esteem, access the local social identity codes conveying norms and expectations, adopt or adapt to them in their social choices, and demonstrate merit in contributions to the community. Where social information and a positive social connection is not accessible, social uncertainty leads them to withdraw, experiencing loneliness and disillusionment. However, finding a local social connection quickly establishes their sense of belonging and inclusion. Newcomers who are welcomed develop commitment and loyalty to the community.

4.1 Introduction

A persistent decline in Australian rural populations results from socioeconomic shifts, including mechanisation, reliance on capital, property amalgamation and changes to rural employment expectations (Collits, 2000; Davies, 2014; Dufty-Jones et al., 2016; Forth & Howell, 2002). This population reduction leads to the loss of community services (McManus et al., 2012; Smailes et al., 2018; Wallace & Dollery, 2018). New residents are drawn to small rural communities affordability, housing, relationships, employment or lifestyle (Butt, 2014; Davies & James, 2011; Rural Australia Institute, 2018; Stockdale & Macleod, 2013). They may stay because of cultural and recreational offerings, a sense of safety and a pleasant climate (Whisler et al., 2008). Attracting and retaining newcomers is desirable for revitalisation and resilience (Buikstra et al., 2010; McShane et al., 2016; Plowman et al., 2003) but newcomers are not always readily welcomed nor integrated into many rural communities (Kilpatrick et al., 2011; Patten et al., 2015; Paull, 2009; Paull & Redmond, 2011). New residents are thought disruptive (Genareo & Filteau, 2016), and established residents attribute responsibility for not fitting into the community to newcomer deficiencies (Jones et al., 2009; van den Hoonaard, 2002). This present research uses Social Identity Theory (SIT) as a novel approach to understanding newcomers' psychosocial experiences in small rural communities, their strategies for belonging and implications for community development.

Rural communities often resist newcomers, regarding them as outsiders even after decades of community residence. (Cooke, 2016; Kilpatrick et al., (2011); Putnam, 2000). Local residents are motivated to retain the local social hierarchies and boundaries, excluding newcomers (Patten et al., 2015; Paull & Redmond, 2011) and resisting newcomer input and initiative, undermining the community cohesion necessary to resilience (Aldrich & Meyer,

2015). This research applies SIT to small rural communities to understand how newcomers seek social fit and how this might be facilitated to support belonging.

4.2 Social Identity and Newcomers

Social identity covers the psychosocial categorisation of self and others as prototypes or social sets with particular attributes and explains intergroup and intragroup dynamics (Hogg et al., 1987; Hogg, 2006; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Individuals socially categorise themselves and others (Pelled, 1999; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Tracy & Naughton, 2000) seek membership of social groups to achieve esteem and belonging. Each social group has representative attributes and actions defining the group, its *entitativity*, (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996), and the material privileges of membership that go with it, *valence* (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Integration of a social group with self-identity results in intolerance of perceived challenges to group entitativity or valence (Christensen et al., 2004) resulting in social uncertainty which is aversive (Lüders et al., 2016). Members reduce uncertainty by rejecting or removing the perceived threat, restoring status quo. Knowing the social hierarchies and habits of a social set is essential for inclusion, however these social codes are often invisible to the newcomer (Patten et al., 2015) leaving them socially vulnerable to mis-steps. Newcomers must learn how to present themselves in a particular social context to fit in and belong, to know how to behave respectfully or appropriately, not cause offence and avoid social policing or exclusion (Clarkson et al., 2013; Clarkson et al., 2017; Combs & Freedman, 2012).

Social identity is a competitive process with other social groups (Cikara et al., 2011; Tajfel, 1981, 1982), Social tactics defend group entitativity, the boundaries and integrity of the identity and associated valence, such as in-group bias and privileges, status and power. The social codes for behavioural

norms within a community are telegraphed implicitly in the community's daily social practices, the exchange of incidental anecdotes, the demeanour and behaviours of persons in the community (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Hogg & Rinella, 2018; Jimerson & Oware, 2006; Lutz Bachére, 2002; Scott, 1990; Tracy & Naughton, 2000).

There is a body of literature that understands the social identity experiences of newcomers in organisational contexts. Newcomer employee performance, satisfaction, commitment and retention is shaped by their initial experiences within the workplace (Ashforth et al., 2007; Bauer et al., 2007). Influences on newcomer integration include initial expectations, proactive willingness to seek information, the importance of early relationships and leadership facilitating newcomers' success (Bauer et al., 2019; Jokisaari & Nurmi, 2012; Ok & Park, 2018; Saks et al., 2011). Newcomers often recognise that they need to qualify and comply with local norms to become accepted. Established members find greater comfort and social ease with newcomers similar to familiar local prototypes (Haslam et al., 1995; Hogg, 2005; Kruglanski & Orehek, 2012). Established members conduct a subjective social evaluation of newcomers, applying their inbuilt bias and prejudice, categorising them as inferior outsiders (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; van de Mieroop, 2012) without trust and less perceived credibility (Hogg, 2012a; Tanis & Postimes, 2005). Newcomers respond with strategies to seek inclusion (Korte, 2009; Korte & Lin, 2013; McHenry-Sorber & Schafft, 2015; Pickett et al., 2002). They seek to learn local social identity information that must be accessed and interpreted for guidance about local social practices, social groups and a community's culture (Clarkson et al., 2017; Garbutt, 2009; Hogg, 2018; Linde, 2001). This present research seeks to understand if these organisational social identity

findings apply to social life within small rural communities and understand the implications for community capacity and resilience.

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Selection of Case Communities

This social identity research uses case studies deriving data from real-life contexts, influences and complexities rather than manipulated experimental studies. The data is drawn from structured interviews with 89 members of two anonymous small rural communities in Queensland, Australia, referred to in this study as Jaroville and Tookton. These two communities were selected from 63 rural communities with town populations of 1,000–2,000. The two communities chosen have a range of businesses and services, social interactions across different social classes, backgrounds and interest orientations, and a surrounding non-town population. Respondents were identified through a combination of initial community contacts, snowballing and targeted selections from a cross-section of the adult population in and near the local town. Consideration was given to various ages, genders, time spent in the community and social prototypes, which were identified progressively through the interviews (Maxwell, 2013).

The two selected communities are similar in location, governance, population size, history and demographics. Neither town has a strongly identified or representative civic leader, such as a mayor. The towns are surrounded by mixed rural activities, including extensive and intensive agricultural production and rural residential areas, and each has sufficient commerce and social services (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1

Social Indicators for Study Communities

	Jaroville	Tookton	State
Road distance to regional centre (km)	80–85	40–45	
Road distance to state capital (km)	210–20	150–160	
Median age 2016 (y)	45.0	47.0	37.0
Median age 2006 (y)	39.0	43.0	36.0
First Nations background (% of pop.)	2.7	3.1	4.0
Born outside Australia (% of pop.)	3.1	8.4	21.6
Profess no religion (% of pop.)	16.5	20.9	29.2
Median household income ($/week)	1,121	954	1,402
Post-secondary qualification	28.7	37.2	45.2
Work in agriculture (% of workforce)	36.1	22.5	2.8
Work as managers	23.3	22.5	12.1
Work as professionals	5.8	12.0	19.8
Work as technicians, trades	12.6	12.0	14.3
Town population range	1,500–1,700	2,000–2,200	
Same address 1 year before census	77.5	78.1	72.8
Same address 5 years before census	53.2	53.0	45.0

Source: ABS (2016).

Each community has an increasing and higher than state median age (37). Table 1 indicates other demographic qualities.

Each community has a supermarket, medical support, schools and vehicle services, including fuel supply, a community meeting place and recreational facilities. Each community became a Euro-settlement township in the early to mid-1900s, and have maintained a population necessary to sustain essential services (Argent et al., 2005, Holmes, 1981, 1987; Smailes et al., 2002). Over the past decade, both communities experienced an inflow of newcomers associated with employment, cheaper land and country lifestyle. Jaroville and Tookton both have subcommunities of outgroups residing in small lot land developments associated with negative stereotyped identity narratives. Both communities have town streets named after long-established families. Both have a

reliance on rural enterprise for their economy and seek increased income from travellers and tourists; they both experienced regional Council amalgamations 11 years earlier in 2008. It is possible to commute to employment in other centres from both Jaroville and Tookton.

There are some noticeable differences between the two towns. Tookton has a natural amenity with a milder climate, undulating landscapes, recreational forests and proximity to large water sources. It has a less diverse economic base with the potential to grow tourism. Tookton has an older age profile than Jaroville, including incoming skilled and capable retirees. Of those born overseas and resident in Tookton, approximately 90 per cent come from Western European or British colonial countries. Jaroville has a higher population born in diverse locations overseas, drawn by agricultural employment, including a significant group of South-East Asian origin (ABS, 2016).

4.3.2 Data Collection

Ethics approval was secured for this research (H19REA123). The researcher had no pre-existing connection with either community. Eighty-nine interviews were conducted, with newcomers in this research were defined as those five years or less in the community, eight from Jaroville and six from Tookton). A structured interview avoided inherent bias with consistent open-ended questions, allowing participants to construct their answers in various directions. A conscious effort was made to minimise the interviewer's voice. The interviewer asked questions but did not explain them, even when asked to avoid influence. Where responses were ambiguous, the interviewer reflectively summarised understood meaning for affirmation or correction or asked for examples, to avoid assumptions.

4.3.3 Approach to Data Analysis

The analysis examined the internalised beliefs and codes of social conduct, implicitly and explicitly expressed in the interviews (Jimerson & Oware, 2006; Kashima et al., 2018). Common themes emerged from the communities. A critical discourse analysis framework (Fairclough, 1992) was applied to code the transcripts in NVIVO 12 (QSR International, 2021). The analysis located patterns and indexical linguistic codes and metaphors as indicators of social identity dynamics (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Potter, 1996). Individual narratives were explored using three overlapping critical discourse perspectives (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009):

- *Linguistic analysis*: referential or nomination strategies, categorisation, labels, metaphors, metonymies and anecdotes used to classify social groups, and the characterisations, predications, descriptive qualities associated with those labels
- *Macro sociological analysis*: focusing on the interpreted micropolitics, evidence of power and status, justifications for exclusion, exceptions for social inclusion
- *Interpretivist analysis*: narrative themes that provide a framing or perspective to explain and represent community identity as it is reflected, reproduced and challenged in social identity dynamics.

Findings represented themes of sociocultural dynamics in the communities (Maxwell, 2013).

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Newcomers are Not Local

The social category that many newcomers seek to inhabit is that of a local because this carries status, privilege and social legitimacy. In this research, ‘newcomer’ and ‘not local’ were often conflated terms by existing residents. The length of time residing

in the communities and degree of engagement were irrelevant. Residents who had lived and actively volunteered in the two communities for many years felt their membership and social value was qualified as not local. Some were careful not to be critical; others were disillusioned. These comments were from people with more than 10 years in one of the communities:

> Well, one thing we know we are not, is locals. Our grandparents aren't buried in the cemetery. That is what the locals tell us … we will never really be locals, but the locals are very welcoming. (TE3972799)
>
> And the way we get treated when we come in and join something … no, no, no, no. You have to have someone in the cemetery here to get accepted. (JE19598972)

The established locals maintained social distinctions, positioning themselves and newcomers as separate classes.

4.4.2 Superficial Friendliness

Rural communities are often portrayed as friendly, and newcomers sought this experience. They highly valued casual greetings in the street, gestures of acknowledgement and kindness from individuals or businesses. This newcomer expected friendliness and attributed customer greeting as a valued quality of a small community:

> For me, it is basic things like going to [the] supermarket or [hardware shop] or coffee shop and everybody knows you. And I don't think like I am foreign anymore, like it was at the beginning. Hi [name], or not even [using my name], they say hi because they know me. Sometimes I find someone from the [hardware shop] and I saw them at the post office and they say, 'Hey, how are you?' That's even if we don't know each other's names. (JP3942497)

However, superficial recognition was eventually socially unsatisfying, and for others, the expectation of friendliness was

unfulfilled: ‘You see, when I go out, I see all these people talking. They have known each other a lifetime … and they smile [at you], but that is about it, you know’ (TN3922398).

Newcomers sought quality social connection and friendship, a deeper and more meaningful engagement with people who have some aspect of similarity, who would accept them and whom they could trust. These residents had lived in the community for some years but had not found a quality social connection:

> And there are the ones where you COULD go up and start a conversation, but it would be a ‘Hey, how you goin’?’ and then you are left standing there awkwardly. They don’t chat back. I think it is a matter of the cliquey groups trying to weigh what you are. I mean, I can chat all day to people, chat, chat, chat, chat, chat, but you don’t get that deeper connection as such. It’s more of a [small talk exchange]—‘how you goin’?’, ‘how’s your day? The kids are being shits, you know, I am ready to strangle them’, and you pass on and keep going. (JP3929997)

> I say good morning, g’day, have a chat. There’s not someone you can connect with and confide in without it going [public] and without parameters, you know. You have to be guarded. You don’t tell too much. (JE2949997)

4.4.3 Newcomers Seek Local Social Information

Newcomers sought social information, looking to achieve social connection and affirm self-esteem. The newcomers began with social information accessible through social media, newsletters, or casual interactions with shopkeepers or workmates.

> They used to have a community directory, and they stopped doing that for whatever reason. Without the directory, new people to town don’t know what is going on. Now I know that there is probably 12, maybe 15 groups that meet regularly, but I can’t tell you when or where or who. Except [I know

> details of] the [particular community group] … because my [relative] was involved with [that]. (TP1942699)

They accessed social interfaces where there was familiarity with social practices such as interest groups, children's activities, faith communities, or sport. Access to locals was necessary to learn of and understand the local social landscape. Newcomers proactively attended social groups where they might have some alignment through common qualities, experience or interests, including interest groups, children's activities, faith communities, or sport or professional backgrounds:

> Finding your spot or getting settled—it's hard, and it's not—you can settle in and just live [without social connections]. If you want to be a part of a group, sometimes you meet the right people straight up, and sometimes you don't. And we don't have a huge population to choose from. (JP3929997)

Newcomers also relied upon invitation, introduction or good luck to find a social set that would accept and include them:

> The only reason I knew about the club I joined is that there was a lady here [who heard my interest] and she said, 'best place to go, Tuesday group at [named location]' … And that is the only reason why I knew that group existed. (TP1942699)

Without a starting place or a local contact, social information was not easily accessible, and newcomers found it challenging to find and understand local social identity information to begin to fit in.

4.4.4 Newcomers Seek to Fit In

Newcomers make an effort to find social interfaces that facilitate connections and esteem. This resident volunteered for a local community organisation:

> You need to be associated with somebody for the town to accept you. I am not 100% sure that [organisation] was the right place but it is somewhere I can volunteer and I feel like I am useful. It is somewhere to start. And I have gotten to

> know [named people]…helping out when they put things on and some of those people are good working people to know, or have a connection with (JN1911997)

This newcomer particularly sought connection with 'working people' aligning with personal traits and values. Seeking positive connections to achieve esteem, newcomers may adopt or adapt to local values as a signal of respect and social identity alignment. In doing so, they may adjust their appearance, speech, social behaviours and even moderate or develop opinions to demonstrate cultural alignment to find acceptance. One resident newcomer spoke of choosing to 'tone down funky city style' to stand out less. Not all residents adopt all aspects of the local narrative and norms. However, failing to adopt the dominant local social identity narratives and norms identifies individuals as outsiders, reduces legitimacy and trust. Some newcomers learned and demonstrated unique local cultural knowledge, as though they were locals, as a sign of community membership:

> Our [supermarket)] is a bit of a funny building, and there is a particular way that you line up [there]. I have had to learn it. It does this weird snaking sort of thing. And you can tell if someone is not from here because they will line up logically in a straight line instead of doing the 'snake' (laughs). (TN1219198)

Some newcomers signal community belonging by repeating aspects of the local community identity narrative, not within their own experience. An example of this, in both communities, was the story of local government amalgamations that occurred in 2008, 11 years earlier than this research, when small town local governments were merged into a centralised governance body. Several newcomers repeated the local narrative of the former local government's superior performance as though they themselves

had experienced it. This newcomer arrived in the community in 2016:

> This town took a hit in 2008. An absolutely huge hit. When … amalgamations happened … it didn't do this town any favours at all. This was a very vibrant town, you know, Council Chambers there had all new equipment. They had a CEO, who, every morning, would drive a different route coming in to work. And if he saw something coming in here, he would pick up the phone to the Works' bloke and say, 'You need to go and fix this' or 'this tree is hanging over on the road' or 'a rubbish bin has fallen over'. That is the way they were. The old-timers say you could go in and sit down and approach them and have a talk about a problem, and [they'd] go and have a look at it with you. Get off their chair and actually go out and have a look. And it had five million dollars in the bank. Right?(JP2939499)

This newcomer repeated this favoured community narrative of an event eight years earlier, as an indicator of community membership.

4.4.5 Newcomers Demonstrate Merit

Some newcomers sought to demonstrate merit in community contributions, to achieve esteem, social acceptance and standing. However, newcomer merit threatened locals who often preferred newcomers to accept an inferior social place, not disrupt by challenging the status quo and certainly not seek credit for skill or contribution. Consequently, to manage and contain newcomers their input might be framed as ill-informed, not relevant to the community or disrespectful of established identity norms and hierarchies, as this established resident explained:

> Don't try to come to town and take over, you know what I mean, like I say, like, like … You are a newcomer, you been

> here three years; I been here 60 years, so you don’t tell me how, you know what I mean. (JE2993397)

Where newcomers spoke as equals, or with knowledge, or suggested improvements, it was read as disrespect, actively challenging the material or symbolic status of some established residents: ‘About some of these [new] people who think they are a bit better than other people … It is just raised occasionally, it bubbles up occasionally, but it’s not a—I don’t know. People talk about it occasionally’ (TE3982319).

Newcomers can run into resistance and social censure when they make suggestions that implicitly or directly criticise or challenge the dominant prototype's established interests, positions, perspectives, and customs. An established resident observed:

> And newcomers come in and can make a suggestion, and then that can have that negative impact. It is important to know that in small communities, people are very set in their ways and sometimes just don’t like change, even if it is for the better. They don’t like to see someone coming in, and they sometimes feel they are losing control, or yeah, there can be some of that, insecurity … People who have been here for such a long time have taken ownership, and they are very passionate. Maybe they feel that they have failed if someone suggests the way they do it isn’t good enough. (TE1929699)

Newcomer contributions were resisted and rejected on the basis of their social category, rather than on the merit of their service, suggestion or contribution. To overcome the lack of local status, some newcomers, especially those with social status in other places, sought to introduce improvements by referring to their professional skills or capacity. They could also refer to knowledge of rules, laws, protocols, and professional processes set aside by the locals, favouring unique or less formal local customs.

Conflict and severe social censure of the newcomer often resulted in these situations and became a motive to leave.

Newcomers without local social legitimacy did not have the 'right' to amend established practices or voice an opinion about improvements. Even as elected leaders, newcomers might offend. This newcomer with an elected role authority sought to introduce new ideas:

> I gave them the survey, and they had never been surveyed before. I had a 76 per cent return rate … And some of the answers were not what [an established resident former office bearer] wanted. And she was really cross. And so were a few other members in the group. They were really cross. (TP1912398)

The locals can interpret new approaches and ideas as an implicit or explicit criticism of historical habits attached to the integrity or social benefit of their identity group or self. An initiative is disempowered by ignoring it or derision. Alternatively, it provokes outrage and censure of the newcomer rather than discussion of their initiative, often framed as locally impractical, a broader disrespect of local traditions or an erosion of the unique community character.

4.4.6 Newcomers Disillusionment and Burnout

Regular rejection as of effort or of themselves as equals could result in disillusionment and this applied to outgroups as well as newcomers. Newcomers in both communities felt the lack of acknowledgement for their efforts to serve the community as social rejection, and some became fearful of engaging and offering new ideas.

> And on the odd occasion [newcomers] do get burned pretty bad for suggesting new ideas or, god forbid, asking for change … Yeah, it can definitely be hard, and a push and shove here, and the straw that broke the camels' back there,

> and yeah. Some people move away. Some people just leave all the community groups and isolate themselves away. (TE2952699)

Hearing of social censure for initiatives in the community that were not appreciated, was aversive to further newcomer contribution:

> And it angers me that they think that because they are born here that they have the right to treat people so wrong and so nastily. And you know, and that is probably [why] people out there, people who want to do things, but I know also that they are so filled with fear to take that step. (TP1942699)

Newcomers experiencing negative social responses for their efforts to belong, become critical of the community and withdraw.

4.4.7 Social Rejection Leads to Newcomer Withdrawal

Newcomers who meet with negative social experiences, being ignored, rejected or censured through local social behaviours find other ways to meet social needs:

> When I first came here, I joined everything … I think everyone when [they] first move here join everything and then realises that … ok, they can be very cliquey and they become gossipy, and all the rest of it and that's just not me. So I have chosen just to have my few friends … and we all sort of blend in together. (JE11996983)

The established locals defend their social identity hierarchy, use their power to retain the status quo, then remark on newcomers' lack of interest or commitment. This newcomer young resident was highly engaged as a community member and confronted injustice in the way decisions were made with local awards, unfairly privileging particular long resident families. This drew severe social censure resulting in the young resident's departure from that community group and a shrinking social circle:

> I expected to get a lot of backlash and recoil from that…They don't talk to me in the street…[those I offended] are all parents and…so I don't see their children any more....it's not like 'we hate you'…it will be they avoid you in the street. (TN1912198)

These social identity dynamics make it difficult for newcomers to join and contribute to community groups dominated by established residents.

4.4.8 Finding Other Newcomers and Marginalised Members

When newcomers cannot fit in with established groups, they seek alternative social connections to achieve social needs in private or informal groups with no community involvement or sometimes, complete withdrawal.. Some new social groups of newcomers were formalised with dynamic leadership; they were public and visibly engaged in positive community service and weathered targeted criticism and attack, gradually building local credibility with focus on consistent beneficial community service. Other newcomers and the marginalised discretely organised informal gatherings to meet their personal social needs. Such groups were often 'under the radar', and socially dominant locals might not know their existence. Examples included a fitness group that met for running, book clubs in private lounge rooms, a craft group rotating through members' homes, a collective of neighbours that met for Friday night drinks and parent groups supporting each other in friendship.

This research found that many newcomers excluded or outside the local community groups, did not fully accept or integrate local identity narratives and norms, but 'went along to get along' by selectively accommodating local values. They withdrew if they could not integrate the dominant local qualities, values, or beliefs into their self-identity or find themselves an alternative salient social group.

4.4.9 Newcomers Who Cannot Comply

Newcomers who cannot find a social fit in the subject communities remain socially isolated. They are very aware of this separation, are socially cautious and feel vulnerable to social hostility. They experience loneliness:

> I am not really friends with anybody. No one I can tell my stuff to … no, no, no. If you tell somebody something here, it goes around town. (JE2949997)
>
> I [don't] want to live here because it is lonely. I am lonely. But the people who lived in town all their lives, they're born here and bred here. And there's tight families. You never get invited. Some people do. Outsiders, no. They are closed up. It's Them. (JE2919696)

When people observed the negative social experience or censure of others, it appeared to be aversive to their own participation in community. One young resident chose to live on a property outside of town to avoid being subject to in-town scrutiny. As this resident explained, "because it is a small town, you can't go out dating too much or anything because everyone hears all about your dating life and all that." (JS1919696)

When newcomers feeling socially unsafe, they shifted from seeking to gain the social identity of local, to living with or accepting outsider marginalised status. The dominant locals might then judge newcomers' withdrawal as confirmation of their stereotyped newcomer expectations of non-participation and non-interest in the community as an affirmation of newcomers' inferior out-group status.

4.4.10 Social Experience Frames Newcomer Assessment of Community

Newcomers who found quality social connections were actively inducted into the community and quickly developed intense loyalty to it. This connection occurred more easily for

newcomers with community links through family, work or schools or those with valued professional roles introduced and welcomed into the community by locals with status. One individual found a social home in a local community group with many other newcomers and did not identify as a newcomer, though resident in the community for less than five years:

> The only thing I can tell you about newcomers, having been one, is that it has probably been the easiest place to integrate yourself into. Because I knew nobody when I came up here. The [community group] was a big factor, and I joined the [sports club]. They welcomed you with open arms, and I have some great mates there. Put it this way. I think the integration process here is a hell of a lot easier than many places I have been because it is a small community that welcomes new people. (TN3932398)
>
> [I found friendship with a respected local] but before that I was here by myself. There were a few short and small periods where it wasn't exactly the happiest, somewhat down in many ways. Dark moments. Slightly depressed moments. (TN2922298)

Finding a positive social interface was essential to belonging for newcomers. There were individuals within the research communities making a significant difference to the sociocultural landscape as active social connectors. Such individuals will be termed *bridgers.* These persons were accessible in the community, trusted to be kind and not gossip, and took a proactive interest in individuals new or marginalised. They had strong knowledge of the local social landscape and were mindful of it, often being marginal members of the dominant social set themselves. They actively introduced new people to local cultural norms, helped connect persons of similar interests, discretely solved material and relational problems and used their knowledge and networks to

achieve positive social outcomes. They were extremely positive forces especially active within the Tookton community.

> "[Bridger] has been an important connection for me in the community. Aside from being a good business operator in this town he has become a good friend, he was a good source of who to talk to about doing certain things in town, who to touch base with…he was great."TN2922228

Newcomers who found themselves inducted and included as themselves within a social network even of just one other person, more quickly became committed to and accommodating of the town's unique culture. Where newcomers could achieve positive esteem, a sense of belonging somewhere, even with one other person, this facilitated greater tolerance for other difficult sociocultural aspects. It fostered willingness to navigate within rigid frames of town identity that resisted change and to manage around social cliques. Positive social connection helped them to accept and work around exclusive local sociocultural norms.

Newcomers with early access to useful and positive social information from a local social connection integrated into the community:

> Well, I felt at home straight away here, to be honest. I had a lot of support from [a local leader] and other people … I settled in fairly well, I thought. And I felt comfortable here right from the get-go. Right from day one. (JN2922597)
>
> You need to be associated with somebody for the town to accept you. (JN1911997)

An initial experience, positive or negative, can be influential in framing the newcomer's impressions of the community. Those who make positive social connections were more inclined to minimise the disadvantages of small-town life and commit to the

community on their terms, frequently through social groups and acts of service that are not necessarily visible to the local residents. Connecting with just one person was enough to change the newcomer's social environment experience positively. Those newcomers receiving local kindness often attached their gratitude to the whole community more broadly. The following individual was shown kindness and assistance in solving a business problem:

> [A local business] just seemed to be able to go out of their way to be of assistance a bit more. Bit more of a personal connection. People want to help you … you are just not one of a thousand people that walk through the door today. (JN1911997)

Newcomer businesspeople who found a local colleague or patron found faster acceptance than those who did not. There was often subtle or overt antagonism if they could not find such connection.

Very few community groups actively welcomed and included new people, but the few that did were distinguished by membership growth largely of newcomers and local marginalised:

> What I have been saying [is] they have got to feel accepted, whoever they are … No judgement … When they feel accepted, and they know that even though they do not have the skill of Joe Blow over there … that they are just as valued as anyone, that is an important part. It has got to be inclusive in everything, whatever they do. (TP2929499)

However, few social groups of longstanding residents could keep newcomers as members.

4.5 Discussion

Newcomers' are motivated towards membership in small rural communities, taking actions similar to those detailed in organisational development literature for incoming employees (Bauer et al., 2019; Jokisaari & Nurmi, 2012; Ok & Park, 2018;

Saks et al., 2011). Newcomers to small rural communities similarly seek social information, adapt or adopt local norms and narratives and look for ways to offer their authentic skills as useful members of a new salient social identity, however local residents find them disruptive to the social comfort zones and defend these through exclusionary practices. Holding newcomers out, treating them with hostility or disinterest becomes a self fulfilling expectation of newcomer withdrawal from the established social groups. It protects the familiar social hierarchies and social customs but also robs the community of the resources, energy and ideas essential for community revitalisation and capacity to embrace change, that is resilience.

A critical gap is the frequent absence of welcome, induction or facilitating pathways to belonging for newcomers into small rural community. Actively assisting with social connections fosters community commitment. Where newcomers find a local who can facilitate their integration into a local social group, they quickly find satisfaction with the community. Making established residents aware of the ways in which they often work against this (Patten et al., 2015; Paull & Redmond, 2011), may help in shifting unconscious social behaviours and cultural norms. If established residents in small communities are to expand the membership of the established community groups, and harness town capacity for revitalisation there must be willingness to make space for new residents and their ideas, skills and contributions as valued community members, even if newcomers could be temporary residents and socially different. Their social vulnerability often motivates them to accommodate unique rural town qualities and find ways of contributing value. An active development of a culture of welcome is foundational to accessing newcomer social resources and positive social experiences are important influences in persuading them to extend their residence or stay.

This research is limited by inferring causal associations that align with social identity theories but rely on participants' openness in their responses. Research conducted in the community has many complex layers of influence, including geographic and economic considerations. This research reflects the participant communities at one point in time. Nevertheless it provides useful actions that may be taken by community leaders and development practitioners.

References

Abrams, D. & Hogg, M. A. (2004). Metatheory: Lessons from social identity research. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *8*(2), 98–106.

Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (2010). Social identity and self-categorization. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, M. Hewstone, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination* (pp. 179-193). SAGE Publications.

Aldrich, D. P. & Meyer, M. A. (2015). Social capital and community resilience. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(2), 254–269.

Argent, N. M., Smailes, P. J., & Griffin, T. (2005). Tracing the Density Impulse in Rural Settlement Systems: A Quantitative Analysis of the Factors Underlying Rural PopulaitonDensity Across South-Eastern Australia 1981-2001. *Population Environment, 27*, 151-190.

Ashforth, B. E., Sluss, D. M. & Saks, A. M. (2007). Socialization tactics, proactive behavior, and newcomer learning: Integrating socialization models. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *70*, 447–462.

Bauer, T. N., Bodner, T., Erdogan, B., Truxillo, D. M. & Tucker, J. S. (2007). Newcomer adjustment during organizational socialization: A meta-analytic review of antecedents, outcomes, and methods. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(3), 707–721.

Bauer, T. N., Perrot, S., Liden, R. C. & Erdogan, B. (2019). Understanding the consequences of newcomer proactive behaviours: The moderating contextual role of servant leadership. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *112*, 356–68.

Bourne, K., Houghton, K., How, G., Church, H. & Beaton, R. (2020). *The big movers: Understanding population mobility in regional Australia*. Regional Australia Institute.

Branscombe, N., Ellemers, N., Spears, R. & Doosje, B. (1999). The context and content of social identity threat. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity: Context, commitment* (pp. 35–58). Blackwell Publishers.

Buikstra, E., Ross, H., King, C. A., Baker, P. G., Hegney, D., McLachlan, K., & Rogers-Clark, C. (2010). The components of resilience - perceptions of an Australian rural community. *Journal of Community Psychology, 38*(8). https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20409

Butt, A. (2014). Developing a typology of changing multifunctional regions. *Australasian Journal of Regional Studies, 20*, 233–257.

Cacioppo, J. T. & Patrick, W. 2008. *Loneliness: Human nature and the need for social connection*. W.W. Norton.

Clarkson, J., Smith, E., Tormala, Z. L. & Dugan, R. G. (2017). Group identification as a means of attitude restoration. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *68*, 139–145.

Clarkson, J., Tormala, Z. L., Rucker, D. D. & Dugan, R. G. (2013). The malleable influence of social consensus on attitude certainty. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *49*(6), 1019–1022.

Cikara, M., Botvinik, M. M. & Fiske, S. T. (2011). Us versus them: Social identity shapes neural responses to intergroup competition and harm. *Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 306–313.

Collits, P. (2000). *Small Town Decline and Survival: Trends, Success Factors and Policy Issues* Future of Australia's Country Towns, Bendigo. http://www.regional.org.au/au/countrytowns/global/collits.htm

Combs, G. & Freedman J. (2012). Narrative poststructuralism and social justice: Current practices in narrative therapy. *The Counselling Psychologist*, *40*(7), 1033–1060.

Davies, A. (2014). Urban to rural elderly migration: producing, consuming, renewing and reinventing Australia's small rural towns. In R. Dufty-Jones & J. Connell (Eds.), *Rural change in Australia* (pp. 43-55).

Farnham.de Rijke, K. (2012). The symbolic politics of belonging and community in peri-urban environmental disputes: The Traveston Crossing Dam in Queensland, Australia. *Oceania*, *82*, 278–293.

du Toit, A. (2003). Knowledge: A sense making process shared through narrative. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, *7*(3), 27–37.

Dufty-Jones, R., Argent, N., Rolley, F., & Walmsley, J. (2016). The Role of Gender in the Migration Practices and Aspirations of Australian Rural Youth. In J. Connell (Ed.), *Rural change in Australia: population, economy, environment*. Routledge.Elias, N. & Scotson, J. L. (1965). *The established and the outsiders*. Frank Cass.

Ellemers, N., Wilke, H. & Van Knippenberg, A. (1993). Effects of the legitimacy of low group or individual status on individual and collective status-enhancement strategies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *64*(5), 766–778.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Blackwell Publishers.Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Introduction to Discourse Analysis* (pp. 258-284). Sage.

Fairclough, N. (2001). Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Introducing qualitative methods: Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 121–138). SAGE Publications.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.

Fiske, S. T. (2004). Intent and ordinary bias: Unintended thought and social motivation create casual prejudice. *Social Justice Research*, *17*(2), 117–127.

Fiske, S. T. & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition*. McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Forth, G., & Howell, K. (2002). Donot cry for me Upper Wombat: The realities of regional/small town decline in non coastal Australia. *Sustaining Regions*(2), 4-11.

Garbutt, R. (2009). Social inclusion and local practices of belonging. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *1*(3), 84–108.

Garbutt, R. (2011). *The locals: Identity, place and belonging in Australia and beyond* (Vol. 22). Peter Lang.

Genareo, V. R. & Filteau, M. R. (2016). People like us: Shaping newcomer acceptance in rural boomtown communities and schools. *Journal of Rural and Community Development*, *11*(1).

Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. (1997). Culture, power, place: ethnography at the end of an era. In A. Gupta & J. Ferguson (Eds.), *Culture, power, place: Explorations in critical anthropology* (pp. 1–29). Duke University Press.

Haartsen, T. & Stockdale, A. (2018). S/elective belonging: How rural newcomer families with children become stayers. *Population, Space and Place*, *24*(4), e2137.

Hamilton, D. L. & Sherman, S. J. (1996). Perceiving persons and groups. *Psychological Review*, *103*(2), 336–355.

Haslam, S. A., Oakes, P. J, McGarty, C., Turner, J. C. & Onorato, S. (1995). Contextual changes in the prototypicality of extreme and moderate outgroup members. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *25*, 509–530.

Hawkley, L. C., Hughes, E., Waite, L. J., Masi, C. M., Thisted, R. A. & Cacioppo, J. T. (2008). From social structure factors to perceptions of relationship quality and loneliness: The Chicago Health, Aging, and Social Relations Study. *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, *63*(6), S375–S384.

Hillman, W. (2008). Gaining acceptance in rural communities: A study of young families who relocate to non-metropolitan area in Australia. *Rural Social Work and Community Practice*, *13*, 6–15.

Hogg, M. A. (2005). All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others: Social identity and marginal membership. In K. D. Williams, J. P. Forgas & W. Von Hippel (Eds.), *The social outcast: Ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying*. Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A. (2012a). Social identity and the group context of trust: managing risk and building trust through belonging. In M. Siegrist & H. Gutscher (Eds.), *Trust in Cooperative Risk Management* (pp. 69–90). Routledge.

Hogg, M. A. (2012b). *Uncertainty-identity theory*. Sage Publications.

Hogg, M. A. (2018). Self-uncertainty, leadership preference, and communication of social identity. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, *26*(2), 111–121.

Hogg, M. A. & Reid, S. A. (2006). Social identity, self-categorization, and the communication of group norms. *Communication Theory*, *16*(1), 7–30.

Hogg, M.A. & Rinella, M. J. (2018). Social identities and shared realities. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *23*, 6–10.

Hogg, M. A., Sherman, D. K., Dierselhuis, J., Maitner, A. T. & Moffitt, G. (2007). Uncertainty, entitativity and group identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *43*, 135–142.

Hohman, Z. P., Gaffney, A. M. & Hogg, M. A. (2017). Who am I if I am not like my group? Self-uncertainty and feeling peripheral in a group. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *72*, 125–132.

Holmes, J. H. (1981). Settlement systems in sparsely populated regions: the United States and Australia. In R. E. Lonsdale & J. H. Holmes (Eds.), *Settlement Systems in Sparsely Populated Regions* (pp. 70-104). Pergamon.

Holmes, J. H. (1987). Population. In D. N. Jeans (Ed.), *Australia - A Geography* (Vol. 2, pp. 24-48). Sydney University Press.Hornsey, M. & Imani, A. (2004). Criticizing groups from the inside and the outside: An identity perspective on the intergroup sensitivity effect. *Personality Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 365–383. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203261295

Jimerson, J. B. & Oware, M. K. (2006). Telling the code of the street: An ethnomethodological ethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *35*(1), 24–50.

Jokisaari, M. & Nurmi, J-E. (2012). Getting the right connections? The consequences and antecedent so social networks in newcomer socialization. In C. R. Wanberg (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of organizational socialization* (pp. 78–96). Oxford University Press.

Jones, E. E., Carter-Sowell, A. R., Kelly, J. R. & Williams, K. D. (2009). 'I'm out of the loop': Ostracism through information exclusion. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *12*(2), 157–174.

Kashima, Y. (2000). Maintaining cultural stereotypes in the serial reproduction of narratives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*, 594–604.

Kashima, Y., Bratanova, B. & Peters, K. (2018). Social transmission and shared reality in cultural dynamics. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *23*, 15–19.

Kiesling, S. F. (2009). Hegemonic identity-making in narrative. In A. De Fina & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse & identity*. Cambridge University Press.

Kilpatrick, S., Johns, S., Vitartas, P. & Hornisan, M. (2011). Mobile skilled workers: Making the most of an untapped rural community resource. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *27*, 181–190.

Korte, R. F. (2009). How newcomers learn the social norms of an organisation: A case study of the socialisation of newly hired engineers. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *20*(3), 285–306.

Korte, R. F. & Lin, S. (2013). Getting on board: Organizational socialization and the contribution of social capital. *Human Relations*, *66*(3), 407–442.

Kruglanski, A. W., & Orehek, E. (2012). The need for certainty as a psychologicl nexus for individuals and society. In M. A. Hogg & D. L. Blaylock (Eds.), *Extremism and the*

Psychology of uncertainty. (pp3-18) West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Lake, R. J. (2011). 'They treat me like scum': Social exclusion and established-outsider relations in a British tennis club. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(1), 112–128.

Lee-Ack, E. (2008). Locked out, locked in: Social inclusion as a survival imperative for small community groups. *Australian Journal on Volunteering*, *13*, 62–66.

Linde, C. (2001). Narrative and social tacit knowledge. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, *5*(2), 160–171.

Lopes, L. L. (1987). Between hope and fear: The psychology of risk. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *20*(3), 255–295.

Lutz Bachére, B. (2002). Review of *The dominated and the art of resistance*. Hidden discourses of Scott James C. convergence. *Journal of Social Sciences*, *9*(30).

Mahar, A., Cobigo, V. & Stuart, H. (2013). Conceptualising belonging. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, *35*(12), 1026–1032.

Maxwell, J. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Sage Publications.McAdams, D. P. & McLean, K. C. (2013). Narrative identity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 233–238.

McHenry-Sorber, E. & Schafft, K. (2015). Make my day, shoot a teacher: Tactics of inclusion and exclusion and the contestation of community in a rural school-community conflict. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *19*(7), 733–747.

McManus, P., Walmsley, J., Argent, N., Baum, S., Bourke, L., Martin, J., Pritchard, B., & Sorensen, T. (2012). Rural Community and Rural Resilience: What is important to farmers in keeping their country towns alive? *Journal of Rural Studies, 28*, 20-29.

McShane, C. J., Turnour, J., Thompson, M., Dale, A., Prideaux, B., & Atkinson, M. (2016). Connections: the contribution of social capital to regional development. *Rural Society, 25*(2), 154-169.

Mellander, C., Florida, R. & Stolarick, K. (2011). Here to stay—the effects of community satisfaction on the decision to stay. *Spatial Economic Analysis*, *6*(1), 5–24.

Ok, C. & Park, J. (2018). Change in newcomers' job satisfaction: Met-expectations effect as a moderator. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, *46*(9), 1513–1521.

Onyx, J. & Leonard, R. (2005). Australian grey nomads and American snowbirds: Similarities and differences. *Journal of Tourism Studies*, *16*(1), 61–68.

Patten, E., O'Meara, P. & Dickson-Swift, V. (2015). Scoping review of the exclusion and inclusion of rural newcomers in community participation. *The Australian Journal of Rural Health*, *23*, 127–135.

Paull, M. (2009). *Barriers to volunteering by newcomers in Wheatbelt towns in Western Australia*. Volunteering WA. https://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/33969/1/barriers-to-volunteering.pdf

Paull, M. & Redmond, J. (2011). Succession in community organisations: Newcomers and the 'purple circle'. *Third Sector Review*, *17*(2), 131–152.

Pelled, L. H., Ledford, G. E. & Mohrman, S. A. (1999). Demographic dissimilarity and workplace inclusion. *Journal of Management Studies*, *36*, 1013–1031.

Pickett, C. L., Bonner, B. L. & Coleman, J. M. (2002). Motivated self-stereotyping: Heightened assimilation and differentiation needs result in increased levels of positive and negative self-stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 543–562.

Plowman, I., Ashkanasy, N. M., Gardner, J., & Letts, M. (2003). *Innovation in rural Queensland: Why some towns thrive while others languish*. Brisbane, Qld: University of Queensland

Potter, J. (1996). Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: Theoretical background. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences*. BPS Books.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., Steele, C. M., Davies, P. G., Ditlmann, R. & Randall Crosby, J. (2008). Social identity contingencies: How diversity cues signal threat or safety for African Americans in mainstream institutions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *94*(4), 615–630.

Saks, A. M., Gruman, J. A. & Cooper-Thomas, H. (2011). The neglected role of proactive behavior and outcomes in newcomer socialization. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *79*, 36–46.

Schegloff, E. (1997). Whose text? Whose context? *Discourse and Society*, *8*(2), 165–187.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*. Yale University Press.

Scott, J., Carrington, K. & McIntosh, A. (2011). Established-outsider relations and fear of crime in mining towns. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *52*(2), 147–169.

Shih, M., Pittinsky, T. L. & Ambady, N. (1999). Stereotype susceptibility: Identity salience and shifts in quantitative performance. *Psychological Science*, *10*(1), 80–83.

Smailes, P. J., Argent, N., & Griffin, T., L.C. (2002). Rural population density:its impact on social and demographic aspects of rural communities. *Journal of Rural Studies, 18*(4), 385-404.

Smailes, P. J., Griffin, T. L. C., & Argent, N. M. (2018). *Regional Cities and City Regions in Rural Australia: A Long-Term Demographic Perspective*. Springer.

Smith, C. (1995). *Urban disorder and shape of belief*. University of Chicago Press.

Stapleton, K. & Wilson, J. (2017). Telling the story: Meaning making in a community narrative. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *108*, 60–70.

Swann, R. & Hughes, G. (2016). Exploring micro-sociality through the lens of 'established outsider' figurational dynamics in a South Wales community. *The Sociological Review*, *64*, 681–698.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Tanis, M. & Postimes, T. (2005). A social identity approach to trust: Interpersonal perception, group membership and trusting behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *35*, 413–424.

Täuber, S. & Sassenberg, K. (2012). Newcomer conformity: How self-construal affects the alignment of cognition and behavior with group goals in novel groups. *Social Psychology*, *43*(3), 138–147.

Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. . *American Journal of Evaluation, 27*(2), 237-246.

Tracy, K. & Naughton, J. M. (2000). Institutional identity-work: A better lens. In J. Coupland (Ed.), *Small talk*. Routledge.

Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social identity and intergroup relations* (pp. 15–40). Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Alexander, H. S. & McGarty, C. (1994). Self and collective: Cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *20*(5), 454–463.

van de Mieroop, D. (2012). Maneuvering between the individual and the social dimensions of a poor man's discursive negotiation of stigma. *Narrative Inquiry*, *22*(1), 122–145.

van den Hoonaard, D. (2002). Life on the margins of a Florida retirement community: The experience of snowbirds, newcomers, and widowed persons. *Research on Aging*, *24*(1), 50–66.

Wallace, A., & Dollery, B. (2018). Merger melancholia: An empirical analysis of the perceptions of the residents of the forcibly amalgamated manilla shire council. *International Journal of Public Administration, 42*(11), 940-949.

Waytz, A. & Epley, N. (2012). Social connection enables dehumanization. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *48*(1), 70–76.

Wertsch, J. V. (2008). The narrative organization of collective memory. *ETHOS*, *36*(1), 120–135.

Whisler, R. L., Waldorf, B. S., Mulligan, G. F., & Plane, D. A. (2008). Quality of life and the migration of the college-educated: a life-course approach. *Growth and Change, 39*(1), 58-94.

Wieder, D. L. (1974). *Language and social reality: The case of telling the convict code*. Mouton.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods for critical discourse analysis.* Sage.

CHAPTER 5: PAPER 2: 'YOU WEREN'T BORN HERE'—MAINTAINING SOCIAL IDENTITY ENTITATIVITY AND BENEFIT IN TWO SMALL AUSTRALIAN RURAL COMMUNITIES

ABSTRACT

The social phenomenon of insiders–outsiders is a well-established social dynamic that is unhelpful in small communities where social connection is essential to support and sustain a vibrant community. What motivates such anti-social and self-defeating behaviours? Social identity theory provides a frame for understanding antisocial behaviours as the product of unconscious psychological drivers motivated by social uncertainty from challenges to salient social group membership. This research catalogues the efforts of the socially dominant in two small rural communities to maintain their social certainty, status and privileges through the exclusion of newcomers. Analysed through social identity theory and critical discourse analysis of 89 interviews with residents of two small rural communities, shows the mechanisms of social identity at work. Affirming and defending local norms, narratives and hierarchies through degrees of social censure creates local cultures that tend towards protecting the status quo. This dynamic has implications for community leadership and development practitioners.

5.1 Introduction

A major rural development goal is to attract and retain new people, especially younger people, for small community vitality, sustainability, diversity, spending power and resilience (Faulkner et al., 2018). Retaining newcomers is partially influenced by accessible services, local economic opportunity, and amenity (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Halstead & Deller, 2015; Morton, 2003; Woolcock, 2001). However, more than local amenities, newcomer satisfaction with a community is influenced by positive social connections (Ragusa, 2022). Within small communities, social capital is an important community resource (Claridge, 2018; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Putnam, 1995), a foundation for capacity to manage change and build resilience (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Maclean, 2014). Nevertheless, newcomers to small communities often meet with local indifference, mistrust and even hostility (Kilpatrick et al., 2011; McHenry-Sorber & Schafft, 2015; Paull, 2009). Established residents can exclude and punish newcomers even while they speak of the need for new people to engage in their local community (Agnitsch et al., 2006).

The social experience of exclusion and the effects of positive and negative social capital are well-established (Daly & Silver, 2008; Patten et al., 2015; Plowman et al., 2003). Less is known about motivations for antisocial action, the negative social capital that undermine resilience and capacity in small towns. Social identity theory provides a novel frame for understanding antisocial behaviours as the product of unconscious psychological drivers motivated by social uncertainty in prominent social groups (Hogg, 2005; Reicher, 2004). This research explains possible motives for antisocial behaviours in small rural communities. It applies social identity theory (SIT) to understand examples of the subtle and explicit social controls adopted by members of established social

groups to defend status and privilege and to recruit compliance with local sociocultural norms.

5.2 Theory and Literature Review

Social identity theory explains how people choose social groups to achieve personal esteem, social benefit and social belonging (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People categorise themselves and others into social groups, or *prototypes* (Hogg, 2000; Mackie et al., 1996). Social categories are locally normative, part of a master community identity narrative that becomes a shared paradigm for making sense of the world (Hardin & Higgins, 1996; Hogg & Rinella, 2018; Thompson & Fine, 1999). Social categorisation is inherently biased, framing in-group members positively, emphasising in-group similarities and out-group differences and inferiority. Membership requires compliance with the group's values, opinions, responses and beliefs. Compliance is necessary to establish trust, to belong (Haslam, Oakes, Turner, 1996). Degrees of conformity with ingroup norms create social hierarchy within the social set and are influenced by alternative social prototypes available, accessible and aligned to individual qualities (Mackle et al., 1996; Oakes, 1987).

Group membership brings social benefits, such as status, safety, certainty and in-group bias arising from prototype membership, but membership requires compliance with in-group norms. Social benefits accrue even if compliance is a superficial acceptance—they 'go along to get along'—rather than a true psychological investment (McAdams & McLean, 2013). If social benefit diminishes for members, they will leave the group unless unable due to the absence of other social prototypes offering social benefit and a viable pathway to membership. Membership in a social group that validates identity norms and provides individuals with a sense of social safety among the like-minded. It entrenches their difference a as an affirming truth of moral superiority

(Clarkson et al., 2017). It puts a high stake on accepting any change that breaches the social prototype norms.

Members of prototypes will defend their *valence* (status and interests) (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) and *entitativity (*identity integrity) (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996) against perceived threat through peer policing of in-group members' compliance and social enforcement over threatening out-group members (Abrams et al., 2005; Castano et al., 2002; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). All perceived threats to valence and entitativity create social uncertainty (Hogg, 2005; Reicher, 2004) that must be controlled (Lüders et al., 2016) but aberrations from in-group members are far more threatening and severely censured than those of outgroup members. Threats reduce tolerance of difference and motivate defensive antisocial actions (Cikara et al., 2011; Hogg et al., 2013; Lüders et al., 2016).

The influence of social identity phenomena is well-researched in the organisational development, workplace and migration literature (Filomeno, 2019; Kreindler et al., 2012; Pinto et al., 2016). However, there is less research seeking ecological validity of SIT applied in small community contexts. Such research could be important in understanding barriers to newcomer engagement and small rural community resilience.

5.3 Methods

5.3.1 Selection of Case Communities

The data presented in this paper is drawn from semi-structured interviews with 89 members of two small rural communities given pseudonyms Tookton and Jaroville. These sites were selected from 63 Queensland, Australia communities with populations of 1,000–2,000. The selected communities were surrounded by mixed rural activities, including extensive and intensive agricultural production and rural residential areas, with some historical and demographic similarities.

Each community experienced Euro settlement establishing the towns in the early 1900s. The communities' population remain sufficient to sustain services (Argent et al., 2005; Holmes, 1981, 1987; Smailes et al., 2002). Both communities have experienced an inflow of newcomers over the past decade associated with employment, cheap land and lifestyle. They have a supermarket, medical support, schools, vehicle services, including fuel supply, a community meeting place and recreational facilities. The public schools in both communities are influential locations for the performance of local sociocultural norms. It is possible to commute to employment in other centres from each community.

Of the people born overseas in Jaroville, more than 96 per cent come from one country associated with employment in agricultural industries. Of those born overseas and resident in Tookton, approximately 90 per cent come from Western European or British colonial countries. Median household incomes are lower than for the state of Queensland, especially in Tookton, while the proportions of people with post-secondary qualifications are also lower, especially in Jaroville. Mobility, indicated by a change of address, is lower in the two communities than the Queensland average. Both communities identify as rural and are politically and socially conservative. Tookton and Jaroville have longstanding high status families with town streets named after them. Each has outgroup subcommunities in small lot rural land developments.

There are also differences. Tookton has what might be considered a natural amenity, milder climate and proximity to large water sources. Tookton has an older age profile than Jaroville, including incoming skilled and capable retirees. Tookton's residents born overseas are mainly from Western European countries and related colonial countries. Jaroville has a 'plains' setting and a younger population. A larger proportion of its population was born in diverse locations overseas, drawn to Jaroville by agricultural

employment, including a large group of South-East Asian origin (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016).

Participants were identified through initial community contacts, snowballing and targeted selections from a cross-section of the population in and around the local town. A range of ages, genders, time spent in the community and social prototypes were identified progressively through the interviews.

5.3.2 Approach to Data Analysis

Data analysis examined the internalised beliefs and codes of social conduct, implicitly and explicitly expressed in the interviews (Jimerson & Oware, 2006; Kashima et al., 2018). Common themes emerged from the communities. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework seeking elements of social identity phenomena was applied to code the transcripts in NVIVO (QSR International, 2021). The analysis located patterns and indexical linguistic codes and metaphors as indicators of social identity dynamics (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Potter, 1996). The analysis was inductive (Thomas, 2006). Themes emerged as transcripts were coded and analysed (Fairclough, 2003). Individual narratives were explored using three overlapping critical discourse perspectives (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Critical Discourse Analysis of Interviews

Analytical frame	Data element	Examples social identity phenomena	Impacts
Linguistic	Labels, metaphors, metonymies used to classify social groups, and the characterisations, predications, descriptive qualities associated with those labels, associated anecdotes	Categorisation, group or individual attributes, boundary setting	Proffered truths about delineation, nature and status of institutions, social groups and individuals

Macro social	Narrative discourse indicating social behaviour norms and codes, consequences for breaching norms, the micropolitics of Us and Them	Indications of social identity, power, status in effect; motives and response re entitativity and valence	Establishing practices, structures and narratives, mechanisms of dominance and contest, social certainty or uncertainty
Interpretive	Themes, implicit sociocultural beliefs, norms and narratives of local 'reality'	Normative views, value paradigms, unconscious worldview acceptance, immersion in belief systems	Interpretive repertoire for understanding the world and phenomena; adoption, adaptation, antagonism and avoidance

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Protecting Social Hierarchy and Boundaries

The interview data from the small rural communities conveys social information via the social labels that categorise individuals generically and those who use them and how. While the origin of social labels used by respondents in this study was not always evident, and sometimes no label was used, anecdotes offered as affirmative evidence indicated their meaning and a categorisation. Table 5.2 summarises the terms applied indicating boundaries and hierarchical place and local social order. The residents interviewed understood the social meaning of status and qualities attached to the labels that were sometimes neither factual nor universally accepted by individuals.

Table 5.2

Selected Social Identity Terms in Jaroville and Tookton

Label	Selected quotations	Criteria for inclusion in label	Implicit meanings
Local	'If you haven't got grandparents buried here, you are not EVER going to be a local … It really is just a typical small-town joke, sort of thing. That said, you know, you certainly know, you are not a	Generational presence in community implies a higher social standing, superior rights now and in future	Those who lived their entire life in the community had greater social legitimacy than newcomers Local ancestry

Label	Selected quotations	Criteria for inclusion in label	Implicit meanings
	long-term local' (JE2119698). 'Well, one thing we know we are not, is locals. Our grandparents aren't buried in the cemetery. That is what the locals tell us. But anyway' (TE3972799).		
Originals Dinky-di farmers Old families	'In this community, you're welcome, but you are not welcomed. Unless you are a founding father type or a founding family or related to them. I have known people to marry into that family, and they still aren't accepted. You have got to be one of the Originals. An original family' (JE19598971). 'I was accepted because my parents lived here and because my father was an original from here' (JE1929596). 'They are the ones whose names are on the [street] signs' (TE1972599).	Descendants from first settlers or community founders Generational connection to community or land Income from traditional farming (cattle or broadacre cropping) or large local business Presumed financial capacity Status or recognition (e.g., street or facility named for family) Those earning their whole living from traditional farming (cattle or broadacre cropping)	Those who are to be respected Those with standing in shaping community direction Those who dominate aspects of the community (e.g., school) Those to be feared Those who resist change Those who decide or have the power
Newcomers	'You see people at community events and see people you know and have a chat and that but you are not really close to them …. you know, you talk to them, but you still have that sense, that feeling of distance … I don't get offended by that. That comes from the fact that they are third or fourth generation Jaroville and I am a newcomer' (JP2939499).	Here for work or business opportunity rather than deep community roots Not committed to the community Apart from the long-term residents. Some contribute to sustaining community	New people to the community (unspecified threshold time frames) Here for work Come here for rural life Here for affordable housing Not locals Lesser status

Label	Selected quotations	Criteria for inclusion in label	Implicit meanings
	'Some people are very reluctant to join in, whether that is because they think they have nothing to contribute or because they think they might be rejected or whether they have heard that this group is very cliquey—I don't know. There are other ones … that bowl up and introduce themselves' (TE1922298)	services but generally do not Need to respect the way things are done here Potentially disruptive, disrespectful Some engage	Less committed to community Less trusted Social uncertainty (two-way) Expected to accept generational hierarchy
(Newcomer subset)[a] 'Foreigners' 'Internationals' 'Foreign workers' Other racist terms	'They don't involve themselves particularly because they have come from a culture where it is not an involvement of the ordinary person … and also they are here as a stepping stone, and they come out via a system … and live here for a time, and once their children are at a certain stage of schooling they will … work [here], or get work elsewhere once they go through all the visa thing' (JE1969997). 'When you think about it, we have had a lot of [named-ethnicity] here lately. They say, "oh, bloody little slopey bastards". I said they're lovely people. They are honest, they are clean. "Urhurhurh [indistinct noise indicating critical complaint] bloody takin all our jobs". I said, "Where's your son—[he's] home layin' in bed!" You know what I mean!' (JE2919196). 'It's been a bit of a godsend as the [foreign] people who have come to town to fill those roles have become a fantastic part of the community' (JE2119698).	A particular group of newcomers who are not attached to or inducted by existing residents Keep to themselves Don't get 'involved in the community' Part of an enclave Good workers Temporary workers and residents Taking local jobs locals won't take Benefit to the community Getting an easy entry to Australian citizenship 'Lovely people' Don't engage with or volunteer in community Attend events but don't take on leadership or working roles	Not of Anglo-heritage Do not speak English Cluster with others of similar or perceived similar origin Outsiders Low status Reliable labour Derogatory terms and inferences
(Newcomer subset)	'They probably, probably … depending on how long they are here for. Might be just blow-ins for a	Subset of newcomers (e.g., arrival associated with	Those who have been in the community for less time than

Label	Selected quotations	Criteria for inclusion in label	Implicit meanings
Blow-ins Fly-by-nighters Transient	while, sorta thing, you know, while the jobs here for a while then they might get, go somewhere else get better job somewhere else. They just sorta stick to theirself'. (JE2992397)'I think we have been here long enough to not be a fly-by-night blow-in, but yeah' (TE3972799). 'We do have quite a transient community. We have a lot of people come and go and they're just sort of looking for a cheap place' (JE1919596).	work or cheaper rent or property) New people without a right to express views on the community Just here for jobs or cheap housing Uncommitted to the community Here for self-interest Don't get involved Expect services or events provided for them Not trusted If they get involved, they should take direction from those who know the community	Originals (i.e., not locals) Temporary residents
People from the West Gardeners Dinky-di farmers	'The real dinky-di farmers, the guys who are only on the land—yeah, you don't see a lot of them. A lot of them aren't from here, they have sold out west and come in pretty well cashed up' (JE2929797) 'Around [named area] there are all those huge properties that have been taken up—families disappear and now they are [a] company, maybe Chinese, maybe corporate people down on the plain here you have gardeners ….and those sorts of people. People that we loosely refer to as the Germans and the Chinese, you know, they take up … gardeners, and those sorts of people are further out' (JE1969997).	Category of newcomers Intruders buying up 'our little farms', outsiders Coming here for the services Don't get involved in community Temporary residents here for retirement Cashed up Large scale primary producers (not local) Driving out true locals	People buying land closer access to markets, services and productive rainfall Primary producers from other areas, not committed to the local area; just here for money or convenience Threat to local generational landholder prototype (e.g., diminishes numbers, creates larger properties, financially successful);

Label	Selected quotations	Criteria for inclusion in label	Implicit meanings
	'There is a bit of a trend, of people from the West coming in to retire on a little block, small block. So, they come in because it is close to Largetown and they are not necessarily going to stay because they are on their way closer to hospitals and things … Sold up [there]. Came out here and just buying up our little farms. Makes you feel, ohhh, come on. This is ours' (JE1969997).	Foreign owners, sometimes corporate Crop instead of running cattle	some resentment
Ferals Bogans No-hopers Blockies Disparaging terms for particular locations	'They just want to live in that rural, that sort of environment and good luck to them. There are others out there [that] are plain bloody feral. And I mean FERAL in capital letters in the worst sense. They. Are. Feral. We got some ferals in here too, in town, yeah, course you have' (JP2939499). '[Named out of town area] is, a different kettle of fish … It's got—these are terrible labels—but it's a good description, it's got a like a feral component … That sort of component that comes out every so often and you will go "oooh! Didn't know these people lived here!" but you know, dreadlocks' (TP1922398)	Live in particular, and less desirable areas outside town boundaries Bad people Poor personal hygiene No right to be considered community members Receiving government benefits (excluding aged pension) Criminals	People who live in particular areas (mostly) outside town and have appearance associated with aspects of lifestyle Feared as antisocial
New Blood New ideas	'New people bring new ideas and that is important. And they can be absorbed into the community and the community can be a part of that too' (JE1969997) 'But there is a lot of people who have come from elsewhere. They have come from everywhere, out west, north Queensland. North Coast, South Coast, New South Wales, few Victorians. And that injection of new blood	Fresh ideas Interest in positive change Progressive types	New people with confidence and skill to participate assertively in community life

Label	Selected quotations	Criteria for inclusion in label	Implicit meanings
	has had a little bit of difference, but it will take a little while for big changes. Sad part is the people who want it to remain the same are getting to the point where they may be coming to the end of their lives so therefore that resistance will disappear' (TE1912198)		

[a]Jaroville only.

5.4.2 Dominant Narratives of Place

A shared aspect of community identity and a marker of being a Local was having access to the dominant narratives of place. Newcomers were excluded from this privileged knowledge and therefore vulnerable to mistakes and misunderstandings arising from ignorance of cultural norms and social implications. The dominant narratives of place served to signal and affirm social codes established by the powerful on social hierarchy, category and on the degree of insider/outsider conformity. Local narratives conveyed cultural norms, expectations of political views. Conversations would often include coded references testing response, an assessment. For example, Locals in conversation with the researcher might make a disparaging remark about climate change, as denial of climate change was a core cultural belief of the elite in both communities. If no affirmation occurred this caused uncertainty and the conversation became reserved.

The dominant narratives also affirmed social hierarchies. Social identity terms seen in Table 5.2 are a component of the dominant narratives. They have social power by drawing upon shared understandings and inferences of social place. As newcomers gained some understanding through social interactions with locals, they were recruited into these narratives to demonstrate belonging. Some implicitly accepted their inferior

social place in the community as evidenced by this newcomer who accommodated the lack of friendliness from the generationally established residents.

> you know, you talk to them, but you still have that sense, that feeling of distance … I don't get offended by that. That comes from the fact that they are third or fourth generation Jaroville and I am a newcomer' (JP2939499).

Stating that no offence was caused, implies that without the knowledge of the local narrative about social standing, this would have been cause for offence.

Nevertheless, it was desirable for newcomers to move away from the negative labels by demonstrating qualities of other social groups including duration of residence, community contribution and alignment with the local social norms.

> I think we have been here long enough to not be a fly-by-night blow-in, but yeah' (TE3972799).

People offered a narrative that reshaped how they were categorised by drawing on values that mattered such as duration of residence.

5.4.3 Enforcing Norms of Status and Privilege

The social hierarchy in small rural communities is affirmed and defended. Some residents from the high-status prototype groups socially censure those who fail to observe their expectations of privilege. The established prototypes interpret a threat and frame this as disrespect, detrimental to whole community interests, impractical, unreasonable, victimisation from callous outsider decision-makers who are 'out of touch' with their reality. Social action targets any who do not comply with the norms of local social expectations of relative privileging, as this established resident fundraiser found:

> It was a drought appeal all over Australia. [Locals] raised money, but it was up to the national [head office protocol] to

> give the money away to the people who needed it most. And … of course, some people missed out here … so there was quite an attack towards [local fundraisers] because of that … They said, 'how come we did not get money'. They said, 'it isn't fair'. They said, 'you promised this and this'. (TE1919699)

The dominant can recruit support in applying social norms to newcomers or outsiders who do not comply, as this newcomer leader found:

> This person [wanted access to a community facility for a private event] … And I said, no problem at all and we will just do it for the local price … Well, the [expletive] hit the fan big time. I was getting phone calls from people left, right and centre. Just people in the town saying—why are you charging them this? They should not have to pay … We have a hierarchy in this community, and they sit up near the top somewhere. (JE2939499)

Insiders who publicly breach local social norms are especially threatening to entitativity and risk peer pressure and loss of social connection. One longstanding resident made a business decision that offended individual expectations of privilege:

> And even to this day … if I walk into a shop and they are there, they will turn their back to me. And it is hard. It is bloody hard … Yeah. It hurts. One guy in particular been a mate since we went to school together. And, and he can actually talk to me, now. But his wife? Holy hell. (JE2929797)

The local social practices were expected to be privileged and applied, sometimes ignoring externally developed standards of professional practice, as this outsider managing a critical service facility found:

> [There's an] expectation that certain [improper practices] will be adopted regardless of the policies of the formal world.

> There are some unwritten social policies that signal your commitment to this [local] social scene [and] if you say no, then there's a huge community noise.(JN1949798)

This manager said that the staff employed at the facility would take direction from those with status in the community social hierarchy before taking direction from the manager. These local staff from the high-status prototype acted in opposition to the outsider manager's protocols that aligned with professional standards of institutional operation:

> There's an expectation that if someone from the community phones and says 'this needs to happen', then there are [local staff] who respond and make it happen when it is not necessarily [appropriate]. But they will make it happen because it is somebody they perceive to be a respected member of the community … It's caused me quite a bit of angst … trying to negotiate a way through that would keep local community expectations satisfied and [meet] my professional role. I could make it a more amenable environment if I allowed the cultural norms expected of me to become my norms. But they are not my norms. (JN1949798)

This manager soon left the community for a job in a larger centre. Failing to comply with local sociocultural norms brought social censure. Themes emerged of mindful self-management to avoid attention with overt noncompliance. An informal social group met in a public place to exercise together. They received word of a potential complaint to Council about their use of the public space:

> We weren't causing any damage … [and we felt] anger … we just wanted to get healthy and fit. We weren't going to wait for it to go any further. Took it into our own hands, took the matter into our own hands and decided well, what are our options … We didn't want trouble. We did not want trouble.

> We are never embarrassed. Ever. It is just; we didn't want it to go further. (TE1962599)

The group relocated their fitness activities to a private location and became invisible in the community.

The social identity boundaries and hierarchies are also experienced within the school grounds:

> He gets bullied: 'what would you know, you don't belong here, you weren't born here, your family is not from here. What would you know?' That is what the kids say to him … grandma or grandpa's opinions filter down to the kids and grandkids and great-grandkids. Until we break that cycle, we have no chance for newcomers to come into a welcoming community. (TP1942699)

There is awareness of the social hierarchy and the power therein. The following statement refers to individuals without formal Tookton leadership roles: 'They're the three; they make all the decisions for the community … everyone knows they make a lot of decisions. They are the big boys of Tookton. They are the ones you have got to be friendly with (laughing)' (TE1919699). This dynamic was also evident in Jaroville: 'They are concerned about what that individual might do to them [if they offend]. Not in a physical sense. It is in the background sense of, say, complaints to Council, other authorities. It is hard to define' (JP2939499).

The data indicated that residents were mindful about where and with whom they could express criticism or divergence from dominant sociocultural norms.

5.4.4 Economic Impact of Exclusion

Social influence and censure extended to businesses that began in a community. Community gossip and other undermining actions such as malicious reviews, reporting to authorities for alleged offences are said to be mobilised against businesses not owned, endorsed by or serving the interests of established locals.

This narrative theme was evident in the beliefs of Tookton and Jaroville residents:

> You have got to be one of the originals. An original family. You can come and spend your money here, talk here, you can have a coffee here. But if you try to open a business here or to do something, they find ways of getting you out. (JE19598971)
>
> We don't have a lot of businesses in the main street that are owned by locals. Our [Named Business-1] has been taken over by an [ethnic] family, our [Named Business-2] is owned by an [ethnic] family, the [Named Business-3] have been here a long time, but they are not locals … Our [Named Business-4] is owned by someone that bought it, that didn't live in the town, our [Named Business-5] is run by not-a-local in town. There are only three or four businesses in town that are family-lived-here-all-their-lives. As far as keeping the town going, those other businesses … it might sound racist, but they are there to make money. They are not there to be a part of the town … They are not there to make the town a better town … They don't need to make the town a better town to have that business. They [just] live in town. (JE1929596)

Additional examples indicate that social censure was believed to be a factor in business failure:

> The guy that ran [Named Business] was local and well-known, and he had a rip-roaring trade, and it was busy 12 hours a day. And he sold it and with a change of owner, change of people—you can fire a shotgun in there and hit no one at any time … and they went broke in two months. He [bought it] back, and it was suddenly busy again. It picked up again. He then resold it to these new people, and they started seven days a week, then six days, now only five days

> … and the local people just don't support it … In small country towns, although people want change, they don't like it. It can be the slightest little thing, and they say, 'oh no, can't be going there anymore'. (JP3929997)
>
> You open a shop here, and within six months the shop is gone. There was a lady over there with the [Named] shop, and … they put her rent up just to get rid of her. (JE19598972)

In Jaroville, some outsider businesses were believed to run into impediments attributed to passive or overt antagonism. Such antagonism was also evident for Tookton, though to a lesser degree:

> There was one, one particular gentleman and his wife tried to open up a shop. The community didn't like it … because they could lose business themselves. So, they all got together and voted against and made sure it wasn't allowed to open up. They voted. They have meetings sometimes, they put petitions out, you know, like you know, 'Don't go there', you know, 'It's no good'. They are going to Council, yeah. This man actually lost his business because of it. (TE1919696)

The facts surrounding the causes of business failures are obscure. However, newcomers' beliefs in Jaroville and, to some extent, Tookton, attached to the social power of the established residents.

5.5 Discussion

The insiders–outsiders' social phenomenon is a well-established social dynamic; it is especially unhelpful in small rural communities where social capital is essential to support and sustain a vibrant community (Patten et al., 2015; Plowman et al., 2003). Established residents use unconscious strategies of exclusion and enforcement to recruit newcomers into their version of local reality, to defend and protect their prototype entitativity and valence (Nadler et al., 2009; Smith & Krannich, 2000).

Opposition to their position on any matter was implicitly framed as opposition to community integrity and values, recruiting the wider community into justified defence of the collective interests. This endorsed anti-social action as morally defensible. Affirming and defending local norms narratives and hierarchies through induction and public censure for aberrance tends towards protecting the status quo. Fear of social censure is likely to act as an impediment to innovation, to practice change and to embracing opportunities because they are perceived to threaten the social certainty and preferences of the socially dominant. It is socially safer to be silent, to comply with the traditional and long-established sociocultural codes than to challenge established norms with new approaches. This negatively impacts small community capacity to thrive and develop resilience (Marchant, 2012). It anchors the community in a rigid master identity narrative that celebrates conservatism and resisting change as a superior position under attack.

Defending against change from outsider influence reduces community diversity and weakens its capacity to cope with inevitable shifts. Silencing and constraining newcomers' potential for contributing to the community dampens their incentive to lead and undermines initiatives and new economic ventures, infrastructure proposals and community development.

These practices also constrain established residents within narrow stereotyped expressions of self in the same way they constrain newcomers' and outsiders' contributions to the community. Inhibiting local community members from seeing options and actions outside the norms of prescribed identity may be harmful to personal wellbeing. It may reduce appetite for risk, constrain openness to adaptation. It creates a false sense of safety because peers within a social group agree on a shared narrative of reality that ignores evidence. Outsider attack creates a sense of

victimisation and moral justification in defending their narrative. Additionally, high identifiers feel a sense of identity vulnerability and threat from to broader cultural shifts eroding their entitativity and social standing (Brett, 2007; Hampton et al., 2020; Lowe & Ward, 1997). Their identity vulnerability can entrench rigid identity boundaries and hostility to change. They are highly motivated to control the impacts of newcomers and outsiders, rejecting new ideas and resist disruption to the local social order and narratives.

This research is limited by being an indicative study of two communities with similar cultures and political leanings. Within communities are minority influencers that persist in bringing change. There is an opportunity to map small rural community hierarchies and further explore the nature of social influence in diverse small communities. These findings have implications for community leadership and development practitioners as invisible social barriers shape responses to initiatives in self-defeating ways.

References

Abrams, D., Hogg, M. A. & Marques, J. M. (2005). *Social psychology of inclusion and exclusion*. Psychology Press.

Agnitsch, K., Flora, J. L. & Ryan, V. (2006). Bonding and bridging social capital: The integrative effects on community action. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, *37*, 36–51.

Aldrich, D. P. & Meyer, M. A. (2015). Social capital and community resilience. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(2), 254–269.

Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the street: Decency, violence and the moral life of the inner city*. W.W. Norton.

Argent, N. M., Smailes, P. J. & Griffin, T. (2005). Tracing the density impulse in rural settlement systems: A quantitative analysis of the factors underlying rural population density across south-eastern Australia 1981–2001. *Population Environment*, *27*, 151–190.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016). *Demographics & education*.

Blount-Hill, K.-L. (2021). Insights from resident stories of police contact in Newark, New Jersey, and Cleveland, Ohio. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*.

Brett, J. (2007). The country, the city and the state in Australian settlement. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *42*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361140601158518

Castano, E., Paladino, M.-P., Coull, A. & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2002). Protecting the ingroup stereotype: ingroup identification and the management of deviant ingroup members. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *41*, 365–385.

Cikara, M., Botvinik, M. M. & Fiske, S. T. (2011). Us versus them: Social identity shapes neural responses to intergroup competition and harm. *Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 306–313.

Daly, M. & Silver, H. (2008). Social exclusion and social capital: A comparison and critique. *Theory and Society*, *37*(6), 537–566.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Blackwell Publishers.

Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Introduction to discourse analysis* (pp. 258–284). Sage.

Faulkner, L., Brown, K. & Quinn, T. (2018). Analyzing community resilience as an emergent property of dynamic social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society*, *23*, 24–32.

Filomeno, F. A. (2019). The potential of dialogues on social identity and diversity for immigrant civic integration. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, *77*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2019.101723

Halfacree, K. H. (1993). Locality and social representation: Space, discourse and alternative definitions of the rural. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *9*(1), 23–37.

Halstead, J. M. & Deller, S. C. (2015). *Social capital at the community level.* Routledge.

Hampton, J. O., Jones, B. & McGreevy, P. D. (2020). Social license and animal welfare: Developments from the past decade in Australia. *Animals, 10*. https://doi.org/10.3390/ani10122237

Hardin, C. D. & Higgins, E. T. (1996). Shared reality: How social verification makes the subjective objective. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition* (pp. 28–84). The Guilford Press.

Hardy, C., Palmer, I. & Phillips, N. (2000). Discourse as a strategic resource. *Human Relations*, *53*(9), 1227–1248.

Hogg, M. A. (2000). Subjective uncertainty reduction through self-categorisation: A motivational theory of social identity processes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *11*, 223–225.

Hogg, M. A. (2005). Uncertainty, social identity and ideology. In S. R. Thye & E. J. Lawler (Eds.), *Social identification in groups* (Vol. 22, pp. 203–229). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Hogg, M. A. & Reid, S. A. (2006). Social identity, self-categorization, and the communication of group norms. *Communication Theory*, *16*(1), 7–30.

Hogg, M. A. & Rinella, M. J. (2018). Social identities and shared realities. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *23*, 6–10.

Hogg, M. A., Kruglanski, A. & van den Bos, K. (2013). Uncertainty and the roots of extremism. *Journal of Social Issues*, *69*(3), 407–418.

Holmes, J. H. (1981). Settlement systems in sparsely populated regions: the United States and Australia. In R. E. Lonsdale & J. H. Holmes (Eds.), *Settlement systems in sparsely populated regions* (pp. 70–104). Pergamon.

Holmes, J. H. (1987). Population. In D. N. Jeans (Ed.), *Australia—A geography* (Vol. 2, pp. 24–48). Sydney University Press.

Jackson, K. & Bazeley, P. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis with NVIVO*. SAGE Publications.

Jimerson, J. B. & Oware, M. K. (2006). Telling the code of the street: An ethnomethodological ethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *35*(1), 24–50.

Kilpatrick, S., Johns, S., Vitartas, P. & Hornisan, M. (2011). Mobile skilled workers: Making the most of an untapped rural community resource. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *27*, 181–190.

Kraus, W. (2006). The narrative negotiation of identity and belonging. *Narrative Inquiry*, *16*(1), 103–111. https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.16.1.14kra

Kreindler, S. A., Dowd, D. A., Star, N. D. & Gottschalk, T. (2012). Silos and social identity: The social identity approach as a framework for understanding and overcoming divisions in health care. *The Milbank Quarterly*, *90*(2).

Leitch, S. & Palmer, I. (2010). Analysing texts in context: Current practices and new protocols for critical discourse analysis in organizational studies. *Journal of Management Studies*, *47*(6).

Lowe, P. & Ward, N. (1997). Field-level bureaucrats and the making of new moral discourses in agri-environmental controversies. In D. Goodman & M. J. Watts (Eds.), *Globalising food: Agrarian questions and global restructuring* (pp. 188–198). Routledge.

Lüders, A., Jonas, E., Fritsche, I. & Agroskin, D. (2016). Between the lines of us and them: Identity threat, anxious uncertainty, and reactive in-group affirmation: How can antisocial outcomes be prevented? In S. McKeown, R. Haji & N. Ferguson (Eds.), *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory*. Springer International Publishing.

Mackie, D. M., Hamilton, D. L., Susskind, J. & Rosselli, F. (1996). Social psychological foundations of stereotype formation. In C. N. Macrae, C. Stangor & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Stereotypes and stereotyping* (pp. 41–78). Guilford.

Marchant, J. 2012. "Is rural resilience enhanced through social inclusion?" *Australian and International Journal of Rural Education*:1-18.

McAdams, D. P. & McLean, K. C. (2013). Narrative identity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 233–238.

McHenry-Sorber, E. & Schafft, K. (2015). Make my day, shoot a teacher: Tactics of inclusion and exclusion and the contestation of community in a rural school–community conflict. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *19*(7), 733–747. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2014.964571

Morton, L. W. (2003). Small town services and facilities: The influence of social networks and civic structure on perceptions of quality. *City and Community*, *2*, 102–120.

Moscovici, S. & Personnaz, B. (1980). Studies in social influence: V. Minority influence and conversion behavior in a perceptual task. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *16*(3), 270–282.

Nadler, A., Harpaz-Gorodeisky, G. & Ben-David, Y. (2009). Defensive helping: Threat to group identity, ingroup identification, status stability and common group identity as determinants of intergroup help-giving. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *97*(5), 823–834.

Patten, E., O'Meara, P. & Dickson-Swift, V. (2015). Scoping review of the exclusion and inclusion of rural newcomers in community participation. *The Australian Journal of Rural Health*, *23*, 127–135.

Paull, M. (2009). *Barriers to volunteering by newcomers in Wheatbelt towns in Western Australia*. Volunteering WA. https://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/33969/1/barriers-to-volunteering.pdf

Pinto, I. R., Marques, J. M., Levine, J. M. & Abrams, D. (2016). Membership role and subjective group dynamics: Impact on evaluative intragroup differentiation and commitment to prescriptive norms. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *19*(5), 570–590. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216638531

Plowman, I., Ashkanasy, N. M., Gardner, J. & Letts, M. (2003). *Innovation in rural Queensland: Why some towns thrive while others languish*. The University of Queensland.

Potter, J. (1996). Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: Theoretical background. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences*. BPS Books.

Pugh, A. J. (2013). What good are interviews for thinking about culture? Demystifying interpretive analysis. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, *1*(1), 42–68.

Ragusa, A. T. (2022). City-exit and community-fit: Finding one's 'place' in Australia. *The International Journal of Community and Social Development*, *4*(1), 61–88. https://doi.org/10.1177/25166026211070374

Reicher, S. (2004). The context of social identity: Domination, resistance, and change. *Political Psychology*, *25*, 921–945.

Roulston, K. (2014). Analyzing interview data. In U. Flick (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 297–312). Sage.

Scheepers, D. & Ellemers, N. (2005). When the pressure is up: The assessment of social identity threat in low and high status groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *41*, 192–200.

Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose text? Whose context? *Discourse and Society*, *8*(2), 165–187.

Shucksmith, M. (2000). *Exclusive countryside? Social inclusion and regeneration in rural areas*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Smailes, P. J., Argent, N. & Griffin, T. L. C. (2002). Rural population density: Its impact on social and demographic aspects of rural communities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *18*(4), 385–404.

Smith, M. D. & Krannich, R. S. (2000). 'Culture clash' revisited: Newcomer and longer-term residents' attitudes toward land use, development and environmental issues in rural communities in the Rocky Mountain West. *Rural Sociology*, *65*(3), 396–421. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1549-0831.2000.tb00036.x

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Information*, *13*(2), 65–93.

Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, L. & Fine, G. A. (1999). Socially shared cognition, affect and behaviour: A review and integration. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *3*, 278–302.

Triandafyllidou, A. & Wodak, R. (2003). Conceptual and methodological questions in the study of collective identities: An introduction. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *2*(2), 205–223.

van de Mieroop, D. (2015). Social identity theory and the discursive analysis of collective identities in narratives. In A. De Fina & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The handbook of narrative analysis*. John Wiley.

Wieder, D. L. (1974). *Language and social reality: The case of telling the convict code*. Mouton.

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods for critical discourse analysis*. Sage.

Woolcock, M. (2001). The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes. In J. Helliwell (Ed.), *The role of human capital and social capital in economic growth and wellbeing* (pp. 65–88). OECD and Human Resources Development.

Yarwood, R. (2010). An exclusive countryside? Crime concern, social exclusion and community policing in two English villages. *Policing and Society*, *20*(1), 61–78.

Yarwood, R. & Gardner, G. (2000). Fear of crime, cultural threat and the countryside. *Royal Geographical Society*, *32*(4), 403–411.

CHAPTER 6: PAPER 3: ‘WHO DO THEY THINK THEY ARE?’: SOCIAL IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN SMALL RURAL COMMUNITIES

ABSTRACT

Building resilience in small communities has become an aspirational objective to help them adapt to challenging economic and social changes. Communities with resilience traits are better equipped to survive and thrive in adversity. Resilience relies on embracing change and social cohesion. However, the divide between social groups of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ in small communities can divide and suppress resident contributions and participation. In this qualitative research in two small South Queensland towns, populations less than 2,000, 89 residents were interviewed using social identity theory. The critical discourse analysis found that social identity phenomena motivated antisocial behaviours, including withholding support, exclusion, derision, criticism, shaming or blaming, gossip, and direct or indirect attack. Witnessing or experiencing social hostility created hesitation in newcomers to lead, speak, participate or innovate without social support and led to their withdrawal, burnout and departure.

6.1 Introduction

Building resilience in small communities has become an aspirational objective to help them adapt to challenging economic and social changes (Faulkner et al., 2018). Communities with identified resilience traits are better equipped to survive and thrive in adversity. Community resilience has been defined as a process and capacity to coordinate action in the face of challenges (Kulig et al., 2013). Resilience is attached to various factors, including a sense of social cohesion, optimism, capacity to cope with divisions, getting along, networks, ability to cope with change, leadership, community capacity for problem-solving, community pride and a sense of belonging. Social cohesion and social capital are likely to have material benefits for rural communities where diversity, networks and initiative are facilitated or celebrated (Costello, 2007; Kilpatrick et al., 2011; Pfefferbaum et al., 2017).

However, the divide between social groups of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' can constrain residents' contributions and participation in small communities (Paull & Redmond, 2011). Psychosocial experience is gaining attention as a relevant factor in retaining newcomers in groups and communities (Cosgrave et al., 2018; Ragusa, 2022). Several rural community case studies have shown the experiences of residents subject to social boundary setting and exclusion according to insider–outsider identity demarcations (Jones et al., 2009; Macgregor, 2010; Paull & Redmond, 2011; Shucksmith & Chapman, 1998).

Exclusion undermines transformative community development and resilience (Kulig et al., 2013). However, the motivations for this antisocial action can be explained by SIT, a well-established theory for understanding social behaviours as a function of group membership. This research is a novel approach to newcomers' experiences and social conflict in two small Australian rural communities from a community development perspective.

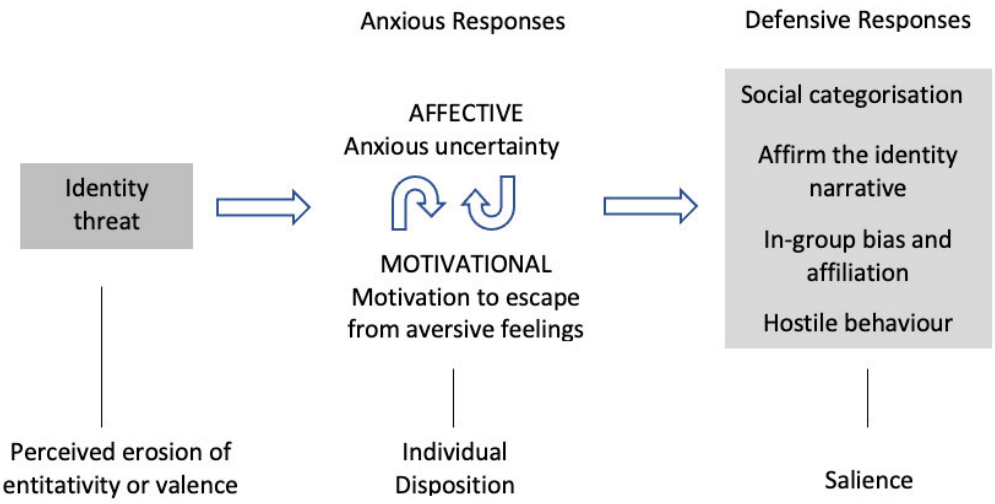
6.2 Literature Review and Theory

In this study of two small rural communities, SIT describes how self and others are shaped through their association with social groups or prototypes and how needing to belong influences their social choices and behaviours (Hogg, 2011; Tajfel, 1982). *Entitativity* is a group's uniquely defining characteristics to which members subscribe, including presentation, practices, hierarchies, and beliefs about reality. In-group social membership creates belonging, a shared sense of who or what members are as insiders and, equally important, who or what they are not (i.e., the outsiders). Group qualities may be integrated into high identifiers' concept of self. In-group membership can bring *valence* benefits, including privileges, support and insider knowledge.

To remain an in-group member, one must comply with the social group's sociocultural norms and identity narratives (Reicher & Hopkins, 2003). A breach or challenge to these norms can trigger anxious uncertainty among the group that motivates social action to counter the threat (Lüders et al., 2016). Noncompliance with group norms is perceived as a challenge that motivates social censure and hostility, targeting the source of identity threat. Figure 6.1, modified from Lüders et al. (2016), includes affirmation of the salient identity narratives illustrating group responses to identity threat.

Figure 6.1

Group-Based Defences to Identity Threat



Note. Figure adapted from Lüders et al. (2016).

These dynamics particularly affect those high identifiers heavily reliant on a particular social membership to define their esteem, social control, standing and certainty (Bowe et al., 2020; Hogg, 2005; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Vignoles et al., 2006) and work hard to model compliance. People will change social identity groups if social certainty and benefit are not readily available. However, where a unique group identity is strongly integrated with self, a threat may lead to an intensified affirmation of in-group affiliation and negative framing of out-groups (Fritsche et al., 2013; Hogg et al., 2013; Kruglanski & Orehek, 2012; McGregor et al., 2005).

Boundaries between in-group and out-group memberships can become rigid (Cikara et al., 2011; Hogg, 2007; Jung et al., 2019; Stollberg et al., 2016). Intolerance of in-group identity breaches invokes social censure to defend and enforce group norms (Fritsche et al., 2013; Stollberg et al., 2015; Swann & Hughes, 2016). Hostile social actions against an identity threat are

justified by the in-group as protective of the whole group's interests (Lüders et al., 2016; Rothschild et al., 2012).

These factors have relevance for community development. Rural communities are constantly reminded that they must be resilient and adjust to change to survive. However, if established residents exclude newcomers and resist change, community vibrance will likely decline (Bryson & Mowbray, 2005; Gallent, 2013). Given the fragility of small communities, it is necessary to understand what motivates their self-defeating exclusionary action. Researchers have explored the social impact of identity contests in manipulated psychology experiments and within corporations or sectors such as health and education; however, social identity as a fundamental factor in rural community conflict is understudied (Colvin, 2020; Lloyd et al., 2013). This article examines the largely unconscious psychology of social identity drivers or motives of conflict in small rural communities and describes their psychosocial effects.

6.3 Research Methods

6.3.1 The Communities

The research centred on 89 qualitative interviews of residents of two anonymous small inland rural communities given pseudonyms Jaroville and Tookton. The communities were selected as potentially sustainable rural communities with populations less than 2,000 (Smailes et al., 2002). As part of a small population, residents are more likely to have a constrained number of possible internal social connections, intensifying the visibility of the community's social dynamics.

The subject communities are in South Queensland, with rural and other industries providing employment. Both communities have surrounding dryland, grazing or intense rural industry, first established with white settlement family farms in the 1930s. They have a range of locally accessible services in aged care, health,

education, and shopping, allowing them to be self-contained. Both communities are looking to travellers as an additional source of revenue. The two communities have sufficient internal and social services to allow for sustainable life without residents travelling too often beyond the community.

Both subject communities are, for different reasons, experiencing a regular inflow of newcomers. Jaroville, situated on open plains, has a set of younger multicultural newcomers arriving for work and affordable property. Tookton, with its forests and hillsides, has a cohort of older retiree professional newcomers. Along with their long-established farms, Jaroville and Tookton have rural subdivision satellite communities that access the towns for services and supplies. Both communities are politically and socially conservative (Evershed, 2017).

6.3.2 Data Collection

Following ethics approval granted by the Human Research Ethics Committee of [masked for review University] (H19REA123), 43 qualitative interviews were audio-recorded in Tookton and 49 in Jaroville. Participants were identified initially through local government contacts, then snowballing and demographic targeting to cover duration lived in the community and diverse social groups.

The interview questions were structured as non-leading (Gubrium, 2012) while addressing the research questions (Roulston & Choi, 2018). The interview questions addressed participants' social location in the community, understanding of community cultures, social expectations and the implications; personal experiences and interpretations of social identity and hierarchy (including their place in it), and their perceptions of the nature and role of social networks accessible to them as newcomers or marginalised (Pugh, 2013). Interviews were conducted to minimise the researcher's voice to understand

participant interpretations of experience and observations (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

The original intention of returning to the subject communities to share and test findings was impossible due to the COVID-19 social restrictions in 2020. A short video summarising the preliminary findings was provided to participants and several emails with thanks were received in response. One participant requested a transcript of their interview which was provided. In 2021, a short presentation was provided to the executive of a community group in Tookton summarising key findings for that community. While one person remarked that the findings 'explain and validate my entire experience in this town', other leaders were cautious in sharing the results further.

6.3.3 Data Analysis

As the researcher, I am the offspring of primary producers from a small rural town, and I have worked as a rural advocate and communications professional with rural and regional people for more than two decades. The interview audio recordings were transcribed by me verbatim and coded using qualitative data analysis software NVIVO (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019).

Interview data were reviewed according to the three analytical dimensions of Fairclough's (1992) CDA framework shown in Table 6.1. The data was deductively analysed for the social identity processes of linguistic categorisation, macro social interactions revealing social norms, and actions and instances of relative power, including approval or censure (Pugh, 2013; Triandafyllidou & Wodak, 2003). Inductive content analysis was performed on these findings to locate recurring patterns and themes of social identity alignment in the local cultures.

Table 6.1

Critical Discourse Analysis of Interviews

Analytical frame	Data element	Social identity phenomena examples	Impacts
Linguistic	Labels, associated anecdotes	Categorisation, group or individual attributes, boundary setting	Proffered truths about delineation; nature and status of institutions, social groups and individuals
Macro social	Narrative discourse indicating social behaviour norms and codes, consequences for breaching norms, the micropolitics of Us and Them	Indications of social identity, power, status in effect; motives and response re entitativity and valence	Establishing practices, structures and narratives, mechanisms of dominance and contest, social certainty or uncertainty
Interpretive	Themes, implicit sociocultural beliefs, norms and narratives of local 'reality'	Normative views, value paradigms, unconscious worldview acceptance, immersion in belief systems	Interpretive repertoire for understanding the world and phenomena; adoption, adaptation, antagonism and avoidance

6.4 Findings

The research findings are reported in three parts. First, a summary from the interview transcripts of perceived challenges to established social identity is given. The second part presents case studies of two incidents of community conflict illustrating contested social identity. The third part identifies the consequences of public conflict for individuals and the community.

6.4.1 Responses to Perceived Identity Threat

Established residents may interpret newcomers' efforts to contribute and participate as outsiders trying to disrupt the integrity of local identity boundaries and hierarchies, threatening the symbolic status and material benefit. Instances of perceived threats or challenges found as patterns in the interview transcripts were systematically categorised and revealed the common resistance and suppression tactics (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2

Perceived Identity Threats To Entitativity and Valence

Interpreted challenge	What newcomers/outsiders do	Examples
	Threats to entitativity	
Change to a favoured/familiar aspect of community character	Initiating action, event or proposal to change or develop some aspect of community life not endorsed by dominant residents in the established social hierarchy	Proposed new infrastructure; modernise shopping precinct; change location or format of a community event
Non-acceptance of favoured cultural beliefs, narratives of reality	Voice an alternative view to the favoured or established local narratives, values, beliefs or hierarchies	Recognise local Indigenous peoples' land ownership and history
		Indicate climate change is based on science and results from human activity
Non-acceptance of dominant social values, cultural norms, hierarchies and beliefs	Question morality, legitimacy, relevance or value of the socially dominant's qualities	Suggest that agricultural management is responsible for adverse environmental impacts (e.g., not drought)
Challenge dominant knowledge, habit, competence	Indicate directly or indirectly that local practices are inadequate, improper, unprofessional, illegal. Fail to follow established local practices	Raise absent or ignored obligations under the law, standard, policy or organisational guidelines. Suggest healthier options at the school tuckshop
Non-dominant member assumes equality or authority	Act as an elected/empowered community representative. Suggest changes to update/modernise/refresh	Suggest new approaches, planning, introduce electronic bookkeeping
	Threats to valence	
Threat to symbolic interests/benefit	Make decisions or announcements or take actions not initiated or endorsed by the dominant	Remove failing sporting infrastructure, develop a strategic business plan
	Fail to give preferential or exceptional recognition to the local elite	Fail to award privilege by adhering to merit, equality, due process or protocol
Threat to material interests or benefits of an existing resident prototype	Compete with interests of dominant or established residents	Open a new business or service that threatens or does not align with or benefit dominant residents; start a new publicly active social group

Interpreted challenge	What newcomers/outsiders do	Examples
	Support a proposal affecting or ignoring perceived interests or identity of the dominant	Infrastructure construction; economic development

6.4.2 Case Studies: Public Community Conflict

Two case studies illustrate the defence of the established social identity and hierarchy. These are not factual representations but residents' interpretations and narratives about what occurred.

6.4.2.1 Case Study 1

A well-known community group in Jaroville running an established community event could not find a leader. A retiree with leadership experience, living in the community 5–10 years, took on the responsibility. This leader was categorised as a newcomer and a member of a stereotyped local social subset of inferior outsiders in the community.

The new leader promoted the event on social media with advice that visitors bring supplies of special dietary needs or medicines that may not be available locally. A former executive member responded to a retained full membership email list, framing this advice as offensive. The matter was discussed at an executives' meeting, and it was agreed to move on. The absent former executive attended the next general meeting accompanied by five established resident members not observed at previous meetings. They confronted the newcomer leader about the purported offensive advice, but a regular attendee challenged the antagonist group:'[That attendee] said something [to the six], like 'who are you?' One of [these six] blokes [then] wanted to know who [that attendee] was' (JE3951197).

The 'who are you' statements were not requests for an introduction but rhetorical questions of social legitimacy, framed as non-contributing members versus contributing members or newcomer social inferiors versus the established resident elite. The

newcomer leader offended the established resident members by presuming to speak publicly about community limitations. The socially dominant perceived the newcomer leader's action as a threat to themselves, motivating social counteraction. However, the leader's cautionary advice could also be interpreted as proactive mitigation against negative experiences for visitors. Although the six antagonists were not participating in delivering the event, they regarded themselves as socially entitled to exercise authority over out-group members actively involved in the event. The antagonists' impact on the event and community group membership was less important than enforcing the social order, censuring and containing newcomer authority. Consequently, the newcomer leader resigned immediately, and the newer, actively contributing members followed to avoid a likely vote of no confidence. Having achieved the newcomers' withdrawal, the established residents engaged no further and took no responsibility for the event. The leadership role was again an unfilled vacancy. It was difficult to attract volunteers to assist with delivering the event—the anecdote circulated in the small community from various perspectives, with a common theme of censure.

This case study aligns with SIT literature about the reinforcement of boundaries between in-group and out-group memberships (Cikara et al., 2011; Hogg, 2007; Jung et al., 2019; Stollberg et al., 2016), specifically by intolerance of in-group identity breaches and social censure to protect and enforce group norms (Fritsche et al., 2013; Stollberg et al., 2015; Swann & Hughes, 2016). Hostile social actions against an identity threat are justified as protective of the whole group's interests (Lüders et al., 2016; Rothschild et al., 2012).

6.4.2.2 Case Study 2

Established Tookton local leaders running an annual community event withdrew to take a break, allowing newcomers to

take the reins. The new leaders, involved in the community for between five and 10 years, had professional career experiences. They conducted a review to maintain event vibrance and sought former leaders' input. Although they found it difficult to extract insights, the review produced recommendations. With respect for the previous leaders, the newcomer leadership gave them an advanced view of recommendations in a private meeting before presenting recommendations to the broader membership. This meeting resulted in immediate active antagonism recounted as: 'The old guard didn't want [us] to do [the proposed changes] so they white-anted it'.(TN3972799)

However, another resident provided an alternative interpretation:

> The newcomers, as well as bringing all their great new ideas and energy, have got to stop and listen to some of the people who were already here. And there is a real tendency to just come in and go, 'you guys have been doing it wrong all this time, here is how you should be doing it'. And reinventing the wheel, often, as they do that. And then you get people fighting … You get those [newcomers] who want some sort of recognition … I think they are the ones there has been the most trouble with. They have come in and said, 'I want to tell you how to do it. I want to tell you [that] you've all been doing it wrong. I want everybody to say: I am a Legend.' And they create trouble, and the trouble ripples out. (TP1922398)

The dispute was framed less about the merits of the proposed changes and more about the newcomers' intent to achieve social standing, which would disrupt the social hierarchy and pose a direct identity threat. This potential disruption and identity threat motivated the former leaders to mobilise community hostility towards the new leadership team, seeding community narratives of outrage and activating social stereotypes. These

actions implicitly signalled the need for community residents to choose identity affiliation or silence. As this resident remembered:

> [The new team] were asking people who had done those roles before and who had been involved in the [event] for the whole [multiple] years it had been running, 'would you please, please take one of those positions; we can't do this without you stepping up'. And they refused. They would not do it. (TE3972799)

The in-group's withholding of support was a powerful suppressive tool for others who might have otherwise been sympathetic and engaged. Their risk assessment of becoming embroiled in the conflict through categorisation or association with the out-group was a key reason to steer clear of involvement. The community group collapsed through the absence and withdrawal of members, and the remaining new leaders stepped down, overwhelmed by the lack of support and escalating social exclusion. The community event was to be postponed but then the former committee members returned:

> As soon as [the newcomers] all resigned [the previous leaders] all came back and occupied the positions and ran it again … and 90 per cent of what [the newcomers] wanted to do as a committee has now been done and … they now have a full committee. (TE3972799)

Local discourse is a resource conveying social identity norms and expectations in narratives. The shared community narrative in this case study signalled the risks and vulnerabilities of participating and leading in conflicted community groups. Challenges to salient social membership create internal unease and threat (McGregor et al., 2010; Nash et al., 2011). Threats to social identity are managed by a range of defensive responses (Jonas et al., 2014) that emphasise the moral superiority of the group and affirm the narrative of unique identity qualities and benefits (Hogg

& Rinella, 2018; Kashima et al., 2018). The proposals from the review were not considered threatening when implemented by the established residents.

6.4.3 Community Consequences of Conflict

Consistent patterns in the data show that perceived threats to prestige or privilege of the established motivates defensive social responses to censure and contain the threat. 'Who do they think they are?' rhetoric can result in either ramping up the defence of social affiliation and divisive social action (Lüders et al., 2016) or civic silence or withdrawal to avoid involvement. Conflict motivated by social identity, presented as negative bonding social capital, deteriorates the quality of social life in the community, entrenching categorisation and social boundaries (Jones et al., 2009; Macgregor, 2010; Paull & Redmond, 2011; Shucksmith & Chapman, 1998). Narratives become a shared interpretive resource of social expectations, affirming or forewarning what and who is acceptable and sustaining in-group affiliations and biases (Jonas et al., 2009). Narratives convey justified hostile behaviours as a moral defence of in-group realities and norms.

6.4.4 Conflict is Socially Defining

Interview data revealed repeated directly experienced and indirectly observed socially defining experiences for those who became offside of the socially powerful (Lake, 2011). Some interviewees feared being socially obligated to take a stance on issues they had no direct interest in but were socially defining: 'You can't tread on anyone's toes otherwise you pay for it. In little things that happen … It can escalate and make things very uncomfortable for yourself and your family if you try to fight it' (TP323192).

The consequences of being offside included ostracisation of themselves, their children and friends, and sometimes business losses attributed to withheld support, contrived impediments and

critical community and online commentary, viewed as punishment. The established residents acted strongly to retain the social hierarchies and norms of legitimacy and authority in the community:

> I would be considered as an outsider. I know I am considered as an outsider. [The locals say] I don't have a right to start the [new community] group. I had threats when I started the group … [they said] what right did I have to start a social group. I am a nothing in this community … I was even messaged by somebody who amazingly was anonymous on Facebook, saying 'we know where your son goes to school, if you continue with the group'. (TP1942699)

People heard about the consequences of being in dispute with the socially powerful, which suppressed their sense of social certainty and safety in the community. Residents were acutely aware of the social dynamics in daily interactions (Thomas et al., 2011). Residents without local social legitimacy, labelled as newcomers, youth and ethnic minorities, feared trouble, being shamed or ostracised, losing reputation and being subject to hostile social action due to social missteps. Residents from multicultural backgrounds explained:

> We don't want to [cause] offence because we know different people, different cultures, do things differently … So we just don't want to offend anyone, to cause any trouble. Yeah … And [our ethnic cohort] really does not want conflict [in this community]. (JE3129798)

A dispute with the socially powerful was sometimes felt to cause irretrievable social fallout that made life in the community unbearable. Interviewed community members regarded social hostility as a key factor in particular residents and service providers leaving town, although the departees officially left for family reasons, education and employment opportunities. A

member of a socially elite conservative religious family had an extramarital affair locally, but the abandoned spouse became subject of social censure (Cruz et al., 2021): 'Well [the rumour mill] was saying that she was having an affair [with] her best friend … a girl … They are still friends but [the friend] moved away. Cause she knows what this town is like' (JE1999698).

By framing the abandoned spouse as an out-group member with the suggestion of a lesbian affair—implicitly understood in the local community culture as a greater moral impropriety—the rumour indirectly defended the integrity of the established family name. As religious morality was a key claimed quality of the prototype entitativity, the rumour about the spouse had the effect of justifying the family member in an otherwise unacceptable heterosexual affair. Shame or blame gossip is a powerful weapon for isolating and punishing those framed as challenging the identity valence or entitativity (Cruz et al., 2021; Harris, 2007).

However, members of social groups also censured longstanding established insiders if they were perceived as breaching salient in-group norms (Pinto et al., 2016):

> I had to make some people redundant that I had known my whole life … and boy, oh boy was that hard … And even to this day … there's a couple of husbands, if I walk into a shop and they are there, they will turn their back to me. And it is hard. It is bloody hard. (JE2929797)

The family members of those who lost their jobs socially censured the manager even years later.

6.4.5 Conflict is Hard to Compartmentalise

It was difficult to compartmentalise social censure in the participating small rural communities (Lüders et al., 2016). Social censure affected the censured residents' work, school, community life and social engagements, and emphasised social identity boundaries and division: '[I made a decision about a community

facility] and I was sitting somewhere in town and someone approached me in my private time and [publicly challenged me about the decision]' (JN1922297).

Conflict was especially risky for those running a business or dependent on community support:

> Because I run my own business … I have to stay like Switzerland and be neutral with everything. Because if you are a member of this group and that mob there don't like this group, well you won't get work from [any of those] people. (JE2972997)

Disputes relating to this community member's community initiatives flowed into exchanges for her children in the school yard:

> I am seriously thinking [of] taking him out of Tookton school because he is not a long-term resident here, his family is not long-term-born and bred here, and he is getting hammered at school because of it … He gets bullied: 'what would you know, you don't belong here, you weren't born here, your family is not from here' … That is what the kids say to him … Grandma or Grandpa's opinions filter down to the kids and grandkids and great-grandkids. (TP1942699)

Social identity divisions are pervasive and policed as an entitlement (Hogg, 2005).

6.4.6 Conflict Erodes Civic Participation

Conflict associated with particular community groups triggers social uncertainty and creates an aversion to attendance by out-group members (Lüders et al., 2016). Conflict heightened a sense of vulnerability and uncertainty in social interactions in the community and caused individuals to withdraw from civic participation:

> And I got to the point where I was pretty much physically sick if I had to go to a meeting. (JE1919596)

> There’s been clashes up there … so I don’t want to get involved. As soon as they start with any bickering, I am like: nup, not involved. (TP1922398)
>
> We did have a quite a large conflict … and that was extremely stressful, I think, for everybody, which resulted in both of us pulling out of the Committee and just saying we don’t want to do any more of this because we had friends here that we don’t want to cause conflict with so we are going to pull back and not do anything. (TE3972799)
>
> I have been along to a couple of meetings … I don’t know that I have got the patience to be involved. It is just … there is always … everyone has different ideas and that … I think on the whole it is all pretty good, but like every community group, everyone has different opinions and that sort of stuff. Conflict side of things … to be a hundred per cent honest. You just don’t have the time to, for what you would need to do, to be involved. (JE2961297)

This newcomer, elected as a leader when no one else would fill the role, experienced constant conflict for not recognising the group's hidden hierarchies and social expectations. The social elite without formal roles expect to wield authority nevertheless:

> So they want the management committee to do all of the work, but they [still] want to micromanage everything. So everything has to go back to them, and that is why new members don’t want to come and stay … They don’t want to know about all this cat-fighting. Which is what everything is. Everything is a cat fight. So I don’t think there is a great future for the club. (TP1912398)

It was implicit that there was no great future for that leader in that club. Newcomers who assume equality as residents or positional authority experience difficulties. They represent a disruption and

threat to the existing discourse of social identity, creating social uncertainty and drawing a punishing defensive response.

6.4.7 Conflict Expands to Families, Friends and Factions

A key theme in the case study and interview data is that tension within or between community social groups often results in factions (Hogg & Hornsey, 2006). Each side actively recruited to their side through social identity obligations, thereby exacerbating divisions. Conflicts often resulted in the withdrawal from or careful management of civic participation to avoid social uncertainty.

> Longstanding residents described conflicts as:
>
> People get upset about one thing or … one person and everyone else involved with that person is apparently a part of that [expletive] situation … Pettiness. It's like, guilty by association. (JE2972997)
>
> Honestly, it's kind of a faction around here, so as much as we can, we don't get involved too much with [those] groups. With those factions … We are just trying to be neutral … If we are not neutral, then it is going to [affect] our work as well. (JE3129798)

When a community member was involved in a dispute, the issue could escalate to include family and friends categorised as identity-aligned. It forced unwanted social choices:

> [She] went to a sewing meeting … with the ladies and they started running [her son] down again using language that any lady, especially of that age, should not use … And [she] finally said, 'You know that is my son you are running down'. [She] walked into the sewing circle with 10 friends. [She] walked out with two. (TE1922298)

This resident felt obliged to defend her son, which involved her in a conflict not of her making or interest, resulting in erosion of her social network and further division in the community.

6.4.8 Silenced by Fear of Consequence

Fear of social consequence repressed social comment, observation or suggestion and created hesitation in publicly supporting new ideas or proposals that may be opposed or not endorsed by the socially powerful who protected entitativity and valence. This silence gave an impression of a dominant consensus (Simon & Oakes, 2006):

> Actually, I still have to bite my tongue—you never know who you are talking to, who is related … when you are discussing anything in town. (JE2119698)
>
> They're the three; they make all the decisions for the community … They are the big boys of [town]. They are the ones you have got to be friendly with. (TE1919699)

The following highly motivated newcomer resigned to avoid making an unwanted choice: 'There was major infighting. A lot of arguments. It felt like you were playing this double-edged sword of well, who do I side with? I would be completely alienated in the community [if I expressed the wrong opinion]' (TN1912198).

People are acutely aware that being offside of the socially powerful can generate negative life consequences (McHenry-Sorber & Schafft, 2015).

6.5 Discussion

This article addresses a gap in the literature about social identity conflict influencing small Australian rural community resilience. Resilience is a function of social cohesion, psychosocial wellness, leadership, social capital and is associated with optimism, purpose and networks of community social support and the embrace of differences (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Buikstra et al., 2010; Lindberg & Swearingen, 2020). Community resilience is linked with the capacity to embrace change and adapt to the shifting nature of external pressures. This study indicates that the subject communities experienced the oppressive social power of

established residents who defended social identity boundaries and narratives. An influential cohort policed conformity and alignment with their identity values and interests and took action to contain perceived threats from aberrant ideas or individuals (Lee et al., 2005). Such action impedes transformative community development (Castro-Arce & Vanclay, 2020).

A perceived threat to the dominant social identity resulted in antisocial actions to defend and protect social identity entitativity and valence (Bonomi et al., 2021). Social censure through exclusion, shame or blame gossip, or attack meant that conservative socially dominant values defining community identity were retained. The perceived challenge to a community's social identity causes censure that can affect many aspects of life, including business, workplace relations, social groups and children's social experiences. Fear of challenging the social dominant was attached to fear of ostracism, exclusion and loss of belonging (Patten, 2015; Pinto et al., 2016). Social censure has a much higher impact in a small rural community because there is little social compartmentalisation possible.

The experiences of conflict were aversive in Jaroville and Tookton. These communities' stories of the consequences of conflict are cautionary to others seeking to introduce change without an established social network and standing. The consequences are divided communities containing people in their allocated place in the social hierarchy (Korostelina, 2007). Community division suppressed community members expressing new ideas, engaging in initiatives or leadership, or supporting businesses subject to disapproval from the dominant social set but necessary for resilience.

This research is framed within the complex social environments of communities in which SIT offers a possible explanation for residents' social choices. There are multiple layers

of influence across the psychosociology of individuals and groups that cannot be known or accounted for in a real-world study. While SIT is advanced and nuanced, it is impossible to predict what identity strategies will emerge in a particular situation, given many hidden complexities. This research depicts two small rural communities without strong civic leadership, such as a local mayor, and other communities may have different influences, including social modelling that positively influences cultural norms.

The opportunity remains for further research to explore (1) engaging with elite and diverse social identities to expand social safety in small communities and (2) analysis of effectively reduced or resolved small community social conflicts. Community leaders and practitioners, extension workers, service providers and newcomers would be better prepared for working in small communities if aware of social identity phenomena as risks and opportunities. It is useful for community development practitioners to understand the local social landscape of connections, hierarchies and narratives of values and beliefs to assess whether an initiative or change is aligned for success. For small communities to achieve resilience, social toxicity exhibiting as bullying and division needs intervention. The more small communities can understand and embrace these aspects of identity, the more likely they will effectively tackle the suppressive time-worn impacts of negative wielding of social power and privilege.

References

Aldrich, D. P. & Meyer, M. A. (2015). Social capital and community resilience. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(2), 254–269.

Bonomi, G., Gennaioli, N. & Tabellini, G. (2021). Identity, beliefs and political conflict. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *136*(4), 2371–2411. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjab034

Bowe, M., Gray, D., Clifford Stevenson, C., McNamara, N., Wakefield, J. R. H., Kellezi, B., . . . Costa, S. (2020). A social cure in the community: A mixed-method exploration of the role of social identity in the experiences and well-being of community volunteers. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*(7), 1523–1539.

Bryson, L. & Mowbray, M. (2005). More spray on solution: Community, social capital and evidence based policy. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *40*(1), 91–107.

Buikstra, E., Ross, H., King, C. A., Baker, P. G., Hegney, D., McLachlan, K. & Rogers-Clark, C. (2010). The components of resilience—perceptions of an Australian rural community. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *38*(8). https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20409

Castro-Arce, K. & Vanclay, F. (2020). Transformative social innovation for sustainable rural development: An analytical framework to assist community based initiatives. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *74*, 45–54. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.11.010

Cikara, M., Botvinik, M. M. & Fiske, S. T. (2011). Us versus them: Social identity shapes neural responses to intergroup competition and harm. *Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 306–313.

Colvin, R. M. (2020). Social identity in the energy transition: An analysis of the 'Stop Adani Convoy' to explore social-political conflict in Australia. *Energy Research & Social Science*, *66*, 101492. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101492

Cosgrave, C., Maple, M. & Hussain, R. (2018). An explanation of turnover intention of early-career nursing and allied health professionals working in rural and remote Australia: Findings from a grounded theory study. *Rural Remote Health*, *18(3), 66-82*.

Costello, L. (2007). Going bush: The implications of urban-rural migration. *Geographical Research*, *45*, 85–94.

Cruz, T. D., Thielmann, I., Columbus, S., Catherine Molho, Wu, J., Righetti, F., . . . Balliet, D. (2021). Gossip and reputation in everyday life. *Philosophical Transactions B Royal Society Publishing, 376*. https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2020.0301

Evershed, N. (2017, 15 November). Full results of Australia's vote for same-sex marriage, electorate by electorate. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/datablog/ng-interactive/2017/nov/15/same-sex-marriage-survey-how-australia-voted-electorate-by-electorate

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Blackwell Publishers.

Faulkner, L., Brown, K. & Quinn, T. (2018). Analyzing community resilience as an emergent property of dynamic social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society*, *23*, 24–32.

Fritsche, I., Jonas, E., Ablasser, C., Beyer, M., Kuban, J., Manger, A.-M. & Schultz, M. (2013). The power of we: Evidence for group-based control. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *49*(1), 19–32.

Gallent, N. (2013). Re-connecting 'People and Planning': Parish plans and the English localism agenda. *Town Planning Review*, *84*, 371–396.

Gubrium, J. F. (2012). *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft*. Sage.

Harris, N. (2007). *Shame, ethical identity and conformity: Lessons from research on the psychology of social influence*. Australian National University.

Hogg, M. A. (2005). All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others: Social identity and marginal membership. In K. D. Williams, J. P. Forgas & W. Von Hippel (Eds.), *The social outcast: Ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying*. Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A. (2007). Uncertainty-identity theory. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *39*, 69–126.

Hogg, M. A. (2011). The social identity perspective. In S. A. Wheelan (Ed.), *The handbook of group research and practice* (pp. 133–157). SAGE Publications.

Hogg, M. A. & Hornsey, M. J. (2006). Self-concept threat and multiple categorization within groups. In R. J. Crisp & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Multiple social categorization: processes, models and applications* (pp. 112–135). Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A., Kruglanski, A. & van den Bos, K. (2013). Uncertainty and the roots of extremism. *Journal of Social Issues*, *69*(3), 407–418.

Hogg, M. A. & Rinella, M. J. (2018). Social identities and shared realities. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *23*, 6–10.

Hunter, F. (2017). *Community power structure: A study of decision makers*. UNC Press Books.

Jackson, K. & Bazeley, P. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis with NVIVO*. SAGE Publications.

Jonas, E., McGregor, I., Klackl, J., Agroskin, D., Fritsche, I., Holbrook, C., & al, e. (2014). Threat and defense: From anxiety to approach. In J. M. Olson & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 49, pp. 219–286).

Jones, E. E., Carter-Sowell, A. R., Kelly, J. R. & Williams, K. D. (2009). 'I'm out of the loop': Ostracism through information exclusion. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *12*(2), 157–174.

Jung, J., Hogg, M. A., Livingstone, A. & Choi, H.-S. (2019). From uncertain boundaries to uncertain identity: Effects of entitativity threat on identity un-certainty and emigration. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *49*, 623–633.

Kashima, Y., Bratanova, B. & Peters, K. (2018). Social transmission and shared reality in cultural dynamics. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *23*, 15–19.

Kilpatrick, S., Johns, S., Vitartas, P. & Hornisan, M. (2011). Mobile skilled workers: Making the most of an untapped rural community resource. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *27*, 181–190.

Korostelina, K. (2007). *Social identity and conflict: Structures, dynamics and implications*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kruglanski, A. W. & Orehek, E. (2012). The need for certainty as a psychological nexus for individuals and society. In M. A. Hogg & D. L. Blaylock (Eds.), *Extremism and the psychology of uncertainty*. John Wiley.

Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N. & Reimer, W. (2013). Community resiliency: Emerging theoretical insights. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *41*(6), 758–775. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21569

Lake, R. J. (2011). 'They treat me like scum': Social exclusion and established-outsider relations in a British tennis club. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(1), 112–128. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690211424523

Leary, M. R. & Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self esteem: Sociometer theory. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *32*, 1–62.

Lee, J., Arnason, A., Nightinggale, A. & Shucksmith, M. (2005). Networking: Social capital and identities in European rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis*.

Lindberg, K. & Swearingen, T. (2020). A reflective thrive-oriented community resilience scale. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *65*(3–4), 467–478. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12416

Lloyd, D., Luke, H. & Boyd, W. E. (2013). *Community perspectives of natural resource extraction: Coal-seam gas mining and social identity in Eastern Australia*. Australian Studies Centre, University of Barcelona.

Lüders, A., Jonas, E., Fritsche, I. & Agroskin, D. (2016). Between the lines of us and them: Identity threat, anxious uncertainty and reactive in-group affirmation: How can antisocial outcomes be prevented? In S. McKeown, R. Haji & N. Ferguson (Eds.), *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory: Contemporary global perspectives* (pp. 33–54). Springer International.

Macgregor, L. C. (2010). *Habits of the heartland: Small-town life in modern America*. Cornell University.

McGregor, I., Nail, P. R., Marigold, D. C. & Kang, S. J. (2005). Defensive pride and consensus: Strength in imaginary numbers. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *44*(5), 1395–1401.

McGregor, I., Nash, K., Mann, N. & Phills, C. E. (2010). Anxious uncertainty and reactive approach motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *99*(1), 133–147.

McHenry-Sorber, E. & Schafft, K. (2015). Make my day, shoot a teacher: Tactics of inclusion and exclusion and the contestation of community in a rural school-community conflict. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *19*(7), 733–747. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2014.964571

Nash, K., McGregor, I. & Prentice, M. (2011). Threat and defence as goal regulation: From implicit goal conflict to anxious uncertainty, reactive approach motivation, and ideological extremism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *101*(6), 1291–1301.

Paull, M. & Redmond, J. (2011). Succession in community organisations: Newcomers and the 'purple circle'. *Third Sector Review*, *17*(2), 131–152.

Patten, E., O'Meara, P., & Dickson-Swift, V. (2015). Scoping review of the exclusion and inclusion of rural newcomers in community participation. *The Australian Journal of Rural Health, 23*, 127-135.

Pfefferbaum, B., Van Horn, R., L. & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2017). A conceptual framework to enhance community resilience using social capital. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, *45*, 102–110. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0556-z

Pinto, I. R., Marques, J. M., Levine, J. M. & Abrams, D. (2016). Membership role and subjective group dynamics: Impact on evaluative intragroup differentiation and commitment to prescriptive norms. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *19*(5), 570–590. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216638531

Pugh, A. J. (2013). What good are interviews for thinking about culture? Demystifying interpretive analysis. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, *1*(1), 42–68.

Ragusa, A. T. (2022). City-exit and community-fit: Finding one's 'place' in Australia. *The International Journal of Community and Social Development*, 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/25166026211070374

Reicher, S. & Hopkins, N. (2003). On the science for the art of leadership. In D. Van Knippenberg & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), *Leadership and power: Identity processes in groups and organizations* (pp. 197). SAGE.

Rothschild, Z. K., Landau, M. J., Sullivan, D. & Keefer, L. A. (2012). A dual-motive model of scapegoating: Displacing blame to reduce guilt or increase control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *102*.

Roulston, K. & Choi, M. (2018). Qualitative interviewing. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data collection*. SAGE Publications.

Rubin, H. J. & Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Sage.

Shucksmith, M. & Chapman, P. (1998). Rural development and social exclusion. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *38*(2), 225–242.

Simon, B. & Oakes, P. (2006). Beyond dependence: An identity approach to social power and domination. *Human Relations*, *59*(1), 105–139.

Smailes, P. J., Argent, N. & Griffin, T. L.C. (2002). Rural population density: Its impact on social and demographic aspects of rural communities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *18*(4), 385–404.

Stollberg, J., Fritsche, I. & Bäcker, A. (2015). Striving for group agency: Threat to personal control increases the attractiveness of agentic group. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *6*, 649.

Stollberg, J., Fritsche, I., Baerth, M. & Jugert, P. (2016). Extending control perceptions of the social Self: Ingroups serve the restoration of control. In M. Bukowski, I. Fritsche, A. Guinote & M. Kofta (Eds.), *Coping with a lack of control in a social world*. Psychology Press.

Swann, R. & Hughes, G. (2016). Exploring micro-sociality through the lens of 'established outsider' figurational dynamics in a South Wales community. *The Sociological Review*, *64*, 681–698.

Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, E. F., Mavor, K., I. & McGarty, C. (2011). Social identities facilitate and encapsulate action-relevant constructs: A test of the social identity model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *15*(1), 75–88. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211413619

Triandafyllidou, A. & Wodak, R. (2003). Conceptual and methodological questions in the study of collective identities: An introduction. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *2*(2), 205–223.

Vignoles, V. L., Regalia, C., Manzi, C., Golledge, J. & Scabini, E. (2006). Beyond self-esteem: Influence of multiple motives on identity construction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*(2), 308–333.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This doctoral thesis by publication focussed on challenges integrating newcomers in small rural communities (less than 2000 people) in rural Australian communities. The findings will inform community leaders and practitioners about the underlying psychological forces and motivating social behaviours that support or inhibit positive social engagement and change in small rural communities. Many small communities in inland Australia find it difficult to retain and attract population (Bourne et al., 2020; Race et al., 2010) that are essential to sustain local government services, social and economic wellbeing (Alston, 2002; Dufty-Jones et al., 2016; Winterton & Warburton, 2012) necessary to thrive. Measures that can understand what supports population and community thriving are necessary for creating capacity and local psychosocial qualities of resilience (McIntosh et al., 2008). Positive social capital resulting from social inclusion strengthens resilience (Marchant, 2012). Resistance to change and lack of social cohesion has been associated with a weakened capacity for community resilience (Buikstra et al., 2010). Resilience is built on willingness to embrace change, to be open to new people and their new ideas. Resilience is about the ability to work with the opportunities and challenges of disruption (Plowman et al., 2003) to foster and sustain social capital. Positive social capital can support retention of population and engagement of the existing population (Genaeo et al, 2016; Kilpatrick et al, 2011; Redshaw & Ingham, 2018). This means there are tangible benefits in welcoming and engaging with outsiders and newcomers, but something that many small communities are known to resist (Irwin, 2019; Mchenry-sorber & Schaffit, 2015; Paull & Redmond, 2011; Waytz & Epley 2012). Newcomers are inherently disruptive if they don’t comply with local

social norms and hierarchies. They instead present with difference or indifference and unfamiliarity to local customs. These very qualities are an opportunity for revitalisation, innovation, and sustainability—for assuring the future of small communities—if they are not repressed and opposed.

This research therefore intended to explore the social experiences of newcomers, especially to understand the often anti-social and therefore anti-community behaviours that tend to exclude and isolate newcomers and erode essential social capital necessary for the capacity of their community to thrive. The research also sought to understand the psychosocial motivations for such self-defeating behaviours, through the lens of SIT. The completed research does show how social identity phenomena motivates the defence of the status quo and underlies resistance changes that foster positive social and economic outcomes for community. The findings highlight the unhelpfulness of making assumptions about the local desirability of inclusivity, the motives behind passive and active resistance to changes that may revitalise small communities, and the unseen risks and consequences for locals engaging in voluntary civic service that introduces change without social supports. The power and influence of local identity narratives as a vehicle and interpretive resource sociocultural expectations and as an influence on social choices is shown.

The research focused on extending understanding of the effects of social identity norms and narratives as phenomena influencing small community life. It contributes to understanding newcomer actions and choices in seeking to belong. It explains the reasons why existing residents, often unconsciously, close ranks and defend the familiar against the new ideas and observations, suggestions and energy of newcomers —even against their own best interests. It explores the consequences for the wider community when exclusion and actions exhibiting as a negative

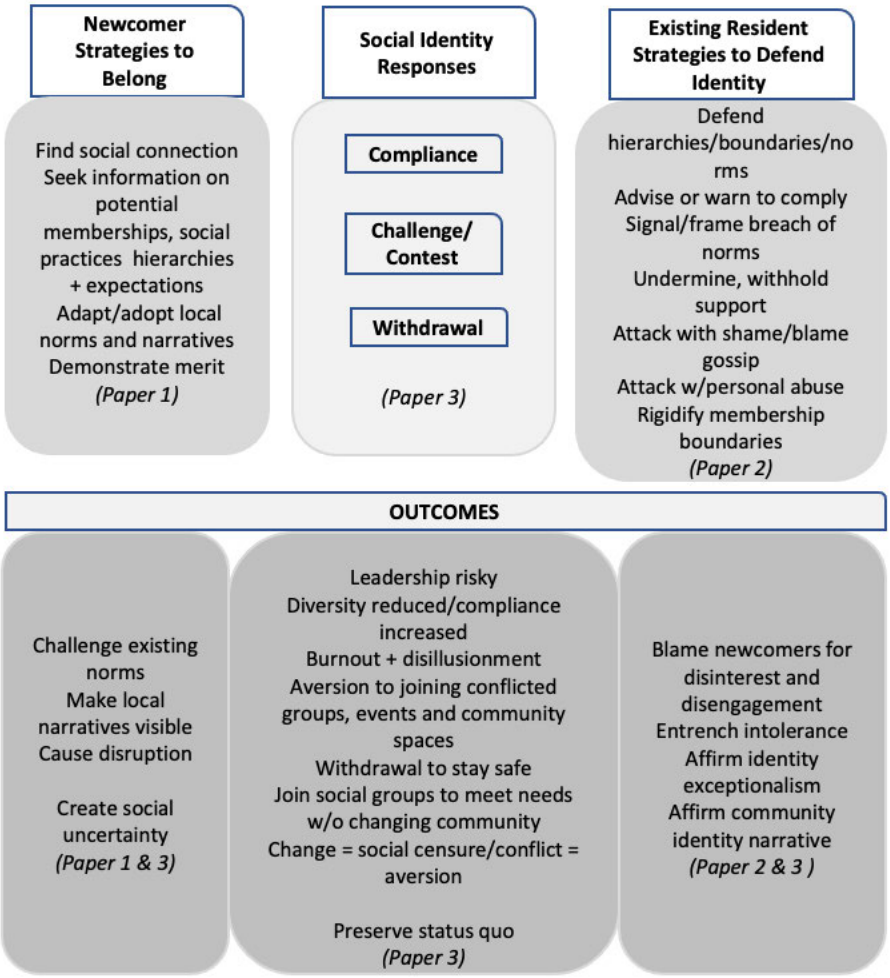
social capital result in anti-social behaviours and conflict extended towards those who threaten the established social entitativity and valence of existing social groups. These findings will inform community leaders, development practitioners, newcomers to communities and those interested in engaging communities in proposals for change, in building local capacity for resilience.
The research found that through application of critical discourse analysis, using the Fairclough (1995) three dimensions of discourse analysis—linguistic, macro social and thematic—the research revealed how social group membership and associated identity narratives accessed as an interpretive resource unconsciously frame and influence attitudes towards community newcomers and the marginalised. This final chapter summarises the main findings, discusses the methodological insights, outlines implications for engaging with small community residents, propose ways forward in light of the implications and makes recommendations for future research.

7.1 The Publication Manuscripts

As it is a thesis by publication, I first summarise the research regarding its contributions to understanding social dynamics in community development. Figure 7.1 summarises the findings.

Figure 7.1

Summary of Thesis Findings



This collection of papers provides an overview of motivations for some social dynamics within these small rural communities. It explains the well-recognised phenomena of exclusion of the newcomer but this can also be extrapolated into other social contexts that have importance to the sustainability of small communities. Exclusion is not necessarily a conscious or deliberate response but is motivated by uneasiness with the unfamiliar, which is interpreted as threatening the status quo. The papers address the newcomer efforts to find social connection and belong which can trigger defence from the established residents, initiating tactics to keep them contained through stereotype and illegitimate

standing. However the social consequences go beyond the newcomers as others observe and fear the implicit power of being ostracised.

The first paper (Social Identity Experiences of Newcomers in Two Australian Small Rural Communities: Working to Belong) affirmed what is already known about the experience of newcomers who seek to find a social place for themselves in a small community. Many newcomers feel vulnerable without knowing the local sociocultural norms and look for social interfaces to learn the local social expectations. Until they know something of the local social norms and expectations, they are vulnerable to social missteps that result in negative categorisations that are difficult to change. The existing residents frame newcomers as disruptions, challenging the local narratives and social norms of hierarchy and type. Newcomers seek to integrate and contribute in ways that will achieve positive regard from the locals but this could be perceived as challenge. Where newcomers found a sympathetic local well-versed in the local social landscape and willing to share that information, newcomers integrated quickly into the community; they had more tolerance for the difficult aspects of the social culture, specifically rigid master narratives of town identity, social hierarchies and exclusive cliques. Positive social connection helped them to accept and work around these local sociocultural norms.

The second paper ("You Weren't Born Here"—Maintaining Social Identity Entitativity and Benefit in Two Small Australian Rural Communities) found that the established residents were motivated to affirm and defend identity norms for their salient prototype, often presented as the interests and preferences of the whole community. That is, what was preferred for defending their social identity entitativity or valence, was framed as a morally superior position, defending against perceived threat to the wider

community from detrimental impact. Opposition to their position was therefore implicitly, opposition to community values. An identity narrative acts as an interpretive resource for making sense of what occurs in the community, and justifies defence of the status quo. The affirmation of social identity phenomena resulted in defended identity boundaries and hierarchies, values and beliefs. Identity structures are created and affirmed in community members' shared anecdotes and actions and represent the community's discourse. The identity narrative has implicit social codes and signals—it provides an unconscious but key cultural resource, a master framework of core values and beliefs that residents access to interpret events and position themselves.

The high identifier established residents, those who have integrated sense of self and community qualities, use the community discourse as a master interpretive frame to assess people and their social performance. The discourse includes categorisations and stereotyped social expectations. Newcomers, outsiders and the marginalised are expected to have a degree of noncompliance, a quality of their category. However, breaches of the established social expectations perceived to threaten the dominance of the established by challenging valence or entitativity (i.e., threatening material benefit or symbolic aspects of identity) will draw censure. The socially dominant conflate their own identity with that of the whole community. They frame threats to their interests or preferences as threats to the values or integrity of the wider community of insiders. This framing provides the moral justification for defending the established norms and narrative through social censure and places an implicit measure on membership. In short, it endorsed anti-social and exclusionary behaviour as morally defensible. It is often unquestioned to isolate those seeking to introduce change or progressive concepts through social censure framing them as disrespectful, out-of-step,

threatening, socially inferior, with less or no legitimacy to make changes. It flows into implicit sociocultural codes for interpreting new ideas or initiatives as the existing residents assess proposals or ideas based firstly on who proposes them prior to assessing the proposal's merit. This approach anchors the community in the status quo and a rigid master identity narrative that celebrates resisting change and conservatism as a superior position under attack.

The third paper (“Who do they think they are?”: Social identity and conflict in small rural communities) explores the nature and consequences of conflict resulting from identity challenges. Conflict is generally aversive for both newcomer and established residents in the community. There is little compartmentalisation within a small community so that a conflict may pervade many aspects of life. Where identity contests occurred as contests for control of community groups, events, facilities or proposals, they resulted in people withdrawing to avoid the social consequences of aligning or associating with one proponent. Conflict can extend through association or social obligation, as factional alignment becomes equated with particular social identity groups.

Community conflicts affect those aware of the dispute, and they may avoid community groups and events known to be the site of disputes. People were acutely aware of the social consequences of being offside the socially powerful, so they exercised discretion, self-censoring actions and opinions to avoid offending residents holding the dominant view. Self-censorship suppresses community leadership and initiative unless there is an established social network of support and a willingness to persist in the face of opposition. This research explored the values and behaviours associated with social identity phenomena in small rural

communities and reveals the connections and influence on community culture and attitudes to change.

7.2 Social Identity Phenomena in Communities

Rural communities are often perceived as more socially connected, with quality social relationships reflecting their smaller size. People feel they will be known and acknowledged and feel part of the community's fabric as people regularly interact in many different community roles and activities, thereby producing social connection and belonging (Wilkinson, 1991). Gossip is an important source of information on the local social expectations, conveying implicit codes and explicit messages about social categorisations, social category qualities and expectations of social choices complying with local sociocultural norms of hierarchy and behaviour (Tracy & Naughton, 2000). This is a means for learning the local master narrative of identity (Bamberg, 2005), for understanding, creating and affirming aspects of the local social landscape. This frames social choices associated with negative or positive social capital and community wellbeing (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015). Rural communities can be unfriendly, conservative and the location for stifling social requirements (Kerrigan, 2018; Sherman, 2009), wary and unwilling to embrace change.

Social identity theory is well-established through many studies, and its key findings have been validated and expanded (Hogg, 2011; Tajfel, 1982). It has produced hypotheses applicable to and tested in a wide range of circumstances, addressing the processes of categorisation, norm influences, intergroup conflict factors and the effects of stereotype threat and the circumstances in which they motivate collective social action and how they are embedded in local discourse. However, SIT has not commonly been applied to Australian rural communities. This research offers findings on the outworking of SIT within the social container of a rural community. It explains some of the known detrimental

aspects of negative social capital in small rural communities and provides some directions for leaders and practitioners for addressing the exclusion of newcomers and resistance to new ideas. Social capital explains the dynamics of what is happening in rural communities (Claridge, 2018; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Putnam, 1995), and social identity theories explain the psychosocial motivations.

Such resistance to change has also been associated with the social psychology of place attachment and place identity, a tendency to defend nostalgic conceptions of a location associated with values of social place, status and esteem, having direct relevance to the sociocultural context (Raymond, Kytta & Stedman, 2017). This is not inconsistent with the principles of SIT, if one considers place attachment to be a component of social group entitativity and the tendency to conflate place with self (Raymond, Brown & Weber, 2010). Place identity specifically connects symbolic and material qualities of place integrated as a construct of the self (Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995;Proshansky et al., 1983). Place identity similarly explains contests for dominance in controlling the master narrative (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004) that influences social choices and contests local reality (Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Stedman, 2002). This study affirmed that established residents in small rural communities are motivated to resist newcomer inclusion (McHenry-Sorber & Schafft, 2015; Patten et al., 2015) and defend their vision of the unique qualities of the rural community's social identity (Kerrigan, 2018). Social identity dynamics influence the revitalisation and resilience of rural communities because they are responses to social certainty and uncertainty arising from threat, to status and belonging, social familiarity and expectations, that tends towards resisting change and defending the status quo (Berkes & Ross, 2013; Buikstra et al., 2010).

This research offers some explanation of small communities' tendency towards conservatism. As social changes occur in the broader culture, dominant established identity subsets feel pressure about their identity values and qualities. In the social container of a small rural community, the dominant established residents retain sufficient social power to defend and retain the status quo. They have the power to defend the community's dominant narrative and norms as a sociocultural master frame. Rural narratives often express rural life's moral superiority and disadvantage, reinforcing a passive antagonism towards outsiders (I. Gray, 1991; Tilt et al., 2007; White, 1980). The rural narrative as a factor of social identity entitativity, partly explains existing residents' excluding behaviours towards newcomers and outsiders who propose changes and disrupt the familiar identity hierarchies, and social habits, represented locally as reality. The narrative conveys their symbolic place and uniqueness in Australian society, a value worth inhabiting and defending, that justifies resistance to change brought from outside the community, on the basis of moral superiority. Instead of adjusting and revitalising, they entrench and justify protection of social category boundaries, conflating their small community with their own social group's traditional unique qualities and status.

Opposition and antisocial actions are justified as a defence of traditionalism, as common sense in their reality. Change framed as an identity threat creates social uncertainty about social place and value and feeds unconscious resistance and motivates personalised attack against individuals or proposals associated with that threat. Proposed changes are not framed as responses to contextual needs, gaps or opportunities but as personal insults or attacks from those who have no local social legitimacy (Fritsche et al., 2013; Hogg et al., 2013; Kruglanski & Orehek, 2012; McGregor et al., 2005).. Perceived social identity threat motivates collective

resistant action presenting as negative social capital as residents must make a social choice to maintain liveability in a small community where there is little compartmentalisation. Social antagonism with the socially powerful will likely affect many aspects of life as the implicit local social codes require defence of or compliance with the social expectations, to belong and access the benefits of local social capital. Similarly this implicitly fosters censure of visible non-compliance, which threatens the local master narrative of reality, established social order, personal social certainty. Social resistance to change leads to entrenched membership boundaries, rigid intolerance of difference, exclusion, isolation and intergroup conflict (Fritsche et al., 2013; Stollberg et al., 2015; Swann & Hughes, 2016). Hostility is regarded as righteous defence of the whole community or a particular social prototype's interests (Lüders et al., 2016; Rothschild et al., 2012).

SIT as a framework can explain such influences in small rural communities. The research findings confirm that informal and sometimes invisible social networks in communities support or withhold cooperative relationships and impede contributions and belonging of out-group members. Established residents constrain new initiatives and input from those not part of the in-group social networks. It provides insights into the foundations of community capacity for resilience (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015).

7.3 Theoretical Findings

The findings of this thesis show that social identity is a useful frame for understanding social behaviours in small rural communities. Further, deploying SIT to describe the psychology of human behaviour in groups highlights the need to belong as a strong driver in our social choices. It provides an insight into the deeper workings of social dynamics pertaining to social capital in communities. It explains the causes of bonding social capital as the need for entitativity in prototypes while bridging social capital is

connected to the competitive intergroup dynamics of out-group relations.

Social categorisation and social uncertainty explain the motivations of established local people in resisting inclusion, not as moral choices but to preserve the social certainty of the familiar. The familiar is a smaller and more homogenous world, historically framed by narratives and norms that uphold an imagined story of rural society and of established locals' privileged place within it as the early colonisers, the first families, the originals (explicitly not First Nations), a part of the broader Australian cultural mythology (Wallis, 2019).

Social identity research has not previously been applied to understand the social dynamics of newcomers within a small rural community social container. This research provides some useful explanations for social dynamics that are often hard to distinguish from the personal psychology of individuals and hard to discuss without moral judgement. It explains the motivations of negative social capital (Gallent, 2013; Peters, 2019; Woolcock, 2001). It provides a tool to explore the psychological foundations of sociocultural dynamics in a small rural community where they are more visible due to fewer available prototype choices for belonging.

7.4 A Process for Community Development

In community development and community engagement, effort and attention are given to fostering inclusion. Professional principles require input from diverse residents as equally valued, welcomed, desirable and safe (Marchant, 2012). It is often assumed that community decisions are made by consensus and that residents participate or not by preference (García, 2020). Residents' absence is often framed as lack of access, interest, commitment or maturity. However, this research confirmed that barriers to inclusion could exist in unseen social dynamics of power

that create social uncertainty for out-group or minority members, a sense of vulnerability exacerbated within small communities where censure is unavoidable. People are mindful and alert to these dynamics that guide their behaviour choices, including where and how to participate in community life. The findings affirm that decision-making can be controlled by the socially privileged, actively excluding and suppressing other views (Agnitsch et al., 2006; Hunter, 2017). Censure follows those that assume equality or legitimacy to voice alternative opinions, ideas or initiatives that challenge the community's established norms and hierarchies (Paull, 2009). Effective inclusion must be more than a representational presence among dominant identity representatives. For example, public forums or community meetings may not be a useful or effective mechanism to raise or reach diverse input from across the power spectrum and many may not even attend to avoid social pressures to comply or the risks of association with conflict.

Social identity influences apparent consensus, as people seek social certainty and belonging in public forums where the dominant community members have greater influence within a small population. Newcomers are often motivated to seek similarities between themselves and the modelled community norms to be acceptable and belong. They accept a lower social status as non-locals. This creates a tendency towards compliance and apparent consensus with a dominant perspective, as a factor of broader community identity, as it validates belonging or at least provides a degree of social safety by avoiding social censure. In this way, some people integrate the dominant position with their own identity (Hohman et al., 2017) while others modify their expression of self to minimise difference.

Those who differentiate themselves as a unique non-dominant identity group may remain silent, seek other discrete

pathways to participate, meet social needs or influence to avoid social censure and conflict due to their perceived deviance (Clarkson et al., 2013). Such discretion as self-protecting behaviour anchors the community towards the status quo rather than change. Others may forthrightly express their divergent views, actively differentiating to preserve and distinguish their unique perspectives, because they have sufficient social support or standing or to do so matters more within a particular context than the social censure that will ensue. Minority influence at work in this way can be an agent for change over time where the innovators can persevere in the face of immediate social censure and opposition, supported by finding some valued social connections (Hoon-Seok & Levine, 2004; Martin & Hewstone, 2008). Within this bubble they persist.

This research found that equality, often embraced and assumed as a shared value by community development practitioners (Žganec, & Opačić, 2021) is not desirable to those seeking to preserve a social hierarchy that sustains privilege. Further community development and other social impact support work assumes shared goals of ecological, social, and economic equity and sustainability. However, in some rural communities this may be a false assumption as influential social prototypes and the master narrative of community identity explicitly distinguish themselves on the basis of rejecting those values.

Further, those with marginalised status may be ignored, remaining unheard and unacknowledged (Hogg, 2005) in public fora. Importantly, giving them public recognition and acknowledging equality in the value of their views may lead to local social censure that the community development practitioner cannot observe (Smith & Krannich, 2000). If a minority opinion is perceived to challenge dominant prototype entitativity or valence, that is challenge the social certainty of those with recognised

legitimacy and status, and does not align with the expectations and interests of the socially dominant or challenges the community's dominant decision-making influencers (Pinto et al., 2016) this can lead to severe social consequence. Awareness of these consequences is likely to constrain the input and public expression of alternative opinions or perspectives and is probably fundamentally ineffective in harvesting the cross-section of needs and opinions in small rural community.

These research findings align with those in organisational development literature for new employees (Korte, 2009; Sluss et al., 2012). Newcomers in small rural communities similarly seek social information, adopt local norms and narratives and look for ways to offer their authentic skills as a useful member of a new salient social identity.

7.4.1 Types of Newcomers

Within this research are themes addressing the concept of inclusion. Social identity theories acknowledge the need for individuals to validate personal esteem through association with similar others, finding valued interpersonal relationships and belonging within an ingroup, and to realise a need for uniqueness by defining outgroups, by differentiating the self (Brewer, 2012). Belonging and uniqueness are in a constant tension and individuals find ways to achieve social identity balance (Pickett, Bonner et al 2002). Not all individuals can access all social groups, especially those with higher status, because they cannot exhibit the qualities required for membership. Some of these qualities are objective such as being recognised as a member of the Old Families and others may be more subjective such as being recognised as Local but newcomers will seek to enhance their standing through membership of a social group that will accept them and offer social benefit.

While newcomers may in some situations be included as an member often this was conditional on them complying with the local social standards, and accepting an inferior social standing, adopting the local norms. In other words, they were recruited into accepting the conservative established norms and not introducing disruption. However the best benefit for rural communities, associated with revitalisation and resilience, the embrace of change, occurs when newcomers or outsiders are valued for the unique and different qualities that they represent and contribute (Ely and Thomas, 2001).

When a person was regarded as an outsider that could contribute in a way that was framed as adding value without threatening the material or symbolic benefit of the ingroup, they were endorsed. This included those newcomers with professional or workforce skills that were needed to advance the interests of the ingroup, such as doctors, business managers or where communities make a concerted effort to integrate incoming migrant workers and their families. In the research communities, such newcomers were rare but were given access to vital social interfaces through introduction or provision of insider knowledge.

When an outsider was socially evaluated and labelled as belonging to an inferior social group, they were stereotyped as not having capacity to add value. They would find themselves characterised into a negative stereotype that emphasised their threat or burden to the community in terms of incapacity, safety or disrespect. This occurred by virtue of an applied label, even without evidence or stories could be created that were circulated as evidence. For example, a migrant family regularly attended school meetings but were usually silent, sitting at the back. This was assumed to be because they were not capable in speaking English. However, both parents were tertiary educated in English and held management roles in local agricultural enterprises. Their

silence was because they were aware of the risks to their children in the school, if they spoke and became recognised as a threat by challenging local norms, that is, by behaving as equals to local residents.

Some outsiders could be regarded as insiders almost immediately if they had recognised status as elite ingroup members. For example, women marrying into a long-established family, an Old Family, could be more quickly accepted as an active community member or leader. They were regarded without, or with less of the usual sensitivities. They were less at risk of easily causing offence by acting without the legitimacy of a being a recognised Local, that other newcomers bore. Due to their recognised membership, even as marginal members, the new partners were given a buffer of tolerance not extended to other newcomers. However, they were required to comply with the cultural norms of that elite group and to be exceptionally careful in expressing outsider uniqueness. Views and actions that were divergent could be regarded as a threat to the standing of the dominant social group and would be harshly internally censored. Many were proactive in avoiding this social cost. In one example of this, a migrant woman became a marginal elite group member, marrying the son of an Old Family. She established her position in the community with active contributions attached to her husband's interests. When a local business employed a cohort of overseas workers, of the same ethnicity as the migrant wife, they invited her to assist with their welcome to the community. However, she was extremely guarded about engagement with the incoming migrant group and took a good deal of social effort in distinguishing herself from them. She did this by adopting the racist tropes used by the dominant family in reference to them and told anecdotes affirming them as socially inferior. "They got a different mentality" she said, implying an undefined problem. This researcher understood that

this likely reflects the conflict that she found herself in socially and a fear that she might lose her place in the dominant social group, with the associated superior social standing, if she were to blur the identity boundaries by association with the incoming migrants, who were much lower in local social power. The salient social group for her was not those of her own migrant ethnicity, representing a threat to her hard won material and symbolic elite social group benefit. To retain that benefit, she needed to avoid attention on her ethnic difference, and emphasise conformity with the salient elite group.

A critical gap in the literature is the common absence of newcomer induction or pathways to belonging in rural communities. By chance, newcomers make the right social connections that anchor them within an accepting social identity with psychosocial and material benefits. Where newcomers find a local to facilitate their integration into a local social group, they quickly find satisfaction with the community with early social connection.

7.4.2 Social Identity Boundaries Constrain Civic Participation

The practice of social inequality removes potential resources from small communities that rely on social input to produce many aspects of community life that allow community to thrive. As those willing to serve are excluded by the established in-group based on social differences or potential social threat, the community capacity and resilience is diminished. The established locals' social certainty in their established social connections and standing reduces their need to include outsiders (Waytz & Epley, 2012). In this research, newcomers were viewed as lower status citizens even when living in a place for decades. A stereotyped constraint was often placed on the value newcomers attached to their implicit potential for identity threat (Hogg, 2005). There are unseen and invisible social

barriers to people with willingness, skills and resources to participating in the community's full life, which constrains them to narrower social roles and limited social groups (Esposo et al., 2013; Paull & Redmond, 2011) or to withdrawal. These social barriers intensify separations and diminish the community life, reduce commitment and undermine the social cohesion that supports resilience.

The value of any resident's contribution is assessed firstly on their perceived social identity category in the community. Even in the face of evidence contrary to the stereotype, it is difficult for out-group individuals to escape the parameters of the local label, whether that is newcomer, youth or another marginalised category of social difference. Residents negatively categorised with a place-associated label, that is those living in particular parts of the community, in and out of town, may be socially diminished, limited in their potential contribution and standing purely due to the attributed social category. New contributions that they do make go unacknowledged or are credited to an existing social group with standing or celebrated as a whole community achievement. The newcomer workers and innovators remain invisible and socially inferior.

Social identity may explain why young people feel they must leave small rural communities to establish their agency and identity and escape the labels of the family name or history and the hometown (Alston, 2004; Leyshon, 2011). This research found that youth were aware of their low social status in the community, which constrained the nature of community contribution. Established residents gave youth limited hearing for their ideas and initiatives. While some youth took on volunteering roles that could build social value, they were aware of the fragility of their good standing. SIT may explain why migrants and newcomers often create their own discrete social connections or new groups to meet

social needs, instead of joining existing community groups. On occasion, active individuals were mindful of how they presented and spoke in the community and, where identity conflict might involve them, withdrew from social groups to avoid anticipated negative social consequence.

However, those marginalised residents were found to often be keen to contribute, demonstrate their merit and advance the community through offering their skills, experience and leadership (Hillman, 2008). Some existing residents acknowledge the contribution of marginalised residents in a qualified way where it is needed and essential, and can be contained. This applied to useful services such as an incoming professional or group of workers but existing residents may not welcome their contribution if it is perceived as threatening broader facets of identity.

These findings were that key persons with generational connections to the town and area are given recognition and power, even when they do not formally hold titles of leadership or authority. Where due recognition is not given to such key persons due to ignorance or resistance, it offends those individuals and high identifying members of their social identity group. They act to defend their identity privileges.

7.4.3 Aversion to Conflict Contributes to Withdrawal from Civic Participation

This research found that aversion to censure is an influential factor in behavioural choices (Lüders et al., 2016) and a considered factor in the social dynamic of the case study small towns. Individuals subject to censure experienced it on a spectrum from a word of direction and advice, through being subject of humour or casual comment, through to being ignored or subject to blame and shame gossip or severe personalised public attack. They often could not confront nor correct the individuals who were the source of false or damaging information, without escalating matters, and

in terms of rumour and gossip the source was difficult to locate (Cruz et al., 2021).

Businesses that did not gain local endorsement, or worse were subject to local negative gossip lost or never gained local customers. They could find themselves the subject of critical reporting to authorities, could not avoid the adverse reputational or business impact. While gossip has behavioural and attitudinal influences (Giardini & Wittek, 2019; Tracy & Naughton, 2000), this research indicates the effect of gossip is a powerful social control mechanism used for policing social identity boundaries and has a profound influence on small community cohesion. The anecdotes of gossip carrying codes of social categorisation, expectation and consequence appeared influential on behavioural and attitudinal choices (Redshaw & Ingham, 2018).

The cautionary anecdotes shared of residents offending the socially powerful fostered newcomers' aversion to becoming involved in social activities and spaces where they were socially vulnerable. This applied to some categories of established residents and newcomers. Fear of social censure had a cautionary effect on new ideas, adaptations, and developments that might enhance contemporary community life. New ideas interpreted as an identity challenge were opposed, and opposition was morally justified, framed as loyalty, respect, traditionalism and recognition of colonial heritage. Social censure of aberrance from the dominant identity values anchors sociocultural conservatism, exclusion of new residents and rejection of outside expertise, which undermines the community's capacity to adjust to change, weakens resilience and is associated with community decline (Kulig et al., 2013).

Alternative interpretations and ideas coexist as counter-narratives in the community, a richer representation of reality (Frandsen, 2017; Kjaerbeck & Wolff Lundholt, 2021). However, this research found that counter-narratives are often explored or

expressed discretely until their proponents have sufficient social support to weather censure and pushback from the socially dominant.

7.4.4 Community Group Recruitment

Established community groups cannot recruit new members they criticise as uncommitted or disinterested (Lee-Ack, 2008) because in this study, little space or identity change was made to accommodate the new people as equals. The in-group protects its social group boundaries unless a valued quality of their group is to model inclusion and celebrate diversity (Hogg, 2005; J. R. Smith & Hogg, 2007). These findings are that the newcomer or marginal members' input is ignored by established groups, and their work is unacknowledged in small rural communities and their innovations are resented and resisted. Newcomers find themselves socially censured through social mechanisms intended to preserve the established habits and hierarchies (Hogg et al., 2005). Where newcomers created new social groups to meet their social needs, there was a marked focus on the inclusion of newcomers as a group identity parameter because of their awareness of the community's social barriers as an impediment to participation. Often those social groups did not focus on community service as this avoided community conflict. Those newcomer or marginalised social groups that did focus on community service did so either discretely, out of public sight, or alternatively did so as an overt defining group quality of persistence against being ignored and/or censured.

There can be personal consequences for introducing progressive ideas or change perceived as a threat to established group identity parameters (Jetten et al., 2010; Kruglanski & Orehek, 2012). This effect was found influential for direct targets

of social censure and those who observe or hear of it via in-community talk and gossip (Neal & Walters, 2006).

If a community group wants to attract new or marginalised members such as younger people, space must be made for their presence and voices, which may disrupt the familiar norms.

For example, this may mean changing meeting times, shifting the focus of effort, introducing new practices and recognising their available time. As changes may feel unfamiliar and uncomfortable to the former membership, especially giving recognition or priority to outsider needs, it is important to acknowledge the established members' former and current contributions. It is important to jointly evolve the group identity narrative to value both the old and the new (van de Mieroop, 2015).

Without ongoing attention to active inclusion, social uncertainty arises for those feeling excluded (Garbutt, 2009). In this study, group members questioned whether they gained social benefit through positive esteem or other material gains (Hogg, 2011). Just as newcomers can leave an uncomfortable social group, established members who feel norms have changed, due to a leadership or factionalised changeover and that they are now outsiders in an unfamiliar social context, can also depart (Prislin & Christensen, 2005). Similarly, a staged leadership change by a voting process frequently results in a cohort of members departing who cannot cope with the change in social power and culture, framed as an unacceptable affront to the social identity subgroup (Prislin & Christensen, 2005). There were examples in this research in both Jaroville and Tookton as the established locals felt the disruption of a power shift as shame or outrage, and the perceived affront led to their withdrawal or conflict. They expected the subsequent failure of the group or project, which can be attributed to the incomers restoring the former social hierarchy.

7.4.5 Burnout, Disillusionment, Withdrawal and Loneliness

In these findings, there are individuals who arrive in small rural communities and energetically seek to make a difference. They may seek to introduce, improve or renovate an existing community space, event or group. This activity sometimes occurs because of a gap or others cannot be recruited into leadership or volunteering. Nevertheless, the established residents can still exercise power in obstructing, undermining and stalling changes based on who introduces them, not on their potential benefit or merit. The established residents drew upon their superior legitimacy as recognised locals, allowing them to access various methods to exercise power. They understood social boundaries, local resources, structures, and implicit knowledge beyond newcomers' access (Garbutt, 2011; Simon & Oakes, 2006).

Where an in-group member leads an innovation, they face personal social attack as this represents a more serious threat to the identity parameters of the dominant (Pinto et al., 2016). In this research, aberrant individuals found themselves severely socially censured by those who interpreted an innovation as a form of disloyalty. The censure of an established local was a disincentive to those with energy who might otherwise contribute to the community capacity to revitalise, refresh, innovate and become sustainable with an engaged population and services. This research found that social censure that is overt or discrete results in the burnout and disillusionment, withdrawal, loneliness and departure of individuals who begin with energy and the intention to serve the community.

7.4.6 Proposals for Change

A community's social hierarchy or cultural norms are embedded within the narrative of its unique local identity (Hall, 1992; Moran & Mallman, 2019). This research found that suggested developments, some forms of beautification,

modernisation or other initiatives associated with modernisation or more urban life, were framed locally by some identity groups as threats to the unique and valued aspects of stereotyped or familiar small community identity, integrated into their own sense of identity. Suggested change was personal.

Just as residents could defend the qualities of their small town's unique characteristics as desirable, even while they were also sometimes inconvenient or penalising, restricting social and economic benefits. They also had a strong sense of what did not fit within that master narrative. Longstanding residents conflated their in-group qualities with those of the community. Control of community identity was partly managed by controlling the master narrative which framed or limited possibilities (Wieder, 1974) to ensure it aligned with their nostalgic associations. Qualities that might be associated with modernity or a more urban life were resisted, and newcomers were blamed for bringing the qualities of elsewhere to the town.

This finding is consistent with social identity categorisation, where it is important to define a salient social group's qualities and equally important to describe what they are not. Groups resist and defend against perceived threats to the integrity of their identity qualities (Grant & Brown, 1995). Changes proposed by those without social legitimacy were offensive to the socially established who regarded the outsiders, the not locals, as lacking the social standing to allow them to influence, lead or speak for the community.

7.5 Community Development Implications

7.5.1 Engage or Expose

The International Association for Community Development (2022) defines itself as a practice-based profession 'promoting participative democracy, sustainable development, rights, economic opportunity, equality and social justice through the

organisation, education, and empowerment of people within their communities, whether these be of locality, identity, or interest, in urban and rural settings'. Community engagement processes emphasise inclusivity as part of communities informing, deliberating and deciding on matters. A consensus may be sought on plans and proposals assuming a degree of equality in the status and power of stakeholders (B. Gray, 1989). In community consultation, important principles include building trust, recognising privilege, sharing power, letting communities lead, communicating clearly and honestly, recording feedback and taking action (Nelischer, 2020).

However, this research flags the importance and nature of unseen power differentials in the dynamics of community decision-making. In particular, a community's marginalised and out-group members can be made vulnerable in public settings where dominant social identities frame issues and responses. For example, public meetings or community group meetings are likely to be comfortable for the dominant who may safely express their opinions without consequence. In this research, those who challenged the preferences or perspectives of the dominant social set met with conflict and social censure. Alternative views or perspectives may not be voiced for fear that these will be interpreted as a social challenge to the dominant locals' social place.

Any alternative views that may be perceived as embarrassing or shaming a dominant identity by providing technical contradiction will offend. A dominant individual can silence an alternative voice by asserting their version of the world or pointing out the lack of social status the other has in that community and questioning their legitimacy. Those observing, understand the lesson, the implicit social coding and it encourages silence. Those who challenge or offer critiques of the dominant preferred narrative and the

dominant identities, implicit or explicit, find themselves subject to various social censure and opposition, bullying even. Defiance has a social cost, to those individuals and their uninvolved associates, in many aspects of small community life.

Once a person is labelled in a way that legitimises censure, there is a ‘pile on’ as people seek to secure their own social safety through compliance with the signalled social place of the deviant person and justified social action to defend the social norms, protect the local reality. Those not directly involved in the dispute may contribute to ostracism justified as righteous because the incident is framed as an identity threat. As others identify with the threatened individual, associating as an identity group they may factionalise to join the outsider or alternatively withdraw and not engage, as a tactic to avoid the conflict and subsequent social impacts. If they risk offending the socially dominant, they may bring negative attention or blame to the stereotype of their whole social subgroup. Social conflict brings major social consequences for self and social group, as a family or friends set. This is a potentially more powerful dynamic in small rural communities than in larger communities because there is nowhere to hide.

Community development and engagement practitioners should be keenly aware of this dynamic as a factor explaining why people might withdraw, remove themselves from community groups, civic engagement and even the community where they cannot belong, nor find social certainty in expressing opinions, views and observations outside the local master narrative of identity, local reality. More particularly relevant to community consultation and engagement, it is likely to stymie and impede inclusivity, equality of input as part of deliberating and deciding what matters. Being perceived to support concepts or accept a reality beyond the master narrative is socially risky. This applies to knowledge transfer and uptake of new practices, techniques,

technologies or re-developments of place as a barrier, an impediment to adoption. Non-dominant perspectives are less likely to be raised in public forums due to fear of social censure, negative categorisation and social consequences. Similarly, people who bring new ideas or make suggestions for change are ignored or opposed on the basis of their social legitimacy before there is consideration of idea merit. A new idea may even be opposed purely on the basis of who proposed it. These are pertinent to those seeking to support small communities in building resilience and capacity to thrive.

7.5.2 Upcoming Leaders Need Social Support Networks

This research found that shared social identity is a known consideration in leadership mobilising followers (Reicher et al., 2018; Slater et al., 2019). When engaging or enrolling local advocates, community developers should be mindful of what they ask of locals in leadership roles, especially those from outside the community, younger age groups, marginalised social groups and the dominant prototype perceived as challenging the local norms and narratives.

These groups of residents are vulnerable to social censorship that can have a lasting effect on them and their families through direct or indirect personal attacks. When fostering and supporting new leaders or young leaders in small rural communities, they must not be set up for social censure. It is possible to support discrete and developing counter-narratives and establish a strong supportive social network in personal and professional encouragement, solidarity and services. As potential conflict can extend to family and friends, there must be a commitment to changes. Commitment to change often needs to be established discretely, establishing certainty and a foundation of support before a matter becomes public and comes to the attention of those it may threaten. As leadership on new initiatives is essential to

thriving community and successful proposals, consideration of the social factors, building in access to networks of support may facilitate against burn out, and secure longer term success.

7.5.3 Implications for New Businesses, Programs and Services

Within the case study communities, there was a strong tendency to interpret introduced concepts through the lens of the dominant identity narrative of reality, referencing the socially dominant's embedded assumptions, perspectives, and preferences. People implicitly assess the alignment and implications of contextually relevant identity factors concerning this and are influenced by the expectations of salient prototypes, whether they comply or challenge (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

There is a risk that new proposals for a local community are associated with social groups and become an implicit symbol of the community's social identity positions. New proposals must show alignment, even benefit to the dominant prototypes; but most certainly, they must not be perceived to threaten status, interests or power. Where this occurs, proposals may be framed in local talk as having a negative effect or threat to the whole community's character, interests or integrity. Where a proposal is framed negatively, there will be social resistance and the potential for conflict. This scenario may have relevance to changing the culture of a community or cohort to introduce new norms for social values, farming practices and mental health.

Community practitioners and leaders may consider the social identity dynamics of each community as a unique landscape of factors that can inhibit positive social outcomes when introducing newcomers, new business, new proposals or change. Understanding the potential negative effects allows interventions to mitigate or shift the sociocultural norms that would restrict the small rural community's capacity.

7.5.4 Resisting Change and Undermining Community Resilience

Understanding social identity phenomena in small rural towns including rangelands communities provides a novel frame for understanding the psychosocial drivers motivating resistance a to new ideas and new people (Paull 2009). It can explain why small communities tend to conservatism (Bryson and Mowbray 2005; Swann and Hughes 2016). As newcomers must be inducted by existing residents into local narratives and social codes to assimilate and belong (Pickett, Bonner and Coleman 2002) it implicitly recruits their accommodation of the local sociocultural norms to avoid social censure and isolation. Without successful challenge to the entrenched local narratives and norms, without an enlarged sense of valued diversity in communal identity, creating a narrative of a richer meta-identity, the exclusive version becomes preferred and affirmed as local 'reality'. This culturally anchors conservatism and justified resistance to diversity and change. This explains why newcomers and outsiders, their ideas, initiatives and start-up businesses that compete with or disrupt established norms or introduce new cultural elements, may be derided, ignored or attacked by locals when perceived to threaten established familiar facets of invested identity. Exclusion and social censure are justified as righteous responses, a moral defence of integral social values.

Social identity theory can explain why it is difficult to introduce new proposals or transfer knowledge in some rural social contexts. It may for example, explain in part, cultural resistance to adoption of progressive technological and farming practices, concepts of climate change and carbon neutrality associated with imposed environmental protection, a concept derided as materially and symbolically threatening in some rural contexts. It may explain opposition to certain proposals that represent dilution of dominant

local cultural narratives of what and who matters. It may explain influencer resistance to new business, renovation of main streets or new development, framed as a threat to whole community identity. Proposals for change may be described as inconsistent with nostalgic identity, not practical, not logical, not fair, not moral, not local, not Australian––which may or may not be true. The point is that it cues righteous resistance, defence of old school, traditional, practical real-world, true-believer, real-Australian values. Change uncontrolled within the identity narrative is cast as a threat. Whether newcomer or new proposal, the implicit challenge to the status quo is psychologically unsettling, inspiring action to regain social certainty and affirm the invested group identity (Lüders et al.. 2016).

While this explains resistance detrimental to possibilities for the future of rural and rangeland communities, it also opens the possibilities of building a unique and richer identity narrative. It invites attention to those stories of successful change, inclusion and newcomer contribution, that may otherwise remain unacknowledged and outside perceptions of legitimate and celebrated local identity. It highlights the importance of discrete social support validating the change-makers and the importance of active local endorsement of new business and initiatives from local influencers. Bridgers or bridging functions instrumental in welcome and social connection could be more actively engaged and empowered (Garbutt 2009). Framing change as a communal challenge rather than an outsider imposition may also be successful in some communities (Alter, Aronson, Darley, Rodrigues and Ruble, 2010).

While social identity phenomena are not unique to rural and rangelands communities they are a relevant factor in introducing change necessary for community resilience and revitalisation and retaining and engaging newcomers in active community life. This

study was limited to two non-rangeland rural communities. The absence in the researched communities of strong civic leadership, such as a mayor, may make a significant difference to the outworking of social identity. A civic leadership that created a local narrative of legitimate diversity and inclusion and modelled welcome and active integration could positively facilitate newcomer integration as a cultural norm, rather than aberration.

There is opportunity for further research into the social identity mechanisms that foster change including shifting the local narrative of identity and building exposure to diversity as non-threatening. This may include social support networks for local change initiators, fostering personal connections across diverse and marginalised social sets and facilitating ways to establish overarching shared narratives of identity across all small town residents.

In summary, social identity phenomena may explain common rural community resistance to outsider input and contributions and progressive initiatives. It indicates the importance of strategies framing change as part of or beneficial to shared identity rather than threatening to social certainty. This may provide insights for community leaders, development practitioners, extension officers and newcomers in rural and rangelands communities, building awareness and understanding of the implicit taken-for-granted elements of community social life, the social identity dynamics that can be recognised as an influence in integrating, adapting and adopting change.

7.6 Community Development Practice Implications

7.6.1 Be Aware of Social Identity At Work

Within community development practice, practitioners are those professionals, leaders and community volunteers encouraged to work with small community, giving local residents scope to determine directions, priorities and preferences in resolving target

issues. When gathering community together there can be an implicit assumption of equality in shared narrative and norms, in the power and legitimacy of all voices. While this may be so in the minds of community development and engagement practitioners, it may not be present in the minds of the local residents, who are very aware of local social categories and hierarchies. They may be highly aware of the social hazards in expressing a view that does not align with that of the socially dominant. Awareness of such phenomena may speak to the way in which input, ideas and initiatives are sought from the community. On occasion it may be appropriate to use anonymity and to be aware that ideas that threaten the socially dominant will draw a concerted attack, intending to preserve a status quo that may not be a desirable outcome for the whole community.

The social identity dynamics in the communities studied presented as negative and oppressive (McHenry-Sorber & Schafft, 2015)for some residents and were consistent with social identity theories of categorisation and social uncertainty. Small rural community life can be hostile or constrained for some residents. There are opportunities for community practitioners, leaders, newcomers and outsiders to understand and work constructively with these dynamics.

Invisible social dynamics exist and will affect community volunteering. Social networks, norms and narratives influence thinking, choices and behaviours and frame proposals and initiatives because of their association with prototypes. It is important for community development practitioners, leaders and newcomers to be aware that change is intrinsically threatening and challenging. Opposition to change may be mounted invisibly by signalling insider/outsider dynamics, through coded criticism and expressed doubt about motives, credibility and legitimacy. This may be justified by affirming the degree of practicability in this

community context, or the likely impact on collective interests and values. New ideas are judged first by social group association and not on merit. Outsiders' ideas with merit will be ignored and silenced but may later be proposed as new initiatives by insiders.

7.6.2 Welcome Newcomers

Understanding a community's social landscape is important for newcomers and outsiders to navigate socially without vulnerability and in any proposal for change (Jokisaari & Nurmi, 2012). Newcomers in this study were willing to learn local cultures, and many were willing to comply to some extent with the sociocultural expectations—a finding consistent with organisational development literature (Matschke & Fehr, 2015). Newcomers in community looked for information about the community, seeking social categories that might offer them a pathway to achieve positive esteem, through social connection and community contribution. Community leaders and practitioners could give attention to making local social group information available in accessible ways, including hard copy directories, newsletter invitations and online for those with the social confidence to explore the social landscape. They could emphasise the importance of helping newcomers understand the local cultures although this assumes that locals are aware of what these are and that they require explanation. Often such aspects are so integrated for locals they are invisible, unaware so other relative newcomers are better translators.

Newcomers' performance, satisfaction, commitment and retention in the organisational development literature is a product of their initial social experience (Ashforth et al., 2007; Bauer et al., 2007). Newcomer socialisation in the workplace is the result of known influences: their expectations (Ok & Park, 2018), proactivity in seeking information (Saks et al., 2011), early relationships (Jokisaari & Nurmi, 2012) and exposure to servant leadership

(Bauer et al., 2019). Supervisors are influential in their role of facilitating new employees to learn local workplace norms and find avenues for their unique skillset (Montani et al., 2019). A risk of induction is that this can also result in recruitment to the status quo where they are inducted into compliance with the status quo, rather than making space for their contribution (Montani, Maoret & Dufour, 2019). Newcomers look for opportunities to express their authenticity in the organisational context, and where this is not made possible, it negatively affects their work performance (Wang et al., 2015). These findings aligned with those of newcomers in small communities. Rather than supervisors, however, there are bridging individuals in small rural communities who take an interest in newcomers, are easily accessible for conversation, being workers in shops or public services. These bridgers work discretely to connect and support newcomers and also often others who are socially isolated.

Newcomers who found a supportive welcome and assistance to find connection with local like-types, could find a social place and felt less vulnerable navigating the community. This relied on the local residents being inclusive. Such inclusion has been shown to frequently be absent or qualified. Nevertheless, quality social connection, even finding one friend, increased newcomer satisfaction with the community. This research found that local bridgers as facilitators are important interlocutors of social integration. They are a resource in local social identity dynamics, knowing the hierarchies and habits, understanding effective processes for the introduction of initiatives.

These individuals listened to newcomers for clues about unique interests, opinions, alignment with others in the community, and also observed vulnerabilities, where there was inherent risk of social misfit or mis-step. They orchestrated local connections using their own social capital, steered people away

from social groups where there would not likely be alignment. Personal invitations from locals were valued by newcomers as they facilitated entry into new and unfamiliar social situations, offering a degree of social mentoring. It eased learning about local cultures and induction into salient social expectations or raising awareness of social risks. New residents who were supported in this way, by bridgers or other established but relative newcomers, developed a strong sense of commitment to the community, more social confidence and more tolerance of conservative community culture.

7.6.3 The Bridgers

The bridgers were individuals that came from a cross-section of community prototypes and appeared to have some qualities in common. They cared for people, took on discrete, informal leadership roles, and influenced the system from behind the scenes. They were socially well-connected and respected and were easily accessible for a chat. They each expressed strict personal rules about abstaining from gossip; while knowledgeable about the community dynamics to provide advice, they protected personal stories and privacy. Being trusted was essential to share personal information. The local bridgers were aware of a more diverse range of people and social groups in the community, aware of what defined their entitativity. They made a significant difference to the experience of community for many as generally, any gesture of kindness was valued by newcomers and affected their impression of the community.

Tookton had more active bridgers than Jaroville, resulting in newcomers generally finding it easier to be connected into community, than those in Jaroville although this may also reflect the particular qualities differentiating the newcomers in each town. Tookton newcomers were older, Australian-born and often had backgrounds of professional responsibility and social maturity. Jaroville were younger and often from another ethnic culture, with

less social confidence in a context where they had much at stake – their jobs, their opportunity to stay in Australia.

The bridgers are pivotal in attending to newcomer satisfaction and facilitating social connection. They also may have a role in championing new proposals and lead new conversations, but they remain very aware of not using up social capital or standing and are conscious of vulnerability to social policing. For this reason they were frequently very discrete in the way that they supported newcomers in the community. These established residents, highly knowledgeable about the community, were vital in community cohesion. Community leaders and development practitioners might consider fostering these skills and awareness of the importance of actively welcoming newcomers and facilitating social integration with kindness. The bridgers are powerful and often unrecognised social agents for social capital development and local resilience.

7.6.4 Evolve a Broader Inclusive Narrative of Identity

A community narrative—a reflection of beliefs about reality and diverse representations of sociocultural identities—exists in an overlapping collection of worldviews and responses to problems and possibilities (Blount-Hill, 2021; Hogg & Rinella, 2018). It is often invisible because it is so integrated into individual and community identities. Longstanding residents are unaware of it and unaware of its influence on social choices. Changing the community narrative means that the dominant narrative is named, externalised and made visible, revealing the unquestioned cultural norms and exclusive practices and consequences otherwise unknown, unacknowledged by the socially dominant. Fostering a process of understanding and seeing the sociocultural narratives that confine roles and expectations within hierarchies and stereotypes coded in the local discourse is a first step in recognising their power.

Some community members may become aware of how the community narrative of values and beliefs and social codes are conveyed in small stories shared incidentally or intentionally as gossip. Once aware, some may actively seek to amplify or introduce other themes (Bouwen et al., Swart & Schapmans, 2019). A minority, actively fostering a broader range of positive identity narratives, counter to the negatives, can add to the broader community interpretive repertoire, building a wider narrative that can fit within an evolving community meta-identity. They are not a denigration of the established and historical identities as this would create conflict. Sharing additional narratives does not deny or denigrate the dominant identity narratives but builds in new future-focussed multi-layered aspects of community character to frame a richer possibility of community life and adjusted story of reality, owned collectively. This occurred in Tookton with the hard-won success of the moderated community social media page. Within the conscious presentation of more diverse but shared stories and expressions of unique identity as contributions to place and community, more community members can see a social place for themselves in a shared attachment to place (Kjaerbeck & Wolff Lundholt, 2021; Raymond,Brown & Weber, 2010). For leaders bringing people together to build more personal connections, sharing common and diverse life experiences and values can be a vehicle for eroding the rigidity of social boundaries or dissolving some of the identity fears associated with perceived threats from the ‘other’ (Filomeno, 2019; Hogg, 2015). This may occur through service, the arts, cultural events, personal conversations that make diversity visible and valued within a common sociocultural context.

7.7 Research Limitations

Community resilience, a factor of community development, was the focus of this research and the findings are presented as an

indicator of potential influences and risks. This study has taken an inductive approach with meaning contrived according to preconstructed SIT phenomena. The limitation is that it began with a preconceived idea of what was being sought and therefore findings were framed as SIT phenomena. Others may have framed these as a function of place attachment (Raymond,Brown & Weber, 2010), place identity (Giuliani, 2002; Manzo, 2003, 2005) or even of group dynamics and conflict (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al., 2017).

Knowledge arising from the critical discourse analysis interpretive framework is anchored within a particular context creating limits to the empirical conclusions that can be drawn for other communities. These residents' perceptions are a unique reflection of community their social identity prototypes. It may not be directly transferable as a conclusion for other small rural communities with demographic and cultural differences. Similarly, this research represents two communities at one point in time and cannot represent the diversity of geographic, economic and social characteristics of unique rural communities. There are qualities that may be unique to these communities, for example, that the study communities did not have identified civic leadership, which may create a profound difference. The communities were within one local government area and attitudes towards local government may reflect the performance of that specific institution, rather than perceived threat or prototype diminishment due to a prototype loss of avenue to local power. Further, while the data aligns with what is known about social identity forces from well-established theory, it was evident that some interviewees were more guarded than others in the detail and way they shared their insights. Others openly disclosed more of their personal experiences and emotions, sometimes unexpectedly. The data represents the expression of individuals in one moment in time, in the social context of an

interview. Therefore, there must be reservations in inferring causal connections.

In this research there is no contrived empirical experiment. Case studies have limitations on the transferability of findings from one site to another, but nevertheless provide valid data within that case's circumstances. However, this means that there are no established variables as is usual in empirical studies and many factors may be at work within the captured recollections of participants. This study does not exist in isolation from other influential factors, including the unique sociopsychology of individuals (Kahneman & Riis, 2005), the nature of the interview process and the relative degree of confidence and trust in the researcher (Maxwell, 2013). What is attributed to social identity may be a reflection of an individual psychology. The work is not able to directly contribute to considerations of mental health within communities although it may speak to causes of stress when individuals do not feel safe to express qualities of self for fear of social censure and ostracisation for non-compliance with salient prototype entitativity. Loneliness, arising from being unable to find meaningful social connection, is a known factor for many health and social deficits (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2015).

The salience of particular identities for individuals was not measured, which could provide an indication of degree of influence of particular prototypes. The meaning of the data was a researcher interpretation and to an extent the degree of influence was inferred from the language of the participants and may have been misunderstood or even misrepresented. It may not have represented a social identity influence. Multidimensional measures of social identity may be appropriate in future research (Cameron, 2004).

This study cannot with confidence predict exclusion or inclusion within a community. The limitation is that these

conclusions must be considered tentative and an invitation to further research to broaden and deepen understandings of social identity in small communities, as in some situations there may be a lack of clarity around what aspect of or influences on identity is presenting.

The research relies upon qualitative data without triangulation with other methods or sources. For example, collected data from publicly contested community issues, with viewpoints expressed on social media and within local newsletters could be a useful additional source of data. This would also be a useful triangulation as would be an accompanying measure of social capital.

7.8 Future Research

Further research could focus on measures to reduce identity threats in the established rural resident cohort. For example, framing a proposal or development as a challenge reduces the identity threat in some situations. This framing is considered effective because it reminds people of their control in a change situation (Alter et al., 2010). Such framing may have potential for leaders and service providers seeking to introduce change in a rural context. Those who view change as a personalised threat or attack on their values risk becoming isolated, and finding psychosocial ways to overcome social uncertainty could have positive social results. Identifying ways to amplify other narratives in the culture, such as the exceptions and silenced alternatives, may offer opportunities to re-author an evolving story of community identity (Bouwen et al., 2019; Denborough et al., 2006). The new community identity could recognise multiple sub-narratives, shifting the narrow, master identity narrative (Blount-Hill, 2021) that is otherwise embedded and influential as a singular shared interpretive frame.

There is opportunity to understand the social identity factors at work for some rural prototypes that contribute to a sense of lost or declining social status in wider Australian society. For some in this study, there was a sense of victimisation, portraying governments and non-rural Australia as somewhat hostile, despite evidence of targeted support. This may arise from some perceptions of threat from societal questioning of the moral standing of farming (Williams & Martin, 2011). Producers may suffer stereotyped perceptions of conservatism in regard to denial of climate change (Kuehne, 2014), crises of climate extremes in drought or flood (Perlesz et al., 2019) animal welfare, and seasonal worker conditions (Fair Work Ombudsman, 2018). These may be perceived as eroding social licence and threaten rural prototype valence and entitativity (Brett, 2007; Hampton et al., 2020; Lowe & Ward, 1997). It may be that offspring not returning to the community of origin are breaking the claim to generational connection that underpins exceptional small-town status. Additionally farm amalgamations, relative income decline, aging are eroding previous markers of local social superiority. Further research would inform if this may be triggering entrenchment in a salient identity rather than actions to adjust and embrace change.

There is also scope for exploring implications for extension, knowledge transfer, for understanding social identity as a factor in practice change. SIT may explain primary producer resistance in many places to outsiders (Phelps & Kelly, 2019) and evidence-based practices that could improve and sustain primary production, preserve natural capital and enhance profitability. The introduction of such changes occurs over decades, relies on progressive newcomers, minority identity groups and the ongoing contextual pressures to force uptake. The delay exhibits as wasted time and money and unnecessary pain that earlier change and adaptation could have forestalled.

SIT may be explored as a local conflict resolution influence by examining case studies of community group successes. Conflict is a facet of community and society at personal and public levels. While some conflict is inevitable, the damage from being poorly managed or contained is not. Community leaders and development practitioners can work to minimise the damage from conflict by providing discrete and reliable social networks of support.

7.9 Conclusion

Small communities seek to retain population, build positive social capital, and capture resilience with the energy and contributions of new people. Resilience is associated with the capacity to adapt, pivot to embrace new realities and new opportunities, learn and shift to meet new challenges (Burton, 2015; Cutter, Ash & Emrich, 2014; Faulkner, Brown & Quinn, 2018; Leykin et al, 2013). Increasing awareness of unseen cultural and social patterns embedded in SIT phenomena can bring to light the unseen, unmanaged impediments to community revitalisation. New people to a community need to be given some avenue to express their talents and abilities as legitimate local residents, whether they are in residence for a short time or a long time. Where they are inducted to understand important values and qualities of the small community they can provide new approaches to local problems. They can challenge habitual unconscious behavioural patterns that rob communities of the capacity to innovate and create and instil certain injustices and inequities as normal.

This present research has provided understanding of newcomer efforts to find the local sociocultural norms, find a social place, find belonging and show merit. Newcomers who find a social fit, who find a friend, fast become loyal and contributing members of the community, for whatever period of time that may be. This research has also found the unconscious resistance of existing residents who defend their familiar hierarchies and habits, their

social narrative of values and social expectations, and exclusion is a means to maintain the status quo. They resist change and the disruption of newcomers in order to defend their social certainty and comfort. Conflict arises from the interface of these dynamics and depletes social engagement, civic participation and is a motivation for citizens, new and established, to remove themselves from community participation, to avoid social obligation to join sides or face social censure.

These findings of psychosocial motivations provide community leaders, practitioners and newcomers with an understanding of otherwise invisible dynamics that impede change. SIT is a factor motivating negative social capital. Such findings may better support the development of new and proactive approaches to newcomer arrival in small communities. By fostering and facilitating active strategies of welcome and inclusion, creating new narratives of community identity that recognise and value new and diverse voices and approaches, new residents may find a social place. When helped to find a place to belong they find positive esteem, which enhances commitment. This more likely makes them an accessible resource for achieving community revitalisation and resilience and reduces their vulnerability to conflict and exclusion within the community.

References

Abrams, D., Wetherell, M., Cochrane, S., Hogg, M. A. & Turner, J. C. (1990). Knowing what to think by knowing who you are: Self-categorization and the nature of norm formation, conformity, and group polarization. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *29*, 97–119.

Abrams, D., G. Randsley De Moura, P. Hutchison, and T. Viki. 2005. "When bad becomes good (and vice versa): Why social exclusion is not based on difference." Pp. 161-90. In *The Social Psychology of Inclusion and Exclusion*, Dominic Abrams, Jose M. Marques, and Michael A. Hogg (Eds). United Kingdom: Psychology Press.

Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (1998). *Social Identifications: A social pscyhology of intergroup relations and group processes*. Routledge.Addis, R., A. & Grunhagen, M. (2014). The influence of social identity on rural consumers' intent to shop locally. *New England Journal of Entrepreneurship*, *17*(1), 7–14.

Agnitsch, K., Flora, J. L. & Ryan, V. (2006). Bonding and bridging social capital: The integrative effects on community action. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, *37*, 36–51.

Aldrich, D. P. & Meyer, M. A. (2015). Social capital and community resilience. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(2), 254–269.

Alston, M. (2002). Social capital in rural Australia. *Rural Society*, *12*(2), 93–104.

Alston, M. (2004). 'You don't want to be a check-out chick all your life': The out-migration of young people from Australia's small rural towns. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *39*(3), 299–313.

Alter, A. L., Aronson, J., Darley, J. M., Rodriguez, C. & Ruble, D. N. (2010). Rising to the threat: Reducing stereotype threat by reframing the threat as a challenge. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *46*(1), 166–171. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.09.014

Amin, A., 2004. Regions Unbound: Towards a New Politics of Place, Special Issue: The Political Challenge of Relational Space. Geografiska Annaler, Series B: *Human Geography, 86* (1), 33–44.

Argent, N., Tonts, M., Jones, R., & Holmes, J. (2010). Amenity-Led Migration in Rural Australia: A New Driver of Local Demographic and Environmental Change? In G. W. Luck, R. Black, & R. D. (Eds.), *Demographic Change in Australia's Rural Landscapes* (Vol. 12, pp. 23-44). Dordrecht: Springer.

Arrow, H. & Burns, K. L. (2004). Self-organizing culture: How norms emerge in small groups. In M. Schaller & C. S. Crandall (Eds.), *The psychological foundations of culture* (pp. 171–199). London, United Kingdom:Psychology Press.

Ashforth, B. E., Sluss, D. M. & Saks, A. M. (2007). Socialization tactics, proactive behavior, and newcomer learning: Integrating socialization models. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *70*, 447–462.

Atkinson, R. & Flint, J. (2011). Snowballing sampling. In M. Lewis-Beck, A. E. Bryman & T. Futing Liao (Eds.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of social science research methods*. University of Michigan.

Australian Board of Social Inclusion. (2009). *A compendium of social inclusion indicators: How's Australia faring?: A compilation of comparative data undertaken by the Australian Inclusion Board to inform its advisory work*.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016a). *Census of Population and Housing: Estimating homelessness, 2016*. Canberra: Australian Government

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016b). Demographics & Education (Subject communities). Canberra: Australian Government

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016c). *Volume 5 – Remoteness Structure*. Canberra: Australian Government

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016d) *Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia - Stories from the Census*. Canberra: Australian Government

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2017). Australian Marriage Law Postal Survey, 2017.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2020). *Regional population*. https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/regional-population/latest-release

Bagozzi, R. P., and Kyu-Hyun, L. (2002). Multiple Routes for Social Influence:the Role of Compliance, Internalization and Social Identity. *Social Psychology Quarterly 65*(3):226-47.

Bamberg, M. (2005). *Master narrative*. Routledge.

Bauer, T. N., Bodner, T., Erdogan, B., Truxillo, D. M. & Tucker, J. S. (2007). Newcomer adjustment during organizational socialization: A meta-analytic review of antecedents, outcomes, and methods. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(3), 707–721.

Bauer, T. N., Perrot, S., Liden, R. C. & Erdogan, B. (2019). Understanding the consequences of newcomer proactive behaviours: The moderating contextual role of servant leadership. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *112*, 356–368. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2019.05.001

Baumann, R. F. (2000). Language, identity, performance. *Pragmatics*, *10*(1), 1–5.

Baumeister, R. F., Zhang, L., & Vohs, K., D. (2004). Gossip as Cultural Learning. *Review of General psychology, 8*(2), 111-121. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.8.2.111

Berkes, F. & Ross, H. (2013). Community resilience: Toward an integrated approach. *Society & Natural Resources*, *26*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2012.736605

Blount-Hill, K.-L. (2021). Insights from resident stories of police contact in Newark, New Jersey, and Cleveland, Ohio. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*.

Bonaiuto M. and Bonnes M. (2000). Social-psychological approaches in environment-behaviour studies. In Wapner, S., Demick, J., Yamamoto, T., Minami, H. (Eds.), *Theoretical Perspectives in Environment-Behavior Research.* Springer, Boston, MA.(pp. 67–78). New York:KluwerAcademic/Plenum Publishers. http://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-4701-3_7

Bonnes, M., & Secchiaroli, G. (1995). *Environmental psychology: A psycho-social introduction*. Thousand Oakes:Sage.

Bourne, K., Houghton, K., How, G., Achurch, H. & Beaton, R. (2020). *The big movers: Understanding population mobility in regional Australia*. Barton, ACT: ARRB Group.

Bouwen, G., Swart, C. & Schapmans, M. (2019*). Co-authoring the future of travel and hospitality: An unfolding practice in tourism in Flanders*. Holiday Participation Centre

Brett, J. (2007). The country, the city and the state in Australian settlement. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *42*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361140601158518

Brewer, M. B. (2012). Optimal distinctiveness theory: Its history and development. In P. A. M. VanLange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of theories of social psychology* (pp. 81-98). Sage Publications.

Brown, A. D., Stacey, P. & Nandhakumar, J. (2008). Making sense of sense-making narratives. *Human Relations*, *61*(8), 1035–1062.

Bruner, J. (2010). Narrative, culture and mind. In D. Schiffrin, A. De Fina & A. Nylund (Eds.), *Telling stories: Language, narrative and social life*. Georgetown University Press.

Bruner, J. S. (1991). Self-making and world-making. *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, *25*(1), 67–78.

Buikstra, E., Ross, H., King, C. A., Baker, P. G., Hegney, D., McLachlan, K. & Rogers-Clark, C. (2010). The components of resilience—perceptions of an Australian rural community. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *38*(8), https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20409

Butt, A. (2014). Developing a typology of changing multifunctional regions. *Australasian Journal of Regional Studies*, *20*, 233–257.

Byles-Drage, H. (2005). *Riverside and Rangesview: Urban to rural migration in two areas of Western Australia's Great Southern region* [Paper presentation]. 2nd Future of Australia's Country Towns Conference, Bendigo, Vic, Australia.

Byrne, D. (2005). *Social exclusion*. McGraw-Hill Education.

Cameron, James, E. 2004. A Three-Factor Model of Social Identity. *Self and Identity 3*:239-62.

Cameron, D., E. Frazer, P. Harvey, B. Rampton, and K. Richardson. (1993) *Ethics, Advocacy and Empowerment: Issues of Method in Researching Language. Language and Communication 13*(2): 81–94. https://doi:10.1016/0271-5309(93) 90001-4.

Castano, E., Paladino, M.-P., Coull, A. & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2002). Protecting the ingroup stereotype: Ingroup identification and the management of deviant ingroup members. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *41*, 365–385.

Christensen, P. N., Rothgerber, H., Wood, W., & Matz, D. C. (2004). Social norms and identity relevance: a motivational approach to normative behaviour. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*, 1295-1309.

Cikara, M., Botvinik, M. M. & Fiske, S. T. (2011). Us versus them: Social identity shapes neural responses to intergroup competition and harm. *Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 306–313.

Claridge, T. (2018). Functions of social capital—bonding, bridging, linking. *Social Capital Research*, *20*, 1–7.

Clark, A. (2006). Real Life Methods Working Papers: Anonymising Research Data." ESRC National Center for Research Methods (NCRM) Working Paper Series 7/06.

Clarkson, J., Smith, E., Tormala, Z. L. & Dugan, R. G. (2017). Group identification as a means of attitude restoration. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *68*, 139–145.

Clarkson, J. J., Tormala, Z. L., Rucker, D. D. & Dugan, R. G. (2013). The malleable influence of social consensus on attitude certainty. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *49*(6), 1019–1022.

Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology (94)*. Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure. https://doi.org/10.1086/228943

Combs, G., & Freedman, J. (2012). Narrative poststructuralism and social justice: Current practices in narrative therapy. *The Counselling Psychologist, 40*(7), 1033-1060. Cooke, J. R. (2016). Strategies for building social capital. In A. G. Greenber, T. P. Gullotta, & M. Bloom (Eds.), *Social Capital and Community Well-Being: The Serve Here Initiative* (pp. 141-). Springer.

Costello, L. (2007). Going bush: the implications of urban-rural migration. *Geographical Research, 45*, 85–94.

Genareo, V., R., & Filteau, M., R. (2016). People Like Us: Shaping Newcomer Accpetance in Rural Boomtown Communities and Schools. *Journal of Rural and Community Development, 11*(1).

Costello, L. (2007). Going bush: The implications of urban-rural migration. *Geographical Research*, *45*, 85–94.

Creswell, T. (2004). *Place: A short introduction*. Blackwell Publishing.

Cruz, T. D., Thielmann, I., Columbus, S., Catherine Molho, Wu, J., Righetti, F., de Vries, R., E. , Koutsoumpis, A., Van Lange, P. A. M., Beersma, B., & Balliet, D. (2021). Gossip and reputation in everyday life. *Philosophical Transactions B Royal Society Publishing, 376*. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2020.0301

Curthoys, A., 1999. Expulsion, Exodus and exile in White Australian Historical Mythology. *Journal of Australian Studies, 23* (61), 1–19.

Daly, M. & Silver, H. (2008). Social exclusion and social capital: A comparison and critique. *Theory and Society*, *37*(6), 537–566.

Davies, A., and A. James. 2011. *Geographies of Ageing: Social Processes and the Spatial Unevenness of Population Ageing*. London:Ashgate

Davies, A. (2014). Urban to rural elderly migration: producing, consuming, renewing and reinventing Australia's small rural towns. In R. Dufty-Jones & J. Connell (Eds.), *Rural change in Australia* (pp. 43-55). Ashgate: Farnham.Davis, J. B. (2014). Social capital and social identity: Trust and conflict. In A. Christoforou & J. B. Davis (Eds.), *Social capital and economics* (pp. 120–134). Routledge.

Davis, S., Crothers, N., Grant, J., Young, S. & Smith, K. (2012). Being involved in the country: Productive ageing in different types of rural communities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *28*, 338–346.

De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. & Bamberg, M. (2006). *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge University Press.

Denborough, D., Koolmatrie, C., Mununggirritj, D., Marika, D., Dhurrkay, W. & Ynupingu, M. (2006). Linking stories and initiatives: A narrative approach to working with the skills and knowledge of communities. *International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work*, *2*, 19–51.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). Handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.de Rijke, K. (2012). The symbolic politics of belonging and community in peri-urban environmental disputes: The Traveston Crossing Dam in Queensland, Australia. *Oceania*, *82*, 278–293.

Devine-Wright, Patrick. (2009). Rethinking NIMBYism: The role of Place Attachment and Place Identity in Explaining Place-protective Action. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology 19*:421-41.

Dixon, J., & Durrheim, K. (2004). Dislocating identity: Desegregation and the transformation of place. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *24*, 445–473

Dowding, K., (2003). Resources, power and systematic luck: a response to Barry. *Politics, Philosophy and Economics*. 2 (3), 305-322.

du Toit, A. (2003). Knowledge: A sense making process shared through narrative. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, *7*(3), 27–37. https://doi.org/10.1108/13673270310485604

Dufty-Jones, R., Argent, N., Rolley, F. & Walmsley, J. (2016). The role of gender in the migration practices and aspirations of Australian rural youth. In J. Connell (Ed.), *Rural change in Australia: Population, economy, environment*. Routledge.

Elias, N. & Scotson, J. L. (1965). *The established and the outsiders*. Frank Cass.

Elder, C., 2007. Being Australian: Narratives of National Identity. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Ely, R. J., & Thomas, D. A. 2001. Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes and outcomes. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 46: 229-273.

Esposo, S. R., Hornsey, M. J. & Spoor, J. R. (2013). Shooting the messenger: Outsiders critical of your group are rejected regardless of argument quality. *British Journal Social Psychology*, *52*, 386–395. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12024

Ezzy, D. (1998). Theorizing narrative identity: Symbolic interactionism and hermeneutics. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *39*(2), 239–252.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Pearson Education.

Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Introduction to discourse analysis* (pp. 258–284). Sage.

Fair Work Ombudsman. (2018). *Harvest Trail Inquiry Report*. Fair Work Commission. Barton, ACT: Australian Government.

Falk, I., & Kilpatrick, S. (2000). What is social capital? A study of interaction in a rural community. *Sociologia Ruralis, 40*(1), 87-110.

Faulkner, L., Brown, K. & Quinn, T. (2018). Analyzing community resilience as an emergent property of dynamic social-ecological systems. *Ecology and Society*, *23*, 24–32.

Ferguson, S. J. (2004). *Mapping the social landscape: Readings in sociology* (3rd ed.). McGraw-Hill.

Fielding, K. S., Masser, B. M. & Hogg, M. A. (2008). Integrating social identity theory and the theory of planned behaviour to explain decisions to engage in sustainable agricultural practices. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *47*, 23–48. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466607X206792

Filomeno, F. A. (2019). The potential of dialogues on social identity and diversity for immigrant civic integration. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, *77*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2019.101723

Fiske, S. T. (1993). Social cognition and social perception. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *44*, 155–194.

Forrest, R. & Kearns, A. (2001). Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, *12*, 2125–2143.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge*. Pantheon Books.

Frandsen, S., Kuhn, T., & Wolff Lundholt, M. (2017). *Counter-Narratives and Organization*. Routledge.

Frost, G., Malam, K. & Williams, L. (2014). *The evolution of Australian towns*. Department of Infrastructure and Regional Development. https://www.bitre.gov.au/publications/2014/files/report_136.pdf

Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. Free Press.Garbutt, R. (2009). Social inclusion and local practices of belonging. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal, 1*(3), 84–108.

Gallent, N. (2013). Re-connecting 'People and Planning': Parish Plans and the English Localism Agenda. *Town Planning Review* (84), 371-96.

Galligan, B., Boese, M. and Phillips, M., 2014. Becoming Australian: Migration, Settlement, Citizenship. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Garbutt, R. (2011). *The locals: Identity, place and belonging in Australia and beyond* (Vol. 22). Peter Lang.

García, I. (2020). Asset-based community development (ABCD): Core principles. In R. Phillips, E. Trevan & P. Kraeger (Eds.), *Research handbook on community development*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Garfinkel, H. 1984. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity

Gargiulo, M. & Benassi, M. (1999). The dark side of social capital. In R. T. A. J. Leenders & S. M. Gabbay (Eds.), *Corporate social capital and liability* (pp. 298–322). Springer.

Genareo, V., R., & Filteau, M., R. (2016). People Like Us: Shaping Newcomer Accpetance in Rural Boomtown Communities and Schools. *Journal of Rural and Community Development, 11*(1). Giardini, F. & Wittek, R. (2019). *The Oxford handbook of gossip and reputation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Giuliani, V. (2002). Theory of attachment and place attachment. In M. Bonnes, T. Lee, & M.Bonaiuto (Eds.),Psychological theories for environmental issues. Aldershot: Ashgate Goffman, A. (2014). *On the run: Fugitive life in an American city*. Chicago:Chicago University Press.

Grant, P. R. & Brown, R. (1995). From ethnocentrism to collective protest: Responses to relative deprivation and threats to social identity. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *58*, 195–211.

Gray, B. (1989). *Collaborating: Finding common ground for multiparty problems*. Macmillan.

Gray, I. (1991). *Politics in place: Social power relations in an Australian country town*. Cambridge University Press.

Gray, I. & Lawrence, G. (2002). *A future for regional Australia: Escaping global misfortune.* Cambridge University Press.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (pp. 17–38). Sage.

Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A. (2009). *Analyzing narrative reality*. SAGE.

Hall, S. (1992). The west and the rest: Discourse and power. In S. Hall & B. Gieben (Eds.), *Formations of Modernity* (pp. 275–320). Polity. Halstead, J. M. & Deller, S. C. (2015). *Social capital at the community level*. Routledge.

Hamilton, D. L., & Sherman, S. J. (1996). Perceiving persons and groups. *Psychological Review, 103*(2), 336–355.

Hampton, J. O., Jones, B. & McGreevy, P. D. (2020). Social license and animal welfare: Developments from the past decade in Australia. *Animals*, *10*. https://doi.org/10.3390/ani10122237

Hardin, C. D. & Higgins, E. T. (1996). Shared reality: How social verification makes the subjective objective. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition* (pp. 28–84). The Guilford Press.

Haugaard, M. (2021). The four dimensions of power: conflict and democracy. *Journal of Political Power, 14*(1), 153-175. https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1080/2158379X.2021.1878411

Haslam, S. A., Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., McGarty, C., & Hayes, B. K. (1992). Context-dependent variation in social stereotyping 1: The effects of intergroup relations as mediated by social change and frame of reference. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *22*(1), 3-20.

Haslam, S. Alexander, Penelope J. Oakes, and John C. Turner. (1996). Social identity, self-categorization, and the perceived homogeneity of ingroups and outgroups: The interaction between social motivation and cognition. (Pp. 182-222) in *Handbook of motivation and cognition: The interpersonal context* edited by R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.). New York: The Guilford Press.

Haugaard, M. (2021). The four dimensions of power: conflict and democracy. *Journal of Political Power, 14*(1), 153-175. https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1080/2158379X.2021.1878411

Heyl, B. S. (2001). Ethnographic interviewing. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 369–383). SAGE.

Hillman, W. (2008). Gaining acceptance in rural communities: a study of young families who relocate to non-metropolitan area in Australia. *Rural Social Work and Community Practice*, *13*, 6–15.

Hitlan, R. T., Kelly, K. M., Schepman, S., Schneider, K. T. & Zárate, H. (2006). Language exclusion and the consequences of perceived ostracism in the workplace. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, *10*(1), 56–70. https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2699.10.1.56

Hogg, M. A. (2005a). All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others: Social identity and marginal membership. In K. D. Williams, J. P. Forgas & W. Von Hippel (Eds.), *The social outcast: Ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying*. Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A. (2005b). Uncertainty, social identity and ideology. In S. R. Thye & E. J. Lawler (Eds.), *Social identification in groups* (Vol. 22, pp. 203–229). Emerald Group Publishing.

Hogg, M. A. (2007). Uncertainty-identity theory. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *39*, 69–126.

Hogg, M. A. (2011). The social identity perspective. In S. A. Wheelan (Ed.), *The handbook of group research and practice* (pp. 133–157). SAGE Publications.

Hogg, M. A. (2012). *Uncertainty-identity theory*. Sage Publications.

Hogg, M. A. (2015). Constructive leadership across groups: how leaders can combat prejudice and conflict between subgroups. In E. J. Lawler & S. R. Thye (Eds.), *Advances in Group Process*. Emerald Publishing.

Hogg, M. A. (2018). Self-Uncertainty, Leadership preference, and communication of social identity. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 26*(2), 111-121.

Hogg, M. A., Fielding, K. S. & Darley, J. (2005). Fringe dwellers: Processes of deviance and marginalization in groups. In D. Abrams, M. A. Hogg & J. M. Marques (Eds.), *The social psychology of inclusion and exclusion* (pp. 191–210). Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A. & Reid, S. A. (2006). Social identity, self-categorization, and the communication of group norms. *Communication Theory*, *16*(1), 7–30.

Hogg, M. A. & Rinella, M. J. (2018). Social identities and shared realities. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *23*, 6–10.

Hogg, M. A., & Tindale, S. (2005). Social identity, influence, and communication in small groups. In J. H. a. H. Giles (Ed.), *Intergroup communication: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 141-164). Peter Lang.

Hogg, M. A., van Knippenberg, D. & Rast III, D. E.. (2012). The social identity theory of leadership: Theoretical origins, research findings, and conceptual developments. *European Review of Social Psychology 23*(1):258-304.

Hohman, Z. P., Gaffney, A. M. & Hogg, M. A. (2017). Who am I if I am not like my group? Self-uncertainty and feeling peripheral in a group. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *72*, 125–132.

Holmes, J. H. (1981). Settlement systems in sparsely populated regions: The United States and Australia. In R. E. Lonsdale & J. H. Holmes (Eds.), *Settlement systems in sparsely populated regions* (pp. 70–104). Pergamon.

Holmes, J. H. (1987). Population. In D. N. Jeans (Ed.), *Australia—A geography* (Vol. 2, pp. 24–48). Sydney University Press.

Holmes, J. H., Charles-Edwards, E. & Bell, M. (2005). *Population dynamics in rural and remote Queensland*. The University of Queensland.

Holt-Lunstad, J., T. B. Smith, M. Baker, T. Harris, and D. Stephenson. 2015. "Loneliness and Social Isolation as Risk Factors for Mortality:A Meta-Analytic Review." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 10(2):227-37.

Hoon-Seok, C., & Levine, J.M. (2004) Minority Influence in Work Teams: The Impact of Newcomers. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40, 273-280.

Hornsey, M. & Imani, A. (2004). Criticizing groups from the inside and the outside: An identity perspective on the intergroup sensitivity effect. *Personality Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 365–383. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203261295

Hornsey, Matthew J. (2008). Social identity and Self-categorisation. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass 2*:204-22.

Hudson, S.-K. T. J., Cikara, M. & Sidanius, J. (2019). Preference for hierarchy is associated with reduced empathy and increased counter-empathy towards others, especially out-group targets. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *85*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.103871

Hunter, F. (2017). *Community power structure: A study of decision makers.* UNC Press Books.

International Association for Community Development. (2022). *Without community development there is no sustainable development*. https://www.iacdglobal.org/about/

Irwin, P. M. (2019). The impact of changing demography and socioeconomic environments and ageing in a small rural town in Australia. *Journal of Population Ageing*, *12*, 247–269. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12062-019-9241-2

Jackson, K. & Bazeley, P. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis with NVIVO*. SAGE Publications.

Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social identity*. Routledge.

Jetten, J., Hornsey, M. J., Spears, R., Haslam, S. A. & Cowell, E. (2010). Rule transgressions in groups: The conditional nature of newcomers' willingness to confront deviance. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*, 338–348. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.627

Jokisaari, M. & Nurmi, J.-E. (2012). Getting the right connections? The consequences and antecedent so social networks in newcomer socialization. In C. R. Wanberg (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of organizational socialization* (pp. 78–96). Oxford University Press.

Jones, E. E., Carter-Sowell, A. R., Kelly, J. R. & Williams, K. D. (2009). 'I'm out of the loop': Ostracism through information exclusion. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *12*(2), 157–174.

Jorgensen, B. and Stedman, R. (2006). A comparative analysis of predictors of sense of place dimensions: attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties. *Journal of Environmental Management, 79*, 316-327.

Kahneman, D. & Riis, J. (2005). Living, and thinking about it: Two perspectives on life. *The Science of Well-Being*, *1*, 285–304.

Kenyon, P., Black, A., Cavaye, J., Duff, J., O'Meara, M. & Palmer, P. (2001). *Small town renewal—Change the future of your community*.

Kerrigan, N. A. (2018). Looking rural, being rural, talking rural: Informal social control and protecting local rural identity from social change. In *A threatened rural idyll? Informal social control, exclusion and racism* (pp. 93–114). Vernon Press.

Kilpatrick, S., Johns, S., Vitartas, P. & Hornisan, M. (2011). Mobile skilled workers: making the most of an untapped rural community resource. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *27*, 181–190.

Kjaerbeck, S. & Wolff Lundholt, M. (2021). Conflicting perspectives in a housing association: An investigation of employees' counter-narratives in relation to a new business strategy. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, *34*(1). https://doi.org/10.1108/JOCM-12-2016-0259

Korpela, K. (1989). Place identity as a product of environmental self-regulation. *Journal of Environmental Psychology 9,*pp 241-256

Korte, R. F. (2009). How newcomers learn the social norms of an organisation: A case study of the socialisation of newly hired engineers. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *20*(3), 285–306.

Korte, R. F. & Lin, S. (2013). Getting on board: Organizational socialization and the contribution of social capital. *Human Relations*, *66*(3), 407–442.

Kreindler, S. A., Dowd, D. A., Star, N. D. & Gottschalk, T. (2012). Silos and social identity: The social identity approach as a framework for understanding and overcoming divisions in health care. *The Milbank Quarterly*, *90*(2).

Kruglanski, A. W. & Orehek, E. (2012). The need for certainty as a psychological nexus for individuals and society. In M. A. Hogg & D. L. Blaylock (Eds.), *Extremism and the psychology of uncertainty*. John Wiley.

Kuehne, G. (2014). How do farmers' climate change beliefs affect adaptation to climate change? *Society & Natural Resources* 27(5):492-506.

Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N. & Reimer, W. (2013). Community resiliency: Emerging theoretical insights. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *41*(6), 758–775. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21569

Lake, R. J. (2011). 'They treat me like I'm scum': Social exclusion and established-outsider relations in a British tennis club. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *48*(1), 112–128. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690211424523

Lamont, M. & Swidler, A. (2014). Methodological pluralism and the possibilities and limits of interviewing. *Qualitative Sociology*, *37*(2), 153–171.

Lee-Ack, E. (2008). Locked out, locked in: Social inclusion as a survival imperative for small community groups. *Australian Journal on Volunteering*, *13*, 62–66.

Leyshon, M. (2011). The struggle to belong: Young people on the move in the countryside. *Population, Space and Place*, *17*, 304–325.

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B., P. A. Wilson, and S. M. Croucher. 2017. *Approaches to conflict: Theoretical, interpersonal, and discursive dynamics.* Lexington: Lanham, MD.

Lizardo, O. (2017). Improving cultural analysis: Considering personal culture in its declarative and nondeclarative modes. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(1), 88–115.

Lloyd, D., Luke, H. & Boyd, W. E. (2013). *Community perspectives of natural resource extraction: Coal-seam gas mining and social identity in Eastern Australia*. Australian Studies Centre, University of Barcelona.

Locke, S. & Hoffmann, L. (2018, 18 March). *Migrants and refugees stem population decline in regional areas*. ABC Rural, ABC News. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-03-18/international-refugees-migrants-saving-local-towns/9508586

Lopes, L. L. (1987). Between hope and fear: The psychology of risk. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 20*(3), 255-295.Lowe, P. & Ward, N. (1997). Field-level bureaucrats and the making of new moral discourses in agri-environmental controversies. In D. Goodman & M. J. Watts (Eds.), *Globalising food: Agrarian questions and global restructuring* (pp. 188–198). Routledge.

Lüders, A., Jonas, E., Fritsche, I. & Agroskin, D. (2016). Between the lines of us and them: Identity threat, anxious uncertainty and reactive in-group affirmation: How can antisocial outcomes be prevented? In S. McKeown, R. Haji & N. Ferguson (Eds.), *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory* (pp. 33–54). Ferguson: Switzerland:Springer International Publishing.

Luhman, J. T. & Boje, D. M. (2001). What is complexity science? A possible answer from narrative research. *Emergence*, *3*(1), 158–168.

Luloff, A. E. (1998). *What makes a place a community?* La Trobe University.

Macgregor, L. C. (2010). *Habits of the heartland: Small-town life in modern America*. Cornell University.

Mackie, D. M., Hamilton, D. L., Susskind, J., & Rosselli, F. (1996). Social psychological foundations of stereotype formation. In C. N. Macrae, C. Stangor, & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Stereotypes and stereotyping* (pp. 41-78). New York: Guilford.

Maclean, K., Cuthill, M., & Ross, H. (2014). Six attributes of social resilience. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, 57*, 144–156.

Mahar, A., Cobigo, V. & Stuart, H. (2013). Conceptualising belonging. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, *35*(12), 1026–1032. https://doi.org/10.3109/09638288.2012.717584

Manzo, L. C. (2003). Beyond house and haven: Toward a revisioning of emotional relationships with places. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *23*, 47–61

Manzo, L. (2005). For better or for worse: Exploring multiple dimensions of place meaning. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*,*25*, 67–86.

Manzo, L., & Perkins, D. (2006). Finding Common Ground: The importance of place attachment to community participation in planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*,*20*, 335–350

Marchant, J. (2012). Is rural resilience enhanced through social inclusion? *Australian and International Journal of Rural Education*, 1–18.

Martin, R. & Hewstone, M. (2007). Social-influence processes of control and change: Conformity, obedience to authority, and innovation. In M. A. Hogg & J. Cooper (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social psychology: Concise student edition*. Sage Publications.

Maskell, P. (2000). Social capital, innovation, and competitiveness. In *Social capital: Critical perspectives* (pp. 111-123). Oxford University Press: Chicago

Massey, D., 2004. Geographies of Responsibility. Geografiska Annaler, Series B: *Human Geography, 86* (1), 5–18.

Matarrita-Cascante, D., Trejos, B., Qin, H., Joo, D. & Debner, S. (2017). Conceptualising community resilience: Revisiting conceptual distinctions. *Community Development*, *48*(1), 105–123.

Matschke, C. & Fehr, J. (2015). Internal motivation buffers the negative effect of identity incompatibility on newcomers' social identification and well-being. *Social Psychology*, *46*(6), 335–344.

Maxwell, J. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Sage Publications.

McHenry-Sorber, E. & Schafft, K. (2015). Make my day, shoot a teacher: Tactics of inclusion and exclusion and the contestation of community in a rural school–community conflict. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *19*(7), 733–747. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2014.964571

McIlveen, P. (2008). Autoethnography as a method for reflexive research and practice in vocational psychology. *Australian Journal of Career Development*, *17*(2), 13–20. https://doi.org/10.1177/103841620801700204

McIntosh, A., Stayner, R., Carrington, K., Rolley, F., Scott, J. & Sorensen, T. (2008). *Resilience in rural communities: Literature review*. Centre for Applied Research in Social Science, University of New England.

McManus, P., & Connell, J. (2014). Putting places on the map? Marketing rural and regional Australia. *Journal of Destination Marketing and Management, 3*(2), 105-113.

McShane, C. J., Turnour, J., Thompson, M., Dale, A., Prideaux, B. & Atkinson, M. (2016). Connections: The contribution of social capital to regional development. *Rural Society*, *25*(2), 154–169.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). Qualitative research and case study applications in education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Michelmore, K. (2018, 29 January). *Violet Town proves it's more than just rainbow flags and flowers for Lady Di*. Back Roads, ABC News. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-29/violet-town-is-more-than-flowers-rainbows-for-lady-di-back-roads/9344408

Montani, F., Maoret, M. & Dufour, L. (2019). The dark side of socialization: How and when divestiture socialisation undermines newcomer outcomes. *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*, *40*, 506–521.

Moran, A. & Mallman, M. (2019). Social cohesion in rural Australia: Framework for conformity or social justice? *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *54*(2), 191–206. https://doi-org.ezproxy.usq.edu.au/10.1002/ajs4.65

Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counselling psychology. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, *52*(2), 250–260. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.250

Morton, L. W. (2003). Small town services and facilities: The influence of social networks and civic structure on perceptions of quality. *City and Community*, *2*, 102–120.

Neal, S. & Walters, S. (2006). Strangers asking strange questions? A methodological narrative of researching belonging and identity in English rural communities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *22*(2), 177–189. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2005.08.009

Nelischer, K. (2020). *Engagement to action: Improving policy outcomes through better consultation*.

Nespor, J. (2000) Anonymity and Place in Qualitative Inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry 6*(4): 546–569. doi:10.1177/107780040000600408.

Nieuwenhuis, M., Manstead, A. S., & Easterbrook, M. J. . (2019). Accounting for unequal access to higher education: The role of social identity factors. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 22*(3), 371-389.

Numerato, D. & Baglioni, S. (2012). The dark side of social capital: An ethnography of sport governance. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *47*(5), 594–611. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690211413838

Obst, P. L. & White, K. M. (2004). Revisiting the sense of community index: A confirmatory factor analysis. *Journal of Community Psychology, 32*(6), 691–705.

Ok, C. & Park, J. (2018). Change in newcomers' job satisfaction: Met-expectations effect as a moderator. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, *46*(9), 1513–1521.

Patten, E., O'Meara, P. & Dickson-Swift, V. (2015). Scoping review of the exclusion and inclusion of rural newcomers in community participation. *The Australian Journal of Rural Health*, *23*, 127–135.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Sage.

Paull, M. (2009). *Barriers to volunteering by newcomers in Wheatbelt towns in Western Australia*. Volunteering WA. https://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/33969/1/barriers-to-volunteering.pdf

Paull, M. & Redmond, J. (2011). Succession in community organisations: Newcomers and the 'purple circle'. *Third Sector Review*, *17*(2), 131–152.

Perlesz, L., D. Betros-Matthews, A. Truong, & Cotching, H. (2019). Better support for farmers during drought. *Behavioural Economics Team*. Barton, ACT: Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet.

Peters, D. J. (2019). Community resiliency in declining small towns: Impact of population loss on quality of life over 20 years. *Rural Sociology*, *84*(4), 635–668.

Phelps, D. & Kelly, D. M. (2019). Overcoming drought vulnerability in rangeland communities: Lessons from central-western Queensland. *The Rangeland Journal*, *41*, 251–270. https://doi.org/10.1071/RJ18052

Pickett, C. L., Bonner, B. L., & Coleman, J. M. (2002). Motivated self-stereotyping: Heightened assimilation and differentiation needs result in increased levels of positive and negative self-stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 543-562.

Pinto, I. R., Marques, J. M., Levine, J. M. & Abrams, D. (2016). Membership role and subjective group dynamics: Impact on evaluative intragroup differentiation and commitment to prescriptive norms. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *19*(5), 570–590. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216638531

Plowman, I., Ashkanasy, N. M., Gardner, J. & Letts, M. (2003). *Innovation in rural Queensland: Why some towns thrive while others languish*. University of Queensland.

Potter, J. (1996). Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: Theoretical background. In J. T. E. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences*. BPS Books.

Pretty, G. Chipuer, H., Bramston, P. (2003). Sense of place amongst adolescents and adults in two rural Australian towns: the discriminating features of place attachment, sense of community and place dependence in relation to place identity. *Journal of Environmental Psychology 23*, 273-287.

Prislin, R. & Christensen, P. N. (2005). Social change in the aftermath of successful minority influence. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *16*, 43–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280440000071

Proshansky, H., Fabian, H. K., & Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place identity: Physical world socialisation of the self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*,3, 57–83

Prout, S. and Howitt, R., 2009. Frontier Imaginings and Subversive Indigenous Spatialities. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *25* (4), 396–403.

Pugh, A. J. (2013). What good are interviews for thinking about culture? Demystifying interpretive analysis. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, *1*(1), 42–68.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., Steele, C. M., Davies, P. G., Ditlmann, R. & Randall Crosby, J. (2008). Social identity contingencies: How diversity cues signal threat or safety for African Americans in mainstream institutions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *94*(4), 615–630.

Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, *6*(1), 65–78.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community.* Simon and Schuster.

Race, D., Luck, G. W. & Black, R. (2010). Patterns, drivers and implications in demographic change in rural landscapes. In L. G., B. R. & R. D. (Eds.), *Demographic change in Australia's rural landscapes* (Vol. 12, pp. 1–22). Springer.

Ragusa, A. T. (2022). City-exit and community-fit: Finding one's 'Place' in Australia. *The International Journal of Community and Social Development*, *4*(1), 61–88. https://doi.org/10.1177/25166026211070374

Raymond, C. M., Brown, G., & Weber, D. (2010). The measurement of place attachment: Personal, community, and environmental connections. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *30*(4), 422-434. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.08.002

Raymond, C. M., Kyttä, M., & Stedman, R. (2017). Sense of Place, Fast and Slow: The Potential Contributions of Affordance Theory to Sense of Place [Conceptual Analysis]. *Frontiers in Psychology*,*8*,16741698). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01674

Redshaw, S. & Ingham, V. (2018). 'Neighbourhood is if they come out and talk to you': Neighbourly connections and bonding social capital. *Journal of Sociology*, *54*(4), 557–573. https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783317729762

Regional Australia Institute. (2021). *Regional Movers Index*. http://www.regionalaustralia.org.au/home/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Mar21-Regional-Movers-Index-Report-210623-1.pdf

Reicher, S. D., Haslam, S. A. & Platow, M. J. (2018). Shared identity in leadership. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *23*, 129–133.

Rennie, S. & Morris, D. (2018). *Migration community narrative: Biloela*. http://www.regionalaustralia.org.au/home/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Biloela_CommunityNarrative_WEB.pdf

Rogers, M. F. & Ryan, R. (2001). The triple bottom line for sustainable community development. *Local Environment Journal*, *6*(3), 279–289.

Roulston, K. (2010). *Reflective interviewing: A guide to theory & practice*. Sage Publications.

Roundy, P. T. (2016). Start-up community narratives: The discursive construction of entrepreneurial ecosystems. *Journal of Entrepreneurship*, *25*(2), 232–248.

Rucker, D. D., Tormala, Z. L., Petty, R. E. & Brinol, P. (2014). Consumer conviction and commitment: An appraisal-based framework for attitude certainty. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *24*, 119–136.

Saks, A. M., Gruman, J. A. & Cooper-Thomas, H. (2011). The neglected role of proactive behavior and outcomes in newcomer socialization. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *79*, 36–46.

Saunders, B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J., Bartlam, B., Burroughs, H., & Jinks, C. (2018). Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality & quantity*, *52*(4), 1893–1907. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8

Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose text? Whose context? *Discourse and Society*, *8*(2), 165–187.

Schwandt, T. A. (1998). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (pp. 221–259). Sage Publications. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Thomas-Schwandt/publication/232477264_Constructivist_Interpretivist_Approaches_to_Human_Inquiry/links/557048d908aeab777228bfef/Constructivist-Interpretivist-Approaches-to-Human-Inquiry.pdf

Scott, J., Carrington, K. & McIntosh, A. (2011). Established-outsider relations and fear of crime in mining towns. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *52*(2), 147–169.

Sherman, J. (2009). *Those who work, those who don't: Poverty, morality, and family in rural America*. University of Minnesota Press.

Shore, L. M., Randel, A. E., Chung, B. G., Dean, M. A., K., H. E. & Singh, G. (2011). Inclusion and diversity in work groups: A review and model for future research. *Journal of Management*, *37*(4), 1262–1289.

Shucksmith, M. & Chapman, P. (1998). Rural development and social exclusion. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *38*(2), 225–242.

Simon, B. & Oakes, P. (2006). Beyond dependence: An identity approach to social power and domination. *Human Relations*, *59*(1), 105–139.

Slater, M. J., Coffee, P., Barker, J. B., Haslam, S. A. & Steffens, N. K. (2019). Shared social identity content is the basis for leaders' mobilization of followers. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *43*, 271–278.

Sluss, D. M., Ployhart, R. E., Cobb, M. G. & Ashforth, B. E. (2012). Generalising newcomers' relational and organisational identifications: Processes and prototypicality. *Academy of Management*, *55*(4), 949–975.

Smailes, P. J., Griffin, T. L. C. & Argent, N. M. (2018). *Regional cities and city regions in rural Australia: A long-term demographic perspective*. Springer.

Smith, E. A. (2010). Communication and collective action: language and the evolution of human cooperation. *Evolution of Human Behaviour 31*:231-45.

Smith, J. R. & Hogg, M. A. (2007). Social identity and attitudes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *18*, 89–131.

Smith, M. D. & Krannich, R. S. (2000). 'Culture clash' revisited: Newcomer and longer-term residents' attitudes toward land use, development and environmental issues in rural communities in the Rocky Mountain West. *Rural Sociology*, *65*(3), 396–421. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1549-0831.2000.tb00036.x

Sotarauta, M., & Beer, A. (2017). Governance, agency and place leadership: Lessons from a cross-national analysis. *Regional Studies*, *51*(2), 210–223.

Stake, R. E. (1995). The art of case study research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stancua, Alexandra, Ariccioa, S., De Dominicis, S., Ganucci Cancellieri, U.,Petruccelli, I., Iline, C. & Bonaiutoa, M. (2020). The better the bond, the better we cope. The effects of place attachment intensity and place attachment styles on the link between perception of risk and emotional and behavioral coping. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 51:101771.

Stapleton, K. & Wilson, J. (2017). Telling the story: Meaning making in a community narrative. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *108*, 60–70.

Stedman, R. (2002). Toward a social psychology of place: Predicting behaviour from place-based cognitions, attitude, and identity. Environment and Behaviour, *34*, 561–581.

Stedman, R. C. (2003). Is it really just a social construction?: The contribution of the physical environment to sense of place. *Society & Natural Resources*, *16*(8), 671–685. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920309189

Stockdale, A., and M. Macleod. (2013). Pre-retirement age Migration to Remote Rural Areas. *Journal of Rural Studies 32*: 80–92.

http://doi: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2013.04.009

Stollberg, J., Fritsche, I. & Bäcker, A. (2015). Striving for group agency: Threat to personal control increases the attractiveness of agentic group. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *6*, 649-662.

Survey Matters. (2021). *Heartbeat of Rural Australia Research Study - How are community groups and not-for-profits faring?* Bendigo Victoria: Foundation for Rural Regional Renewal.

Tajfel, Henri. 1978. *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, Henri. (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Brooks/Cole.

Taylor, S.A.P. (2001). Place identification and the positive realities of ageing. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 16,* pp5-20.

Tilt, J. H., Kearney, A. R. & Bradley, G. (2007). Understanding rural character: Cognitive and visual perceptions. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, *81*(1–2), 14–26.

Tracy, K. & Naughton, J. M. (2000). Institutional identity-work: A better lens. In J. Coupland (Ed.), *Small talk*. Routledge.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Basil Blackwell. van de Mieroop, D. (2015). Social identity theory and the discursive analysis of collective identities in narratives. In A. De Fina & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The handbook of narrative analysis*. John Wiley.

Turner, John C., Oakes, Penelope J., Haslam S. Alexander, McGarty, Craig. (1994). Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20(5):454-63.

Turner, J. C. (2005). Explaining the nature of power: A three-process theory. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *35*, 1–22.

Twigger-Ross, C. and Uzzell, D. (1996) Place and identity processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 16,*pp. 205-220

van den Hoonaard, D. (2002). Life on the margins of a Florida retirement community: The experience of snowbirds, newcomers, and widowed persons. *Research on Aging*, *24*(1), 50–66.

van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 63–74.

Viterna, J. & Maynard, D. W. (2002). How uniform is standardization? Variation within and across survey research centers regarding protocols for interviewing. In D. W. Maynard, H. Houtkoop-Steenstra, N. C. Schaeffer & J. V. D. Zouwen (Eds.), *Standardization and tacit knowledge: Interaction and practice in the survey interview* (pp. 365–401). John Wiley.

Walford, G. E. (2001). Site selection within comparative case study and ethnographic research. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *31*(2). 151–164. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920120068485

Wallis, Rachael. 2019. Banking on BANJO: business, bias, and belonging in rural social imaginaries. *Rural Society 28*(1):72-87.

Wang, M., Kammeyer-Mueller, J., Yihao, L. & Yixuan, L. (2015). Context, socialization, and newcomer learning. *Organizational Psychology Review*, *5*(1), 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/2041386614528832

Wasserman, I. C., Gallegos, P. V. & Ferdman, B. M. (2008). Dancing with resistance: Leadership challenges in fostering a culture of inclusion. In K. M. Thomas (Ed.), *Diversity resistance in organizations* (pp. 175–200). Taylor & Francis Group/Lawrence Erlbaum.

Waytz, A. & Epley, N. (2012). Social connection enables dehumanization. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *48*(1), 70–76. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.07.012

Weber, M. 2011. *An outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press

White, H. (1980). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, *7*(1), 5–27.

Wieder, D. L. (1974). *Language and social reality: The case of telling the convict code*. Mouton.

Wilding, R. & Nunn, C. (2018). Non-metropolitan productions of multiculturalism: Refugee settlement in rural Australia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *41*(14), 2542–2560. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1394479

Wilkinson, K. P. (1991). *The community in rural America*. Social Ecology Press.

Williams, J. & Martin, P. (2011). *Defending the Social Licence of Farming: Issues, Challenges and New Directions for Agriculture.* UNE Australian Centre for Agriculture and Law. Collingwood, Vic: CSIRO.

Winterton, R. and Warburton, J. (2012). Ageing in the bush: the role of rural places in maintaining identity for long term rural residents and retirement migrants in north-east Victoria, Australia. *Journal of Rural Studies 28*(4), 329-337.

Wittek, R., van Duijin, M. A. J. & Snjders, T. A. B. (2003). Frame decay, informal power, and the escalation of social control in a management team: A relational signalling perspective. In V. Buskens, W. Raub & C. Snijders (Eds.), *The governance of relations in markets and organizations* (Vol. 20, pp. 355–380). Emerald Group Publishing.

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods for critical discourse analysis.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Woolcock, M. (2001). The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes. In J. Helliwell (Ed.), *The role of human capital and social capital in economic growth and wellbeing* (pp. 65–88). Paris, Canada: OECD and Human Resources Development.

Wuthnow, R. J. (2011). Taking talk seriously: Religious discourse as social practice. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *50*(1), 1–21

Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research: Design and methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Žganec, N., Opačić, A. (2021). Principles of Community Development and Challenges Facing Deprived Communities. In: Opačić, A. (eds) *Practicing Social Work in Deprived Communities*. European Social Work Education and Practice. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65987-5_3

Appendix A: Paper 3 Published

Rural Society

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rrso20

"Who do they think they are?": social identity & conflict in small rural community

Saleena Ham & Geoffrey Woolcock

To cite this article: Saleena Ham & Geoffrey Woolcock (2022): "Who do they think they are?": social identity & conflict in small rural community, Rural Society, DOI: 10.1080/10371656.2022.2061723

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/10371656.2022.2061723

Published online: 12Apr 2022.