

In-migration and economic activity in rural areas of Wales

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Abstract

Rural areas are changing – a population turnaround was first identified in the 1970's (Beale 1975). Since that time more and more research has uncovered the numbers and types of people moving into rural areas (Boyle 1995, Boyle and Halfacree 1998, Bolton and Chalkley 1998) and the impact of this migration (Bell 1994 Cloke and Goodwin 1992). Keeble and Tyler (1995) began to address the economic capacity of in-migrants highlighting that many rural businesses are owned by in-migrants. Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) identified that on average for each self-employed in-migrant 2.4 jobs are created. In recent years the policy focus on rural areas has centred on endogenous development, Stockdale (2006) argues in-migrants are essential for this approach to be successful.

This research has combined literature from migration studies, with entrepreneurship literature, to examine the economic activity choices of in-migrants; with a particular focus on self-employment. Migration studies focus on where people choose to migrate to and the impact they then have on the area. Entrepreneurship literature focuses on the types of people who chose to become self-employed and the impact of various factors on their decision making. This research has utilised concepts from both literature sources to examine lifetime migrant's economic activity in rural areas (defined under the ONS rural – urban classification).

Powys and Gwynedd are two local authority areas in rural Wales that have interesting economic and migration patterns. They were selected as study areas as they represent areas of varying degrees of inward migration, self-employment, accessibility to major transport networks and levels of Welsh speaking. This research charts the economic activity of households across these local authorities in order to understand what impact individual, household and area level influences have on in-migrants economic activity. A postal survey of 597 households in the case study areas was used to explore the research questions; 'what are the differences in the current economic activity of migrants and non-migrants in rural labour markets in Wales; and why do these differences exist?'

The conclusions of this research make three key contributions to knowledge:

1. In-migrants and non-migrants in the case study areas selected have broadly similar levels of economic activity rates. There are no statistically significant differences in economic activity choices between the two groups.

2. Some in-migrants (at similar levels to non-migrants) become self-employed and start a business. These businesses are often different to that of non-migrants, they tend to be largely based from home and prefer to employ family members.
3. Many in-migrants do not move into rural areas with the intention of becoming self-employed this is mobilised often up to a decade after the move.

The findings of this research play a key role in understanding why in-migrants make the economic activity choices they do in rural areas. – Through a combination of push and pull factors that centre on the individual (age, nationality, employment history), the household (household structure, tenure) and the area (labour market, levels of Welsh speaking) in-migrants make economic activity choices that for some, result in self-employment.

The businesses created by in-migrants differ slightly from that of non-migrant owned businesses. In-migrant owned businesses are most likely to be based from or closer to home than non-migrants. They often employ family member and tend to be younger than non-migrant owned businesses. They do not appear more likely to create jobs than non-migrant owned businesses. This is an important finding given the importance of in-migrant owned rural businesses in much recent rural debate (Bosworth 2008, Bosworth 2010, Stockdale 2006).

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1 The Introduction

The focus of this research is the economic activity of in-migrants to rural areas of Wales. This research asks the question why in-migrants make the economic activity decisions they do in rural areas of Wales. The research explores this question by asking what are the differences in the current economic activity of migrants and non-migrants in rural labour markets in Wales; and why do these differences exist? In order to explore these themes this introduction sets out the scale of migration, the extent of rural businesses and the policy context in which rural areas are operating. All of these themes will be reviewed in chapter 2 the literature review but in this chapter they provide the rationale for the research and set the scene for in-migrants' economic activity.

Research into the economic activity patterns of in-migrants is important because rural areas are being transformed; there is a move away from the productivist ethos of industrialised farming. A burgeoning non-agricultural economy in rural areas is helping to shape the landscape of the UK. This has created a gap in our understanding of rural economies and in particular a lack of knowledge about the contemporary non-agricultural rural economy. This research has made some contribution to understanding this gap by investigating the decisions in-migrants, to rural areas, make regarding their economic activity. These economic patterns are central to understanding what impact migration has on local rural labour markets. This is an important contribution to understanding contemporary rural economic change as more and more research uncovers the types, numbers and sectors of jobs being created in rural areas by in-migrant owned businesses. It is essential to understand what leads to these economic activity decisions. This research has used a lifetime definition of migration. This is similar to the approach adopted by Keeble and Tyler (1995) and the approach favoured by Boyle and Halfacree (1993, 1998). In conceptualising migrants in lifetime migration terms means that moves several years prior to the survey can be considered. However as with all research it makes comparisons to other research (that uses a different definition such as Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999) more difficult. This research has utilised households as the unit of enquiry. This is due to the fact that household structures are said to impact on the economic activity decisions of individual household members as Green and Hardill (2003) identified. Household structure is one of a number of factors that influence the economic activity of in-migrants to rural areas. This research has through the literature identified a number of factors that can impact upon in-migrants' economic activity and has utilised qualitative interviews and a household survey to explore these factors with in-migrant households.

The reasoning behind any investigation into the economic activity of in-migrants to rural areas is because of its importance to the spatial, demographic, and socio-economic profile of the UK. Due to the different measures of what is a rural area there are many estimates of rural space and rural population figures in the UK. However using a variety of rural definitions it is apparent that approximately one fifth of the UK population live in rural areas (IEA 2005, The Countryside Agency 2004). For the other four fifths of people living in urban areas it is also a very important resource, as access to the countryside is said to be an important part of our quality of life (The Countryside Agency 2004). Rural areas not only play an important role in terms of the UK's economy but make up a significant amount of the landmass; in England there are over 4000 rural wards which is almost half of all wards and 145 wholly or mostly rural local authorities (The Countryside Agency 2003). This highlights the amount of the UK that is made up of rural space and thus how important investigation and research into rural areas is.

At this juncture it is important to note that what constitutes 'rural space' is a deep-rooted debate that cannot easily be summarised and will therefore be discussed at length in subsequent parts of the literature review. However traditionally rural areas were so defined by their distinctive rural function (Clope and Milbourne 1992). More recent rural research has tended to move away from defining rural by a specific link to food production and agriculture and towards an array of different methods including rural as a social representation (Hoggart and Buller 1995). The problem with the various definitions of what constitutes rural, lies in the fact that this makes comparisons between different rural research problematic. This is because what constitutes rural space shifts depending on the definition being adopted.

To clarify; this research is informed by the rural definition which was introduced in 2004 as a joint project between the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC - formerly The Countryside Agency), the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), the Office for National Statistics (ONS), the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) and the Welsh Assembly. It was delivered by the Rural Evidence Research Centre at Birkbeck College (RERC). This definition has been developed considering different land based morphologies. This reveals two different types of rural space, sparse and less sparse which broadly match up with early census based work on remote vs. accessible rural areas. For a more in-depth consideration of rural definitions and their associated problems see Cloke (2006), Halfacree (2006).

More recently, the Office for National Statistics (2005) in trying to develop a working framework for defining urban and rural output areas identified four different morphologies: urban, rural town, village and dispersed. These were then divided, according to their context,

further into sparse and less sparse areas. Most of the studies discussed in this research are concerned with remote rural space or in the case of the ONS definition less sparse regions made up of rural towns, villages and dispersed areas. Some of the literature in this review has also been drawn from government departments such as DEFRA and these organisations also use the ONS definition. The study areas in this research are two local authority areas in Wales (Powys and Gwynedd) which are both considered rural local authority areas made up of sparse and less sparse areas under the ONS definition.

The traditional view of rural population change has centred on out migration to urban centres. Some rural areas have seen a change in population dynamics, with an inflow of migrants exceeding the outflow. A change in rural population figures was first identified in the US in the 1970's (Beale 1975). It was then later discovered across Western Europe (Champion 1989, Fielding 1982). The identification of this trend has produced a wide range of research that has highlighted the changes taking place in rural areas both demographically and socio-economically, some of these changes include; the growth of the middle classes and manufacturing industry in rural areas.

This research follows on from these studies and has used a household survey with 3000 postal addresses across 5 travel to work areas in Powys and Gwynedd (see chapter 3 for more information and a map of the case study areas). The study sought to explore what differences there are between migrant and non-migrant economic activity and why these differences exist. The results revealed that in-migrants make broadly similar choices to that of non-migrants (Chapter 4). The research also revealed that in-migrants economic decision making is complex and is influenced by a number of factors including household structure (see chapter 5). In terms of self-employment the reasons for business start-up by in-migrants and non-migrants varies. In-migrants choices are impacted by a number of factors. Many in-migrants (60%) did not move with the intention of becoming self-employed: there is often a time lag of many years between in-migration and business start-up (see chapter 6). These findings have resulted in a number of conclusions being drawn regarding in-migration to rural Wales and the economic activity of in-migrants (see chapter 7). These conclusions highlight the need for a more in-depth look at the businesses started by in-migrants as they seem to underperform in terms of economic benefit to local rural economies compared to non-migrant owned businesses. Perhaps the support needs of in-migrants are different as traditional business models do not necessarily take into consideration their growth aspirations (see chapter 7). This introduction will now turn to an in-depth discussion of rurality and rural change, including the role of in-migration.

1.1 Socio and economic change in rural areas

Rural space in developed market economies has witnessed a variety of changes in recent times and continues to be at the centre of a wide range of political and academic debates (Rogers 1993). In broad terms the changes taking place in rural areas are part of a larger picture of general socio-economic and political processes (Ilbery 1998). One of which is the *'regional restructuring of industry as having produced a spatial redistribution of employment opportunities'* (Walford 2004 p.312). Manufacturing jobs have been decreasing in urban areas over the last thirty years. However the numbers have increased in rural areas; North (1998) discusses how in rural areas of the UK over 80km from the nearest conurbations there has been a 38% increase in the number of manufacturing jobs. The movement of jobs from urban to rural areas is discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

The widening of spatial mobility and prevalence of extended social networks (Marsden 2006) and the proclivity for rural living (Halfacree 2006) have also altered rural social geographies. These social changes have allowed a greater number of individuals to choose to relocate to rural areas. Migration has been an important component of population change in rural Britain in recent decades (Champion 1989, 1992). Research has shown that rural in-migration is not solely by people of retirement age but also by younger economically active age groups (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, DEFRA 2004). The social structure of the UK as a whole has definitely seen changes over the past decades, the extent of these in particular in rural areas has been the subject of some debate (see Newby 1979 and Pahl 1966). There has been some suggestion in the media and within academic circles that rural areas have become predominantly middle class zones (Clover 2001).

Some discussion has focussed, not surprisingly on definitions of middle class and service class - Phillips (2007), Hoggart (2007) and Abram, Murdoch and Marsden (1996). An investigation by Hoggart (1997) using census data over a thirty year period to track changes in the social structure of England aimed to establish if the middle classes had 'taken over' rural areas. This revealed that the service classes made up approximately 30% of the population of rural areas in 1991, and although this figure is an increase on the previous census of 1981 the increase can be seen across England as a whole. Remoter rural areas were not so much taken over by the middle classes even using a broad definition of the term 'middle class' but had an abundance of the traditional rural middle class the 'petit bourgeoisie'. However it is important to note that levels of professional and managerial workers are rising in many accessible rural districts (Countryside Agency 2004) and therefore the argument by Hoggart (1997) seems to be at odds with the picture of rural areas

painted by other studies. Work on the Dynamic Small Towns project (Brown et al 2004) highlighted the link between levels of professional and managerial workers and the increase in employment levels in a town, a correlation which raises questions about the importance that social structure plays in affecting local rural economies. In migration terms, is the migration of middle class people to remote rural areas increasing employment levels in the rural area and if so what impact is this having on the local rural economy?

Hoggart's (2007 p.314) most recent work has again confirmed rising numbers of middle classes in the countryside but he argues:

'Middle class expansion does not mean working class decline in absolute terms. Indeed, even the migration balance between rural and urban is positive for the countryside amongst individuals who have working class jobs.'

These arguments make drawing conclusions about the impact of migration on the social structure of rural areas a contentious issue. This is compounded by the problems of definition used in making class distinctions. Rural research although not particularly involved in this debate (Phillips 2007), does however extensively use class distinctions and in particular much attention is paid to the notion of 'middle class'. Unfortunately much rural research is not explicit as to what measure or definition of class it is applying, one notable exception of this is Hoggart (1997) who used the Goldthorpe Schema. An updated version of this method of class distinction has since become widely used as it was the schema used in the 2001 census.

Regardless of the definitions used it is clear that the social profiles of rural areas of the UK are changing. The impact this has on the countryside has traditionally been discussed in negative terms, with local planning policy often cited as an issue in which the vocal middle classes are able to petition a 'nimby' attitude and direct development to other places outside their concern (Abram, Murdoch and Marsden 1996).

Although much of the research discussed in this paper focuses on rural areas in the UK, the changes observed in this country are being witnessed by rural areas across Europe and the United States (Ilbery 1998).

In recent history the restructuring of industry has no doubt played an important role in shaping rural economies as have a number of other factors such as the changing social structure of rural areas. However this research is interested in the changes in the contemporary rural economy and the role of migrants in contributing to these changes.

1.2 In-migration and rural economies

The previous section of the introduction has been a brief tour of the field of rural studies and has touched on some of the main themes. This section has also outlined the impact of the restructuring of industry and how this has altered the residential patterns of the UK. Chapter 2, the literature review will discuss these issues in more depth and will also highlight the problems of rural definition and how this makes cross comparisons between studies difficult.

This next section of the introduction will now turn to the subject of in-migration and rural economies, the main focus of this research. Whilst there will be a detailed examination of the literature in the next chapter, this section will outline some common themes in the field and highlight why a study into in-migration and rural economies is important. As will be discussed in the next section, the rural economy contributes significantly to the business stock and employment of the UK economy (Keeble and Tyler 1995). In-migrants are said to play an increasingly important role in creating this contribution (Raley and Moxey 2000, Bosworth 2008). Therefore this introduction into in-migration and rural economies will outline key themes that will be discussed at length in the literature review.

Despite the difficulties inherent in cross comparisons of rural research, due to the problems involved in defining the term rural, much research can agree on the fact rural space is witnessing a turnaround in both its dominant function and its demography (Ilbery 1998, Cloke and Milbourne 1992). In terms of its dominant function rural areas are no longer dominated by farming and landowners, a change in the nature of agriculture has lessened the dominance of the productivist ethos (Ilbery 1998). Agriculture now only accounts for approximately 3% of rural employment, with tourism being a much larger industry (IEA 2005).

The changing employment structure of rural areas has resulted in farm diversification into both on and off the farm economic activity. Research also suggests that employment is growing faster in rural areas than in urban areas (North and Smallbone 1996, Brown et al 2004). This has been traditionally seen in terms of the restructuring of the manufacturing sector (Walford 2004). It is now being understood that the creation of new firms in the fastest expanding industries are also locating away from urban centres (Butt 1999), though perhaps accessible rural areas are the beneficiaries of much of this high tech firm expansion. Businesses started by in-migrants are thought to play a key role in this new firm expansion as the next sections will outline.

1.2.1 The scale of migration

It is clear that rural employment structures are changing. This can also be seen in regards to demographic change in rural areas. There has been an inflow and out flow of people to rural areas which is commonly associated with the inflow of people of retirement age and an outflow of young people (Stockdale 2006). This is a significant part of the picture, as young people move for education and employment reasons and the retired migrate to specific hotspots. But there is also a considerable inflow of people occupying other age bands that are part of the economically active population such as family household structures and the pre-retirement group of in-migrants (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006). It is these economically active in-migrants that are the focus of this research, as it is these groups that have the potential to strongly influence local rural economies.

The impact of migration on rural areas in terms of population change is important, as Buller et al (2003) noted when considering natural population change (and not in-migration), rural areas are experiencing population decline. However when the impact of in-migration is accounted for, the population of rural areas is increasing faster than urban areas. Using the ONS mid-year population estimates the Wales Rural Observatory (2004) identified that the population of rural areas of Wales had increased by 39,900 people between 1991 and 2001.

The in-migration of certain groups of people into rural areas may partially account for some of the changes faced by rural regions. The migration of people down the urban hierarchy over the last thirty years has created a unique set of opportunities and challenges (Champion 1989). With this emergence of new social classes in the countryside, there has been a gradual shift from rural areas as sites of production to sites of consumption. Cloke and Goodwin (1992 p.328) affirm the changing nature of rural Britain by acknowledging '*the commodification of rural idylls and rural lifestyles and in the use of the countryside as a theatre of consumption*'. Whilst some groups may fear such changes, perhaps rural areas are not changing from sites of production to sites of consumption, but are changing the nature of their production? This idea has not been fully realised in recent research as much research continues to focus on the difficulties associated with in-migration to rural areas.

Some of these difficulties as Hamnet (1992) discusses, addresses the problems of house price rises in rural areas. This has in recent years been further compounded by the disparity between rural incomes and average rural house prices. Bell (1994) highlighted the breakdown of the sense of community in areas where there are large numbers of in-migrants. Similarly Smith (2007 p. 280) states that: '*there is an apparent deepening of the social cleavages between rural populations*'. This traditional focus on the difficulties

associated with in-migration is in contrast to the studies which are beginning to reflect the opportunities that in-migration can have in rural regions. In particular some studies in the field are highlighting the economic development potential of in-migrants (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006, Raley and Moxey 2000). Stockdale Short and Findlay (1999) used a study across different types of rural regions to outline the job creation potential of in-migrants. They concluded that self employed in-migrants create on average 2.4 jobs each, other research has borne out similar results (Raley and Moxey 2000, Bosworth 2008).

1.2.2 Rural economies

The rural economy is not a distinct entity nor is it vastly different to any other economy; in many respects rural and urban economies are very similar. There are however some important differences, two of which are the types of employment sectors people are employed in and the importance of self-employment in the rural economy (The Countryside Agency 2004). It is this issue of self-employment and small business creation that this research will focus on. In terms of self-employment and or business creation, rural businesses make up a significant number of the UK's business stock. 24% of all businesses are located in rural areas compared with only 19% of the population (DEFRA 2005).

Small businesses play an important role in rural labour markets; the rural economy has a greater dependency on small business than in other areas (WRO 2009). The rural economy in Wales is facing a number of pressures due in part to the financial crisis affecting the UK and beyond. In particular rural businesses in retail, distribution and tourism are under particular pressure (WRO 2009) given the squeeze on household budgets. However agriculture has fared somewhat better as it is given some protection through the Common Agricultural Policy. The long term viability of Wales local rural economies is often based in the tourism sector (WRO 2009) therefore it is essential that the 'tourism product' of Wales is enhanced. The contribution of businesses started by in-migrants to this may be an important source of support to rural economies.

Many small scale businesses in rural areas are centred in the artisan/ craft arena (Lowe and Talbot 2000). This clustering of business types in rural areas helps to satiate the public demand for 'niche' products with an authenticity or regionalism about them (IEA 2005). It also adds weight to Cloke's (1997) argument that the countryside is becoming a theatre of consumption. Keeble and Tyler (1995) who investigated differences between urban and rural businesses using a matched pair methodology found that rural businesses are more innovative than their urban counterparts and are largely established by in-migrants who it is

said appear more likely to sell into distant markets and exploit social networks and business support opportunities than their 'local' counterparts (Countryside Agency 2003).

Keeble and Tyler (1995) identified that many rural businesses are owned by in-migrants, Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) set out that on average self-employed in-migrants create 2.4 jobs each. The contribution of these jobs to the local labour market cannot be downplayed. The coalition government's comprehensive spending review has resulted in the loss of many public sector jobs. Wales has a high proportion of people employed in the public sector (WRO 2009). The loss of these jobs may have a significant impact on local rural labour markets; therefore jobs created by in-migrant owned businesses may help to relieve any pressure caused through the downturn in the economy and the loss of public sector jobs.

What the previous paragraphs have highlighted is that whilst some research still focuses on the challenges faced by in-migrants and in-migration. There are some studies which are beginning to discuss the important positive contribution that in-migration can make. Whether that is in terms of their propensity to become self-employed, the numbers of jobs they create or the innovativeness of their business practices. What is missing from this discussion is; are the patterns of economic activity of in-migrants different from non-migrants and if so what causes these differences? This is because as yet no research has assessed the processes through which in-migrants establish themselves as employed full time, employed part time or self-employed. This may partially be because the contemporary rural economy is changing and due to the pace of change research hasn't caught up yet, just as policy appears to be somewhat out-dated in rural areas as the next section addresses.

This introduction to in-migration and rural economies would not be complete without a brief discussion on current policy regarding rural areas. Therefore this next section addresses some of the key policy themes in relation to in-migration and rural economies.

Despite the growing awareness of businesses in rural areas, cities remain the focus of economic development at EU and UK levels as can be seen from the policy approach adopted using cities as drivers of regional growth (HM Treasury 2006). This may need to be reconsidered as the sophistication of rural businesses develops and the opportunities for home working that ICT affords becomes realised (Commission for Rural Communities 2005). Rural areas are currently working in an out-dated policy approach which is failing to fully appreciate the changes that are occurring in rural areas. Most rural development initiatives are existing policy instruments repackaged, they also tend to be very agri-centric with farmers and landowners the vast majority of beneficiaries (IEA 2005). Chapter 2 outlines the policy framework evident in rural areas in more detail, but in short most spending in rural

areas is in support of agriculture. The spend of the Common Agricultural Policy (even under the adaptation and support of rural economies stream) not in support of agriculture equates to less than 1% of the total CAP spend (IPPR 2006).

There is a current focus within rural development policy that is advocating an endogenous approach. Stockdale (2006) argues that as human capital is a central component of this process, the out migration being seen in rural areas as identified in Fielding's (1992) 'escalator region hypothesis' is compromising the usefulness of this policy. In order to overcome this difficulty Ray (2001) advocates a neo-endogenous development approach which retains the belief that local people should shape their own futures but that extra-local factors are essential in this occurring. However by encouraging in-migration and the businesses associated with it in line with a neo-endogenous development approach there is a failure to address the fact that much self-employment results in cycles of unemployment and low pay. As Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) assert not all self-employment is beneficial, many self-employed people require more government assistance in the long run. It is therefore essential to understand if in-migrants economic activity patterns are different to non-migrants in rural areas.

Chapter 2 addresses the literature in more detail but concludes that there are three main areas where further information is required and these are: First, many in-migrants it appears are motivated to move by quality of life considerations (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). One aspect of which appears to be scenic beauty. For Keeble and Tyler (1995) quality of life and pleasant environment are interlinked. Self-employed in-migrants in particular appear to be most strongly influenced by scenic beauty and this may influence their wish to move to rural areas and start their own businesses (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). This appears to be a pull factor explanation for in-migration and self-employment. It also seems to fit into some of the debates surrounding counterurbanisation, which stress the need for in-migrants to be rejecting city living to qualify as counter-urbanites (Haliday and Coombes 1995). This seems to be a simplistic and idealised view of in-migration and entrepreneurship. In reality the numbers of self-employed rural in-migrants, according to 2001 census data one year after they move, is very low.

Secondly the literature review concluded that we need a better understanding of the changing economic activity of rural in-migrants once they move into the area. It is important to establish if in-migrants economic activity differs from non-migrants. And if so why? Furthermore in regards to self-employment Keeble and Tyler (1995) suggested that the shift to self-employment takes place sometime after the move into the area but we know little about when migrants become self-employed, the delay between in-migration and the move

into self-employment and most importantly we do not know why some migrants turn to self-employment while others do not. We know from the entrepreneurship literature that there are a number of factors that impact on individuals' choices to become self-employed (Carter and Jones-Evans 2006).

Finally, the literature is notably deficient in describing the characteristics of businesses run by in-migrants and how if at all they differ from the characteristics of businesses run by non-migrants.

This section of the introduction has highlighted how for a strong healthy rural economy human capital is an important component; in-migration may be satisfying this demand in some regions. However it is thought many in-migrants favour self-employment and not all self-employment creates jobs therefore a balance has to be struck which existing policy may not fully realise (The Countryside Agency 2004). This research helps to address the gaps in our understanding of rural economies and in-migration that have been outlined above.

1.3 Summary of introduction

The impact of in-migration on local rural economies cannot be ignored as this introduction has briefly outlined. The field of rural studies is a dynamic subject area within which research is being conducted on numerous issues. Although there are many facets to rural change this research is primarily concerned with demographic change particularly in-migration and economic activity. Chapter 2 will examine the links between demographic change and economic change in rural areas in greater detail, because it is now being understood that in-migration is an important driver of economic development in rural areas (Stockdale 2006). However at this stage it is important to note that this research is interested in the decisions made by in-migrants to rural areas about economic activity. These economic activity patterns are central to understanding whether the policy of neo endogenous growth will deliver the benefits expected. This is an important contribution to understanding contemporary rural economic change as more and more research uncovers the types, numbers and sectors of jobs being created in rural areas by in-migrant owned businesses. It is essential to understand whether in-migrants economic activity is different to non-migrants and if so why?

In-migrants are moving into rural areas, this is happening across Western Europe and the United States (Champion 1989). They then impact on rural communities in a number of ways; traditionally these were viewed in negative terms (Bell 1994, Hamnet 1992). Our understanding of rural in-migration has since changed and we are beginning to understand the positive contribution to rural areas that they can make (Stockdale, Short and Findlay

1999, Stockdale 2006). This research is not a comment on whether it is a positive or negative phenomena instead it intends to offer an insight into whether in-migrants make different economic choices to that of non-migrants in rural areas of Wales and if so what factors are impacting on these choices.

This introduction has addressed some of the main debates in this field such as the difficulty in defining what a rural area is. The impact of in-migration in rural areas and the current policy paradigm of endogenous development, these issues will be addressed in more detail in the literature review. This introduction has also highlighted some of the theoretical concepts within which this research is working. It has therefore served as a back drop for the next chapters and so it is at this point that a summary of the subsequent chapters is provided. This will highlight the key themes of the chapters of the thesis and act as a reference guide to the document.

1.4 Summary of subsequent chapters

This introductory chapter has outlined the fact that this research is concerned with the contemporary rural economy, and in particular the economic activity of in-migrants. This will be researched by exploring the question – “What are the differences in the current economic activity of migrants and non-migrants in rural labour markets in Wales and why do these differences exist?” This chapter has outlined how this is an important area of research due to the focus on endogenous development in rural policy and the potential impact of in-migrant owned businesses to the non-agricultural rural economy.

The second chapter focuses on the literature; this chapter takes forward the broad themes identified in chapter 1 and explores some of the central themes in more detail. The literature review examines the impact of demographic change through in-migration on local rural economies. It then outlines the economic activity patterns of in-migrants as surveyed by Findlay, Short and Stockdale for The Countryside Agency in 1999. The literature review then examines some possible explanations for these choices. The conclusions drawn from the literature reveal that we need further information on the patterns of economic activity of in-migrants. As current research is not clear whether in-migrants make similar economic activity choices as local populations. However from the literature we understand some appear to favour self-employment and in turn they create large numbers of jobs. There is some speculation that in-migrants move with the intention of becoming self-employed, and that quality of life plays a significant part in this decision (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999).

Chapter 3 dealing with methodological issues develops the ideas identified in the literature chapter and builds on them to form concepts. These concepts centre on the role of household structure, rurality, employment & housing histories and previous residential location. This chapter also outlines the theoretical choices that have been made in the designing of this research, including the role of households in decision making (Green and Hardill 2003). The time dimension of self-employment (Keeble and Tyler 1995) and the process of self-employment (Carter and Jones-Evans 2006) have also been used to develop theory about the choices of in-migrants. The role structuration theory has played in the research is also explored in chapter 3.

The third chapter also outlines the methods that were used by this research to investigate the economic activity of in-migrants including what the process is by which in-migrants establish themselves as entrepreneurs in rural areas. The methodology discusses the research strategy adopted which centres on qualitative interviewees and survey methods of enquiry, and explains the choice of study location. This chapter then closes by addressing how the data was analysed and the ethical and data security issues that were considered.

The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters present the findings of the analysis and discussion of the main findings. These chapters are organised around the research questions. Chapter 5 provides some basic aggregate data on the sample answering what are the differences in the current economic activity of migrants and non-migrants in rural labour markets in Wales. Chapter 6 then explores the data to see why these differences exist. Chapter 7 outlines in-migrants self-employment choices including why they made this decision and the impacts this has on local rural economies. This chapter highlights the timeline of in-migration and entrepreneurship; it then discusses some of the reasons given for in-migrants economic participation in self-employment. The chapter also outlines commonalities and differences between in-migrant and non-migrant owned businesses.

Finally the conclusions chapter brings together all the subsequent chapters to answer the research question and embed the results of the research within a wider context. The conclusion discusses the contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes, and highlights the fields of study in which this thesis is placed, such as the role of in-migrants in local rural economies and their impact on the non-agricultural economy. Finally, the thesis concludes by addressing the possible policy implications that this research has, for example, the changes that the business support agencies could incorporate to ensure suitable support is offered to in-migrant groups. This could in turn help support the government agenda of endogenous development in rural areas.

2 The literature review

2.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter of the thesis sets the scene for the research. The literature review brings together all the relevant literature within the fields of in-migration and entrepreneurship and synthesises the detail to provide a robust justification for the research questions. The literature review begins by broadly detailing some of the main debates in rural studies and then focuses on the detail of in-migration and economic activity. Finally the review suggests areas where further research is warranted and then concludes with the research questions.

2.2 Conceptualising Rural Britain

Whilst there is a debate in rural studies about the concept of rurality (Cloke 2006, Halfacree 2006, Hoggart and Buller 1995) and how to define rural for official statistical purposes (WAG 2008), studies of the changing geography of Britain typically distinguish 'urban' and 'rural' Britain. Outside the large urban areas, places with 250,000 population or more – see for example Turok and Edge (1999) – lies 'rural' Britain characterised by a mix of small towns and rural areas, with a dominance of land in agricultural use. These studies have described an urban-rural shift in population and economic activities over the last 50 years, and the convergence of the economic structure of urban and rural Britain with the decline of employment and output in agriculture.

But rural Britain is not homogenous: a further sub-division recognised by studies making important contributions to the debate about the rural economy (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Hoggart 1997) distinguishes accessible from remote rural areas. Behind this distinction is the recognition of the way that improvements in telecommunications, personal mobility and more recently information technology lessen the distance between urban areas and the surrounding countryside (Cloke 2006, Smith 2007). Accessible rural areas are likely to be within relatively short travelling times of major urban areas permitting the extension of urban housing and labour markets into these areas. Remote rural areas are less likely to be part of these wider functional urban areas.

Overlapping to some extent with this sub-division of rural Britain is the typology developed by Marsden (2006) based on the nature of socio-political relations to be observed in these areas. These were:

1. The preserved countryside
2. The contested countryside
3. The paternalistic countryside
4. The clientelistic countryside

This typology reflects the changing functions and roles of the countryside. The first one representing rural areas with a strong middle class contingent, where the service sector dominates the local economy and a 'nimbyist' attitude to development exists. The second type reflects rural areas of no specific environmental quality outside of traditional commuter belts. This is an area where incomers and local landowners jockey for control of the local economy and development. The third refers to rural areas which remain dominated by local landowners and farmers. Finally the fourth type refers to rural regions which remain reliant on government subsidy and transfer payments. The case study areas in this research span two local authority areas and five travel to work areas. Unfortunately they do not fit neatly into one or the other of the Marsden (2006) typologies instead representing elements of 3 out of the four categories. The only one of the types that is not relevant to the case study areas is the 2nd type the contested countryside.

Rural policy is an important catalyst for change in rural areas and may partially explain the differences between rural regions identified in the typology above. The following section will outline the policy framework in place in rural regions.

2.3 Rural policy the framework for rural development

This thesis is concerned with the individual decisions of in-migrants in regards to their economic activity upon migration to rural areas. However individual's decisions are set within the broader context of local and non-local factors. In particular they are influenced by the broader framework of rural policy. This in turn is influenced today by the global recession. In order to explore the individual decision making of in-migrants the literature review begins by embedding these decisions within the context of the current rural policy framework.

We are at the genesis of a new era in rural policy, the installation of the coalition into office at number ten (2010) and the subsequent comprehensive spending review have paved the way for the dismantling of Labour's rural legacy. How these changes will impact upon rural Britain remains to be seen, therefore in order to explore rural policy we journey to the days of New Labour and the policy framework which was developed under their reign.

1997 saw the rise of New Labour into power and with it a modernisation agenda (Ward in IPPR 2006). The hope was that the Common Agricultural Policy could become a part of these changes. The CAP essentially a European compensation scheme for farmers has been the mainstay of UK rural policy since the 1970's (Ward in IPPR 2006). Unfortunately reorganising the CAP was not a priority of the then new government and the foot and mouth outbreak of 2001 put pay to any ideas of CAP reform. The FMD outbreak resulted in the creation of the Department Environment Food Rural Affairs (DEFRA) in 2001 and brought about wider discussion of rural policy which resulted in the publication of a number of rural policy documents including the Rural Strategy (DEFRA 2004) which had at its heart three key aims:

1. Economic and Social Regeneration – supporting enterprise across rural England, but targeting greater resources at areas of greatest need.
2. Social Justice for All – tackling social exclusion wherever it occurs and providing fair access to services and opportunities for all rural people.
3. Enhancing the Value of our Countryside – protecting the natural environment for this and future generations.

The Welsh Government did not have an equivalent policy at the time of the Rural Strategy (2004), they are currently preparing the Wales Rural Development Plan 2014-2020 but this is in the early stages.

The publication of the Rural Strategy was a crystallising moment in rural policy as it moved away from agriculture as the main stay of rural policy and embraced wider socio economic issues as its focus. The creation of the Commission for Rural Communities further embraced these ideals and rural policy whilst still on the fringes of main stream economic, agricultural and planning policy began to reflect the wider role of the countryside. However national planning and economic policy did not respond as quickly and cities remained the drivers of regional growth (Midgley and Adams in Institute Public Policy Research 2006). Rural areas continued to be dominated by the CAP as the main policy framework in place. It appeared that “policy makers do not sufficiently acknowledge the declining contribution agriculture makes to the rural economy” (Midgley and Adams in Institute Public Policy Research 2006 p.11).

Agricultural policy remains the main focus of rural policy but perhaps discussing policy in terms of rural or urban policy is a misnomer as the policy framework in place in rural areas is an assemblage of policies covering planning, agriculture and the economy. The most significant of these being agricultural policy as rural areas are still primarily seen as land based economies. The CAP dominates agricultural policy and changes in the Common

Agricultural Policy have seen it shift from a sectoral to territorial orientation and from European to a national and local focus (Lowe in IPPR 2006). This it was hoped would result in positive benefits for rural areas. It was the introduction of Pillar II of the CAP which was intended to support wider rural economies by shifting the focus from agriculture.

However the introduction of Pillar II in many respects has not brought about the changes desired. Whilst farmers have moved to the Single Farm Payment and their role is now viewed in a stewardship of the countryside capacity, the CAP continues to have perpetuated an over emphasis on agriculture in rural development (Lowe in IPPR 2006). Lowe (IPPR 2006) sets out how under the 'adaptation and development of rural areas' objective of Pillar II the funding for non-agricultural rural enterprise was only 10% of the Pillar II budget and only 1% of the total CAP spend.

The intention to support the wider rural economy within Pillar II of the CAP may not have been fully realised however under New Labour this was only one part of a modernisation agenda for rural areas. Rural planning policy also went through a New Labour modernisation process, and evolved to encompass sustainable development as the primary focus. This was embodied in the national planning policy of England and Wales outlined in PPS 7(2004) and TAN 6 (2011) which opened the countryside up for economic development. This was intended to sustain rural communities by permitting small scale economic activity outside established settlements. In practice whether this is being translated into local planning policy by individual rural planning officers and planning committees remains to be seen (Ward in IPPR 2006).

The general election of 2010 saw the end of New Labour in power and the formation of the coalition government. What this will mean for rural areas is not yet clear. The coalition government are using the global recession as a catalyst for wide ranging public sector cuts. In rural areas up to 25% of the population are employed in public administration (Countryside Agency 2004) whilst this figure is similar for urban areas the limited job opportunities in rural areas may make the impact of job cuts more noticeable. The coalition government believe that the private sector will grow under the stabilising effect of the deficit reduction and thereby fill the job gap.

In-migration to rural areas is understood to be one way of encouraging growth in employment in rural areas as in-migrants are thought to create on average 2.4 jobs per self-employed in-migrant (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006, Bosworth 2008). It is therefore vital that we understand what the quality of these jobs are and the timeline for in-migrant businesses as the local rural economy will need supporting in light of the planned public sector cuts.

2.4 An Inclusive Rural Economy

There is not one local rural economy, rural areas have economies which are the result of processes which are both local and non-local (Ward in IPPR 2006). The rural economy means different things to different people. Historically it was seen in terms of the agricultural or land based economy. However rural economies are not solely reliant on land based activities. Any business can form a part of the rural economy if it based in a rural area. The rural economy should be seen in inclusionary terms – it is not just about farming (Ward in IPPR 2006). This is recognised in planning policy terms through the opening up of the countryside for development in PPS 7 (2004) and TAN 6 (2011). This has largely not been recognised in economic terms with 84% of government spending on rural areas being in support of agriculture (IEA 2005).

Despite the policy focus on agriculture, rural economies are changing, Marini and Mooney (2006) built on Marsden's et al (2004) rural typology to develop a framework for rural economies. They developed a threefold typology; which included the rent seeking economy – rural areas whose economy is mainly based on agriculture and extractive industry. These areas tend to fall into the Paternalistic typology; they are often trapped in a low income status due to the social structure of economic power. The second rural economy type is that of the dependent economy – rural areas whose economy is primarily derived from external sources. This may be in the form of large multinational corporations opening factories in these areas due to the low labour costs or in the form of state assistance. These areas closely match that of the clientelistic countryside: these areas are at most risk as clientelism can lead to a reduction in the collective self-esteem of the local population; there is also a risk that external support may be withdrawn.

Finally the third typology is that of the entrepreneurial economy – these economies draw their income from the capitalisation of local resources, whether in terms of tourism or niche market goods such as local crafts. These areas are most associated with the preserved countryside typology; they are able to both attract investment from firms wishing to relocate for better residential facilities for their workers as well as being able to exploit local resources to create income. The cultural factor which characterises the entrepreneurial economy or the preserved countryside is the entrepreneurial capability of the local populations (Marini and Mooney 2006).

This raises some interesting questions about the changing nature of rural economies and the potential for in-migrants and their associated businesses to impact upon rural economic change. Marini and Mooney (2006) highlight the potential of economies to mature and

change from rent-seeking to entrepreneurial and vice versa. Here the impact on the local economy of new business creation could be substantial. They also note the spatial patterns of these economies: the rural periphery is most likely to follow an entrepreneurial economy pattern with more remote rural areas falling into the rent-seeking economy type.

The case study areas in this research which will be discussed further in chapter 3 do not neatly fit into any of the three categories perhaps having elements of all three. They most likely fit into the rent seeking economy with elements of the entrepreneurial type. Though they are not considered accessible rural in the common sense, but given the importance of tourism to some of the areas they attract a traffic of people to the area and therefore niche products develop to satiate demand.

2.5 The urban rural shift

In conceptualising rural economies it is important to understand the links between the urban and rural economy. There is not just a movement of people who come to live in rural areas but there is also a body of literature on the shift of jobs in aggregate to rural areas. Changes in the organisation of production and the distribution of employment have according to Champion (1989) played a significant role in altering the traditional migration patterns of the UK.

The following sections highlight how job growth in rural areas may be encouraging in-migration. An urban – rural shift is not only being felt in terms of population growth in rural districts but also in terms of employment, which has been growing faster in rural districts since the 1980's. This is particularly true for manufacturing jobs which rose by 19.7% in rural areas but fell by 37.5% across England between 1960 and 1987 (Butt 1999). Activity rates have also steadily risen faster in rural areas than in urban areas (Turok and Edge 1999) which may be due to the increased numbers of rural women entering the labour market. Statistics published by DEFRA (2012) on economic activity highlight how in 2010 the employment rate was higher in rural areas 78% than in urban areas 71%. Furthermore the split between full time and part time employment is very similar between urban and rural areas.

The increase in employment growth in rural areas could also be in part caused by the demographic change in rural areas, as population change from older urban areas to more rural areas has influenced the location of new businesses and jobs. Although this is a simplistic view according to Keeble et al (1992) it does highlight the fact that population growth and employment growth are interlinked.

There is also some evidence to suggest that the growth in service industries of Hi-tech businesses, business and professional services and call centres all prefer accessible mixed urban-rural locations (Gillespie 1999). This choice of location of these 'growth' industries may also partly explain the employment growth witnessed in rural areas. Johnson and Rasker (1995) identified social and environmental amenity rich areas with telecommunications infrastructure as potential sites for decentralised firms back office functions. These however tend to be 'accessible' rural areas. In remoter rural areas telecommuting may also be creating employment as organisations outsource contract work to remote contractors. The extent to which this will create employment in the countryside is also under debate but as the information revolution continues apace only time will tell what the ramifications for rural employment growth will be (Salvesen and Renski 2003). An issue of access to next generation broadband is also of significance to rural areas particularly in Wales where the Welsh Government are investing in widening broadband access to rural areas.

There have been a number of explanations proposed for the urban-rural shift, and the greater performance of rural areas in business growth and job creation. Keeble and Tyler (1995) identified three main theories. The first is constrained location theory which recognised that in urban areas businesses faced space shortages which led firms to relocate to rural areas as the capital intensity of manufacturing processes increased. The second theory is Production cost theory which attempted to explain the urban – rural shift by highlighting operating cost differences between urban and rural locations. The third theory was capital restructuring theory which asserted that rural industrialisation was a result of large firms restructuring in search of higher profits through new forms of labour exploitation.

Keeble and Tyler (1995) argued that these theories did not seem to be applicable to the situation in rural areas characterised by a proliferation of SME's. Their alternative hypothesis for explaining the urban – rural shift was the enterprising behaviour theory. This suggested that rural areas were able to attract greater numbers of enterprising in-migrants due to the perceived quality of life in these areas. They also stated that the rural businesses started were more enterprising in their activities because the owners had greater levels of entrepreneurial expertise and wider social networks. This appears to align closely with the 'entrepreneurial economy' model developed subsequently by Marini and Mooney (2006).

Keeble and Tyler (1995) highlighted the disparity of innovation and creativity of rural businesses versus urban companies; however this varied according to whether they were in accessible or remote rural areas. The research did not examine if rural regions are more innovative and creative because they are attracting innovative and creative people or if being in a rural region forces people to be more innovative and or creative?

The decline of the agricultural industry in rural areas has brought about a change in the dominant economic force in rural regions. The rise of the non-agricultural rural economy has seen traditional agricultural industries diversify into new markets (Roden 2008). The post-productivist countryside is now a more tourism led sector which is made up of many micro-businesses and sole traders in a diverse range of business types with many centred in the artisan/ craft arena (Lowe and Talbot 2000, DEFRA 2000, 2004, 2005, Keeble and Tyler 1995, Smallbone and Major 2003).

This clustering of business types in rural areas helps to satiate the public demand for 'niche' products with an authenticity or regionalism about them (IEA 2005). It also adds weight to Cloke et al's (1995) argument discussed earlier that the countryside is becoming a theatre of consumption. Keeble and Tyler (1995) who investigated differences between urban and rural businesses using a matched pair methodology found that rural businesses are more innovative than their urban counterparts and are largely established by in-migrants, who it is said appear more likely to sell into distant markets and exploit social networks and business support opportunities than their 'local' counterparts (Countryside Agency 2003). Whether this is the case for Powys and Gwynedd remains to be seen, but given their remote character it may be more difficult for in-migrants to access local support services than in accessible rural areas.

Despite the decline in the agricultural industry as previously stated there is still an active agricultural sector, but only 3% of the economically active population is employed in this arena (IEA 2005). This has resulted in rural areas changing the nature of their production. Many argue that they have become sites of consumption (Cloke and Goodwin 1992, Ilbery 1998), with tourism based economies capitalising on their 'rural idyll'. However the change in rural areas, rather than being seen as a move towards 'theatres of consumption,' may simply reflect a diversification of production.

2.6 Enterprising society - the rural panacea?

The installation of the coalition government into power in 2010 and the comprehensive spending review which followed resulted in the shrinking of departmental budgets and the anticipated loss of 600,000 public sector jobs (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10457352> 30-06-10). The coalition government believe that job creation in the private sector will compensate for these losses. Small and medium size enterprises make up a significant proportion of the private sector and employ 59% of all private sector workers (FSB 2007). It is therefore clear that SME's will play a vital role in local rural economic development. This section of the

literature review outlines the enterprise culture in rural areas and the difficulties faced by SME's.

There are a number of ways of assessing the enterprise culture in rural areas often this is done through assessing VAT data. However using VAT data usually serves to highlight how similar the figures are. It is when the number of business birth and death rates are compared to total population figures that interestingly, rural areas have a much higher incidence of businesses per head. This method of assessing rural versus urban business numbers was the system used by Keeble and Tyler (1995) in their research. DEFRA's (2005) analysis of rural businesses highlight that 24% of all business units are located in a rural area compared with only 19% of the population.

Remote rural economies were traditionally dominated by small independent businesses in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, and forestry, but a variety of market changes has lessened the grip that these traditional rural businesses have on remote rural economies. This may open up remote rural economies to in-migrants as previously discussed many small businesses are now centred in the tourism / artisan / craft arena which favour rural locations with a high tourism based economy. This may partially explain why self-employment and business start-ups are more prevalent in rural areas: the rural self-employment rate in 1999 was 11.7% compared to 8.3% in urban areas (DEFRA 2002).

It is widely accepted that there are both positive and negative reasons why people start businesses and these are commonly referred to as push and pull factors (Clark and Drinkwater 2000, Storey 1991, Hughes 2003). The push factors being early redundancy, lack of qualifications, unemployment and difficulties with access to affordable childcare. Whilst some pull factors include desire for independence, to make more money, and ambition to bring a product to market. What leads people into self-employment can impact how successful their future endeavours will be, for example, those 'pushed' into self-employment may generate businesses with less scope for future growth than those whose prime motivation is the 'pull' of self-employment. If we fail to understand the complex reasons for business start-up, as Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) assert the failure of small businesses can ultimately end up locking people into cycles of poorly paid self-employment and unemployment. These cycles eventually cost the government more as this group of self-employed people generally need more support (financial) during times of unemployment and they also have poorer pension provision compared to their employed counterparts. The proliferation of rural small businesses may be considered a boost to rural economies in times of economic growth. However it may also damage local rural economies as local service

provision is stretched in times of economic crisis supporting those locked in cycles of unemployment and self-employment.

Despite the possible negative impacts of small business creation in rural areas, it is a powerful force for change and can help to regenerate rural economies. The process of business creation has been linked explicitly to the processes of population change and in-migration. Keeble and Tyler (1995) argued in their 'theory of enterprising behaviour' that rural businesses are largely set up by in-migrants, whereas urban businesses tend to be formed by locally born people. The research conducted by Keeble and Tyler (1995) was and is an important and widely cited piece of research.

Keeble and Tyler concluded that rural businesses were more entrepreneurial than their urban counterparts. This was because more rural businesses were involved in niche markets and specialised business activities. In remote rural areas this tended to be in a variety of forms but particularly businesses that served customers who had greater disposable income, whereas the businesses in accessible rural regions were more likely to be involved in business to business trading in the form of specialist technological consulting and other specialist business services. This is in line with the Flexible specialisation theory (Keeble and Tyler 1995) which means a demand for niche products arises because of increasing wage levels and greater disposable household incomes. Such niche specialised products are generally produced by artisan style entrepreneurs from a location of their choice. Much remote rural business activity is centred in this arena as Lowe and Talbot (2000) established.

The research by Keeble and Tyler (1995) was conducted prior to the internet explosion. The use of the internet as a business tool is now an important measure of innovation in business practices. It has since their research was conducted been acknowledged (Smallbone et al 2002) that the urban – rural enterprise gap they displayed has more or less been closed and in some cases urban businesses have leapt forward. (This may have had something to do with urban businesses access to qualified technological business support and urban businesses being broadband enabled.)

The absence or poor quality of internet access in rural areas may be one reason why the gap between urban and rural businesses has been widening. The Welsh Government is attempting to close this gap through their continued support for next generation broadband across rural Wales. However other factors may also play a part. Smallbone and Major (2003) noted that rural businesses have limited access to small business support

infrastructure due to the increased costs (time) in accessing such support. A study by Bennet et al (2000) which asked SME's to list three sources of support to their business found that 60.5% of support systems given by respondents were all within 10km's of the business location. This suggests that remote rural businesses are at a disadvantage. This is further explored in the context of Mid Wales, by Smallbone and Major (2003 p.17)

“Evidence from mid Wales indicates that rural businesses may be disadvantaged as a result of the absence or poor quality of the business services provided through market mechanisms (e.g. those by accountants, solicitors, and banks). Moreover, it was suggested that where they do exist, these services may be more attuned to the needs of farmers than those of other types of entrepreneur within rural areas.”

Other rural specific problems facing small businesses identified by Smallbone and Major (2003) were lack of skills in the local labour market especially in the new knowledge economy based businesses and low numbers of professionally trained managers.

Finally it is clear that rural based businesses face unique challenges (Smallbone and Major 2003) but they are also according to the work of Keeble and Tyler (1995) able to capitalise on their rural location. What is important to acknowledge about the work of Keeble and Tyler (1995) is that it is one of the few research projects which looked at enterprising in-migrants as a distinct group. It established the importance of in-migrants to rural business creation, and offered an environmental or somewhat ambiguous 'quality of life' explanation for the presence of potential entrepreneurs in rural areas but did not establish why some migrants set up businesses. Keeble and Tyler identified that many rural businesses are created by in-migrants but failed to explore why this was the case. What are the motivations of in-migrants to become self-employed in rural areas? Is it different from the motivations of non-migrants to become self-employed in rural areas?

The literature review thus far has explored the policy context of rural areas of Britain and outlined the local and non-local factors that shape economic conditions in rural areas. Work by Keeble and Tyler (1995) noted one such non-local factor being that many rural businesses were started by in-migrants. It is therefore at this juncture that we turn to a discussion of in-migration into rural areas.

2.7 In-migration and the rural economy

In-migration to rural areas is a common phenomenon and as set out in the introduction an important component of rural change. In order to consider in-migration and its wider economic impacts this section of the literature review begins by exploring the definition of in-migrant used in various studies. It then follows with a discussion of the descriptive studies of in-migration before concluding with possible explanations for in-migration.

2.7.1 Defining in-migration

Defining the term in-migrant is problematic, different studies use different definitions therefore it is important to bear in mind that research findings and statistics from one study may not be comparable with those from another. This is because there is no standard as to how far one needs to move to become an in-migrant. The term in-migrant is generally considered to mean a person who has moved into a new area. This term is interchangeable in many studies with incomer and non-native or non-local. However who exactly is considered an in-migrant varies according to the decisions of different researchers. Keeble and Tyler (1995) counted as a migrant someone living in a county which was not the county of their birth. A study by Stockdale, Short and Findlay for the Countryside Agency (1999) considered all those living in households into which someone had moved since 1981 (some 18 years before the survey) as part of migrant households. They were later broken down into short distance movers vs. long distance movers.

Other studies have classified in-migrant populations by return migrants (meaning someone who is returning to their previous residential location), onward migrants (meaning someone who has migrated before) and residence in a city migrants (meaning migrants who have lived in a city) (Mulder and Van Ham 2005). A study by Stockdale (2006) considered all respondents who had moved into the study areas post 16 as in-migrants. The different definitions of in-migrant highlight that it is not just the distance moved that is a variable in determining who is an in-migrant but also when an individual actually moved. Therefore for the purposes of the literature review no study was excluded based on how they defined who was an in-migrant although it is acknowledged this will undoubtedly affect the comparability of the findings between different studies.

The most widely used source on migration – the Population Census – counts a migrant as someone who lived at a different address a year ago. This source suggests that: in-migration to rural areas of Britain is a common phenomenon.

In the year to April 2001, 33,000 more people moved into than out of both remote and accessible rural areas. This was made up of a net inflow of 480,000 and a net outflow of

450,000, according to the Population Census of 2001. Past migration research (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999) highlighted that many of these moves are over short distances, and that almost half of all moves were from urban areas of England and Wales to rural regions.

We know little about the detailed geography of destinations within rural areas. Based on evidence from England, the areas which gain the greatest are small rural towns, the areas which see the greatest losses are sparsely populated rural areas (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). It is important to note that migration statistics are not only highlighting migration down the urban hierarchy but also laterally and upwards. In-migrants to rural areas may have come from large urban centres, smaller rural settlements and other equally sized rural areas. What impact the differing migrant's residential histories has on their choice of location or economic activity remains to be seen.

2.7.2 Descriptive studies of rural in-migrants

In-migrants are not a homogenous group. The research papers on in-migration reflect this. There is a body of literature that focuses on retirement migration; equally the counter urbanisation literature tends to emphasise middle age in-migrants. Finally there is a body of literature which addresses youth in-migration and tends to focus on the out-migration of young people from rural areas. Therefore the following discussion broadly outlines the characteristics and types of in-migrants to rural areas centering on retired and family household type migrants (the most common migrant types as identified by Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999).

Retirement migration remains the focus of much rural research. This is in part due to the fact that rural populations are undoubtedly ageing, and some researchers argue (Schmied 2005, Nivalainen 2003) that the vast majority of in-migrants to rural regions are indeed pensioners. It is expected that a number of the soon to be retired baby boomers will also wish to move to rural regions (Jauhiainen 2009). The study by Jauhiainen (2009) identified that many of the 'young-old' pre-retirement aged people had designs on moving at least part time to the rural periphery, the potential impact of this mass-migration is enormous. This is further enhanced by the fact that many of these young-old or pre-retired people are often drawn to part time self-employment (Stockdale 2006). People who are retired or considering stepping down from full time employment are not constrained by labour market decisions and can therefore base residential decisions on other factors.

Whilst a focus still remains on 'sunset migration' some studies suggest that more and more families are moving into rural areas. For example a study by Findlay et al (1999) using the

1991 census data revealed only 7% of in-migrants to Scottish rural regions were aged over 65. Young people aged 16-29 made up 36% of the in-migrants to rural areas. This is echoed by an analysis of English census data by DEFRA annex B (2004) for the rural white paper.

Ward level results from the Population Census show that a higher percentage of in-migrants to rural areas are aged over 30 or under 16 than in-migrants to urban areas (76% compared to 59%) as families with children move to rural areas.

The most common age profile of in-migrants to rural areas according to research by Stockdale, Short and Findlay for the Countryside Agency (1999) in England also mirrors these findings with them stating that 48% of heads of households were aged 40 and under at the time of their last move.

It appears from the literature that there are a number of different types of people moving into rural areas. The following list highlights some of the common profiles:

- People of retirement age who are looking for a quiet residential resting place and are not generally economically active (Walford 2004)
- People of pre-retirement age or the 'young old' (Stockdale 2006) who are likely to be finishing their career by down shifting and therefore may be likely to consider part time working or self-employment as an economic activity choice
- Family household profiles that have heads of households in the 30-45 age range. These households are the most likely to be economically active in full time, part time or self-employment (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999).

This section of the literature review has essentially been an overview of the common age and household profiles of in-migrants to rural areas. It has highlighted how retirement migration remains the focus of much rural research. However recent studies have begun to consider the younger age groups such as family household profiles (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999) and the pre-retiree's (Stockdale 2006). The in-migration of these different groups of people into the countryside has the potential to profoundly alter the social structure of rural regions. It is therefore important to understand the reasons why people choose to migrate; this is explored in the following section.

2.7.3 In search of the rural idyll

There are numerous reasons why people choose to in-migrate. Popular culture outlines a narrative of people searching to build a new life in the country where as much research points to economic reasons being the primary driving force for many households' migration

decisions. In order to clarify these inconsistencies Fielding (1992) called for people to adopt a more culturally centred and informed understanding of migration. Prior to this migration had often been seen as a rational economic choice of people responding to the economic signals of the job or housing market. An alternative view was of people imprisoned by their class position and forced to move subject to the power of capitalist forces (Halfacree 2004). Halfacree pushed this idea further and began to acknowledge the non-economic worlds of migration decision making. Boyle and Halfacree (1993, 1998) also called for a migration to be considered in the context of an individual's whole life rather than an isolated incident. They proposed utilising Structuration Theory that a lifetime definition of migration be used that considers the structure of collective behaviour in migrant's decision making. This next section will draw on a number of sources to address why people choose to relocate to rural areas combining both the rational economic model with a more cultural view. Firstly why people choose to move house is explored as migration involves moving home first and foremost, before progressing on to review in-migrants choice of destination.

TABLE 2.1 WHY DO PEOPLE MOVE HOUSE?

Survey of English Housing, 1998-1999										
DISTANCE FROM PREVIOUS TO CURRENT ACCOMMODATION (HOH)	Less than 1 mile	1 mile but not 2 miles	2 miles but not 5 miles	5 miles but not 10 miles	10 miles but not 20 miles	20 miles but not 50 miles	50 miles or more	North ern Ireland	Abroa d	Total
To move to a better neighborhood or more pleasant area	13.9	18	17.3	13.4	16.9	16.7	19.7	50	17.6	16.4
Job related reasons	2.5	0.8	2	6.7	9.2	23.3	25.9	0	41.2	7.4
Wanted larger house or flat or one better in some way	24.2	23.8	24.2	20.1	20.4	13.3	3.4	50	0	20.2
Wanted smaller or cheaper house or flat	7.1	4.2	5.4	5	4.2	0.8	4.8	0	0	4.9
Could not afford mortgage payments or rent	1.4	2.7	1.5	1.7	2.8	0	1.4	0	0	1.7
Divorce or separation	3.9	3.8	4.1	1.7	6.3	3.3	2.7	0	5.9	3.7
Marriage or began living together	7.8	5	7.7	10	5.6	8.3	4.8	0	0	7.1
Other family or personal reasons	8.9	5.7	7.7	10.9	11.3	9.2	26.5	0	5.9	10.2
Wanted to buy	8.9	9.2	7.9	10	11.3	12.5	2	0	0	8.6
Wanted own home or to live independently	10.7	12.3	11	10.9	8.5	9.2	2	0	5.9	9.9
Landlord required tenant to move out	1.4	6.5	1	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	1.9
Other reason	9.3	8	10.2	7.1	3.5	3.3	6.8	0	23.5	7.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N=	281	261	392	239	142	120	147	2	17	1601

In basic descriptive terms we know that people tend to move house for a variety of reasons (see table 2.1). Job related reasons are more prevalent amongst the main reason for

moving house for those who move farthest (at least 20km) but we must not forget that moving to a more suitable house (either larger or smaller) or moving to a more 'suitable' area are also common reasons. People who moved the longest distances were more likely to move for 'other family or personal' reasons 26.5% compared to approximately 10% for other movers. The question therefore arises as to which of these reasons are more applicable to people moving into rural areas. And how might these reasons have changed since the survey of 1998/1999. In order to answer this, motivations for rural living are addressed below:

The notion of the 'rural idyll' is a notion discussed frequently in the rural studies literature. The rural idyll is a concept of a way of life which is 'a simpler, community based more in step with nature lifestyle' (Short 2006). Throughout history people have viewed rural areas with a rural idyll in mind. Short (2006) charts the history of the rural idyll and begins with early Roman writings which espouse the 'moral value in an agricultural life'. This theme is continued throughout the ages in medieval times: Alcuin (735-804) wrote several poems depicting rural areas as havens. This is echoed in the Renaissance literature when primitive rural living was again idealised as 'a golden age'. For a more complete discussion of the rural idyll and the ways in which this has shaped our perceptions of rurality see Bell (2006). Today rural areas remain idealised as highlighted by television programmes such as 'Build a new life in the country' and the popularity of mainstream magazines such as 'Country Living' which has a monthly circulation of 189,200 (Feb 2009).

In terms of conceptualising rurality it is clear from this section that some migration into rural areas may be motivated by a notion of the 'rural idyll'. Boyle and Halfacree (1998) put forth a possible explanation for migration as a form of collective behaviour. Although more commonly understood in the developing world they proposed that rural migration could be viewed as a mass migration. They were not proposing that it was an organised group activity more a response to a vague impulse and feeling which is awakened by the object of mass interest.

The notion of the rural idyll is certainly perpetuated in the media in publications such as Country Living, Country Life and Country Man, and in TV shows such as 'Build a new life in the country' these types of idealised versions of the countryside fuel the public appetite (or mass interest) for rural living. Whilst Boyle and Halfacree (1998) were not suggesting people were rural idyll 'dupes' they in utilising Structuration Theory understood it as responsible human agents exercising agency, actors buying into a wish fulfilment lifestyle.

Perhaps this collective behaviour extends to economic activity and these actors are also making economic activity choices that are a form of collective behaviour which is buying into a wish fulfilment career?

Certainly a strong preference for country or village life is revealed in a study by the Countryside Commission (1997), in which 1018 interviews across both urban and rural regions of Britain revealed peoples' preferences for residential location. (see table 2.2)

TABLE 2.2 RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE

Preferred location	Current location			
	Inner City %	Suburb %	Town %	Country %
Inner city	21	2	1	0
Suburb	18	47	13	7
Town	10	8	47	4
Countryside/ Village	51	43	39	89

Countryside Commission (1997)

The findings highlight the aspiration that all groups had towards living in the countryside and interestingly highlight the high level of satisfaction of those that currently reside there. This suggests in terms of an explanation for their behaviour that in-migrants are (at least partially) driven by residential preference to move to the countryside, rather than traditional notions of distribution of employment, or access to affordable housing. Unfortunately the weight that can be given to this piece of research is tainted by the fact that there was also little discussion of what constitutes the 'country', thus there were important definition problems with the survey. The results therefore are skewed as one person's 'country' may be vastly different from another's as the issues arising from work on people's perception of the rural idyll highlights (Bell 2006, Short 2006, Cloke 2006). Nevertheless this study is useful in highlighting the broad types of areas people perceive they would like to reside in.

Despite the ambiguity of the terminology, the central theme of the Countryside Commission (1997) paper which focused on residential preference is common within the literature and is useful in deducing that many people wish to live in rural areas. One flaw of residential

preference research is that it has generally been conducted on a large quantitative scale and has failed to capture the complexity of the issues.

2.7.4 Quality of Life as a multi-dimensional concept

A concept often linked closely to the idea of a preference for rural living is that of 'quality of life': a quest for which is often said to lie behind many rural in-migrants moves and a factor which brings many potential or actual entrepreneurs to rural areas (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Countryside Agency 2004). Despite this there is within the field of rural studies very little discussion of what constitutes quality of life.

Quality of life could be perceived in a myriad of ways. In migration terms it is anticipated that people will behave in a way which is thought likely to enhance their quality of life (for example through migration). Some studies view quality of life as an evaluation of someone's whole life; others view it as representing one aspect of a person's life, other aspects could include employment, housing or living costs. This is a view taken by a number of the studies discussed in this review (Findlay and Rogerson 1993, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Keeble and Tyler 1995).

Keeble and Tyler (1995 p.985) stated that *'perceived quality of life and pleasant residential environment of rural settlements'* was a considerable motivation for rural migration and subsequent business establishment. In this context they are combining two ideas; quality of life and residential attractiveness. Another interpretation could be that they are saying residential attractiveness is the same as quality of life. A criticism of their conclusions is that the reason they have given for in-migration and subsequent business start up is rather ambiguous, is quality of life and pleasant residential area the same thing?

Research by Stockdale, Short and Findlay in 1999 and Findlay and Rogerson in 1993 focus on quality of life as a single dimensional concept. Typically studies of cities and regions use a multi-dimensional approach (Rogerson 1999). These multi-dimensional approaches consider issues such as scenic beauty, good local school provision, low pollution, low noise, nice climate and reduced crime rates as indicators of high quality of life. These are elements which are thought to be necessary for or have an impact on personal satisfaction and happiness. They tend to be related to the physical environment, the social environment and the economic environment and provision of local services. Questions arise with the multi dimensional approach about which facets of quality of life are most important.

Do these vary across different groups? Are in-migrants motivated by a specific set of motivations which are based on the physical environment as Keeble and Tyler (1995) and Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) suggest?

It is clear from the work of Keeble and Tyler (1995) and Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) that a perceived better quality of life (whether it is considered as a single or multidimensional concept) available in rural areas is one possible explanation for demographic change. It may be that the desire for rural living among most groups as highlighted by table 2.2 is a product of embourgeoisement - The desire of people to achieve a rural middle class existence (Abrams and Rose 1960). This in turn leads to rural gentrification which naturally excludes the young and the rural poor, thereby enhancing the perceived quality of life of a particular place. The notion of which areas yield the highest quality environments for living is a theme carried forward in the counterurbanisation literature which is addressed further below.

2.7.5 Counter-urbanite capture of the countryside

In descriptive terms counter-urbanisation is a concept widely discussed in migration and rural literature and it is used to describe the movement of people down the urban hierarchy. Firstly in terms of decentralisation - where urban centres are expanding which results in adjacent rural regions increasing in population and being closely linked to urban centres through the housing and labour markets. This could be considered accessible rural areas or less sparse rural areas. Secondly the term has been widely used to describe the process of people moving away from large urban centres to smaller cities and settlements beyond the range or hinterland of big cities. This could be considered to be to the more remote rural or sparse rural areas. In this second sense, some definitions of counter-urbanisation stress the need for the migrant to be rejecting big city living. In short it is an anti-urban process rather than a pro-rural process. This is again closely linked with embourgeoisement.

The common use of the term counter-urbanisation has resulted in a myriad of meanings being attached to the term (Mitchell 2004). Counter-urbanisation in the context of this review however can be defined as that used by Champion (1989) p84.

“In general, if population distribution is shifting in favour of larger urban places then urbanisation is deemed the dominant process, but if smaller places are growing faster than larger ones, then counterurbanisation is occurring.”

In explanatory terms it is acknowledged that there are difficulties with the term counter-urbanisation, which has led researchers to try and develop solid definitions in order to assess what types of moves ‘qualify’ as counter-urbanisation (Haliday and Coombes 1995).

What these studies reveal is the importance that the motivation of in-migrants has on whether they can be considered moves of counter-urbanisation. There is little discussion of economic activity in the debates surrounding counter-urbanites, as it appears that the pull of the countryside comes above economic activity concerns. However it is important to note that many moves into rural areas are as much for employment reasons and other traditional reasons as they are for 'quality of life' or any anti-urban feeling as was highlighted by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999).

There appears to be a narrative running through the counterurbanisation literature and some migration literature (Haliday and Coombes 1995, Keeble and Tyler 1995, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999), which is suggesting there is a pull of the countryside for some people, which eventually draws them to reject their current residential choice in favour of rural living and its perceived higher 'quality of life'. One consequence of this is their subsequent business formations, for example, the research by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) revealed that many self-employed in-migrants choose scenic beauty as a significant factor in their choice to migrate. This is echoed by Keeble and Tyler's (1995) earlier statement on pleasant residential environments being a considerable motivation for the business owning in-migrants in their study. This narrative and its basis in the lived experience of in-migrants appears to be under explored in the literature and may require further investigation as does the impact of single and multidimensional perspectives of quality of life.

There are however other explanations for in-migrant motivations. For example it is suggested that rural areas are willing to receive older workers as they are depleted of the young. This is because young people are leaving rural areas for education, better employment opportunities and the rising cost of home ownership in rural areas. This theory is obviously closely linked with economic participation and highlights how quality of life may not be the main motivation for all moves to rural areas. It is clear there is an interplay of competing structures encouraging people to work as actors responding to structural forces in their migration motivations. Halfacree (2004) also points out that, in-migrants discourses can set up the rural as an alternative universe to that of our post-modern capitalist world. This suggests that just as they did in Roman times perhaps modern day in-migrants are searching for 'moral value in an agricultural life'.

2.8 Economic participation of in-migrants

2.8.1 Descriptive studies on rural economic activity

The economic activity choices of people are studied regularly. One such study is in the form of the Labour Force Survey. Research of this type is conducted to provide detailed information on the economic activity of the nation. Some uses of this data are in calculating changes in the unemployment rates however it is commonly used to classify the economic activity choices of people. These are classified into employed, unemployed and looking for work, unemployed and economically inactive i.e. housewife. Research using this data has also been conducted on the economic activity choices of in-migrants as a distinct group. Their economic activity is then broken down further into employed full time, employed part time, self-employed, student. There are also many ways in which self-employment and entrepreneurship are categorised. It is to research that deals with these issues that the discussion now turns. This also encompasses some discussion of the location of employment of in-migrants as it is commonly thought that many are involved in commuting activities.

In-migrant choices are shaped by broader economic forces which were highlighted in the previous sections such as restructuring of the labour market. Therefore in this section the specific choices made by in-migrants are explored. From the literature we are able to see the economic activity choices of in-migrants as surveyed at a particular point in time. These are discussed in the following paragraphs, but in brief many work locally, many commute to larger settlements, towns or cities, and many are retired. However it is important to point out that an in-migrants choice at one particular point in time does not accurately describe their economic activity choices in general. This problem with the datasets available is also true of work by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) and Stockdale (2006) amongst others who by assessing the in-migrant economic activity choices at one point in time don't fully capture the complexities that have led to that point. As Keeble et al (1992) noted most of the business owning in-migrants had moved prior to deciding to relocate their existing business or start a new one. In other words the residential decisions preceded the business decision. A focus on the time space constitution of social life is often missing in rural studies literature. It is especially important in any biographical approach (such as that advocated by Boyle and Hlafacree (1993, 1998)) to research as the time space constitution of social life is just as important as the structure in which agents are acting.

The research which has uncovered the economic activity choices of in-migrants, difficulties aside, has concluded that the patterns of economic activity and location of work place of in-migrants are not dissimilar to that of non migrants in rural areas. Many are employed either full time or part time and work locally (two thirds of heads of households and three quarters of second adults), (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). This is comparable to 'local' households and serves to highlight the similarity of many in-migrant and 'local' household economic activity choices.

Some 18% (as of 1999), commute to work in large towns and cities, and 2% of head of households are unemployed. This figure does not however include 'housewife' and 'other' categories. 23% of head of households were retired. A further one fifth, (21%) of head of households choose to open up businesses and become self-employed either on a full time or part time basis. These figures have led researchers to conclude that in-migrants are more prone to start-up businesses than the local population (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). Self-employment rates in rural areas for the whole population are 11% which is 3% higher than in urban areas (DEFRA 2004) and 10% lower than the rate for in-migrants according to the Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) figures.

However the definitions of both rural and in-migrant used by the Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) study, play an important role in determining the validity of the findings. Specifically this study had a 'catch all' definition of in-migrant households (in that any household who had had someone join the household since 1981 was considered an in-migrant household) and therefore households who may have had one person move one mile to join the household were considered in-migrant households. They were later broken down into long and short distance moves but this may still obscure the picture of in-migrant economic activity choices. The choice of study areas may also be a point of contention in that they surveyed five different types of rural space, including old industrial areas, areas of scenic beauty and other areas with a focus on different dominant rural functions. Little discussion was entered into on the impact that sparse / less sparse rural space had on the economic activity choices which as has been discussed (in the work of Keeble and Tyler 1995) may alter the validity of the findings of this study.

In summary what the economic activity figures discussed above have displayed is that broadly the economic activity patterns of migrants and non-migrants are very similar, with perhaps the exception of self-employment? Given these patterns as set out in the research above why does there remain a focus on in-migration and its ability to regenerate flagging rural economies? Are the businesses started by in-migrants more successful than those

started by non-migrants? These are questions which need answering in order to ascertain if the benefits expected from migration can be realised.

In order to understand the economic activity of in-migrant households further, research is warranted that excludes short distance moves within labour markets. This is in part due to the fact that short distance moves may not imply a change in economic activity. Also as in-migrants often tend to be older some controlling for age in the economic activity research is required to understand if the self-employment rates identified in the work of Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) was part of the processes identified by Stockdale in 2006 and related to young-old stepping down to part time self-employment?

2.8.2 The rural self-employed

It is clear through the work of Keeble and Tyler (1995) and Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) that many rural businesses are owned and managed by in-migrant households. It is therefore important to understand what leads some in-migrants to embark upon this process. Keeble et al (1992) drew attention to the fact that in urban areas 65% of businesses were locally owned, in accessible rural areas the figure was 34%, and in remote rural areas it was 42%. Therefore the next sections will address the processes by which people become self-employed.

The literature on becoming self-employed or becoming an entrepreneur does not necessarily differentiate between the two terms. Therefore it is important to note that defining forms of self-employment is problematic. This is highlighted by table 2.3 (see below) as it outlines the many forms of self-employment acknowledged by the Labour Force Survey. Self-employment, Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurial activity – These terms relate to the ownership or management of companies and businesses. There is an entrenched debate on what constitutes self-employment vs. entrepreneurship (Carter and Jones-Evans 2006). The debate centres on the fact that someone who is self employed as a plumber who does not employ any staff is very different from an entrepreneur who has started, for example, a bioscience company and employs a number of other staff members.

There is also confusion over the term entrepreneur in that it is said (Blanchflower and Oswald 1998) that to be an entrepreneur one must take on risk and be innovative. This research is not a comment on any such debate but is using the terms to describe the start-up, running or ownership of businesses in rural areas. The differing terms are used in relation to the different literature which uses the different terminology and again represents the broad range of terms used to characterise someone's economic activity status.

TABLE 2.3 FORMS OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Forms of self-employment	Self-employed status (first response)	Total	% of self employed
Based on generating jobs in a business	Sole director of own limited business	664	7.4%
	Running a business or a professional practice	1,581	17.7%
	Partner in business or professional practice	1,169	13.1%
Without employees	Working for self	4,421	49.4%
	Paid salary or wage by agency	459	5.1%
	Sub-contractor	399	4.5%
	Free-lance work	257	2.9%
	N=	8,950	

Quarterly Labour Force Survey, December 2007

2.8.3 Job generation potential of in-migrants

In recent policy reports (DEFRA 2002, 2004, 2005) and recent academic papers (Findlay 1999, Raley and Moxey 2000, Stockdale 2006, Bosworth 2008) there has been considerable weight given to the notion of in-migrants as creators of employment opportunities in rural areas. This stems from a study conducted for the Countryside Agency by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) where the job creation potential of in-migrants was assessed both in terms of jobs created through small business employment and through household service employment. It is this potential for in-migrants to create employment opportunities in rural areas which is discussed below.

The following table, adapted from the Countryside Agency report (1999), highlights the job creation potential of self-employed migrants:

TABLE 2.4 JOB CREATION BY IN-MIGRANTS

Businesses with one or more full time employees	%	Number of full time employees
No one other than migrant	81	0
1-4 employees	12	21
5 or more employees	7	223
Total	100	244

The table above shows that the majority of businesses employ no one other than the migrant him or herself; although a few businesses do create significant levels of employment. Overall on the basis of this study on average each self-employed in-migrant created 2.4 jobs. It is obvious that one or two large scale employers have significantly boosted the job creation totals; this has been a common feature of research of this type and seems to be indicative of rural business. A parallel study by Findlay (1999) of about equal sample size in Scotland produced similar labour market outcomes as did Raley and Moxey (2000) in a study in the North East of England. The jobs recorded above, relate to full time employment much of which was in small professional businesses.

This is an important finding in that the potential for self-employed in-migrants to create employment opportunities in rural areas has significant policy implications. In-migrants in the Stockdale, Short and Findlay report for the Countryside Agency (1999) also created significant part time employment opportunities; much of this was in low skilled service tasks such as cleaners and gardeners. These jobs were created by both self-employed migrants and non-self-employed migrant households.

One failure of current research on this topic is in assessing the quality of the jobs being created and the sustainability of these jobs in the long term. There is some suggestion in-migrants are more prone than their local counterparts to move elsewhere again (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). In order to confirm the findings of this study, it would be necessary to question what qualifies as a job. The survey conducted by Stockdale, Short and Findlay for the Countryside Agency (1999) asked people if as a household they employed any help, to which people listed cleaners, gardeners etc. It could be argued that this is not creating a job but outsourcing a few hours work to a contract cleaner etc. It may be that this is not so much creating a job but supporting an existing job, still an important contribution to local economies and as Spilling (1985) asserts *“Individuals may operate as catalysts for local*

economic development without starting their own business” but perhaps not as great a contribution to the rural jobs market as the figure is often used to represent.

The prevalence and growing importance of home based working in rural areas (as established by the CRC 2005) is one such example of individuals contributing to economic development in a region. In rural areas of England 11.6% of the economically active population work from home which equates to a total of more than three quarters of a million people (CRC 2005). Home based working is, as the Commission for Rural Communities ‘Under the Radar’ report (2005) discusses, helping to create a day time economy in rural villages. This in turn is helping to support local services, lowers spatial demands for separate work spaces, reduces crime by having full time occupation of neighbourhoods and can lead to an enhanced sense of community due to increased daily social interaction.

Economic development can be contributed to by individuals not starting their own businesses, by them using existing services that would otherwise be under utilised. This then encourages such businesses to expand and provides an easy market for new businesses to target, especially in the service sector. This outlines how economic change in rural areas can be brought about by not only in-migrants starting businesses but in-migrants supporting rural businesses. However as more and more policy takes an endogenous development approach it is in relation to business start-up that in-migrants are viewed as capable of making a significant contribution to rural economic change.

The earlier sections of this literature review have outlined the scale of migration to rural areas, the common motivations for migration and the subsequent economic activity choices by in-migrants, and in particular the creation of businesses by in-migrants. What remains’ to be seen is the reasons for these decisions. Why do in-migrants make the economic activity decisions they do in rural areas? The following sections outline what answers the migration and entrepreneurship literatures offer to answering this question.

2.9 Why do in-migrants make the economic activity decision they do in rural areas?

The previous section highlighted the numbers of people involved in various forms of economic activity and the job creation potential of businesses created by in-migrants. This section now addresses possible explanations for these patterns. We know that self-employment rates vary by age, gender, ethnicity and the industrial sector in which a person works (Lee 1999). We also know that there is literature on the process of starting up a business (see Carter and Jones-Evans 2006). However there are a number of hypotheses about why the social contexts in which people live, shape their behaviour. However as yet

there is little research evidence as to how factors such as household structure, social embeddedness and the informal economy influence the choices of in-migrant households. These are particularly important to women's economic choices (Green and Hardill 2003). This section of the literature review discusses why people make the decisions they do, and in particular choose to become self-employed, by considering a number of different perspectives.

2.9.1 A household structure perspective

The Countryside Agency's Stepping Stones report (2003) analyses the household structure of rural England in some depth and discusses the impact this has on economic activity choices (p.13):

“12% of rural self-employed live in households headed by at least one pensioner. In some of these households the pensioners may supplement their public or occupational pensions, whilst in others this regular source of income provides a measure of financial security which allows other household members to run their own businesses.”

The extract above shows that household structure may play an important part in determining the economic activity choices available to in-migrant households. This has long been recognised in rural farming families who have a mixed method approach to income generation (Green and Hardill 2003). Rural farming families have long been recognised for their symbiosis between enterprise and the well being and operation of households. This is now being understood in the context of small business families too. This is perhaps particularly relevant to in-migrant families who have limited access to local social networks. The Stepping Stones report profiled 5 main ways in which these households operate.

- Setting up and running a micro-business is usually seen as part of a jigsaw of income-generating activities for the household
- Livelihood sources include income from employment –long term and casual- private income (for example inheritance; pensions and state benefits and earnings from the businesses;
- Several generations may be involved in the business venture with parents contributing child care, help in the business and even funding, whilst offspring work casually or occasionally in the firm;
- With around a third of micro-businesses being run from home non-family labour often have a closer relationship with business owner's family than in urban firms;

- Business owners and spouses pull together to adjust this jigsaw for the benefit of the firm and members of the household.

As the list above highlights running a small firm is often only one part of a household's income and thus there are significant numbers of rural small business owners working part time. It may also be the case that business types vary according to household structure with research conducted by Groves-Phillips (2005) highlighting differences among in-migrants. This research found that older in-migrant business owners tended to create more innovative and creative business models. They also had a stronger desire to access wider markets than their younger in-migrant business owning counterparts. Younger business owners were more constrained in their target markets and more concerned with satisfying their need to generate a liveable income than expansion of their businesses. Thus in this research the differing household structures and age groups present in the sample were both enabling entrepreneurship and in some circumstances constraining it.

2.9.2 A social network perspective

The informal factors or structures that may impact upon the decisions of in-migrants about economic activity, in the context of this research, centre on the household, the prevalence of dual income households and how well integrated the household is in local networks is important. Green and Hardill (2003) and Anderson and Jack (2002) suggest that in-migrants, being new to an area are faced with the prospect of maintaining ties with previous social networks, developing new ties and having to undergo the process of becoming embedded in the new area. All of these processes can be constraining but also provide new insights and create new opportunities.

The impact of becoming embedded in a new area with a language barrier as may be the case for some migrants to rural Wales may also have an effect on the economic activity choices of in-migrants. Presumably in-migrants who do not speak the native language of an area, have more significant problems becoming embedded than speakers of the local language. Although speaking the native language may not be directly pertinent to the economic activity choices in-migrants make, it is accepted that proficiency in an area's native language (although not specifically considered in terms of Welsh language) affords opportunities not otherwise available (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003). This is a factor that has not been considered in most areas of research.

There is also conflicting evidence as to the likelihood of in-migrants becoming involved in the informal economy. From one perspective there is some evidence to suggest that in-migrants are more prone to being involved in local area initiatives (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999) such as 'Let's' schemes (Local Exchange Trading Schemes – whereby members share their goods and skills in exchange for other skills or goods – an organised swap shop). From another perspective there is also evidence to suggest that due to in-migrants possible lack of social networks these intangible benefits or support systems are missing and thus in times of crisis, they are not as well supported as other more traditional rural residents (DEFRA 2005).

Similarly another possible explanation is given by Anderson and Jack (2002) who, using principles of structuration theory, studied seven rural entrepreneurs (some of them in-migrants) to assess their level and processes of embedded-ness in their local area. 'Embedded' in this context, was used to describe integration into the local community; developing ties with local people, businesses and clubs and in a sense 'just getting your face known'. Anderson and Jack (2002) found that through the process of becoming embedded in the local structure, in-migrants came across opportunities that would not have been available to them otherwise, such as offers of employment and membership of important networking opportunities. Though the entrepreneurs disputed the suggestion that becoming embedded had been a strategic business decision, they all cited ways in which the process had encouraged them to start or grow their business. The entrepreneurs also strongly emphasised the reciprocity of being embedded and highlighted the ways that they had contributed to their area.

In terms of this research, is it possible that through the process of becoming embedded in a new structure after in-migration, in-migrants are more likely to become aware of underlying business opportunities? This is the subject of more recent research by Bosworth and Willet (2011) who suggest the nature of the place in which counterurbanites descends impacts upon the potential for them to embed and realise business opportunities. However it is worth noting that In-migrants also bring with them a stock of non-local networks (perhaps linked to their former place of residence or employment) and these non-local networks may be an advantage for new business start ups?

2.9.3 Previous residential history perspective

Other structures which may affect the choices of in-migrants, are their previous residential location. Research by Mulder and Von Ham (2005) compared people with different migration histories to see what impact it had on their employment status / attainment. They looked at return, onward and residence in city, migrants of both sexes to establish which forms of migration were most beneficial to the status of in-migrants. They discovered migrants who had lived in a city like Paris and then moved away to a rural area were the ones who achieved higher employment status / attainment. The study was conducted in France and thus the transferability of the findings to a UK context is constrained; however the basic premise of the findings appears to be relevant to this review. This research suggests that in-migrants residential history may play a part in determining future status, a subject which has not been widely studied in a UK context.

The previous residential history of in-migrants has however been considered in terms of migration streams. Walford (2007) identified geographical and geodemographic connections between migrants origins and rural Mid Wales, which persisted over several census periods. This suggests that populations within certain locations have a shared history of choosing certain rural areas in which to migrate to. It would be interesting to see if these areas also have a shared history of holidaying in these rural areas and what impact this has had on in-migrants desire to live in rural areas if any? It is clear that from where an in-migrant has migrated, plays a part in establishing where they will migrate to. It is also possible that their origins may impact upon their economic activity choices also.

Residential history as Walford (2004) identified may play a role in determining the type of rural area selected by in-migrants. He noted in his study that for many in-migrants their current residential location was the culmination of several stopping off points. This may represent in-migrants moving down the urban hierarchy. However many of the moves were within the same region in which they currently resided: (Walford 2004 p.10)

'These results suggest a certain amount of circulation (within the rural area) by migrant households as they search different areas and settlements according to changing residential preference'

Perhaps these moves are in order to facilitate economic participation decisions, or this circulation alters the economic activity choices of in-migrants. Unfortunately little data is available that links migration decisions with economic participation decisions.

Ultimately the household structure of in-migrants, their access to social networks, their age, educational attainment and skills or the amount to which they are embedded in their new locale may all offer some insight into why they make the economic activity choices they do in rural areas. The literature does not provide any firm basis on which to argue that in-migrants are more likely to open businesses or choose various types of economic activity because of 'x'. Perhaps then it is not so much the in-migrant households themselves or how well integrated they are in their new community that shapes their economic activity choices, but the rural area and or rural labour market into which they have moved.

2.9.4 Current residential location perspective

Though it is not possible in this review to outline the characteristics of all the rural regions into which in-migrants commonly migrate; there are some common within rural areas, specifically rural labour markets. One such commonality is how government policy and in particular spending impacts on rural economies. A recent report by the Institute of Economic Affairs (2005) highlights the disparity between the importance of agriculture on rural labour markets and the attention the sector draws from the government by stating that (p.17):

“Over 84 per cent of government spending on rural areas is in support of farming, yet agriculture accounts for only 3 per cent of rural employment. Tourism is a much more significant contributor to the rural economy, but the needs of the tourist industry are often put second to those of agriculture – as was the case with government policy in response to the 2001 foot-and-mouth crisis.”

It appears that government policy and spending may need to catch up with changing rural areas as the countryside is moving away from agricultural production to other forms of production. The effects that these new forms of production have had on rural labour markets have not been fully realised. It is well understood that in rural areas there is a higher prevalence of under-employment in the form of part time working and temporary / casual employment (Green and Hardill 2003). Further research is thus warranted to understand if these factors play a part in pushing in-migrants into self employment, as they have limited choices compared with urban areas. This may be particularly true for women who have more limited economic activity choices than their male counterparts, due to their difficulty in commuting, lack of affordable child care and poor public transport in rural areas (Shucksmith 2003, Cloke 1995).

The local labour market conditions of an area have not featured highly in discussions of in-migrant economic activity choices, that is despite studies such as the Countryside Agency's

report (2003) and DEFRA report of 2005 specifically discussing in-migrants and economic activity. Other studies which have compared migrants living in different rural regions such as those conducted by Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999 and Stockdale in 2006 have limited discussion of the impact of the rural labour market into which in-migrants are moving; that is except to outline the traditional role of the area such as agricultural or former mining areas. Therefore a significant gap in current research is highlighted by the lack of discussion over how the labour market of the region migrated to, affects the economic activity of the migrants.

Very little research appears to have been conducted on how external forces impact upon the decisions of in-migrants. Self-employment might be a response to individual motivations, but also is likely to be shaped by household and contextual (locational) factors. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the most remote counties in Wales (Ceredigion, Powys, Pembrokeshire and Gwynedd) also have the highest incidences of self-employment and multiple jobs, according to the Wales Rural Observatory (2004). Not only are Ceredigion and Gwynedd both remote counties they also have high levels of Welsh speaking populations, the impact of which on non Welsh speaking peoples' economic activity remains an unknown. It seems likely that other factors play a greater role than previously considered in shaping the economic activity choices of in-migrants. For a complete picture of in-migration to be formed it is necessary to evaluate the factors influencing in-migrants in different types of rural space. In-migrants in rural areas which have good transport links and are accessible to larger urban centres will be faced with different challenges than in-migrants to areas that are more isolated.

2.9.5 In-migrant characteristics perspective

A great deal of entrepreneurship literature describes the individual characteristics of entrepreneurs and the specific motivations individuals have for starting their own businesses. These include the pull factors for entrepreneurship, including an individual's desire for independence. The pull of starting out on one's own and having much more freedom is very attractive to many. Furthermore many entrepreneurs are driven by the impetus to make money and they believe entrepreneurship holds the best advantage for achieving this ambition. Some entrepreneurs have a strong ambition to bring a product to market; they have identified a need or invented a product that they wish to see on the shelves of shops. For a more complete discussion on the push and pull factors of entrepreneurship see Clark and Drinkwater 2000, Storey 1991, Hughes 2003. The literature referred to above is specific to entrepreneurs an individual or group who are starting a

business considered innovative who are taking on risk. A distinction is drawn between those that are entrepreneurs and those that are self-employed or freelance on which there is a body of literature discussed below. Although many of the push and pull factors discussed above for entrepreneurs are also relevant for the self-employed.

The literature also profiles other characteristics of individuals who become self-employed, such as Lee's (1999) list of determinants of self-employment.

1. Educational attainment - people with higher qualifications are less likely to be self employed except in the case of international migrants as self employment may be a refuge as their qualifications aren't transferable internationally.
2. Labour market experience - the longer people work, the more likely they are to choose self employment, as it takes time to accrue the necessary finance. In the case of immigrants they need time to gain knowledge of the local labour market. Duration of residence in their new locale also allows them time to build capital, gives them time to access suppliers and judge the tastes and customs of the local population.
3. Individual and family background characteristics - children from homes where parents were self employed, particularly the father are more likely to become self employed. This is explained by a 'locus of control' theory in that people whose parents were self employed have the drive and ability to shape one's own future having witnessed their parents do it. Furthermore people who have a spouse who is employed have a significantly increased propensity toward self employment.
4. Economic conditions - people who have been unemployed and or have varied employment experiences are more likely to become self employed.
5. Financial capital - people with an inheritance or other capital or access to loans are more likely to become self employed.
6. Occupational status - people with jobs in sales, hotels, repairs, crafts, managerial and other professional occupations are more likely to be self employed.
7. For immigrants a lack of fluency in the host language reduces the incidence of self employment
8. Race - certain races are more likely to be self employed. For example Asian people are more likely to be self employed where as Black minorities are the least likely to be self employed.
9. Group characteristics - immigrants living with ethnic enclaves are more likely to be self employed than independently living immigrants.

Some of these factors appear to be fairly straight forward such as having access to capital. However this research does tell us that there are a number of traits common to self-employed people and entrepreneurs. Who for the purposes of this research are considered collectively, this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3. Whilst research hasn't as yet addressed this issue in any detail; could the kinds of personalities who are attracted to entrepreneurship also be the same kinds attracted to migration?

2.10 The timeline of in-migration and entrepreneurship

These past sections of the literature review have discussed possible explanations for why people participate in various forms of self-employment. It is also important to consider the time line of the decision. Do some in-migrants move to rural areas with the intention of becoming self-employed as Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999), and Stockdale (2006) assert? If so do they start their businesses shortly after the event? No specific research has dealt with this issue and this may be an area where further research is warranted. Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) discussed how many potential entrepreneurial in-migrants were attracted to rural areas by scenic beauty. It was beyond the scope of their research to identify the timings for when these entrepreneurial in-migrants started their businesses, or indeed if they brought their businesses with them.

Keeble and Tyler (1995) noted that many rural businesses were in-migrant owned, they also noted that often there had been a considerable time lag between in-migration and businesses start up. They did not build further on this to quantify the time lag or whether it had always been the intention of the in-migrants to become self-employed. Using the 2001 census data to identify trends in in-migration and self-employment reveals that the number of people who are self-employed one year after migration, is very low in rural areas. Therefore what period of time does it take to establish one's self in business post migration?

Keeble and Tyler (1995) deduced that a considerable time period had elapsed between migration and business start-up. Is this representing some period of accruing capital or resources to facilitate business start-up? If so, what is this likely complex process? Perhaps they had no prior intentions to become self-employed, but were pushed or pulled into it after migration occurred? We can assume from the literature, that for many in-migrants it is probably not the case that they moved to a rural area and then started their business straight away. It is important that an understanding of how long before they start up in business is reached. Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) identified a group of potential in-migrants who

wish to become self-employed, but it would seem that this was a small minority of in-migrants. Further research is needed to establish if there is something about the migration event and or the subsequent economic activity decisions which encourages in-migrants to become self-employed.

Overall the explanations of entrepreneurship tend to concentrate on the characteristics of individuals, their households or specific industries in which self-employment and small businesses thrive. The literature discussed in these sections has been drawn from a number of academic disciplines, in an attempt to take a broader view of the motivations for entrepreneurship. This section has focused on possible explanations for in-migrant economic activity including self-employment or entrepreneurship. The issues surrounding whether in-migrants moved with the intention of becoming self-employed or whether it was because of a combination of factors after the migration event, which encouraged it were also discussed. The timescales for these decisions and processes were highlighted as a significant omission from the current body of literature in the field and is an area that this research will address.

2.11 Conclusion

The literature has highlighted that the demographic profile of rural areas is changing with an increasing number of in-migrants choosing to relocate in the countryside. These in-migrants to rural areas make decisions about their economic activity. These decisions can impact upon communities in a number of ways; it has been thought many in-migrants commute out of rural areas. – Evidence by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) suggests in-migrants are not widely involved in commuting activities. However the study by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) followed earlier work by Keeble and Tyler (1995) which highlighted self-employment among in-migrants as an important component of rural economic change. Keeble and Tyler (1995) noted many rural businesses are in-migrant owned. Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) calculated that on average in-migrants create 2.4 jobs each. However we do not know why in-migrants make the economic activity choices they do in rural areas. Do in-migrants economic activity patterns vary from non-migrants – if they do, why do these variations occur? What are the most important influences on in-migrant economic activity decision making? Why do some in-migrants become self-employed? And how long after migration does the move into self-employment occur?

The literature in this chapter has suggested a number of possible explanations for why in-migrants make the economic activity decisions they do in rural areas. These centre on differences in local labour markets (Marini and Mooney 2006), and individual characteristics

such as in-migrant age (Stockdale 2006). Green and Hardill (2004) suggest rural in-migrants household income generation shares similar patterns to that of rural farming families. Despite these possible explanations we still lack detail on in-migrants decisions and in particular how these vary from non-migrants. Furthermore we do not understand the complex nature of in-migrant economic activity patterns particularly in relation to time scales for entrepreneurship – which it is understood from the literature, is an important component of endogenous development (Stockdale 2006).

In conclusion based on the research presented in this literature review we lack an adequate understanding of the economic activity patterns of in-migrants therefore this thesis will be exploring the following research questions;

What are the differences in the current economic activity of migrants and non-migrants in rural labour markets?

Why do these differences exist?

3 Theory and Methodological Choices

Given an interest in economic activity in rural areas, and the role played in this by in-migrants as discussed in previous chapters, this chapter outlines the conceptual and methodological choices made in this research. It draws upon the literature review to inform the concepts and builds on them to develop a working theoretical and methodological model.

This research understands a conceptual framework to be that discussed by Miles and Huberman (1994) (P.18) who defined a conceptual framework as a visual or written product, one that “explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, concepts, or variables – and the presumed relationships among them”.

The chapter begins by exploring my reasons for interest in the topic. It then goes on to explore the types of research strategies and conceptual tools used in other studies in the field. The chapter then turns to a discussion of the minor theory used in this research and outlines the possible answers to the research questions posed at the conclusion of the literature review – which are the focus of the research in this thesis. The chapter then sets out the methodological choices made in this research and critically evaluates the effectiveness of the methodology.

This chapter follows on from the introduction and the literature review to outline the research design. The manner in which the research design is set out is informed by the work of Blaikie (2000).

The literature review outlined that people’s behaviour varies according to a number of factors. This research has strived to explore these factors to understand the rationale for their behaviour. This chapter uses the ontology and epistemology of the researcher to explain the conceptual and methodological choices that were made in this research.

A starting point for consideration is why people behave in different ways? In order to explore this I have looked at my own history. Traditionally the experience that researchers bring to their research has been considered biased and ways of reducing bias have been the focus of many research designs (Maxwell 1996). However my personal experience of migration is a strength and trying to reduce the impact of this on my research would be missing an important opportunity. As C. Wright Mills (1959) argued “the most admirable scholars within the scholarly community.....do not split their work from their lives. They seem to take both too seriously to allow such dislocation, and they want to use each for the enrichment of the other”. (P195)

Therefore utilising critical subjectivity as understood by Reason (1988, 1994) and the 'researcher identity memo' tool developed by Maxwell (1996) I turn to a brief explanation of the reasons for my interest in this subject and the impact this has had on my research choices.

3.1 Migration and self-employment identity memo

As outlined in Blakie's (2000) vision of a meaningful research design the following section outlines my motives for studying in-migration and economic activity.

I realise now an interest in migration stems from my own history; I am an 'in-migrant'. We are a family of in-migrants. In essence I have the benefit of dual nationality, in that I was born in Sheffield and raised in rural Mid Wales.

My parents chose to migrate as a household, to provide us with a new life – a perceived better quality of life. They achieved this aspiration but at some personal cost to themselves, migration helped bring about the dissolution of their marriage. They moved with little in the way of a support system, they were not embedded in any social structure and were not well connected to the formal or informal economy. Financially and emotionally they struggled.

Being an in-migrant child leaves a lasting legacy: I am from Wales, but I am not Welsh. My roots in this area are shallow, but strong. Migration has an impact for life and therefore the forces that influence individuals' behaviour are significant.

I turn now to consider self-employment and the ways in which my history has shaped my ideas about owning your own business and being self-employed. Self-employment to me like for many people means independence, freedom but above all hard work. I come from a long line of strong-willed women who have all shaped their own lives through self-employment both in terms of survival self-employment and more successful commercial endeavours.

I left school after finishing my A levels and set about opening my own business. I sought out a small business loan from a high street bank to open a coffee shop and restaurant, both of which enjoyed a modicum of success but created little profit. It was in trying and failing that I realised the decision to become self-employed is shaped by a number of factors; some positive some negative, which it occurs to me are similar to those that shape migration decisions.

The way in which this brief potted history has shaped my academic work has not always been clear to me, but I see now that being from an in-migrant, self-employed household I understand that there are both push and pull factors for decisions about in-migration and

self-employment. I intuitively understand that there are forces impacting upon people's behaviour regarding in-migration and self-employment. Just as I understand that in-migration is not always about rejecting city living. Self-employment is also not always a reaction to economic forces. I also understand that not all of the outcomes of these behaviours are positive, but nevertheless many people continue on this journey and some make a success of it. These successes and failures have a profound ability to shape the localities in which these migrants are moving to and opening businesses or becoming self-employed in. I therefore believe that it is essential to understand what factors shape economic activity decisions and can therefore begin to understand how we can best respond to the specific needs of these individuals.

As Maxwell (1996) asserts it is not always easy to see how one's personal history can be incorporated productively into one's research design. However I believe that my experience of migration and self-employment has allowed me to explore the literature and the theories of other researchers with a different perspective. I understand that migration and entrepreneurship is a process that can have both positive and negative consequences on individuals, households and society. My experience allows me to conceptualise the decision making of in-migrants beyond that of the rational economic man vs. the rural idyll, principally because I have made these same decisions and suffered and benefited in equal measure from the consequences.

3.2 Prior theory

The following section of the chapter outlines the broad theoretical framework within which this research is based. The section then provides a detailed account of structuration theory and how this has informed the research design. This section forms part of the concepts, theories, hypotheses and models sections of Blaikie's (2000) suggested research design.

Theory as LeCompte and Preissle (1993 p.239) stated "theorising is simply the cognitive process of discovering or manipulating abstract categories and the relationships among these categories". Theory can be both grand and minor and it is in this section that both grand theory and minor theory are considered in relation to the study of in-migration and economic activity.

Theoretical perspectives within rural studies have according to Panelli (2006) traditionally been either ethnographic or logical or neo-positivistic in approach. She discusses the modern history of theory in rural studies in some depth and discusses how the field developed an affiliation for political economy and feminist approaches particularly popular in the 1970's. This was then surpassed by phenomenological and post structuralist

approaches which employed interpretative or deconstructing strategies when recounting the experience and meaning of rural life or the organisation of society (Panelli 2006). However the crux of current theoretical perspectives in the field of rural studies is that they are a mish-mash of all that has gone before (Panelli 2006, Cloke 2006). Though this is not necessarily undesirable and according to Cloke (2006) represents a move towards a turn away from the cultural turn to concentrate on 'minor theory' which can encompass a mixed bag of various different theoretical perspectives.

Cloke (2006) and Panelli's (2006) work outlines that there is a plethora of different theoretical perspectives being employed in the field of the non-agricultural rural economy of which many overlap. Some of the main approaches adopted by papers particularly important to this research are outlined below:

There is a strong tradition of utilising broadly empiricist or descriptive approaches i.e. by measuring through a variety of means how many in-migrants are moving and what they are doing when they get to rural areas (Raley and Moxey 2000, Findlay 1999, Bertrand and Vollet 2003, Keeble and Tyler 1995). These studies tend not to discuss theory in great detail and have used survey and secondary data (census data) methods of enquiry. This extensive use of surveys has created valuable data sets which the literature has highlighted; this data offers a range of information on where people move from and what jobs they do after in-migrating (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006, Raley and Moxey 2000, DEFRA 2004). Criticisms of this type of research has stemmed from some departments of cultural geography who feel that this type of research can be too broad and 'miss' the 'other' voices of rurality (Cloke 1997).

In response to this since, the late 1990's there has been a focus on the 'other' as Cloke (1997) has discussed where rural is considered fundamentally different from urban and specific groups have been targeted as the subject of investigation (Bell 1994, Cloke 1997, Halfacree 1995). Theory in this type of rural research has been characterised as representing somewhat of a cultural turn. This is because it has been at the forefront of a move away from rural definition based on function to one which takes into account symbols of rurality and the political economic context (Cloke et al 2006). This type of research has covered a diverse range of issues and has addressed issues of difference and differentiation. These include the rural homeless (Cloke and Milbourne 2000), and rural gay, lesbian and bisexual issues (Bell and Valentine 1995). The cultural turn was perhaps in part inspired by Philo's (1992) call to expand the narrow main stream spectrum of rural studies. This type of research has been less successful in answering the 'whys' of in-migration as it has on the whole focused on very specific areas or small groups of society with very unique

problems. This means it is unable to be representative across a broader range of society (though not the stated intention of the research authors) and although of much interest, does not yield valuable information on the economic activity choices of in-migrants as a whole as in-migrants tend rarely to be the focus of the sample.

A further area of current rural research is that which is much more explicit about its epistemological framework. One example of this type of research is a study by Jack and Anderson (2002) the process by which entrepreneurs in the Scottish Highlands became embedded in their local environment was explored. The authors used structuration theory (Giddens 1989) to understand the process of becoming embedded or networked into the local area. They utilised entrepreneurs' membership of local groups and affiliations as a proxy for identifying the local structure. In the findings of this paper a number of observations were made as to how the 'entrepreneur' could be supported in their endeavour of embedding themselves into their community. These may prove useful for rural policy makers, as they try to support a policy of endogenous development. This type of research despite using small samples does offer an insight into the processes through which people make economic activity choices and explores interesting methodological ideas.

However in attempting to produce research which is both rich in detail but capable of some limited generalisations it is important to avoid common pitfalls. A recent study by Anderson and Smith (2007) used a grounded theory methodology whereby they spent several days talking with 2 rural business owners. They shunned using any clear structure or framework instead preferring to allow the interviews to develop naturally. From these case studies they made some stark generalisations about the processes of doing business from a rural setting. This can perhaps highlight the pitfalls of this type of research strategy. This is because small samples and rather open ended interviewing methods raise issues of reliability in which 'interviewer effects' are likely to be significant and thus cast doubt on the validity of the findings. In the case of this study which comprised two interviews with two Scottish entrepreneurs a number of conclusions were drawn about the nature of business in rural areas. Though these were interesting, further analysis would be needed with a range of rural and urban based businesses for the nature of doing business from a rural setting to be fully assessed.

3.2 Overview of Structuration Theory

This research has utilised some elements of structuration theory to formulate the research design, therefore this section is an overview of Structuration Theory.

As has been stated this research is combining some of the ideas of structuration theory developed by Giddens with concepts that were identified in the literature as significant. For example as discussed in the work of Green and Hardill (2003) entrepreneurship is only one piece of the whole household's income generation activity jigsaw. What this means in practice is that the household becomes the unit of analysis, as the whole economic activity of the household must be considered to understand the structures impacting on individual household members economic activity behaviour.

Structuration Theory is a useful tool in conceptualising people's behaviour which is constrained by the forces or structures in which they operating. This is set out in the conceptual model figure 3.3 (page 75). We understand in entrepreneurship studies that entrepreneurs do not one day wake up and begin a business. The business develops over time from an embryonic idea, the entrepreneur goes through a series of stages or a 'process' before the business is born (Carer and Jones-Evans 2006). It is also evident from the migration literature that migration is a process people do not move overnight they must first identify a potential location, possible employment prospects and appropriate housing stock. These processes are shaped by both societal and individual factors, such as the housing market, individual finances and personal choice. Structuration theory is a theory which is well placed to investigate these processes as it offers perspectives from both a micro and macro level (Giddens 1990).

Structuration theory was originally intended by Giddens to provide a bridge between the naturalistic and interpretive tradition in social science (Kouroubali 2002). It offers a view which encompasses both objective and subjective views of the world. In-migrants it appears from the literature are constrained in their economic activity by the labour market conditions of the rural areas into which they migrate (Green and Hardill 2003). However their choice of location was based on quality of life factors (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999) and therefore agency determined which quality of life factors took precedence (if one views quality of life as a multi-dimensional concept). This dichotomy of structure and agency in the economic activity of in-migrants is bridged by Giddens (1984) in the concept of the duality of structure and agency. In-migrants are not powerless agents who have limited choices because of the oppressive structures in which they operate; their behaviour is also not based solely on personal choice their economic activity is constrained by the labour market into which they have migrated or the household structure in which they live.

Structuration theory is being used in this research as a useful way to organise thoughts and understanding on the topic of in-migration and economic activity. By considering structure and agency separately but as a process working in tandem it has been easier to consider

the separate yet combined forces pushing and pulling in-migrants in their economic activity behaviour. Structuration theory has been criticised for being too abstract (Gregson 1987) or is misconstrued as a tool solely for identifying structures (Bryant and Jary 1991) but to be clear in this research it is being used as an organisational tool.

This research has explored in-migration and entrepreneurship, including why some people become self-employed and the structures which impact upon their decision making. How in-migrants become or reinstate themselves as entrepreneurs in rural areas has also been explored. This has been accomplished by considering the migration event and the subsequent processes as grounded in a particular space and time and affected by the local structures and the agency of the actors involved. This reflects a structuration theory approach to research. It is important to note that this research is not an exercise in discovering structures but is using principles outlined in structuration theory to guide the research design. In order to fully understand the ways in which structuration theory has impacted on this research a brief tour of the main principles is outlined below.

3.2.1 Main concepts of Structuration Theory

Structuration theory emphasises the duality of structure and agency an important component of which as Giddens (1984 p.14) notes is how *'we create society at the same time as we are created by it'*. Giddens views agency as the capacity of agents to make a difference or have an impact or as Giddens refers to it *'transformative capacity'*. This is closely linked to power as agency involves the exploitation of resources, thus without the resources one is powerless to make a difference. Giddens (1984) acknowledges that there are two types of resources. Firstly, that which comes from the organisation of agents activities. This is known as authoritative. Secondly there are the resources that come from control of material products or the natural world. This is known as allocative. It is the purposive utilization of these resources that result in intended and unintended consequences one of which is structure.

Structures according to Giddens view are rules and resources which are recursively implicated in social reproduction. These relationships are then stabilised across space and time. Giddens views actors as knowledgeable agents and not structural dupes therefore the double hermeneutic is also an important element of his work. The double hermeneutic refers to the way in which actors can become aware of social science theory and incorporate it into their daily routines. One example of this is in the common use of the term *'Freudian slip'*. Due to the infiltration of these concepts into society the information becomes part of a stock of mutual knowledge. In light of this Giddens discusses the theory given to social interactions

or behaviour as second order constructs with first order constructs referring to the actual social interaction or behaviour.

Giddens (1984) discusses how agents have three levels of consciousness. This is known as the stratification model. The first level is discursive consciousness and refers to what the agents can articulate of their motivations and intentions. The second level of consciousness refers to what agents are aware of but are unable to communicate. The final level of consciousness is the unconscious motives that shape agents behaviour.

In spite of the infiltration of second order concepts into the stocks of mutual knowledge structuration theory doesn't intend to produce generalisations like the natural sciences. This is because Giddens (1984) views the object of social sciences investigations as continually changing and rooted in a particular space and time. It is important to acknowledge that the stated research intentions of this research were to produce where possible some generalisations on the behaviour of those living in rural areas. This may not be in line with a traditional Structuration Theory perspective, but the generalisations this research has produced as with generalisations all research produces are contingently anchored in a specific place and time. Therefore I feel it is not mutually exclusive to use elements of Structuration Theory alongside the production of generalisations as long as they are explicit about when and to what they refer.

To summarise Clark (1990) structuration theory is a series of interrelated propositions; these propositions have been discussed above but are now briefly outlined below.

Table 3.1 structuration theory overview

STRUCTURATION THEORY OVERVIEW
Social practices lie at the root of the foundation of both individuals and society
Agents accomplish social practices and have causal power and a tacit knowledge of their actions
The repetitive patterns of social practices which are stable across space and time constitute society
Structure is activity dependant and is the medium and outcome of a process of structuration – ‘the production and reproduction of practices across space and time’.

Structuration theory is not without its critics and some of the criticisms stem from the fact that according to Archer (1996), Giddens fails to explain why structures may continue to exist over time, after agents have stopped reproducing them. Layder (1987) and Archer (1990) also argue that Giddens undermines any sense of structures as pre-constituted and relatively autonomous. Furthermore Archer (1996) states that structuration theory cannot answer why some forms of human action create enduring structures and others do not.

A more comprehensive criticism of structuration theory comes from Jones and Karsten 2003 who argue that the writings are elusive, elitist and vague. Such criticisms come partially from the fact that the work spans 30 years and 30 books. Giddens also uses a variety of terminology specifically developed for his ideas and concepts that without intense study of the theory can be difficult to comprehend. Due to the prolific nature of his work one statement cannot accurately describe Giddens position according to Jones and Karsten (2003).

Specific criticism comes from Gregson (1987) amongst others who argue that structuration theory operates at too high a level of generality to provide guidance in certain empirical settings. Due to the abstract conceptual focus of the work by Giddens it is more of an ontological approach than a viable epistemology. This has been countered by Giddens (1989) who in the constitution of society gives a 10 point summary of guidelines for the overall orientation of social research. Giddens (1989) also offers writings on the four features of structuration theory research, as a means of outlining how Structuration Theory could be used by researchers. Not that Giddens claims that structuration theory is an empirical approach instead elements of it should be considered in research. Furthermore Giddens (1990) doesn't rule out any specific research methods as he believes fundamentally whether it is through survey, interview or participant observation all research is based on detailed study and interpretation of specific social settings. This is despite structuration theory and his approach being anti-positivist and post-empiricist (Jones and Karsten 2003).

The use of a structuration approach in this research stems from the fact that when people are asked to explain their behaviour or recount their decision process they are bounded by their knowledge as discussed by Giddens (1984). It is only in the process of asking unasked questions and through reflexivity of their answers that these hidden reasons and/or processes can be explored. Structuration Theory has influenced migration research including this research through the work of biographical migration research (see Boyle 1993,1998, Halfacree 1995). This research is not biographical however it has impacted on this research, through the use of a lifetime approach to the definition of migration (discussed further in this chapter).

It is important to note that this research is not an exercise in finding structures as can sometimes be the case in research using a structuration approach (Bryant and Jary 1991). It is more a case in this project that the presence of structures is acknowledged within society both formal and informal. These include the labour market, the housing market and the structure of local communities such as reciprocity of child minding duties. The presence of these structures is undoubtedly going to impact on all residents of an area but it is their impact on in-migrants and the consequences this has on their economic activity behaviour that this research intends to explore. This research is not seeking out structures but is interested in the qualitative / quantitative accounts of life that are framed by these structures.

Structuration Theory has been utilised previously by Boyle and Halfacree (1993, 1998) in their work on migration. Initially they utilised Structuration Theory to underpin their assertion that a lifetime definition or biographical approach to migration research be used. Then in 1998 they utilised Structuration Theory to explain their collective behaviour theory of migration.

Boyle and Halfacree (1993) argue that migration should be considered more as a biographical experience which was rooted in Structuration Theory's focus on context and culture (Giddens 1984). They went beyond the humanist bias suggested by the previous use of the term biographical and gave recognition to the structural constraints and enablement's shaping the migration process. They drew attention to the place of migration within an individual's life journey rather than seeing it as a goal directed behaviour or rational response to economic changes.

It is well understood that migration is a highly cultural experience for all those involved (Bottomley 1992, Fielding 1992). The biographical approach to migration sought to demonstrate the complexity of the seemingly simple act of migration and its embeddedness within the everyday context (or structures) of daily life for those involved.

This research has also considered the culture of migration and therefore in attempting to highlight the contextual nature of migration has used a biographical or lifetime definition of migration. This is to ensure that migration is seen as part of the overall puzzle of an individual's life journey. Structuration Theory understands actor's decision making to be influenced by and influencing of the structures in which they operating. However structures persist over time and therefore it is imperative that this research considers migration that occurred both recently and in the past to be able to put into context the rationale behind migrant decision making.

In considering how best to conduct biographical research into migration Boyle and Halfacree (1998) set out 4 principles. These are explored below and how they have been approached in this research set out alongside;

Firstly, Boyle and Halfacree (1998) suggest research needs to move away from seeing migration as a response to something and acknowledge its part in the hurly burly of everyday life. This is line with the Structuration Theory approach to viewing migration as part of the context and culture of actor's lives. This has been incorporated in this research by using a lifetime definition of migration and discussing with migrants in the interviews and surveys their migration and economic activity across time.

Secondly, Boyle and Halfacree (1998) set out the importance of Giddens (1984) work on practical consciousness. They outline how practical consciousness is a key issue in the biographical approach as practical consciousness lies in the realm of common sense just as migration does for migrants. This research has utilised these concepts when conducting analysis particularly of the interviews.

Thirdly, they confirm that migration is not a consequence of 1 or 2 issues i.e. economic factors or quality of life factors alone but migration is driven by the combination of a large number of issues of varying importance. This consideration of a range of factors or push and pull factors for migrant decisions has been a feature of the research. The survey questioned migrants on the range of issues or factors that had encouraged them to migrate. This theme was further explored with migrants in relation to their economic activity and the reasons for self-employment.

Finally, Boyle and Halfacree (1998) in trying to move forward the debate on their Collective Behaviour Theory suggested that researchers should unpack migrants' 'practical consciousness'. This was in order to understand the inherent knowledge that drives migration; they suggested discourse analysis as a means of doing this. However as this research whilst acknowledging the collective behaviour theory, was not primarily concerned with it, did not follow this route. The ideas discussed by Boyle and Halfacree (1998) on collective behaviour are of concern to this research as they use Structuration Theory's focus on structures to explain the structural changes in society that are driving in-migration.

The previous paragraphs have been an overview of recent approaches in rural research and in particular an overview of the theories of Structuration Theory. It is not exhaustive but highlights key studies / theories that have shaped or influenced the approach adopted by this research.

Panelli (2006) noted that in many rural studies new approaches have been developed but early approaches have continued to be important. Therefore it is important to note that it has not been a conscious decision to avoid discussion of work such as Pahl, Newby, and Bell, it is simply that this review has focused on contemporary rural research. For further information on these rural sociologists see (Bell and Newby (1971), Newby (1979), Pahl (1966)). This research whilst not purporting to strictly follow any particular theory draws on a range of theories to be found in the literature. This research has utilised what some describe as an empiricist method in that it has used a survey as the instrument of measurement. This research has also been informed by some other approaches and theoretical constructs. For example some of the ideas of Structuration theory by Giddens (1984, 1989) particularly the time space constitution of human life has been considered. In this context this has been operationalized in the household survey by identifying points in time and asking questions of in-migrants economic activity at these points. This is because economic activity is rarely static and changes with the life course, so it is essential to understand the changing economic context of individual's lives.

Often Structuration Theory is interpreted as predominantly a qualitative approach to enquiry, particularly in migration studies. This research (as will be discussed later in more depth) has not followed a purely qualitative approach. Instead Structuration Theory has influenced this research firstly through its influence on the literature in the field, particularly the biographical approach (Halfacree 1995) and the entrepreneurship literature (Jack and Anderson 2002, Stathopoulou et al 2004). Secondly it has influenced this research through my interpretation of the theories which have been operationalized in the research design (see section 3.4).

Structuration Theory is what Blaikie (2000) would describe as theoreticians theory. It is set at a more general and abstract level than researchers theory (see criticisms of Structuration Theory earlier in the section). But it does suggest that researchers in studying a situation need to look at individuals and their decisions on how they are going to act but also at structures (or contexts and cultures as associated with the biographical approach advocated for migration studies) in which they are making those decisions. Therefore a key way in which Structuration Theory (and the associated biographical approach) has influenced this research has been to encourage me to look at individuals as people who have freedom to choose what they do but it has focussed attention on the social contexts (space and time) in terms of:

- Their histories (as reflected in the language they speak, the places they have lived in – their housing histories, their mobility, the education they have received, the employment they have undertaken, and the households in which they live.

- The current area in which they live and its characteristics

It seems appropriate to note at this point that much rural research is not explicit about the conceptual framework in which it is working, obviously with a few notable exceptions (Anderson and Jack 2002, Cloke 1997). Therefore in order to investigate the research questions posed in this thesis, the broader 'theoreticians theory' discussed above has influenced the development of minor theory which is explicitly set out below. The following section continues to form part of the 'concepts, theories, hypotheses and models' section of the research design as outlined by Blaikie (2000).

3.3 Research strategy

This research has been developed in the context of a debate about the contribution of migrants to business activity in rural areas. It asks three questions:

1. What are the differences in economic activity of migrants and non-migrants?
2. Why do these differences exist?
3. What are the differences in the nature of the businesses owned by migrants and non-migrants?

An initial inductive or exploratory stage of the research focussing particularly on the third research question involved an attempt to develop some basic description and understanding of in-migrant business activity. It was thought that it would be particularly useful to focus attention on those who had recently taken the decision to start a business in a rural area. For convenience since no sample frame of start-up businesses exist a sample was selected from those attending a small business seminar organised by the local rural business support service known as Business Eye at that time. Primary data was collected from those individuals happy to be contacted for the purposes of the research exploring their biographies and their perceptions of the area in which they now lived. The data was collected by way of (semi-structured) face to face interviews. The results are reported in a later chapter but they suggested that people were taking the decision to start a business not always in response to an immediate opportunity or situation but also in response to some longer term perspective on their working lives and where they hoped to live. They were also conscious of their family and household context, their skills and the nature of the rural areas in which they lived. Many of the in-migrants had been mindful that the employment opportunities in the rural area were limited and they had seen the start-up of a business as a means of realising their rural ambitions. This is both a pull and push factor explanation for

business start-up and like Boyle and Halfacree 1998 call for migration to be seen as a part of the hurly burly of life suggests so too should small business creation.

This stage of the research was followed by a deductive stage where more explicit hypotheses derived from the literature were to be tested.

3.4 Hypotheses

There are many prominent researchers in the field of in-migration and economic activity. They have developed a number of ideas which help explain why there might be differences between the economic activity of migrants and non-migrants in rural areas. It is in this section that prior minor theory and its impact on the theories and concepts used in this research is discussed. Minor theory as Maxwell (1996) defines it is the linking of two concepts by a proposed relationship, not simply a framework but a story about what you think is happening and why. This research has encompassed literature reviews, an initial inductive stage and employs an essentially deductive research strategy. Some of the key hypotheses are outlined below:

Firstly it is important to examine the construct in which these theories have been formed. In this research the concepts have been organised on three levels; individual, household and area. This is because it is understood that there are a number of factors which impact upon the behaviour of individuals. These may vary according to the individual characteristics of the person. The household in which they reside can also impact upon their behaviour, so too can the areas in which they live. Therefore in the analysis of the data the theories presented below have been operationalized and presented according to whether they are individual, household or area level influences.

We understand from the work of Keeble and Tyler (1995) that many rural business owners are in-migrants. Keeble and Tyler (1995) theorised that the 'higher quality environments' that rural areas offered encouraged would be entrepreneurs to relocate to rural areas. Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) further identified that a number of in-migrants in their study were self-employed and that many of them had chosen to locate in rural areas due to the perceived better 'quality of life'. In both of these studies it appears that pleasant residential environment equates to better quality of life. The work of Keeble and Tyler (1995) and Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) may lead to the theory that locations with pleasant residential environments or with a higher quality of life will have a greater number of actual or potential entrepreneurs per capita than areas of perceived 'low residential amenity' or low quality of life. It also suggests that the motive for moving to an area might be linked to a migrant's current economic activity. In order to explore this theory it was necessary to

understand the variety of constructs that create a perceived better quality of life for in-migrants. Is it just a pleasant residential environment? The household survey had to break down the term quality of life into a number of variables that could then be assessed against economic activity choices. This is because if entrepreneurial in-migrants are often lured to migrate for a pleasant residential environment is it possible in-migrants who are employed full time are also attracted by particular facets of quality of life?

Individual's decision making and behaviour, particularly those in relation to economic activity, are constrained by a number of factors such as the local labour market and degree of rurality of an area. Therefore it is important to consider the impact of these constraints on individual's economic activity choices. Simply because many potential in-migrant entrepreneurs are attracted to areas with a perceived high quality of life does not always mean that they can then just become an entrepreneur. In order to understand the impact of varying degrees of rurality or differing local labour markets it was necessary to conduct a study over a variety of different rural space. This is a feature of the case study selection criteria which is discussed below. There are clearly differences in aggregate patterns of economic activity between areas dependent on their remoteness from urban areas. The Wales Rural Observatory (2004) found that in the most remote counties of Wales people often worked multiple jobs. Is this an indication of people needing to be more flexible about their income generation in rural labour markets? If so, how does this impact upon in-migrants economic activity?

Green and Hardill (2003) identified the ways in which rural farming families adopted a mixed method approach to household income generation. They theorised that self-employed in-migrants also adopted a similar strategy. In order for this to be a viable option for self-employed in-migrants it suggests that a dual income household would be required. This suggests that in-migrant households of two or more adults are better placed to undertake entrepreneurship activities. In order to investigate this hypothesis it was necessary to collate a range of data on the economic activity of a variety of household structures.

Other theories that have shaped this research stem from the fact that Green and Hardill (2003) identified that in-migrants have limited access to the informal economy compared to non-migrants. They asserted that this meant they had more limited job opportunities than non-migrants and therefore may be pushed into self-employment. This, as Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) assert, means their business may be less successful than if the motivations for start-up are pull factors. In using a household survey it is not possible to investigate the complexities of people's social lives. However it was possible to ascertain if individuals have local networks by way of family and friends in the region – used as a proxy for

embeddedness in this research. Welsh language skills have also been investigated in this study partly based on the work of Dustmann and Fabri (2003) who outlined how proficiency in the host nation's language affords speakers opportunities that non-speakers are not privy to. The Dustman and Fabri (2003) study was based on international migrants but it is interesting to see how regional language skills impact upon economic activity. Having the ability to speak Welsh is expected to impact upon in-migrants economic activity as employers may discriminate in favour of Welsh Speakers. Indeed there is broad legislative support for such positive discrimination in Welsh Government (the Welsh Government Strategy A living Language, a Language for Living 2012 -2017).

Bilingualism in Wales is recognised as an important work place skill therefore migrants who are non-Welsh speaking may be excluded from some public sector jobs. The ability to speak Welsh has been shown to be associated with better labour market outcomes (lower unemployment rates) in all areas of Wales (Drinkwater and O Leary 1996). Therefore in-migrants who do not speak Welsh could be limited in terms of employment opportunities on two fronts 1. Not being well connected to the informal economy and 2. Being excluded from certain jobs in the formal economy. This research has been conducted over rural areas with different levels of Welsh speaking. This has allowed the impact of not only proficiency of Welsh language on economic activity to be assessed but proficiency of Welsh language across areas with varying degrees of 'Welshness'.

Stockdale (2006) argues that many in-migrants of pre-retirement age are stepping down to self-employment as a form of semi-retirement. This is a pull factor explanation for self-employment which Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) believe may result in more productive businesses. It is clear that life cycle stage impacts upon economic activity choices, migration decisions (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998) and on entrepreneurship (Carter and Jones-Evans 2006). Therefore life cycle stage and age is an important variable to be considered and needs to be controlled for in considering other factors that impact on economic activity.

Keeble and Tyler (1995) noted that in-migrant business owners tended to source their customers from more distant markets and have more innovative business practices. Yet no research has looked at the characteristics of migrant and non-migrant owned businesses in rural Wales, to establish how if at all they differ. The Keeble and Tyler (1995) study highlighted how the in-migrants have links with wider markets. Stockdale (2006) identified that in-migrant business owners tend to be older. Therefore in-migrants have a wider range of skills than non-migrant business owners (assuming we imply skill development with age). This could explain their market behaviour in that they can be more innovative through

possessing better skills and sell to distant markets using their as wider networks when compared with non-migrant business owners.

Based on the findings of the studies discussed in this section it is expected that there are differences between the economic activity engaged in by in-migrants and non-migrants. A number of potential explanations have been offered for why this may be the case. The conceptual model developed for this research (see figure 3.3) sets out that the possible explanations for why in-migrants make the economic activity choices they do in rural areas of Wales and is divided into individual, household and area level factors.

The individual level factors which will most impact upon economic activity are discussed below, and begin with age: the older the in-migrant the more likely they are to be self-employed. Secondly qualifications are an important individual level factor – for example the more qualified an individual is the more likely they are to be employed full time. Level of Welsh language proficiency is a further individual level factor relevant to economic activity particularly when considering Green and Hardill's (2003) findings, that in-migrants are not as well connected in the informal economy as non-migrants. –Perhaps having limited Welsh language skills means they are forced into self-employment as they are unable to access job opportunities advertised and or intended for Welsh speakers. This may mean that Welsh speaking in-migrants are able to gain full time employment more easily in rural Welsh labour markets?

Alternatively, if in-migrants don't speak Welsh perhaps establishing a business in a rural area where a large number of people are Welsh speaking is made more difficult. This could be concluded by the findings of Dustman and Fabri (2003) who established that international migrants across western countries who do not speak the host nation's language often become self-employed. Furthermore Drinkwater and O Leary (1996) established how being a Welsh speaker resulted in lower unemployment rates across Wales as a whole. Do in-migrants start businesses that are more tourist related so as to overcome not speaking Welsh? Finally, do the businesses opened by Welsh speaking and non- Welsh speaking in-migrants vary? And do the businesses opened by migrants vary across areas with different levels of 'Welshness'?

It is expected that a number of household level influences impact upon the economic activity of in-migrants. These include the residential history of in-migrants – it is anticipated that in-migrants who have previously lived in a city (particularly large conurbations like London and Paris) upon migration are able to increase their economic status (Mulder and Van Ham 2005). The household structure of in-migrants may also play a role in shaping their economic activity. Green and Hardil (2003) found that many entrepreneurial households often had one

household member who had a secure income source outside of the business. This suggests that self-employment is most prevalent in two or more person households or households where a second secure income source is present.

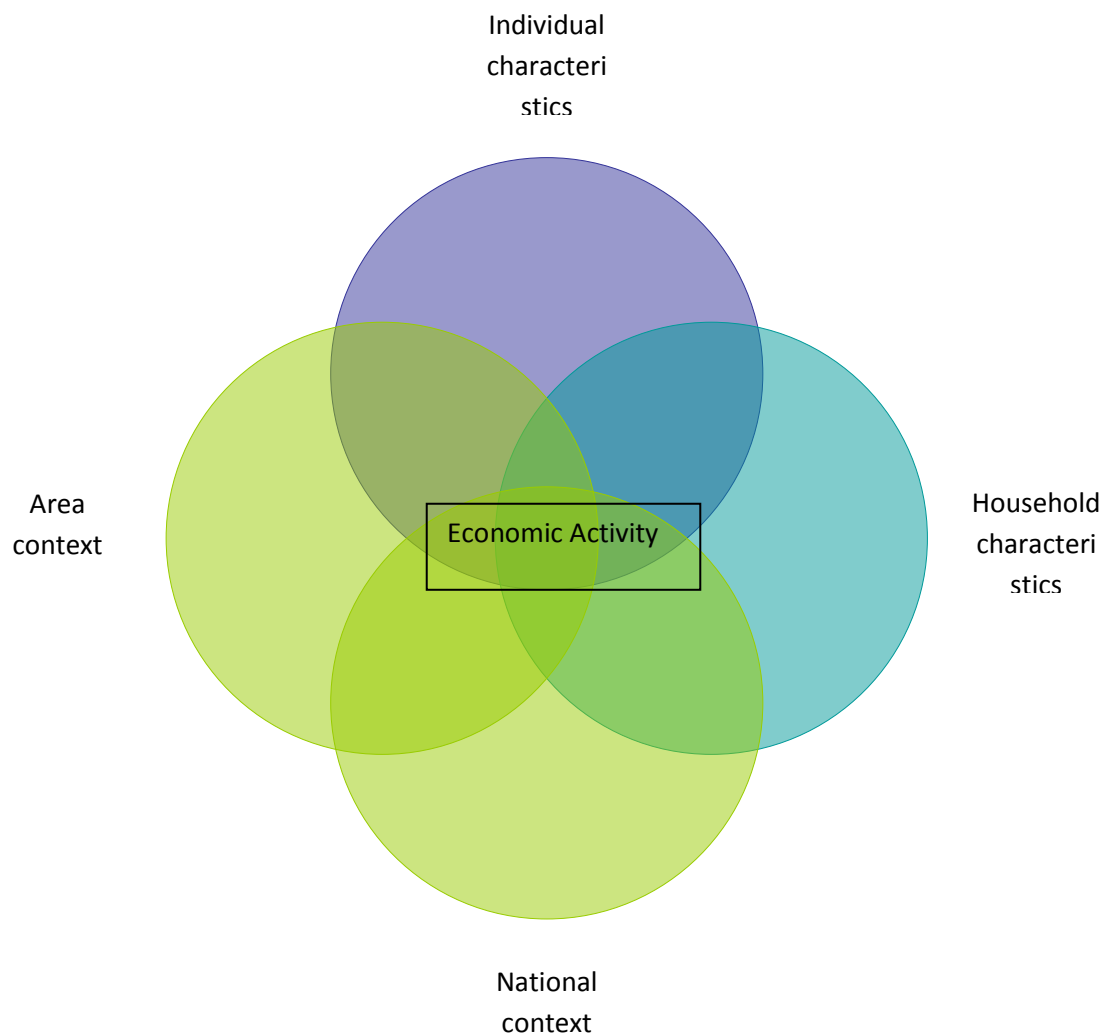
Area level impacts upon economic activity choices are centred on the local labour market and the rurality of an area. The Wales Rural Observatory (2004) established that patterns of flexible working are more evident in rural local authorities in Wales, with many people working part time and or in multiple jobs. The WRO is a Welsh Government funded project to create a social and economic data set which can be used as a benchmark for policy makers and academics alike in rural Wales. The research program consists of a number of stages. The findings reported above stem from the first and largest stage which is a household survey of some 4000 representative households in rural Wales. The survey focused on living and working in rural areas where they established the labour market patterns of rural areas. The labour market mediates the demand for employment; therefore, this will be an important determinant in the types of economic activity choices in-migrants make.

This section has outlined how the concepts identified in the literature have been developed into some more specific hypotheses tested in this research. The literature has been the central tool in framing the research. The next section looks in more detail at the ways in which the different concepts from in-migration and entrepreneurship literature have been combined and the benefits of this for the research.

3.6 Concept Mapping

Maxwell (1996) uses concept maps as a means of developing and clarifying theory. The use of concept mapping was originally developed by Novack and Gowin (1984). Miles and Huberman (1994) termed it a conceptual framework. Maxwell (1996 p47) describes a concept map as a visual display of a theory – a picture of what the theory says is going on with the phenomenon you're studying. In this study there have been a number of iterations of the concept map as it is an evolving tool used to graphically depict the relationships between concepts central to this study. See figure 3.3 (page 75) for the concept map for this project.

FIGURE 3.1 CONCEPT MAP



What this diagram represents is the relationships between an individual's economic activity and the context in which this behaviour is enacted. There are a number of different decisions an individual can make regarding their economic activity. These decisions are shaped by a variety of push and pull factors but they are all made within the household structure that they live. They are also shaped by the context of the area and place based characteristics such as the local labour market in which an individual operates. Furthermore beyond the local context is the national context, (the policy and/or economic framework of the country). The possible push and pull factors that can impact upon an individual will vary according to those individuals' particular circumstances. But the contexts in which they occur will remain the same as will the different possible outcomes of their decisions. The economic activity immigrants become involved in will recursively reproduce the structures in which they are

operating and this in turn will impact upon an individual, household, local and national context.

The concept map highlights the importance of not only local factors but also extra-local factors that may not be that well understood by the in-migrant themselves. The concept map above outlines how the different factors interact the outcome of which is individual in-migrants economic activity. One of the types of context outlined on the concept map is that of the policy and economic framework on a national level. This is titled the national context on the concept map. This research was not attempting to understand the impact of differing economic and other policy frameworks on individual in-migrants economic activity and thus was only conducted within a rural UK context. However as the literature review highlighted the national policy approach and in particular the Welsh policy approach (see chapter 2 for discussion of the Welsh specific policy) will invariably impact upon individuals economic activity choices. This research was not designed to contrast these complexities as it was intent on understanding economic activity choices on an individual in-migrant scale.

Turning now to the second type of context the area based context (as outlined in the concept map) this research was conducted across two different types of rural areas which represented variety in local labour markets and rural space. The choice of case study location will be explained in greater detail in section 3.7 of this chapter. However its inclusion here is based on the fact it represents an important factor based on the results from the qualitative interviews in determining economic activity. The place based context is of particular interest to local policy makers. It is at this local level that the State can introduce changes to influence in-migrant economic activity. This can be achieved at local authority level through planning policy and local development plans, or in terms of state investment in local labour markets which could attempt to shift their focus from service economies to entrepreneurial economies as Marini and Mooney (2006) asserted.

Finally, the research was designed to capture variation in the individual / household context which forms the bulk of the push and pull factors that are commonly associated with self-employment and migration decisions. The methods chosen i.e. the survey (which is discussed in greater detail in section 3.8 of this chapter) allowed questions to be asked about the factors that shaped individual's behaviour. These included details of household structure, previous economic activity choices and why specific locations had been chosen to migrate to and what factors had influenced economic activity choices. The relationships between these concepts could then be explored to understand which variables most impacted upon individual's economic activity.

This section of the chapter has set out how what was uncovered in the literature has framed the concepts of this research. These theories and ideas were developed from both the migration and entrepreneurship literature which have been combined in this thesis. The purpose of this is to use the ideas from the migration literature about why people move and how many migrate, and ideas from the entrepreneurship literature about the process of starting a business and the push and pull factors that influence people's behaviour.

3.5 Key concepts

Much research on migration and business activity in rural areas has made use of secondary data such as the census, the Labour Force Survey and the BHPS. Here the definition of migration is imposed as it were by those setting up the data collection. As Boyle et al (1998, p56 note 'consequently deliberation on who is and who is not a migrant is not seriously considered'. But definitions matter because they can affect the conclusions drawn from data and the validity of the results. This is equally true for those conducting primary research. The literature review highlighted that there are a number of definitions being used within the field of migration and entrepreneurship as well as much debate on the term rural. The following section outlines the definitions used in this research and the limitations of these definitions:

In-migrant

This research has used a lifetime definition of in-migrant combined with a distance measure. An in-migrant household was considered to be any household where the head of household (as self-defined by respondents) had lived outside the area and who had moved into the case study area from a distance of more than 20 miles. The rationale for using a lifetime definition of in-migrant was that first this is essentially the definition used in the original work on migration and entrepreneurial behaviour by Keeble and Tyler (1995) and thus the results of any research are broadly comparable with their work. Second, we know many in-migrants often take a number of years to establish themselves as entrepreneurs in rural areas (Keeble and Tyler 1995). Therefore by allowing individuals that moved many years ago to be captured it was possible to see how length of time at destination had impacted upon economic activity. Boyle and Halfacree (1993, 1998) advocate a lifetime definition of migration so that migration can be seen as a part of the picture of a person's whole life rather than as a response to a specific issue.

Alongside the acknowledgement of migration as a part of a person's whole life the rationale for using a migration distance measure is based on a desire to exclude moves of circulation within a housing market. Keeble and Tyler (1995) counted a migrant as someone who was at the time of the research living outside the county in which they had been born. The

advantage of the 20 mile cut-off compared with the Keeble and Tyler definition is that it excludes short distance cross boundary residential moves from migration. In other studies in-migrants have been sub categorised into long and short distance movers (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1996). The addition of a distance measure in the definition of in-migrant was an attempt to avoid this sub categorisation.

However by using this definition the comparability of results with some more recent important work in this field is compromised. In the Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) study all households with a member not resident in the 1981 census but resident at the time of the survey were considered in-migrant households. This meant even if they had moved from next door that everyone in the household would have been counted as in-migrants. Whereas in this research the head of household was asked to self-define whether they had moved over the 20 mile distance required to 'make' them in-migrants as defined in this research. However as will be addressed this self-definition was not without its problems.

There are many ways that the term in-migrant is defined and there is no right or wrong answer. However it is important to be mindful of the potential impacts of the definition adopted. First, the numbers of in-migrants captured in the survey may have been higher if everyone in a household, where the head had lived outside the area, had been considered an in-migrant under a more relaxed definition. Potentially too there might have been more migrant owned businesses in the sample. Second as discussed later, there were some apparent inconsistencies in the data. This stemmed from people claiming always to have lived within 20 miles of their current residence but then later answering questions on having lived in a city. There are no clear ways to mitigate against these issues as they are prevalent in many surveys. They are perhaps caused by acquiescence bias or perhaps by the way that respondents interpreted the word 'lived'.

Return migrant

For the purposes of this research, the definition of a return in-migrant was in principle clear: an individual who had previously lived in the area (which is an area within 20 miles of their existing location) but who had at some point lived outside this area. This is of course open to the same problems of interpretation as that for a migrant. People who had only temporarily resided outside the area however may have thought of themselves as always 'living' in the area and thus would not be counted as a returnee. A further question on the motives for moving to the area also included a question on whether the migrant had 'moved back to the area they came from'. The answer to the question in a few cases gave a different answer to the question how many returnees there were. Where inconsistencies were found they were excluded from the analysis.

Entrepreneurship

As discussed in the literature review there are long held debates about the nature of entrepreneurship. The nature of the term in this research is aimed at establishing who does or does not own a business. Whilst it is acknowledged that there are many types of business owner - some that are 'entrepreneurial' some that are not. And there are many types of self-employment and some self-employed people own businesses, some do not. The broad term of entrepreneurship in the context of this research refers to business activity undertaken by individuals either alone or in combination with others for which they own a controlling stake. This is consistent with research by others such as Bosworth 2008 and Raley and Moxey 2000. Therefore in defining entrepreneurship in these broad ways a range of business activity is captured from a variety of business types. Had the term self-employment been used then this may have excluded a percentage of people who are involved in business activity but who are not self-employed. And had business activity or 'owning a business' been used then a range of people who are self-employed but perhaps not business owners (such as artists and crafts people) would have been excluded. The use of the term is not without its difficulties, however, and this was evident in the fact that some respondents filled in the section on being in business even though they stated they did not own it or have a share in the company. The terms used for business and self-employment do not always capture the complex array of individuals working patterns. The implications for the choice of this definition and indeed all others are provided in the conclusions.

Small Business

The definition of a small business in this research is an amalgamation of the European Union definition:

Micro, small and medium-sized enterprises

Micro, small and medium-sized enterprises are defined according to their staff headcount and turnover or annual balance-sheet total.

A medium-sized enterprise is defined as an enterprise which employs fewer than 250 persons and whose annual turnover does not exceed EUR 50 million or whose annual balance-sheet total does not exceed EUR 43 million.

A small enterprise is defined as an enterprise which employs fewer than 50 persons and whose annual turnover and/or annual balance sheet total does not exceed EUR 10 million.

A microenterprise is defined as an enterprise which employs fewer than 10 persons and whose annual turnover and/or annual balance sheet total does not exceed EUR 2 million.

Commission Recommendation 2003/361/EC of 6 May 2003 concerning the definition of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises [Official Journal L 124 of 20.05.2003].

The businesses in this study were not sub categorised into micro, small and medium for the purposes of analysis, instead all businesses were assessed together. The definition posed no issues. The majority of the businesses in this study fell into the micro category with a few in the small category. Please see chapter 6 for further details of the businesses in this research.

3.6 Data sources and the choice of survey instrument – Why survey households?

The research was designed to collect primary data from individuals in households who were to report on their household structure, their own behaviour and motives and those of others in the household. The principal method of enquiry in this research has been a household survey; however this has been combined with in depth qualitative interviewing of a biographical style (Ni Laoire 2000) as discussed earlier. A household survey provides a broad range of aggregate data on the behaviours on in-migrants which allows the impact of a number of variables to be assessed. The survey provided a way for the theories developed from the literature and qualitative interviews to be tested with a large sample. Specially designed surveys are the most obvious way of collecting data on the motivations of in-migrants (Boyle and Halfacree 1998). This is because information on in-migrants motivations is not readily available elsewhere. This made the household survey the central feature of this research and it also provided primary, qualitative and quantitative data on household information and the behaviour of in-migrants to rural areas of Wales.

"Questionnaire survey research is a research method for gathering information about the characteristics, behaviours and/or attitudes of a population by administering a standardized set of questions, or questionnaire, to a sample of individuals" (McLafferty, 2003: 87).

Within the fields of geography and the social sciences, exploring people's attitudes, behaviours and feelings is often undertaken via surveys. This is a valuable method for finding out about social interactions and complex behaviours (Robinson, 2008; Parfitt, 1997). The information that this research wanted to gather was not readily available from other sources so following in the tradition of Williams and Sofranko (1979) who surveyed in-migrants motivations this research embarked upon a household survey.

In-migrants as a group have been surveyed on several occasions. Findlay et al (1999) surveyed several rural wards in England, The Wales Rural Observatory surveyed households in Wales in 2004 (WRO 2004). In-migrant business owners have been the subject of surveys in the North East of England (Raley and Moxey 2000, Bosworth 2008) and Keeble and Tyler (1995) used a matched pair methodology to study business owning in-migrants in the 1990s. This survey did not intend to replicate the results of these previous research projects, but provide useful additional information which would allow the choices in-migrants make and the explanations for these choices to be explored.

3.6.1 The debate about the value of survey research

There are those who argue in favour of the use of surveys as the instrument of data collection and those who take the opposite view. On the plus side surveys are flexible and have the potential to provide both qualitative and quantitative data. Surveys can be completed either by the respondent (self-completion questionnaires) or alternatively the researcher can ask the respondent questions in an interview format. They are a cost effective way of reaching large samples and facilitate data collection on household groups (May 2001). Surveys can if properly designed reduce bias through standardisation as Oppenheim notes (1992:67) 'every respondent has been asked the same questions, with the same meaning, in the same words, same intonation, same sequence in the same setting and so on...' Secondly through replicability another researcher should be able to get the same results if using a similar questionnaire, sampling framework etc. This also increases the reliability and validity of the survey, in that a similar result would be obtained on a different occasion and this would demonstrate that it was measuring what it had been intended to measure – ensuring validity (May 2001). Finally surveys can achieve if correctly administered representativeness in that it will be representative of the population and produce statistically significant findings.

Turning now to the negatives associated with using surveys – there are many criticisms of surveys. Some of the criticism stems from the fact that surveys most often explore the relationships between variables. Often this can be in the form of cause and effect which some, such as May (2001), argue is not applicable to human action which is conceived to be essentially rule following, not caused. Furthermore surveys often 'fix' the answers of respondents within a tight framework which prohibits respondents from articulating their own thoughts or feelings. There is also an issue with attitudes and actions which even as far back as Lapiere in 1934 has been considered. He noted that in a survey of French and English hoteliers and their response to 'dark skinned people' the survey revealed prejudice to letting rooms to ethnic minorities but in travels with people of ethnic minority he saw they had little

difficulty in securing lodgings. Thereby highlighting what people say and what people do are two very different things (May 2001).

It is clear that there are both different views on the benefits and drawbacks from using surveys / questionnaires. Some of these reflect different views about the nature of social reality and the possibility of knowing about this reality and thus about the nature of social research itself. However many of these supposed drawbacks can be overcome through careful pilot work as Lapiere (1934) (quoted in May 2001) concluded. Indeed there are those who would argue that 'questionnaires can tap meanings if adequately designed and piloted and that the divide which is often thought to exist between quantitative and qualitative research actually impoverishes the aim of understanding and explaining human relations' (McLaughlin 1991).

A further issue with migration research in general and in the case of surveys specifically is when respondents are called upon to report on behaviour and events that happened before the survey. As Stockdale (2006 page 358) notes "with hindsight in-migrants put a favourable and rational interpretation on their actions and lifetime events. They may only recall the main events omitting secondary factors. Moreover they are keen to portray their actions and experiences in positive terms." There is no clear way to avoid this post event rationalisation and associated memory recall issues in migration research except to conduct longitudinal surveys which are expensive and usually impractical to conduct. However Boyle and Halfacree (1993) suggest a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods can overcome some of the difficulties.

Despite the difficulties of cross comparison and issues with surveys in general – the household survey was the most effective means of procuring a large data set about the economic activity of in-migrants and non-migrants something that had not been done previously. The survey was used to build a profile of households and businesses in selected rural areas of Wales. The household survey was also used to create retrospective histories of residential and employment careers and to build a profile of the non-migrant population of rural areas of Wales despite the possible difficulties associated with this discussed above.

The survey allowed ideas to be explored as to how influences at different levels – individual (qualifications, age, gender), household (household structure, previous residential history) and area (such as labour markets, rurality and Welshness) affect in-migrant behaviour. Other methods were considered such as interviews and secondary data analysis, indeed as discussed earlier a number of qualitative biographical style interviews (Ni Laoire 2000) were conducted (the findings of which are reported in later chapters). However there is a long tradition of survey work in the field and it was felt that the addition of this survey to the

existing data sets would provide a more complete picture of in-migrant economic activity. However in order to minimise some of the issues discussed above re memory recall issues in migration research a mix of qualitative interviews and the quantitative study were conducted as recommended by Boyle and Halfacree 1993. The survey however remains the principal instrument of enquiry in this research.

Further justification for the choice of survey methods in this research stem from the fact that the types of questions that this research was posing require a large sample of cases to answer effectively. Appropriate secondary data did not exist to explore in-migrant economic activity. Qualitative interviews were conducted as part of the research methodology and allowed for in depth discussion on a range of economic activity issues. However they also highlighted that a larger data set would allow better exploration of the research questions. The interviews provided a useful rich data set to explore individual in-migrants biographies. The survey allowed the economic activity patterns of in-migrants to be explored and compared to that of non-migrants.

3.7 Case Study Areas – background and selection of data sources.

Structuration theory and its focus on contexts (Giddens 1984) mean that action is influenced by where people live. Therefore in choosing Wales as a study location it is expected that this research will reflect the social context of Wales. This may provide different results from earlier studies in England and Scotland (such as those by Findlay, Short and Stockdale 1999, Raley and Moxey 2000, Bosworth 2008). The differing case study areas within Wales may also provide different results as they represent different local social contexts. Wales as a choice of study location also ties in with Structuration Theory's focus on culture in that language is an important element of culture. Therefore in grounding the study in Wales the impact of Welsh language skills on in-migrants behaviours can also be assessed.

This section sets out the case study selection criteria and provides background information on the case study areas. The research was conducted in two local authority areas in Wales, Powys and Gwynedd. Within these local authority areas 5 travel to work areas were selected. There were Knighton and Radnor, Brecon, Machynlleth, Pwllheli and Porthmadog and Ffestiniog. How these areas were selected and a breakdown of the socio economic and demographic profile of the areas is set out below:

3.7.1 Mechanics of the study area selection

This research project used a variety of measures to identify two local authority districts (Powys and Gwynedd) in which to conduct a household survey of in-migrants. The choice of location for this study is rural areas of Wales; this is an ideal setting in which to investigate in-migration due to the fact that Wales has a predominantly rural landscape. In the literature review it was noted that it is difficult to define rural but that this research had used the ONS definition. This definition is commonly used within research of this type and has posed no particular problems in terms of defining what is rural. The use of this definition allowed for census data to be used to identify which local authority districts were predominantly rural. Wales as the location of this study affords the opportunity to investigate how residence in the different types of rural space with varying degrees of Welsh language and differing labour markets impacts upon the economic activity of in-migrants. Furthermore this research was partially funded by the National Assembly Government in Wales therefore it was important Wales played a key feature in the research.

Concepts from the literature also played a role in shaping the case study selection process. The concepts that were particularly influential included the rural typology developed by Marsden (2004) and then later developed by Marini and Mooney (2006) into a rural economy typology. The first typology, that of Marsden's (2004), is outlined in chapter 2 the literature review. During the course of case study selection the rural local authorities in Wales were considered against the typology. For Powys and Gwynedd (the selected case study areas) it became apparent that when using local authority boundaries they do not easily fall into any of the four categories as they have elements of more than one of the types. However it was possible to outline the most prominent type in the case study areas selected, for both Powys and Gwynedd this is the Paternalistic countryside with Powys having some strong elements of the Clientelistic countryside.

In regards to the second rural typology that of the rural economy typology developed by Marini and Mooney (2006) the local authority boundaries of Powys and Gwynedd again do not neatly fit into any of the categories. This is because within the local authority elements of all three rural economies are prevalent. However in relation to Gwynedd it was possible to highlight a dominant type and that is the rent seeking economy. And for Powys a mix of dependent economy and rent seeking economy is prevalent however both have areas where the entrepreneurial economy prevails.

Section 3.4 set out what individual, household and area level variables were impacting upon the economic activity of in-migrants. The case study selection needed to consider this

structure and identify areas that would allow analysis of these different variables. Therefore the areas selected were chosen because they differ in Welshness and job availability. It was expected that these variables would have an impact on in-migrant economic activity decisions. These areas were not therefore representative of rural Wales. This was a deliberate decision whereby the case studies were selected to accommodate the research objectives.

In order to select the study areas multi stage cluster sampling was used. Using 2001 census data with local authorities as output areas, four local authority areas in Wales were selected as possible survey sites. These local authorities were chosen from a census theme table as having the highest percentage of self-employed in-migrants. (See table 4.1 data taken from the 2001 census)

The four local authorities (Powys, Gwynedd, Ceredigion and Monmouthshire) were then analysed against some of the concepts explored earlier in this chapter. These included self-employment rates, (which are thought to be high among in-migrant populations (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999)), Welsh speaking, (as it is understood being a speaker of the native language may make the transition into a new local culture easier (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003)) or have labour market advantages for the speaker and tenure (as this is an important factor for entrepreneurship (SBS 2004) as it affords access to capital not available to people who have other forms of tenure).

The following table was created by analysing 2001 census data for the four local authority areas and comparing them against the Welsh average.

TABLE 3.2 KEY STATISTICS OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY AREAS

LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA	% PEOPLE BORN IN WALES	% SELF EMPLOYED PEOPLE	% PEOPLE WITH NO KNOWLEDGE OF WELSH	% OF PEOPLE WHO OWN THEIR OWN HOME
Ceredigion	58.58	14.9	38.76	69.69
Gwynedd	69.81	13.5	23.89	66.34
Powys	55.59	18.3	69.91	68.87
Monmouthshire	61.30	10.5	87.14	75.86
All Wales	75.39	8.5	71.57	70.84

Based on the census analysis of table 3.2 it was decided that the two local authorities that would be surveyed were: Powys which has a high self-employment rate, low born in Wales's percentage and high levels of people who have no knowledge of the Welsh language. The second local authority that was to be surveyed was Gwynedd which is an area with a high percentage of people who speak Welsh and a lower self-employment rate than that of Powys and high levels of people who have been born in Wales. The location of the two local authorities selected is shown on the following map:

3.7.2 Powys a sense of place

For the location of Powys please see figure 3.2

Powys is an area of Wales which forms the spine of the country. It is largely upland country, covering 2000 square miles and a quarter of the land mass of Wales. There are only 25 people per square kilometre making it the most sparsely populated local authority in England and Wales (Powys County Council 2012). The local authority is made up of the mountains of the Brecon Beacons National Park and the river valleys of the Wye, Severn and Usk. Powys covers the old counties of Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire and Brecknockshire. Its main towns are Newtown, Brecon and Knighton. 88% of Powys's land is classified as agricultural land (WAG 2008).

The economy of Powys centres on agriculture and tourism. There is a high self-employment rate and there are high levels of public sector working. There were (by the end of 2007) 8600 VAT registered businesses in Powys. During 2008 390 new businesses were registered but 405 closed. In a Powys County Council survey of workplaces (Powys County Council 2009) 73.2% were identified as micro businesses (compared to a Wales's average of 67.9%). A micro business is generally defined in the EU as a business with less than 10 employees and a turnover of less than 2 million euro (Commission Recommendation 2003/361/EC of 6 May 2003 concerning the definition of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises).

Economic activity in the local labour market of Powys (NOMIS 2011) was made up as follows:

69.7% of working age people are in employment (Wales average 66.6%)

14.4% of working age people are self-employed (Wales average 8.2%)

5.2% of working age people are unemployed and looking for work (Wales average 8.2%)

2.3% of working age population are claiming Job seekers Allowance (Wales average 3.8%)

The total population of Powys in 2010 was 131,313 which is a 3.9% rise since the 2001 census. There is a net natural decline in population across Powys according to the Welsh Assembly Governments population predictions (2008). However they predict continued net inward migration, with around 920 more people moving into Powys than moving out each year, off-setting the net natural decline and bringing about a growth in population. Much of this net inward migration is in-migration from England and other parts of Wales as the percentage of people who consider themselves ethnic minorities is low at 0.85% (Powys County Council 2009). The majority of the population of Powys mainly (50% as of 2007) live in villages, hamlets and isolated dwellings. The Wales average is 9%.

Historically Powys has witnessed population decline. Census data reveals that the population of Powys was gradually declining during the period 1901 to 1971. A population turnaround began to take effect from 1971 where the population increased significantly up until 1991, by 32.2% (Dorling and Atkins 1995). During the period 1991 – 2001 the population change in Powys was 5.6% (PCC 2003).

The Welsh language in Powys is strong and is comparable to Wales's wide level, however this is substantially less than in other rural counties of Wales. The Powys Unitary Development Plan (PCC 2010) sets out that Powys has a Welsh-speaking population of 20.8% (aged 3+). This compares with a figure of 20.5% for Wales as a whole. A high proportion of the County's Welsh speakers are within the 3 to 15 years age group with 39.7% in Powys being able to speak Welsh (PCC 2010).

Finally in terms of quality of life many publications (The Telegraph 28th of August 2008, The Daily Mail 28th of August 2008) have reported on the fact that people living in Powys are the happiest in the country. This was based on a study by Sheffield and Manchester Universities (RGS 2008) which ranked Powys as the number 1 place to live in the UK for happiness. The results were deduced from an analysis of the household panel survey. This is included here as an indication of the perceived quality of life of the region and not a comment on the quality of the research which has been questioned by the Times Newspaper (2nd of January 2010 author Sathnam Sanghera).

TABLE 3.3 KEY INDICATORS OF POWYS AND GWYNEDD

Variable	Powys	Gwynedd
Population number (2001 census)	126,354	116,843
No of people per square km (2001 census)	25	46
No of VAT registered businesses as of 2007	8600	4990
% of self-employed people (NOMIS 2011)	14.4%	12.7%
% of Welsh speakers (2001 census)	20.8%	69%

3.7.3 Gwynedd a sense of place

For the location of Gwynedd please see figure 3.2

Gwynedd is an area of Wales that encompasses the Llyn Peninsula and the Snowdonia National Park. It also has the longest coastline of all Welsh local authorities. Gwynedd is the second largest local authority in Wales totalling 1000 square miles. At its heart is Snowdon the highest mountain in England and Wales. Gwynedd is made up of the old counties of Caernarfonshire and Merionethshire with 67.5% of the landmass part of the Snowdonia National Park. Gwynedd is a rural county with 46 people per square km (the third lowest after Powys and Ceredigion).

The economy of Gwynedd centres on tourism and agriculture. The largest employment sectors in Gwynedd are public administration, health and education, hotels and restaurants and manufacturing. In 2007 there were 4990 businesses registered for VAT. During 2007 300 new businesses registered for VAT and 270 de-registered representing a net gain of 30 VAT registered businesses. 85.5% of Gwynedd businesses employ less than 10 people. These figures have been published by Gwynedd County Council (2009).

Economic activity in the local labour market of Gwynedd (NOMIS 2011) is made up as follows:

69.1% of working age people are employed full time (Wales average 66.6%)

12.7% of working age people are self-employed (Wales average 8.2%)

6.5% of working age people are unemployed and looking for work (Wales average 8.2%)

2.8% of working age people are claiming Job seekers Allowance (Wales average 3.8%)

The population of Gwynedd like Powys (and the majority of the UK) is ageing. The population predictions for the local authority (devised by the WAG 2008) predict the population of Gwynedd will continue to rise slowly, and two thirds of this will be through net in-migration. Migration in Gwynedd from mid-2004 to mid-2007 witnessed a net gain of 400 people which was a volume of 84 people per 1000 population: the 6th highest in Wales. Ethnic minorities make up a very small percentage of this population representing only 1.2%.

Using historic Census data to analyse population change in Gwynedd the results reveal that between the period 1921 to 1981 the population of Gwynedd remained reasonably consistent with very little census period fluctuations. However in the period 1981 to 1991 the population change of Gwynedd rose by 2.8% but later dropped off in the period 1991 – 2001 where the population change rose by 1.7%. (WRO 2007)

Gwynedd has the highest proportion of people in Wales who can speak Welsh. In 2001, 69% of people in Gwynedd aged 3 and over spoke Welsh, significantly higher than the Welsh average of 20.5% and significantly higher than Powys at 20.8%. Welsh speakers account for at least 30% of the resident population of all but one ward in Gwynedd (the exception being, due to student numbers, Menai ward in Bangor). The highest proportions of Welsh speakers are to be found in and around Caernarfon.

Finally the issue of in-migration and second home ownership has been a 'hot topic' in Gwynedd where the local authority has considered implementing various policies to discourage second home ownership (BBC News 2001). The Welsh Assembly Government stepped in at one stage as some comments made by the Chairman of the Local Authority Housing Board on the subject of English in-migrants were considered racially sensitive (BBC News 2001 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/Wales/1123782.stm>).

3.8 Selecting a sampling strategy

Once a survey was established as the most appropriate instrument of data collection it was necessary to design a sampling strategy. The sampling strategy was designed to accommodate the key concepts identified in the literature and explored in chapter 3. In order to do this it has been conducted in two case study areas made up of two Welsh labour

market areas. These areas were chosen to demonstrate variation in in-migration; self-employment and levels of Welsh speaking, as these were identified as potential influences which may be impacting upon in-migrants economic activity as was set out earlier in this chapter. The choice of multi stage sampling is a tradition within migration research as different areas are often selected sometimes to reduce the cost of travelling widely to conduct interviews and sometimes in order to understand how landscape and other spatial features impact on the nature of migration to these areas (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Findlay 1999, Raley and Moxey 2000, Stockdale 2006, Bosworth 2008). Therefore it was appropriate that this study adopted a comparable approach. However the intention of this study was to select areas that could meet the research objectives and explore the theories about why patterns of economic activity for migrants and non-migrants vary between areas. As was set out in section 3.7, the local authorities selected are not representative of rural Wales. They were selected as regions with high levels of in-migration thus ensuring that there would be a good representation of migrants in the sample, high levels of self-employment to maximise the chance of obtaining a reasonable sample of rural business owners and places with differing levels of 'Welshness.', contexts in which the ability to speak Welsh can have a significant impact on economic activity. This therefore offered excellent locations in which to understand how these issues impact upon migrant's decision making.

Once the two local authority areas were chosen, analysis was carried out in order to assess the differing labour market conditions within these rather large local authorities. Labour market conditions were found to be a key concept in the literature. In order to assess the differing labour market characteristics of the local authorities Travel-to-Work Areas (TTWA) were used as the output areas. This meant again that self-employment levels and degree to which an area was rich in Welsh culture, such as levels of Welsh speaking, could be contrasted. Using TTWA's as an output area allowed not only analysis between local authority areas but also between travel to work areas in the same local authority. A travel to work area is defined by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (ONS website <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/geography/ttwa.asp> 23rd of September 2010) as an area where:

“Of the resident economically active population, at least 75 per cent actually work in the area, and also, that of everyone working in the area; at least 75 per cent actually live in the area”

There are as of 2007, 243 travel to work areas in the UK based on the 2001 census. They are often used for labour market analysis as they are based on where people live and work rather than unitary authority boundaries. Figure 3.5 shows all the travel to work areas in the

UK as of 1998 (the 2007 map had not been produced at the time this research was making study location selection). The map is obviously constantly updated and reviewed but the map highlights the variation in sizes of travel to work areas. It also highlights how in rural areas they tend to be much larger; this is especially true in Wales. This is because people have to travel larger distances to their workplace. By using travel to work areas as the case study regions it was hoped that a more valid measure of the local labour market, and the employment prospects within it, would be obtained than that given by local authority areas.

Whilst there is no appropriate figure for how large the sample of this research should have been, the decision was taken that the survey would be distributed with 1 in 10 households in the travel to work areas. This meant that assuming the pilot study response rates could be matched (approximately 25%) in the full household survey a pool of 500-600 households would be identified. This was achieved and provided enough data for analysis using SPSS assessing themes and commonalities. A larger sample may have allowed more findings to be statistically significant. However the costs associated with extending the survey beyond a 10% ratio were prohibitive

FIGURE 3.2 MAP OF THE 1998 TTWA'S IN WALES AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES OF WALES

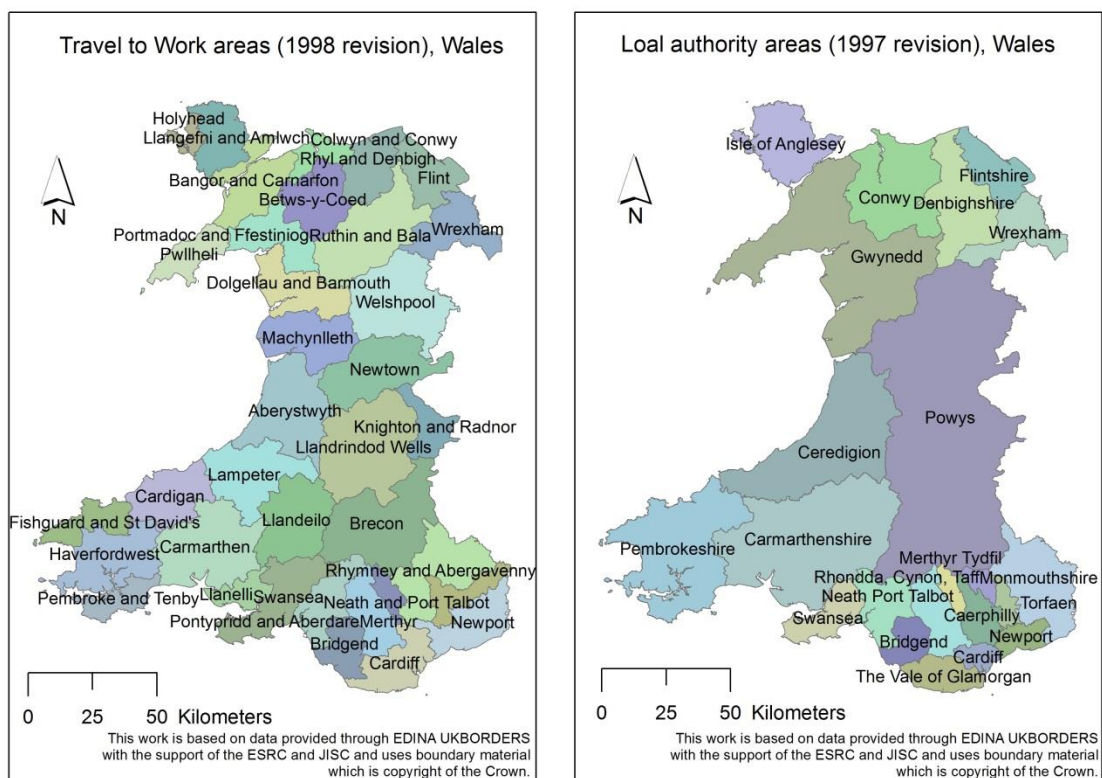


Table 3.4 sets out data on the key characteristics of the travel to work areas within the local authorities of Powys and Gwynedd. The data was sourced from the ONS 2001 census analysis.

TABLE 3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF TTWA

TTWA's NAME	EMPLOYMENT RATE	SELF EMPLOYMENT RATE	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE	% HIGH LEVEL QUALIFICATIONS	% ETHNIC WELSH	% NO KNOWLEDGE OF WELSH
Bangor and Caernarfon	44.9%	8.1%	7.5%	21.7%	25.8%	21.3%
Dolgellau and Barmouth	38.1%	15.7%	7.1%	18.1%	20.9%	35.4%
Machynlleth	40.7%	16.5%	5.8%	17.9%	19.2%	39.9%
Portmadog and Ffestiniog	42.9%	12.7%	7.1%	17.0%	31.6%	18.6%
Pwllheli	39.3%	15.8%	5.0%	18.4%	32.3%	21.1%
Brecon	45.9%	18.4%	3.5%	22.1%	13.4%	77.6%
Knighton and Radnor	42.0%	19.2%	4.3%	17.3%	3.7%	84.7%
Llandrindod Wells	41.8%	19.2%	5.1%	18.1%	11.8%	78.2%
Newtown	49.2%	15.5%	3.0%	16.3%	11.0%	73.1%
Welshpool	45.3%	18.0%	3.6%	18.1%	10.8%	66.7%

The ethnic Welsh column represents the number of people who identified themselves in the travel to work area as Welsh on the 2001 census. The self-employment column refers to the number of people who identified themselves on the 2001 census as self-employed. The categories offered were self-employed with employees or self-employed / freelance without employees. The figures shown are an amalgamation of the 2 classifications of self-employment.

After consideration of the labour markets of the travel to work areas, (excluding Bangor due to the University skewing the migration statistics) 5 TTWA's were chosen as study areas for the household survey distribution. These are:

1. Brecon which is in Powys
2. Knighton and Radnor which is in Powys

3. Machynlleth which is on the border of Gwynedd and Powys
4. Pwllheli which is in Gwynedd
5. Portmadog and Ffestiniog which is in Gwynedd

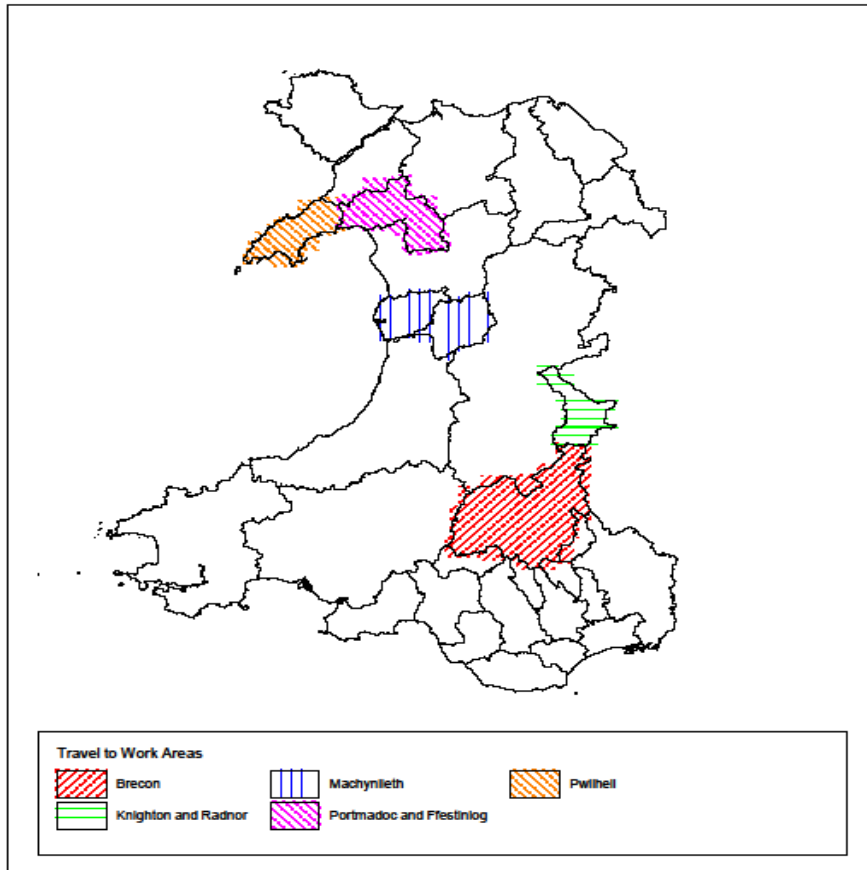
The first two TTWA regions; Brecon, and Knighton and Radnor highlight areas with high self-employment rates 18.4% and 19.2% respectively. They also had low levels of ethnic Welsh people, and low levels of Welsh speaking people (77.6% and 84.7% had no knowledge of Welsh respectively). Knighton and Radnor was chosen as opposed to Llandrindod which shared the same self-employment rate as it had the lowest percentage of ethnic Welsh people of all the TTWA's.

Machynlleth was chosen as the third survey area as it represented an area with a mid-range self-employment figure 16.5% and a mid-range figure for the number of population who have no knowledge of the Welsh language 39.9%. In this sense Machynlleth acts as a bridge between the high Welsh speaking population of Gwynedd and the high self-employment rates of Powys both figuratively and literally. Machynlleth also has the added advantage of attracting a certain element of 'green businesses' due to its proximity to the Centre for Alternative Technology and the Dyfi Eco Park. This it was hypothesised may have encouraged a certain type of in-migrant to the region.

Finally Pwllheli and Portmadog and Ffestiniog were chosen as they represent moderately lower self-employment levels (15.8% and 12.7% respectively), higher levels of ethnic Welsh people and high levels of Welsh speaking people (78.9% and 81.4% of the population).

The travel to work areas all have individual social and economic characteristics. By visiting each area and utilising the town council websites a mini profile was developed of the settlements;

FIGURE 3.4 MAPS OF THE SELECTED TTWA'S IN RELATION TO WALES



The two final stages of the sampling – wards within each TTWA and addresses within wards is discussed later in this chapter.

Brecon Travel To Work Area

Brecon (Aberhonddu in Welsh) is a community with the town of Brecon as its main centre; which is a thriving market and Cathedral town. The town is at the confluence of the rivers USK and Honddu and shielded by the Brecon Beacons. Brecon has a rich military history and is famous for its annual Brecon Jazz festival. Brecon is a popular tourist destination as it's the gateway to the Brecon Beacons National Park.

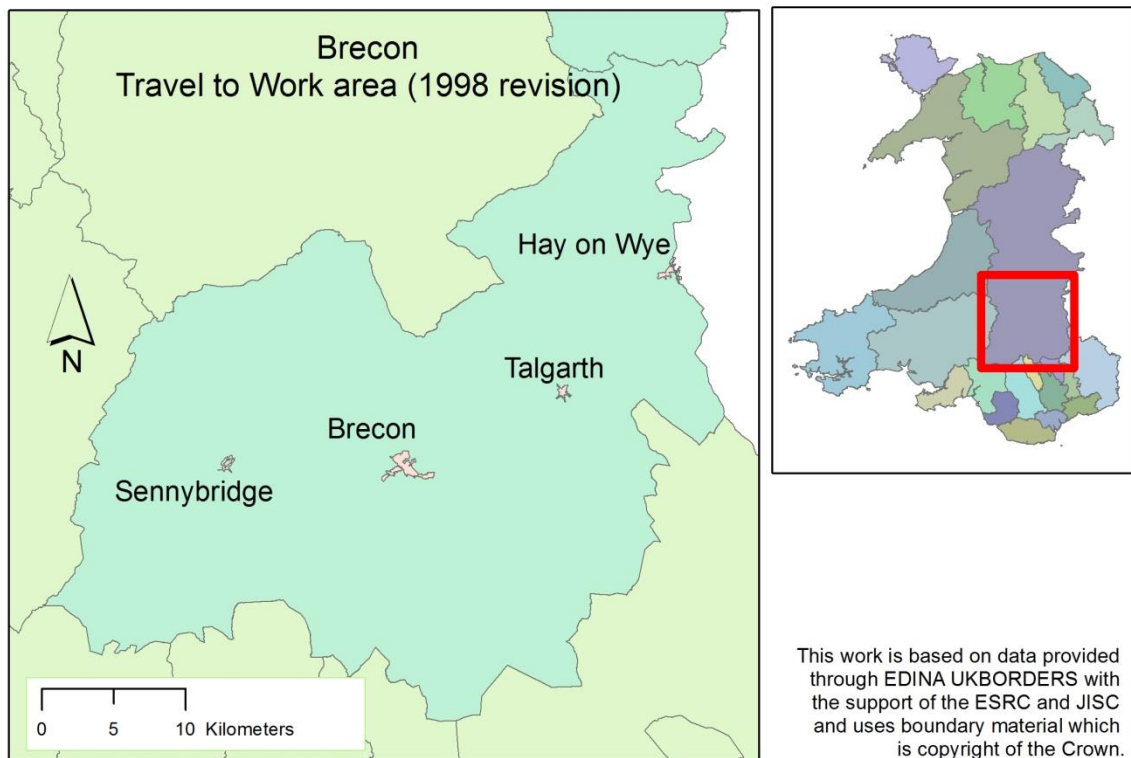
Brecon is reasonably accessible to the South Wales valleys and is within commuting distance of Swansea, Merthyr Tydfil and Cardiff. The TTWA has the highest employment

rate of all the TTWA's which was 45.9% as of the 2001 Census. Brecon benefits from a range of employment opportunities including public sector work at the local College and local authority offices. There is also a well-known private school in the area and a range of other schools. Brecon TTWA has the highest number of people with high level qualifications (as of 2001 census) 22.1% of the population had higher level qualifications (defined by the census as at least an undergraduate degree or equivalent).

The self-employment rate in Brecon is also reasonably high at 18.4% (as of the 2001 census), there may be a wide range of scope for self-employment in the tourism industry with Brecon's location as the main town of the Brecon Beacons mountain range.

Finally in terms of Welsh speaking, Brecon TTWA has (Wales wide) average levels of Welsh speakers with 77.6% of the population having no knowledge of the Welsh language. This is however the second lowest levels of Welsh speaking in the case study areas.

FIGURE 3.5 MAP OF BRECON TTWA



Knighton and Radnor Travel to Work Area

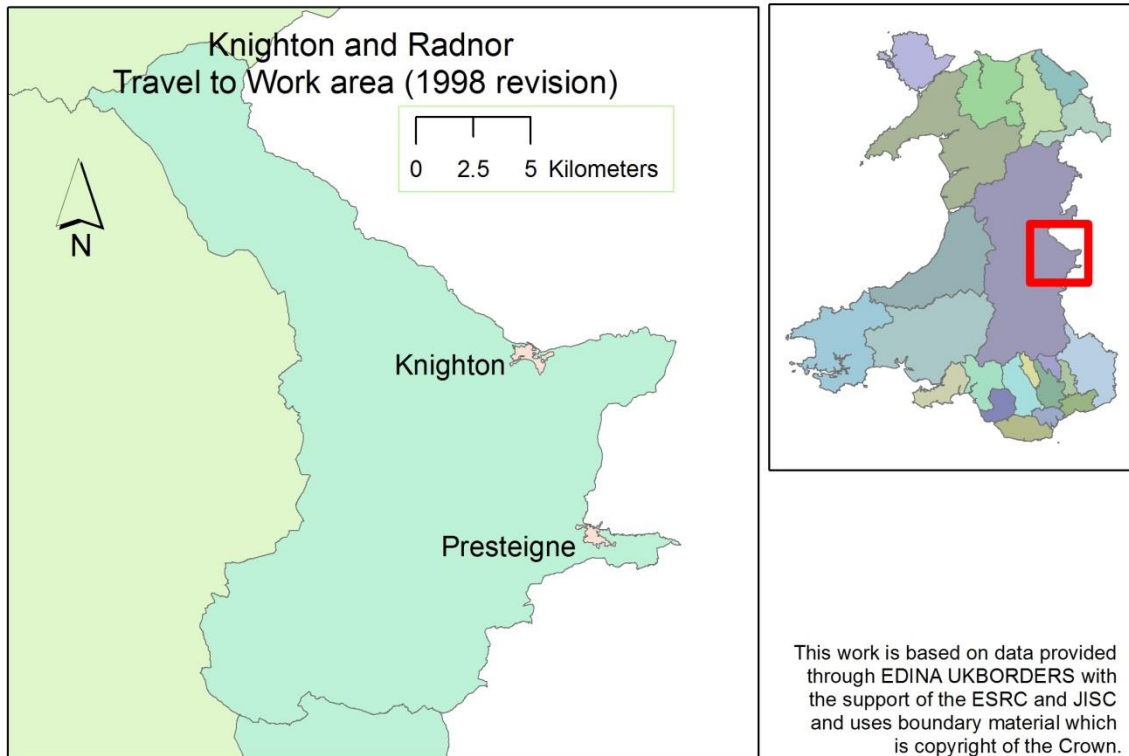
Knighton and Radnor is a community in Mid Wales with the town of Knighton (Tref y Clawdd in Welsh) at its centre. It is the only town situated on Offa's Dyke which was constructed in

the 8th century and ran from Chepstow to Prestatyn (149 miles). The town itself is steeped in history with winding streets and half-timbered houses. The town is on the border between England and Wales and is more easily accessible to Ludlow, Leominster and Hereford, than the nearest Welsh towns.

The employment rate in Knighton and Radnor is 42% (as of 2001 census) this is about average for the case study areas. There are few local employment opportunities in the area for higher / managerial positions, tourism and agriculture are the predominant employers. However the position of Knighton on the Wales/ England border makes it a location from which commuters could reasonably travel to larger English settlements. The Knighton and Radnor TTWA has the lowest levels of Welsh speaking of all the case study areas with only 15.3% (as of 2001 census) of the population having some understanding of the Welsh language.

The self-employment rate of Knighton and Radnor is the highest of the TTWA's at 19.2% (as of the 2001 census). Self-employed people in this area have the benefit of easy trade routes in both England and Wales. It may also be that due to the limited range of job opportunities in the area self-employment plays a larger role in local employment than in rural areas with more local administrative functions. The levels of higher qualifications in the Knighton and Radnor TTWA are at the lower end of the case study areas with 17.3% of the population of the TTWA having a higher qualification (as of 2001 census).

FIGURE 3.6 MAP OF KNIGHTON AND RADNOR TTWA



Machynlleth Travel to Work Area

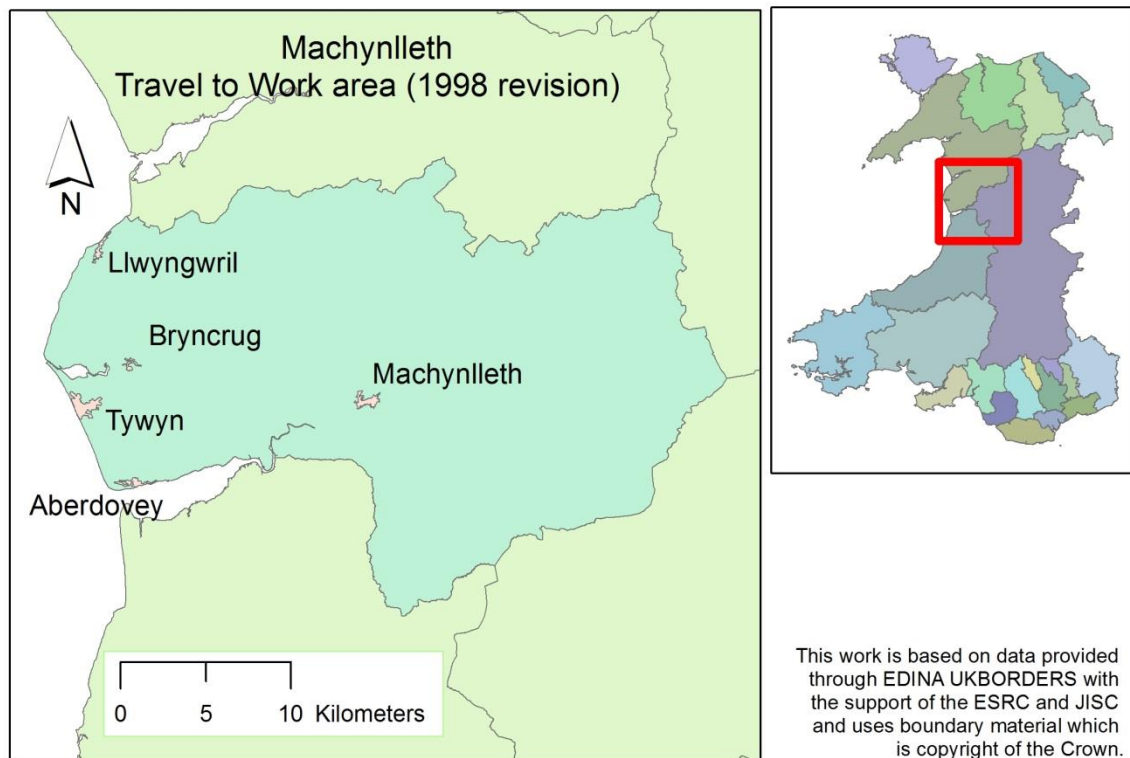
Machynlleth is a community with the town of the same name at its heart, which is a thriving market town. The area has established itself at the centre of the green economy in recent years. This is partly because of the establishment of the internationally renowned Centre for Alternative Technology. A number of 'eco' shops are now present in the town and this has attracted a boost in green tourism to the area. In recent years a Dyfi Eco Park has opened providing start up space for 'green' businesses. The region has a strong local heritage and the Welsh language is widely used.

The town of Machynlleth is at the cross roads of the Cambrian railway line leading from Aberystwyth to Shrewsbury in one direction and Aberdyfi and Barmouth in the other. Despite this the town is relatively isolated and is not readily accessible from any urban centres. Machynlleth is on the border between Ceredigion to the South, Powys to the East and Gwynedd to the North. Machynlleth has been chosen as a case study area due to the fact it offers a bridge between Powys and Gwynedd.

The employment rate in Machynlleth is 40.7% (as of the 2001 census) this is at the mid-range of the case study areas. There is some scope for employment in Machynlleth in the Centre for Alternative Technology or on the Dyfi Eco Park; however these are limited in number. It is common for people in Machynlleth to commute to work in the administrative

centre of Aberystwyth. However many people are employed locally in the tourism / service industry. The self-employment rate (according to the 2001 census) in Machynlleth is 16.5% which is in the mid-range of the case study areas. Machynlleth also has mid-range levels of qualifications and Welsh speaking (see table 3.3).

FIGURE 3.7 MAP OF MACHYNLLETH TTWA



This work is based on data provided through EDINA UKBORDERS with the support of the ESRC and JISC and uses boundary material which is copyright of the Crown.

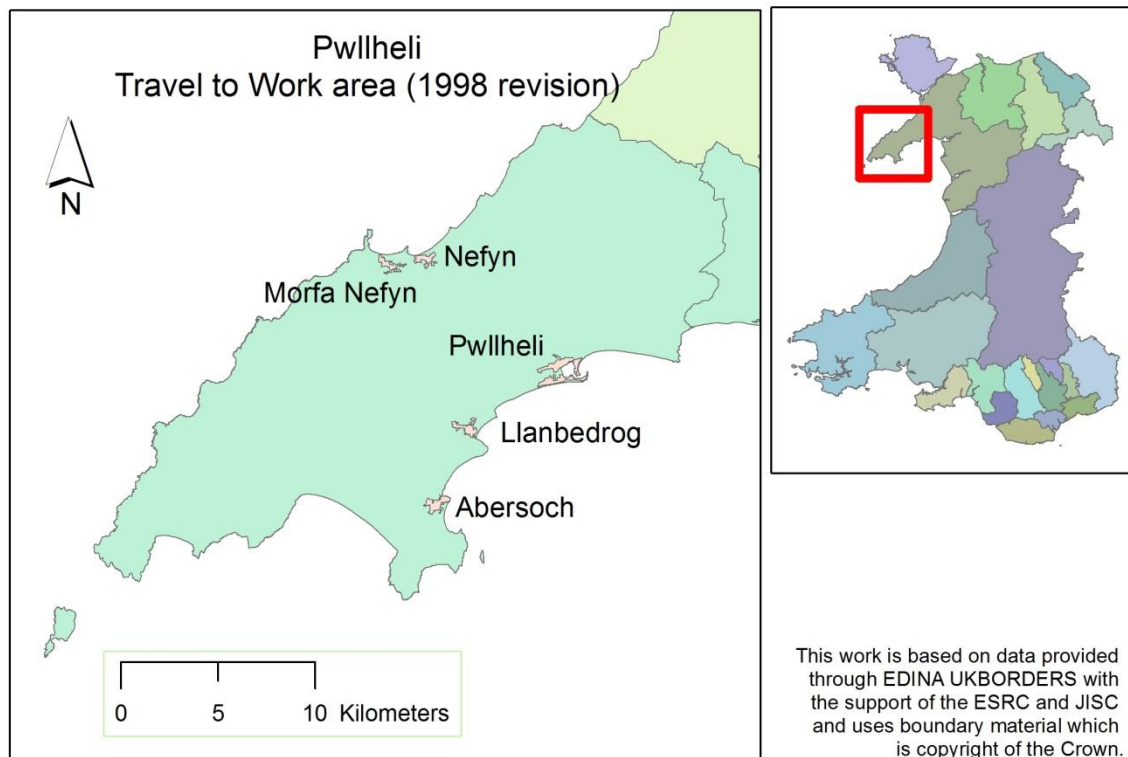
Pwllheli Travel to Work Area

Pwllheli is a community and market town on the Llyn Peninsula. The local area has strong Welsh connections, 81% of the population speak Welsh, and it is the birthplace of Plaid Cymru – the political party for Wales. It has been a traditional seaside holiday resort since Victorian times and until recently was the home of the Welsh Butlins. The area has suffered decline in recent years as is typical of many seaside resorts. The location of Pwllheli on the Llyn peninsula makes it fairly remote. It is not easily accessible to any large urban centres and is not viable as an in-migrant commuting hub, but it is an area popular with second home owners and retirees.

The economy of Pwllheli centres on the tourism and agricultural industry. There is little in the way of employment outside of these industries. The employment rate for the Pwllheli TTWA is 39.3% (as of 2001 census) this is the lowest of the case study areas. The self-employment

rate in Pwllheli is 15.8% (as of 2001 census), this is in the low to mid-range of the TTWA's. 78.9% of the population of Pwllheli speak Welsh and 18.4% (as of 2001 census) have high level qualifications. The unemployment rate is reasonably low in Pwllheli (as shown in table 3.3) and the number of the population who describe themselves as Welsh is highest of all the TTWA case study areas.

FIGURE 3.8 MAP OF PWLLHELI TTWA

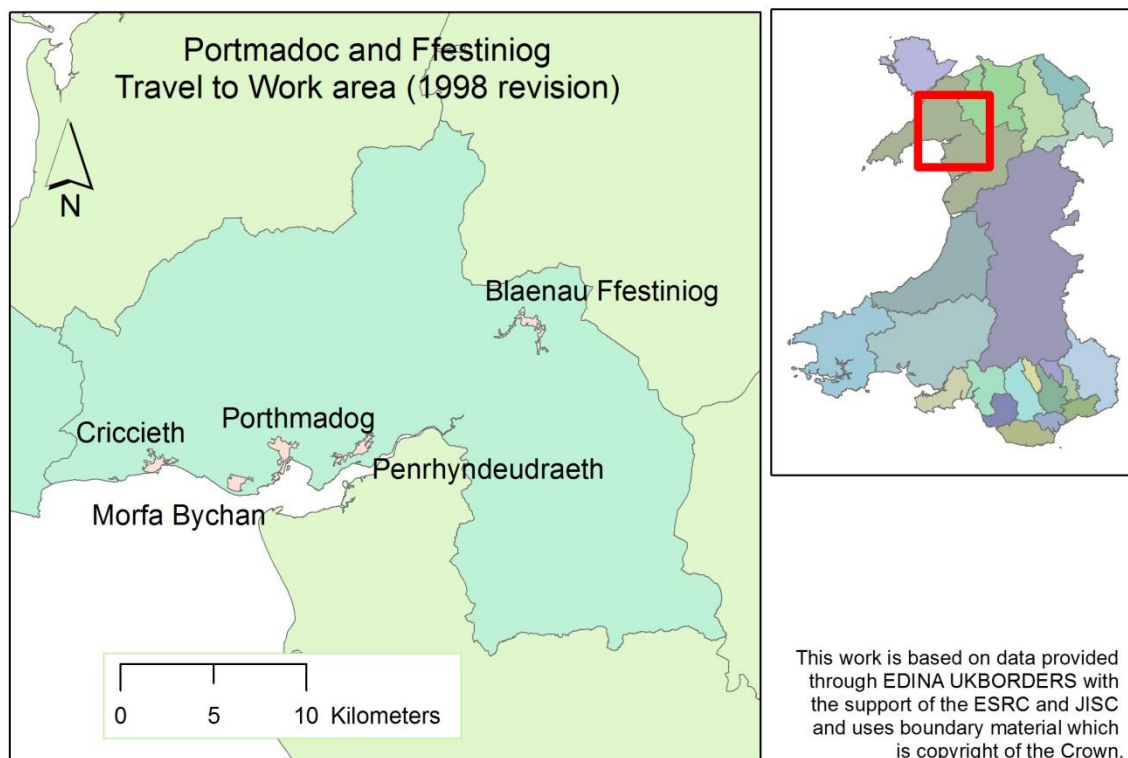


Porthmadog and Ffestiniog Travel to Work Area

Porthmadog and Ffestiniog is a community steeped in Welsh history. This area exported slate around the UK and the world through the port at Porthmadog. The area is the gateway to the Snowdonia National Park and is a popular tourist destination. The town of Porthmadog has a strong Welsh identity and the Welsh language is widely spoken. The town of Blaenau Ffestiniog continues to produce local slate but mainly as part of the national slate museum. Porthmadog is not as isolated as some of the other TTWA case study areas however it is not close to any large urban centres. The town is predominantly a tourist centre. There is little alternative employment opportunities, save a small local authority outpost and its associated public sector employment.

The employment rate in Porthmadog is 42.9% (as of 2001 census) which is in the mid-range of the case study areas and the self-employment rate is 12.7% the lowest of the case study areas. The unemployment rate in the Porthmadog and Ffestiniog travel to work area is highest of the case study areas 7.1% as of 2001 census. 17% of the population (as of 2001 census) have higher level qualifications. The levels of Welsh speaking in Porthmadog and Ffestiniog are the highest of all the case study areas. A visitor to this area would no doubt be aware of the Welsh language in regular use.

FIGURE 3.9 MAP OF PORTMADOC AND FFESTINIOG TTWA



3.9 Data Collection: the conduct of the survey

3.9.1 Managing ethical and data protection issues

This research produced data on households and individuals and in order to ensure confidentiality this section outlines how the data was managed and how ethical considerations have been thought-out. Data was entered into a database. Individual records (both for households and for persons) were identified by a code number. In a separate sheet the code numbers were linked to details that can specifically identify names and addresses. Thus the substantive characteristics of individuals and their personal identifiers

can only be linked through the use of both spread sheets and an access data code. This complies with guidance on data protection.

Due to the fact that much of the work was done from home, there were a number of copies of the dataset. Electronic copies of the data set were stored on a laptop hard drive which remains at home. There were also two disk copies which were also stored at home but were taken back and forth to UWE on occasions. This data was not encrypted but was already anonymous. In addition to the electronic versions, there were also hard copies of the surveys that were stored at the home base. There was activated password protection options within the Windows environment on the computers used.

These procedures were sufficient to maintain confidentiality on relatively non-sensitive data. There was no discussion on the issue of how long the data is to be kept with respondents nor has there been any discussion on the ways in which respondents might choose to withdraw from the project (taking their data with them). It is however reasonable that the data set could be retained for a number of years after the completion of the PhD given that it is normal to continue to publish material from a PhD thesis (especially one funded by the ESRC) for some years after the completion of the original thesis.

The normal ethical considerations in the conduct of interviews and survey based work applied:

- honesty about their purpose
- the respondent's right to withdraw from the research
- anonymity of respondents where quotations are used in any report
- Confidentiality of information divulged to the interviewer about individuals.

Although this research is considered low risk it was conducted with the highest standard of scientific integrity and the interests of the participants was safeguarded at all times, taking into account the obligations under the law. I worked as a researcher to develop my professional competence and worked within my limits. I worked within the framework of the Declaration of Helsinki (2008) to undertake research, which first did no harm. All participants in this research were made fully aware of the uses of their consented information prior to its publication. The research was supervised by experienced researchers. Questionnaires and surveys were circulated to a peer group for approval prior to being used by survey or interview participants. I maintained adequate records but also took all necessary steps to preserve the confidentiality and privacy of participants in the research. I conducted myself in

a professional manner, which does not damage the participants in the research nor undermine the public confidence in researchers. This ethical code of conduct for researchers has been adapted from the British Psychological society's ethical code of conduct (1996).

3.9.2 Piloting the survey

Once the travel to work study areas had been selected a pilot household survey of 200 questionnaires was conducted. The survey was piloted in all of the 5 travel to work areas and was intended to investigate the effectiveness of the questionnaire. The sample was procured from a random sample of electoral ward addresses purchased from the local authorities of Gwynedd and Powys. This was so the results would be representative of the future household survey sample.

The pilot survey revealed information about the respondent's preferences for answering the various types of questions. This is explored further in subsequent parts of this chapter, but in brief highlighted that closed questions received more responses. The pilot survey also allowed for a brief overview of the expected results of the main survey which highlighted the importance of timing and time frames to the economic activity choices of in-migrants. By conducting the pilot studies a picture emerged of the types of data that could be collected. The results confirmed that a postal questionnaire was a viable method of obtaining the data required though with the limitations acknowledged below. In summary the pilot study was useful in examining the method chosen; its limitations and its successes. The limitations of the pilot survey were that many respondents did not complete open ended questions, the response rates were only 21% and it was clear the way in which some questions were phrased had proved confusing for respondents. All of these observations were valuable information prior to conducting the full household survey. The success of the pilot survey were that It was useful in gaining experience of preparing a survey, data entry and conducting limited analysis. It also highlighted that no respondents expressed concern over the fact it was only circulated in English and response rates were consistent across TTWA. Consultation was conducted with the Welsh Government prior to the release of the full survey where the question of whether to distribute the survey bilingually was considered. The Welsh Government confirmed that in their experience very few respondents return the surveys in Welsh. They confirmed that in terms of response rates not distributing the survey in Welsh would have little effect. However it is important to acknowledge that not distributing the survey in Welsh may put off some respondents from completing the survey as they may feel that it is discriminatory. The survey not being bilingual may have also not tapped into the

culture of some rural residents who would not feel capable of completing an English language survey.

The potential for some people to have actively chosen not to respond to the survey because it was not bilingual may have had a small but important impact on the results in that the number of Welsh speakers may be too low. The figure for the numbers of Welsh speakers may actually only reflect all those Welsh speakers who did not feel culturally discriminated by the survey being English language only. Upon receipt of the completed surveys at least 5 respondents noted their disappointment that the survey was not bilingual. Obviously the potential impact that non response of those impacted by the English only distribution is not quantifiable and there is little research detailing the potential impact. Therefore a decision was made to accept that there is some margin for error in the figures given the debate above but that the risk was slim and therefore the impact of the survey being distributed in English language only was negligible on the analysis but an important consideration given the cultural context of the study. The next section outlines how the full household survey was completed and includes information on the sampling frame, survey stratification and analysis of the data. The data from the pilot survey are not included in the main survey analysis.

3.10 The full Household Survey

3.10.1 The sampling frame

This research explored the economic activity behaviour of lifetime migrants and non-migrants in rural areas of Wales. Therefore the test of what sampling frame to use was whether or not it allowed access to a range of individuals with differing economic activity in rural areas both in-migrant and non-migrant. A variety of sampling frames were considered, particularly at the early stages of the research. Some of these alternative sampling frames included utilising estate agents to secure information on new house purchasers. However whether estate agents would cooperate was an issue as was the fact this would exclude analysis of non-owner occupiers. When the research had been more fully conceptualised it was clear that the electoral roll was the most suitable sample frame. This was because no address would be excluded (other than those individuals who have chosen not to register for the electoral roll and those who wish to keep their details private on the electoral register). The electoral roll was an easily available resource which was easy to manage and use and relatively cost effective. The use of the register was tested on the pilot study and was found to be an effective means of reaching out to rural households.

Therefore building on the methods used by previous studies in this field (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Commission for Rural Communities 2005, WRO 2004, SBS 2004, Stockdale 2006) it was decided the most efficient way of producing a sampling frame was to purchase electoral roll data from the local authorities selected. This meant that significant numbers of surveys were from long term residents, this allowed for comparisons between long term residents and in-migrants. One drawback of this method however was the fact that access to the full register is restricted and therefore the electoral roll available to purchase is not a complete list of householders in rural areas. A press release by Equifax in 2007 stated that 63.26% of people were registered on the edited electoral roll in 2006, although this is not a complete list of households or people in rural areas it is the most complete list available and as such this figure is considered satisfactory for this research. Of course the loss of around one third of addresses from the published register is likely to have a significant (but unknown) impact on the representativeness of the sample of households selected.

3.10.2 Building the questionnaire sections

Once the location of the study and the method of enquiry had been selected, a questionnaire was developed which it was hoped would provide as comprehensive as possible a data set. A copy of the questionnaire used in the household survey is attached as appendix A. The questionnaire was devised using as many standardised questions as possible many of which were taken from the ESRC question bank. This was done in order to allow cross comparisons with census data and between different surveys in the research field. This also helped in identifying the strength of the relationships between the sample statistics and the population parameters.

The questionnaire was developed in stages and was repeatedly tested, firstly through verbal piloting with interested parties, secondly through consultation with the Welsh Assembly Government and then finally in a household pilot survey with five electoral wards in the identified TTWA's. The pilot study consisted of a total of 200 questionnaires being posted out to householders in five selected electoral wards (40 questionnaires per ward). Survey respondents' answers were then analysed in terms of how well they understood the questions intentions and the numbers of people answering each question. The pilot study findings clearly showed a negative relationship between open questions and the likelihood of respondents to complete these types of questions. It also highlighted some formatting errors within the survey and drew attention to the fact that the letter of introduction may have

discouraged certain groups (such as the retired) to participate in the survey. A list of recommendations was drawn up based on the findings of the pilot study and these were later implemented. Further consultation was then undertaken on the survey prior to its release.

The questionnaire was organised into four sections each with a different focus and each related to a different research question (although there is some overlap between sections). The first section titled Section -1 Household Structure and Employment Status, as the name suggests; is concerned with identifying the age, place of birth, ethnicity, employment status, educational attainments and Welsh speaking ability of the households. The type of data in this section of the questionnaire is comprised mainly of standardised classification questions. The use of this data was to develop information and build a profile of the types of households residing in rural areas and their associated employment status. This section along with information from section 2 helped to build up a profile of in-migrant employment histories. This was then used to assess the impact of migration on the economic activity of in-migrant households.

Section 2 of the survey is titled Section 2- Housing History and includes a range of questions on the household's current location and their tenure. It is the first section of the survey where distinctions are drawn between in-migrants and non-migrants. The distinction is drawn when respondents are asked if they have always lived at this address. Depending on their answer they are then asked if they have always lived within 20 miles of their present address. The type of data to be collected in this section is varied but is primarily factual questions many of which require a written response, for example:

FIGURE 3.10 SECTION 2 QUESTIONS

2.4 Where did you live before moving to this area?	County Nearest Town Country
--	---

This survey section is concerned with in-migrants housing history and in particular why they chose specific locations. In the pilot survey this section was answered well but not fully and as such some questions have been highlighted like the one above to encourage responses. Some of the questions have also been changed from open ended questions to multiple choice to encourage responses, what was lost in the quality of answers was gained in

quantity of answers. The use of the data generated was to uncover the numbers of in-migrants in the sample, their previous residential choices, their tenure and their motivations for moving. This section was used to build a profile of in-migrant housing histories and uncover which facets of quality of life had impacted upon different in-migrants. This also aided in understanding what impact tenure and multiple migrations have on in-migrant households' economic activity.

The third section of the questionnaire is titled Section 3- Being in Business and Employing People. It delivered useful information on the types and numbers of businesses operating in rural areas. This section was most useful in understanding aspects of the economic impact of in-migration to rural areas. This section again has a range of data types with some factual, some opinion and some classification of both open and closed type. Not all respondents needed to answer these questions as they were primarily aimed at business owners. As such the data generated in this section was invaluable in answering what structures are impacting on some in-migrants to become self-employed. This section was also concerned with rural business activity and asks questions relating to turnover; start up finance, previous employment history of the business owner and future plans for the business. The use of the data collected in this section was to understand what leads to the creation of businesses by in-migrants, and to be able to distinguish between lifestyle and growth businesses. Finally this section also enquired about the numbers and types of services or jobs the household may employ such as cleaners, gardeners etc. This question is directed to all respondents. This delivered interesting information as to the quality of jobs created by in-migrant households in rural areas.

Section 4 – Future Plans is the final section of the survey. This section was concerned with understanding what the future intentions were of the household in terms of their migration intentions, housing career and their intention to start a business. The types of questions in this section were a series of multiple choice questions which called for speculation on the part of the respondent and as such are only a guide and say more of their desired intentions than their real and expected future life course. An example of the types of questions used in the survey section is included below:

FIGURE 3.11 SECTION 4 QUESTIONS

4.4 Please tick the statement which best describes your households future moving plans	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to return to where we previously lived <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move to a new place in Wales <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move to a new place outside Wales but in the UK <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move to somewhere in Europe <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move further away than Europe <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we have thought about it but have no specific plans yet <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know, never thought about it <input type="checkbox"/> No we are happy where we are and plan to stay here permanently <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add
--	---

The use of this information was limited to understanding what the aspirations are of in-migrants to rural areas and whether this fits with the conclusions of other studies who have concluded in-migrants are more likely than long term residents to migrate elsewhere (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). This section was also used to assess the desire of in-migrants to become self-employed as is also discussed by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999). This section was not used for the main research questions but was included to provide additional information which may partly account or explain some of the findings of the other sections.

Finally as the survey was going to be distributed in a bilingual country, it was initially expected to be translated into Welsh. Consultation with the Welsh Government, however revealed that very few surveys are returned completed in Welsh. Therefore it was not necessarily a justifiable cost. The pilot survey was distributed in English to the elected electoral wards in both Powys (a low Welsh speaking area) and Gwynedd (a high Welsh speaking area) in order to see if the fact the survey was only in English would affect the response rates across both counties. This was not the case and response rates in both

counties were at the same level (21% and 19% respectively). It was decided that for cost benefit and ease of analysis reasons the questionnaire would only be distributed in English.

When the full household survey results were analysed, a few of the respondents noted their disappointment that the survey had not been bilingual. This was unfortunate; however by only being distributed in English it did not appear to have any detrimental effects on the response rates achieved across high and low Welsh speaking regions. However it must be noted that in areas with a high Welsh speaking population, particularly in the staunchly Welsh regions of North Wales where membership of the local Welsh Nationalist Party is high, the fact that the survey was only conducted in English may have discouraged Welsh speakers from responding on principle. This is unfortunate and a possible flaw in the research design. However given the response rates were broadly comparable across regions any potential effect of this has not materialised in the results.

3.10.3 Expected and actual response rates

DATA REDUCTION AND ANALYSIS

This section outlines the response rates of the pilot survey and of the full household survey. Other surveys in the field have had varied response rates: The Wales Rural Observatory postal study in 2004 had a 10% response rate, and the study by Keeble and Tyler in 1995 had a 12.5% response rate. Both sourced their sample using a business database. The response rates of the study by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) were considerably higher than those produced in this survey. This may be explained by the fact that in their study they hand delivered the survey and therefore had the opportunity to consider whether the property was vacant, or otherwise unsuitable. The low response rate of this survey (declining survey response rates being a feature of much modern research) proved no barrier to analysis as some categories were combined in order to be compatible for use with SPSS.

FIGURE 3.12 PILOT STUDY RESPONSE RATES

- 21% response rate of returned questionnaires
- 18% response rate of useable questionnaires
- Of which 57% are in-migrants (as defined on p.19)
- 30% of which own businesses

As can be seen from the pilot study response rates in the table above an 18% useable response rate was achieved. This is fair for the type of survey conducted and it was hoped that this could be matched or improved upon in the main household survey. In order to give

some idea of scale of the main survey a sampling ratio of 1:10 was used in the travel to work areas. This equated to 3192 households across all 5 of the TTWA case study areas. .

The household survey generated 597 useable responses which represents a response rate of 21% for the full household survey. A further 60 unusable responses were also received. Of the 597 replies 63.2% were in-migrant households (defined as any household who had not always lived at their present address or within 20 miles of their present address) and 36.8% were households who had always lived within 20 miles of their current address or at their current address. Of the 597 households 151 owned at least one business which was 26.1% of the total respondents. The survey when analysed provided data for 1317 individuals of which some were minors or retired. Please see page 77 for details of who qualified as an in-migrant and who did not. On top of the exclusion of about a third of addresses from the electoral register, the potential for the results of the survey to be unrepresentative of the migrant and non-migrant population in these areas of rural Wales is of course augmented by the very high no-response rate.

FIGURE 3.13 HOUSEHOLD SURVEY RESPONSE RATES

- 597 useable response were received which was approximately 21% (excluding the pilot survey responses)
- 63.2% were in-migrant households
- 151 businesses were identified
- 61% of the businesses were in-migrant owned
- 1317 individual household members were identified

FIGURE 3.14 % MIGRANT SPLIT PIE CHART

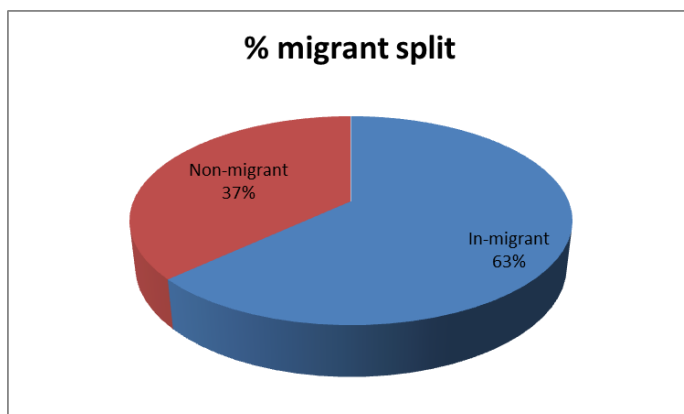
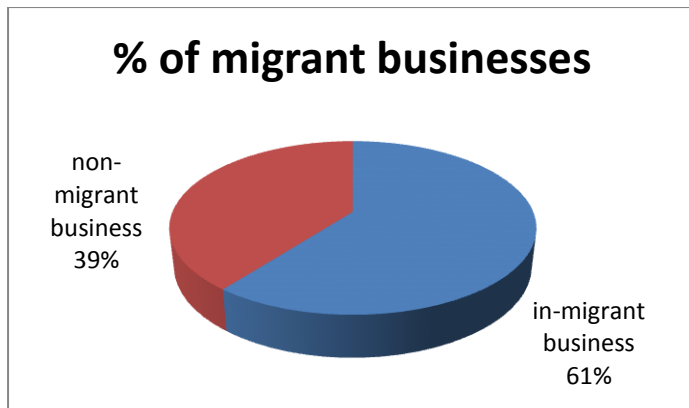


FIGURE 3.15 % MIGRANT BUSINESSES PIE CHART



In order to compare the household survey response rates across different types of rural space the response rates have been broken down further by local authority area and travel to work area (see table 3.5). The response rates varied slightly across local authority area, In Powys the response rate was 21.9% whereas in Gwynedd the response rate was 21.3%. This was an expected slip in line with the fact that Powys had a higher rate of in-migrants and a smaller degree of Welsh speaking population. As the survey was concerned with in-migrants and was not translated into Welsh it was expected that this may discourage Welsh speaking populations from responding to some degree.

In terms of the numbers of businesses in Gwynedd and Powys 41.6% of the total share of businesses were located in Gwynedd and 58.4% were located in Powys. Perhaps highlighting a more entrepreneurial type economy in Powys as outlined by Marini and Mooney (2006). The self-employment / business ownership rate for the two local authorities was the same (26.8%), however variation was seen when these were broken down further into travel to work areas, as the following section outlines:

The following table outlines the variation across TTWA areas

TABLE 3.5 TTWA RESPONSE RATES

TTWA	LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA	NO OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH TTWA	RESPONSE RATE	% SHARE OF TOTAL BUSINESSES	% OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TTWA IN BUSINESS
Brecon	Powys	154	17.1%	27.9	24.4
Knighton and Radnor	Powys	69	15.3%	19.1	29.9
Machynlleth	Powys / Gwynedd	85	28.3%	13.2	25.4
Pwllheli	Gwynedd	115	16.4%	16.9	28
Portmadog and Ffestiniog	Gwynedd	84	12.9%	22.8	27.4
Unknown TTWA		56			
TOTAL		563		Ave per TTWA 19.98	Ave per TTWA 27.02

There is no one explanation for the variation in response and business ownership rates across the TTWA's however the data is analysed further in chapter 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 5 will examine in more detail the spread of businesses and the specific issues surrounding the numbers of in-migrants and what households constitute migrant households.

3.10.4 Issues of validity and reliability

There are grounds for arguing that the survey as used in this research is inherently a reliable method of research. All respondents are asked the same questions, with the same words, and with the same meaning. A postal questionnaire also eliminates the possible unreliability associated with interviewer effects. However because it is a self-completion instrument, there is no control over the order in which respondents complete the questionnaire or the possibility that some respondents overlook or omit to answer certain questions.

An example of this is the fact that during the initial processing of the survey data it was noted that a number of respondents had stated that they were returning to the area and yet they had not noted down in response to a previous question that they had lived in the area

previously. This may be that they overlooked filling in all the sections of the survey. Another possibility relates to the way the question was interpreted. Some might be 'imagined' returnees (in that they feel they have an existing connection with the area but did not live here previously). It may also point to some of the ambiguities of the word 'lived' as discussed earlier in relation to a highly mobile society. A further section of the survey where similar issues of interpretation may have arisen was in the section on whether the respondent had lived in a city or not. A number of respondents reported living in various UK cities and yet had selected the answer 'always lived in this area' in another section. If these had been temporary stays in the city or situations where people maintained a home in Wales but had worked or studied in these cities then there is no obvious inconsistency in these responses. Another possibility is that this represents acquiescence bias – people giving an answer the respondent thinks the researcher wants to see. But they could be inconsistent and so where this occurred the case was discounted from the analysis in order to ensure consistency.

Another question on the survey which could have been better prepared was the qualifications section. The questionnaire failed to provide an option for people who had no qualifications. The consequence of this is that the survey probably overstates the numbers of people with qualifications. Because those who failed to answer the question were excluded from the analysis though it is possible that many of these were those without qualifications.

The results of the survey were measured against the population parameters and there was sufficient matching to highlight that a range of migrants responded which broadly match those identified in other studies. The main issue in terms of validity stems from the way that questions designed to distinguish life time migrants from non-migrants were worded and how these questions were subsequently interpreted by respondents. This has implications for further research into migration where it will be necessary to consider the impact of people's residential history more fully when defining the categories of in-migrant.

A further area of ambiguity in question wording and interpretation which is of some importance in the survey analysis, is in that of the terms self-employed and owning and running a business discussed earlier in section 3.7. There are long held debates on the definition of these terms (see Bull 1993), which this research has considered but is not primarily concerned with. However this may have inadvertently impacted upon the response received in the survey. Section 3 of the survey titled 'Being in Business and employing people' may have contributed to some people who are self-employed not answering the questions. There are a number of ways in which people can be self-employed. Not all result in owning a business and the use of the term business in this section may have excluded

some individuals whose information would have been useful. Unfortunately it is not possible to assess how this has impacted upon the results.

One issue to note is of course the potential risk that an English only distribution of the survey may have on the results regarding numbers of Welsh speakers. Again it is not possible to quantify this however it is noted that the response may understate the numbers of Welsh speakers because some people may have not responded as the survey was not bilingual.

The previous section has outlined the ways in which the survey has had issues with reliability, validity and being representative. However overall the results seem encouraging and the survey is representative of the population parameters devised from the 2001 census. The next section briefly addresses how the survey was analysed.

3.10.5 Data Analysis

The results of the survey were analysed in a series of ways. The data was analysed through the use of software such as SPSS which allowed tests of significance to be conducted and levels of confidence assessed. SPSS software also facilitated significant themes and commonalities to be explored through elaboration and the testing of bivariate relationships. Analysis of the standardised questions was conducted to assess the relationships of the sample statistics from this research with that of other studies. The impact of the local labour market and remoteness of the rural area was then assessed by analysing the results of the travel to work areas against each other. In any research design it is necessary to be flexible; the analysis of this research is no exception. The data was explored using basic functions in SPSS such as frequencies and cross tabs. Tests of significance using chi square were conducted on relevant data. It is through the analysis of the individual, household and area based characteristics that a picture of the influences of in-migrants economic activity was formed.

The chi square test was the primary statistical test used in this research. The chi square test is a non-parametric statistical test; non-parametric tests are used when the data is nominal or categorical. The purpose of the chi square test is to determine whether an observed number differs either by chance or from what was expected (theoretically expected frequency). A chi square test is often described as a 'goodness of fit' test. Simply put chi square tests whether your result is significantly different from what you would expect by chance.

There are specific criteria that need to be met in order for a chi square test to be conducted and these are that firstly the scores in each cell must be independent of each other. Secondly there needs to be a minimum count of 5 in each cell (or that at least only a minority of cells -20% - should have an expected value less than 5). Finally the dependent variable needs to be a frequency or a count.

In general parametric tests are more reliable and there is less risk of a type II error, however as this data is categorical a parametric test would not work. Therefore non parametric tests are required and chi square was chosen as it is standard practice in the research field. Multivariate analysis was considered, however as the data could be explored sufficiently without the use of such analysis a decision was made to stay with chi square. Also given the potential pitfalls of incorrectly using multi variate tests, the advice of eminent statistician Robert P Abelson (Coolidge 2006) was followed which basically asserts don't use Greek if you don't speak the language.

3.11 Business Interviewee Profiles

The following section outlined the characteristics of the interviewees of the qualitative interviews.

The chapter has outlined that, as part of the scoping exercise for this research, qualitative interviews were conducted with a range of in-migrant business owners. The interviews were used as a means of teasing out details about the motivations and business types of in-migrant business owners. They were also used as a means of conceptualising migration as part of an individual's biography grounded in particular place and time. Ni Laoire (2000) used a biographical interviewing approach in her paper and this allowed migration to be seen not as a simple event but instead recognised it as a complex and multi-layered process. Just as Boyle and Halfacree (1993, 1998) called for migration to be seen as part of the puzzle of migrant's lives. The interviews in this research did not form the bulk of the research; they do however offer valuable insights into rural in-migrant self-employment.

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter the interviewees were sourced through a rural networking function for small to medium sized enterprises. A range of people were approached at the function and asked whether they would be interested in taking part in the research. Once it was established that they were in-migrants a number of them were contacted and qualitative interviews conducted. The interviews do not form a representative sample of rural businesses, this was not the intention. They provide a sounding board with which to explore some of the central themes of this research.

In this chapter the results of the qualitative interviews are utilised to add detail to the household survey. The survey provides the focus for the chapter but the qualitative interview data allows a richness of answers on some of the themes uncovered to be explored. The following business profiles outline details about the businesses which provide a background to information presented at other points within the text.

U.T.T is a holiday cottage rental and heritage building renovation business. The business is run by a man in his early thirties, who also lectures in archaeology at the local University. The business owner originates from the West Midlands area. He migrated to rural Wales originally for work purposes about 10 years prior to the interview; the holiday cottage business is 3 years old (at the time of interview). The household structure of owner is that he lives with his partner also in his thirties. They have no children, his partner also owns his own business which is based in the south of England and he commutes back and forth. The businesses are both separate and neither person works in the others business. The annual turnover of the business is £75,000; the business owner is keen to expand his business and has plans to expand his property portfolio. He is a well-known local business man and is recognised for his specialist expertise which has seen him be approached to consult on a variety of projects including some popular TV programs such as 'Renovation'.

This small business has been very innovative in its marketing and through a combination of marketing via eBay (auctioning last minute breaks) and heavily reinvesting the profits into more housing stock, has now expanded to have properties throughout Wales and Ireland for holiday rental (May 2011).

O.P.S is a web based plumbing supplies business, the business primarily works on a business to business basis – but they are expanding into domestic retail sales. The business owner is an ex-builder from Camden, who is very familiar with his customer base and primarily started the business as a means of stepping down from full time employment. The business owner is in his late 50's and continues to work outside the company on a self-employed basis, on various building projects. His household structure centres on him and his wife who is also in her late fifties. The couple have three sons all of whom still remain in the Camden area. They anticipate at least one of their sons joining them in the near future as— one of their sons has expressed a strong desire to follow his parents and relocate to Wales. In terms of household finances, the business turnover is approximately £21,000 (first year of trading). They supplement their income from the company by the owner's wife working part

time for the local social services department as a care assistant. She also helps out in the business as and when required.

This company won many local small business awards and are still trading as one of the largest suppliers of online plumbing supplies in the UK (May 2011).

H.B is a mini break company that specialise in haunted house weekends where they also run séances. The business has capitalised on the success of TV programs such as 'Most Haunted' and built up a series of tours that appeal to specific groups. The business owner is an in-migrant from Derbyshire in his early fifties. He dedicates his full time to the business as he is now retired from his former occupation as a miner. He lives with his wife who is a full time management consultant who has no formal role in the business. The business is 13 months old. It has been a slow start but since a recent appearance on the TV show 'Most Haunted' and an increase in international attention the business is growing quickly. The company is co-owned with a non-migrant woman who was introduced to each other at a local community event. The household finances of the owner are supplemented through his wife's income. The annual turnover of the company is not presently available as it is a new start up but they hope to enter into profit within 6 months. The owner receives a reasonable pension from his former career.

This company enjoyed success until 2010 when it ceased trading due to the ill health of the owner.

W.P is a photography business headed by a man in his early forties. He originates from London and has been living (part time) in rural Wales for 5 years. Until recently he has been commuting to work in London whilst his family remain in Wales. This proved too difficult to sustain, so he gave up his job and moved permanently to rural Wales. The business is eight months old. He is solely working on the business but would consider a part time job if the right one came along. Prior to leaving his job in London he searched for a couple of years for a similar or equivalent job in rural Wales but was unsuccessful so decided to start his own business. He lives with his wife who is also self-employed though the businesses are separate. They both help each other out, as and when required. He has three young children at home. The turnover of the business at present is modest (anticipated £13,000) though this is expected to increase once he has built up his portfolio. He has long standing connections with the rural area as this is where his wife is from.

This company is still trading and enjoying modest success (May 2011).

S.C.P is a recruitment consultancy run by a woman who is a returnee to the area. She is in her late thirties and the business is 15 months old. She moved away to get an education in her late teens but since having children has returned to live closer to her family. She was unable to find suitable work based on her skill set in the local area so has until recently worked part time in various menial jobs. She is married with one child and two step children living at home. Her husband is also self-employed and although the businesses are separate they help each other out as and when required. They have no external income sources, and rely solely on the businesses for income; her turnover for the first year was £29,000.

It has been impossible to provide an update on this business (May 2011).

This brief introduction to the interviewees provides an overview of their businesses and household structures and in some cases motivations for opening the businesses. The mini business profiles are included here to add context to where excerpts from the interviews are used in the text and or where interview detail is used to illustrate household survey information. The following section now compares the characteristics of in-migrants and non-migrants.

3.12 PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS

This section sums up the effectiveness of the methodology and in particular the survey method in this research. We begin by discussing the methodology's sampling procedure which included sufficient randomness as to provide an assurance of objectivity. Surveys were distributed to a randomly derived sample of the edited electoral roll – this covered all five travel to work areas and every address on the edited electoral roll had an equal chance of being selected for the survey. In total the survey reached 10% of all households within the 5 travel to work areas. This would not have been possible through a hand dropped survey due to the time spent travelling across this large rural area. However by using the method adopted, issues such as surveys being distributed to holiday homes and old people's homes were also encountered which could have been avoided if a hand dropped or telephone survey had been completed.

There was a consistency of findings across subsets of respondents which lend support to the contention that questions were asked in a systematic and interpretable way. This is best displayed through the breakdown of "motivations for migration" question, which was asked to all respondents. Whilst different age groups, tenures and household structures showed slight variation in responses overall it was clear that – scenic beauty and having friends and family

in the area were the most important factors in destination decision making. Thereby highlighting that when the population is broken down into various sub-groups the findings are consistent across subsections.

In any project it is inevitable that issues will only present themselves when it is too late to remedy the situation, in this case this was in relation to the definition of in-migrant used. Whilst the definition broadly speaking was fit for purpose it may have not fully captured the array of migrant types that the survey was distributed to. This is highlighted by the fact that some of the answers given were at odds with previous answers for example some respondents were not categorised as an in-migrant (under the definition used) and yet proceeded to fill in sections on residence in a city. This could be explained by the fact they had entered higher education (which meant a move beyond the study area) – but they did not consider this as an act of migration. Alternatively this could be a manifestation of the imagined histories of rural residents. However it is clear that the definition used and the way this was manifest in the survey was not sensitive enough to capture these individuals. Despite the fact the survey was piloted and tested this issue did not arise until after the household survey respondents returned their surveys. Therefore as is a problem with ill prepared surveys – a few respondents' surveys had to be discounted as the results would not have been informative.

This issue with the definition of in-migrant is addressed in more detail in the conclusion, but another possible explanation for the discrepancy is that of memory recall. Using a lifetime definition of in-migrant means the move or migration may have taken place many years before the survey. This raises issues of memory recall and the possibility of migrants putting a post rationalisation spin on their actions.

Another issue with the household survey which could have been addressed through the use of an alternative method is the artificiality of people's answers. In order for a survey to be readily analysed people's responses are often limited to pre-defined categories which may not closely resemble their particular circumstances. My concern with many other surveys which addressed in-migrant motivations was the 'catch all' quality of life tick box provided for respondents to define why they chose to migrate. I was concerned that the link between quality of life and scenic beauty in many research projects (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Bosworth 2008) was obscuring a real analysis into why people chose to move from one area to another. Therefore I wanted to explore with in-migrants a number of potential facets of 'quality of life' – which evolved into a number of options they could select for why they in-migrated. This however resulted in an overwhelming number selecting scenic beauty – which confirms the validity and the reliability of the findings. However perhaps if another

research method had been undertaken where respondents' were free to explain in their own words why they chose to move into the area a more well-rounded explanation would have been produced. Unfortunately what makes postal surveys attractive are also that which renders them less appealing (Bailey 1994). The fact that a number of qualitative interviews were conducted counter balances some of these issues as the research had the opportunity to discuss with in-migrants in person why they chose to migrate alongside using a household survey.

In conclusion the methodology adopted for this research allowed a breadth of coverage which would not have been possible through other methods. This provided a reasonable representativeness through coverage of important factors. Qualitative interviewing informed the design of the questionnaire, this was important as it ensured that the questionnaire was grounded in the context of discussions with actual in-migrants. The interviews did not explore in more detail results from the household survey nor seek to explore household decision making in more detail than that possible from the survey. This is a weakness of the research design and a further area of research discussed in the conclusion chapter. Despite the fact that the interviews were not revisited following the survey the use of qualitative interviewing provided a balance between the methods. This meant the research could explore broadly economic activity patterns and in detail discuss with in-migrants their decision making and reasoning.

Finally the research questions in this research are 'why questions' and as Blakie (2000) discusses these are about exploring ideas, discovering and describing the characteristics and patterns in some social phenomena. The research design allowed the choices and decisions of a range of in-migrants to be explored and for patterns to emerge. It would not have been possible to achieve this exploration and description of a broad range of in-migrants economic activity choices without the use of a household survey and qualitative interviews. Therefore whilst there were issues created through the use of a survey with some themes not explored in detail, it was the most effective means of answering the research questions posed as the next three chapters will demonstrate. Especially alongside the interviews which meant issues could be explored in detail with the migrants and the results of this detail could shape the household survey.

The issues with the methodology which have been outlined in this final section have had an impact of the empirical analysis. In essence any ambiguity with definitions such as where an individual stated they were not an in-migrant and then later filled in sections on residence in a city has meant a number of surveys were deemed invalid. This has resulted in a lower response rate. Furthermore as is the case with a lot of surveys many retired people filled it in

and therefore the results may be more skewed to the retired than was anticipated. The survey was also conducted during the school holidays which has meant a large number of teachers filled in the survey and again this may have supposed a greater number of teaching occupations in the results than would be expected. The lack of a suitable option for people with no qualifications also means that the levels of qualifications reported in the study may be higher than in reality as many people without qualifications provided a non-response to this question.

4 Characteristics of Migrants and Non-migrants in rural Wales

TABLE 4.1 OVERVIEW OF SAMPLE

	Non-migrants	In-migrants	Total
No of Head of Household	220	377	597
No of SE/ Business owner's	59	92	151
% business owner	39%	61%	100%

This chapter details the characteristics and behaviours of migrants and non-migrants in rural Wales. The results of the household survey were analysed to build a profile of the types of people who migrate to rural Wales and compare this with the profile of the non-migrant population in rural areas of Wales.

The previous chapters have outlined the main themes within the literature, the conceptual framework that has been developed around this topic and the methodology which has been used to investigate this issue. This chapter draws on these previous chapters to present the main findings of the research.

The research strategy has been set out in the methodology, but in brief centred on qualitative scoping interviews and a household survey. The survey was conducted in five travel-to-work areas covering two local authority districts in Wales, Powys and Gwynedd. The areas were chosen as they had high rates of self-employment and migration the factors this research was concerned with. (chapter 3). The sample size was approximately 3000 and a 21% response rate was achieved. This provided detailed information on over 590 households which comprised of 1300 individuals, some of whom were in-migrants and some of whom were local to the area. The sample also produced a pool of over 150 businesses 61% of which were in-migrant owned. This is in accordance with the survey split of in-migrant vs. non-migrant where 63.2% of respondents were in-migrants.

The aims of the survey were to answer the research questions;

1. What are the differences in economic activity of migrants and non-migrants?
2. Why do these differences exist?

3. What are the differences in the nature of the businesses owned by migrants and non-migrants?

In order to answer these questions this chapter will explore some issues surrounding in-migrant economic activity behaviours which help to answer the main question. Namely – What are the common migrant characteristics? How do migrants compare with non-migrants in terms of economic activity and other characteristics? Do differences between in-migrant and non-migrant economic activity patterns exist? Why do in-migrants choose to move to rural areas and what impact does this have on their economic activity? Do migrant characteristics differ between Gwynedd and Powys? In order to answer these questions an in-migrant and non-migrant profile is developed using the results of the household survey.

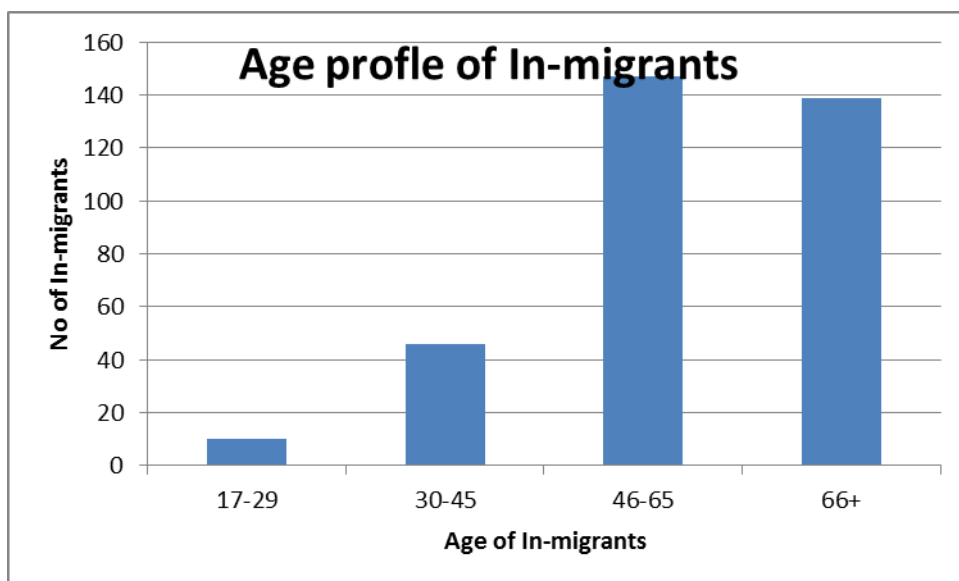
4.1 In-migrant profile

This section of the chapter highlights some basic aggregate data on the in-migrant respondents in the sample and includes information on age, gender, Welsh language skills, nationality, qualifications, household structure and tenure. In-migrants were defined as any household where the head of household had moved over 20 miles irrespective of the time period. Where the head of the household had moved less than 20 miles these were considered to be moves within the same region and therefore these households were considered the non-migrant households (alongside those individuals who had never moved). For further information on the definition of in-migrants see chapter 3. The majority of the results in this section are based on the number of heads of household; of which there are 377 in-migrant heads of household and 220 non-migrant heads of household.

TABLE 4.2 IN-MIGRANT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AGE

	AGE	FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	17-29	10	2.9
	30-45	46	13.5
	46-65	147	43.0
	66+	139	40.6
	Total	342	100.0

FIGURE 4.1 IN-MIGRANT AGE PROFILE



The age profile of the in-migrants highlights the larger numbers of people in the 45-65 and 66+ age groups. This is the age of respondents at the time of the survey, not the age at in-migration. The age of the respondents is in line with the population parameters, as rural populations display evidence of ageing (CRC 2010). The 2001 census revealed that Powys and Gwynedd have above average numbers of people in the 50+ age groups in 2007 26.6% of the population of Gwynedd was aged over 60 (GCC 2009). In Powys (2008) the number of people aged over 65 is 21.6% (PCC 2009).

TABLE 4.3 HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD GENDER

GENDER		FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	male	158	54.1
	female	81	27.7
	missing	53	18.2
	Total	292	100.0

The table above highlights the numbers of males and females who described themselves as head of household. As can be seen from the above table many more males regarded themselves as the head of the household than females. This therefore does not provide an accurate reflection of the number of men and women in the sample. In order to understand a true picture of the balance of gender across in-migrant and non-migrant groups it is important to consider all household members.

When all in-migrant household members' gender is compared the results reveal that there were 277 (52%) female household members and 260 (48%) male household members.

The total number of in-migrant respondents that stated their gender was 537.

The balance of males to females is broadly even as the gender profile table displays. This is in line with the population parameters of the 2001 census; the slight increase in numbers of females reflects broader patterns of this in Wales (approximately 52% according to the 2001 census) and the UK (approximately 31 million women compared with 29.9 million men according to the 2001 census) as a whole.

The household structure of in-migrants was evaluated based on the survey results and this indicated a prevalence of one and two person households among in-migrants.

TABLE 4.4 IN-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

	HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE	FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	1 person household	108	30.9
	2 person household	162	46.4
	3 person household	32	9.2
	4 person household	47	13.5
	Total	349	100.0

Many in-migrants to rural areas of Wales have come from locations within Wales, not all in-migration is across national boundaries, and therefore it is feasible that many rural in-migrants speak Welsh. Of course many will not speak Welsh, so in order to understand the Welsh speaking profile of in-migrants to rural areas; in-migrants were asked about their level of understanding of the Welsh language. The results are presented below:

TABLE 4.5 IN-MIGRANT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD WELSH SPEAKING ABILITY

	WELSH SPEAKING	FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	First language Welsh speaker	53	15.7
	Second Language Welsh speaker	28	8.3
	Conversational Welsh speaker	47	13.9
	Non Welsh speaking	210	62.1
	Total	338	100.0

There are certain issues arising from asking respondents about their Welsh language skills which are relevant to this research. These stem from respondents over estimating their language abilities and potential for respondent bias. Questions on Welsh language skills have also been shown to be sensitive to question wording and the order in which questions are asked (Haselden 2003). In this research it is acknowledged that this is a potential pitfall, the categories provided for people to differentiate between their levels of Welsh language ability is an attempt to bridge this issue. The question was categorised in accordance with local vernacular and tacit knowledge of Welsh language skills terminology. The first category representing people who routinely speak Welsh at home and / or at work, the second category representing people who speak Welsh at home and or at work some of the time, and the third category representing people who speak Welsh occasionally. Of course there are numerous ways that these categories could have been interpreted by respondents however the results suggest that respondents understood the question.

The results highlight that 62.1% of in-migrants have no knowledge of the Welsh language. However it also outlines that 37.9% of in-migrants to rural areas are speakers of Welsh at least to conversational level. This finding highlights that in-migrants to rural areas can contribute to local culture (in language terms) as opposed to the common view of in-migrants diluting local culture. The impact of Welsh speaking on employment prospects has been discussed in chapter 2 and will be explored further in chapter 5. We now turn to a review of the qualifications and employment status of in-migrants.

In order to understand the impact of in-migrants on the local labour market it is also important to understand the skills set they have. The following table outlines the

qualifications of in-migrants heads of households. As the table outlines, many in-migrants are highly qualified with 30% holding a university degree and some 6% have a 'higher' degree. This is higher than the levels for non-migrants who were less well qualified than in-migrants. 51% of non-migrants stated 'o' levels, GCSE's were their highest qualification compared to 29% of In-migrants.

However it is worth noting (as chapter 3 outlines) there were issues with this question in the survey. This was because no category was offered for people who have no qualifications. This has two implications firstly comparisons cannot be made between those who do not have qualifications and secondly, many respondents did not complete the question or selected 'other'. However the results for those with qualifications are presented below;

TABLE 4.6 IN-MIGRANTS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS

QUALIFICATIONS		FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	O-levels, GCSE's, NVQ's	82	29.0
	A-levels	18	6.4
	HND/ HNC	37	13.1
	First Degree (BA/ BSc)	85	30.0
	Higher Degree (MA/ PhD)	21	7.4
	Other	40	14.1
	Total	283	100.0

Turning now to the economic activity choices of in-migrants the following table outlines the employment status of in-migrant heads of household.

TABLE 4.7 IN-MIGRANTS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT STATUS

EMPLOYMENT STATUS		FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	Employed Full time	82	24.5
	Employed Part time	30	9.0
	Self employed	42	12.5
	Retired	167	49.9
	Student	2	.6
	Looking after home	6	1.8
	Unemployed and looking for work	2	.6
	Other	4	1.2
	Total	335	100.0

The results reveal that almost 50% of in-migrants are retired. A further 25% work full time and the remaining 25% are involved in various forms of economic activity including self-employment (12.5%) and part time working (9%). Less than 1% of in-migrants are unemployed.

When the retired in-migrants are excluded from the analysis it is easier to see the numbers of in-migrants working full time, part time and who are self-employed as the following table sets out.

TABLE 4.8 IN-MIGRANT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT STATUS EXCLUDING RETIRED

EMPLOYMENT STATUS EXCLUDING RETIRED		FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	Employed Full time	82	48.8
	Employed Part time	30	17.9
	Self employed	42	25.0
	Other	14	8.3
	Total	168	100.0

This research has classified people in accordance with the category they selected for employment status. However these categories are fuzzy and it is possible that some people

could be self-employed or part time working and retired. However it is quite conventional within studies of economic activity to work in this way however fuzzy the categories are, and whilst some mixed patterns of economic activity may have been missed by working with rigid categories this has not impacted adversely on the research.

Many in-migrants are employed full time (48.8%), however a fairly large percentage are self-employed representing 25% of all economically active in-migrants, this compares to 18% for non-migrants. The prevalence of self-employment amongst in-migrants is a strong theme within the literature (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006, Bosworth 2008). Many arguments are put forth for this trend one such argument being that in-migrants are stepping down from full time working to part time retirement through working part time or running a business part time (Stockdale 2006). Therefore in order to explore whether this is the case in this research's case study areas; in-migrants were asked about whether they worked full time or part time and the number of jobs they were working. The following tables outline these results:

TABLE 4.9 IN-MIGRANT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD FULL OR PART TIME WORKING

F / P TIME WORKING		FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	full time	119	71.7
	part time	47	28.3
	Total	166	100.0

The retired have been excluded from the analysis on the basis that respondents were only categorised into one type. Although it is acknowledged that people could be retired and working full time, it is a norm within research of this type to classify people into one form or another. Therefore it was necessary to exclude those who had been classified as economically inactive such as the retired from the analysis.

TABLE 4.10 IN-MIGRANT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD NUMBER OF JOBS WORKED

	NUMBERS OF JOBS WORKED	FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	One	<i>123</i>	<i>78.3</i>
	Two	<i>21</i>	<i>13.4</i>
	Multiple	<i>13</i>	<i>8.3</i>
	Total	<i>157</i>	<i>100.0</i>

The results reveal that most in-migrants work full time (71.7%) and most work only one job (78.3%). This is despite evidence by the Rural Observatory (2006) that suggested people living in the most remote counties of Wales, of which Gwynedd is one, were more likely to be involved in multiple jobs working due partly to the incidence of under employment in rural areas.

Another theme in the literature was the incidence of commuting among in-migrants populations. The household survey asked in-migrant and non-migrant populations the distances they travelled to work. The results indicated that many in-migrants work local (defined as less than 5 miles commute from their residential address) to their work address which is similar to the findings of Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) but at odds with the picture painted in the media. The following table outlines the results;

TABLE 4.11 IN-MIGRANT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD DISTANCE TO WORK

DISTANCE TRAVELLED TO WORK		FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	Work from Home	31	18.8
	Commute more than 30 minutes	25	15.2
	Work local	76	46.1
	Varied	14	8.5
	Commute more than 1 hour	18	10.9
	Abroad	1	.6
	Total	165	100.0

The table highlights how 46.1% of in-migrants work locally – furthermore 18.8% work from home only 10.9% of in-migrants commute more than 1 hour from home for work.

TABLE 4.12 IN-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD TENURE

TENURE		FREQUENCY	VALID %
Valid	owner occupier out-right	201	60.2
	owner occupier mortgage	84	25.1
	local authority	12	3.6
	housing association	12	3.6
	private rented	22	6.6
	Tied	3	.9
	Total	334	100.0

Finally the forms of tenure of in-migrant households were recorded (table 5.11). Over 85% of in-migrants included in the survey own their own home (either outright or mortgaged). This has important economic impacts as businesses tend to be started by home owners (SBS 2004). They have access to capital not available to people who rent their home. The level of home ownership in this study is higher than would be expected from the population parameters. According to the 2001 census the levels of home ownership in Powys and Gwynedd were 68.87% and 66.37% respectively. The difference

in home ownership rates can partly be explained by the higher than average numbers of older and retired people filling in the survey which is common in household surveys. Older age groups are also most likely to be home owners. The fact that this research targeted areas where professional and managerial workers were high may also partially explain the higher than average number of owner occupiers.

This section of chapter 4 has outlined the characteristics of in-migrants to the case study areas. When these findings are compared with other studies namely the 1999 The Countryside Agency study conducted by Stockdale Short and Findlay it is clear that the definition of migrant used in this study has impacted upon the results. It would seem that using this definition of a migrant the results find migrants to be older than migrants in the CA study). The in-migrants in this research are more likely to be retired than those in the CA study); and in terms of qualifications it appears in-migrants in this research are less qualified than the CA study. This highlights that how you define a migrant makes a difference to the recorded characteristics of migrants in any piece of research and in particular to their patterns of economic activity.

4.2 Differences between In-migrant and Non-migrant Characteristics

Section 4.1 of this chapter has outlined the characteristics of in-migrants. This section now compares the characteristics of in-migrants with that of non-migrants.

In this study non-migrants were respondents who had never moved from their present location or who had only moved within a 20 mile radius of their present home. The decision as to who was and wasn't an in-migrant was made on the basis that the category for determining who is or isn't a migrant is not clear cut. As chapter 2 and 3 has set out there is no standard definition and different studies use different definitions. This research wanted to ensure the definition was simple enough for respondents to judge if they were a migrant or not, yet complex enough to capture the variety of moves that are present in rural areas. As discussed in chapter 3 this study adopted a lifetime approach to migration which also assisted in capturing migrations that had occurred some time ago as Keeble and Tyler (1995) asserted many in-migrant business owners in their study had migrated many years before the business start-up. Therefore in this research in order to focus in on migrants moves of under 20 miles were considered moves of circulation within local labour and housing markets. Moves of over 20 miles were considered 'migrations'. The results of the non-migrant respondents are presented here as a comparison to the migrant results in order to highlight interesting aspects of commonality and difference. These results refer mainly to

the Heads of households (as defined by the respondent's themselves). The number of heads of households that were not migrants equates to 220 although this figure can alter slightly depending on whether some questions were missed out by respondents. The number of heads of households that were defined as in-migrants is 377 again this figure can vary according to how many respondents answered individual questions.

Firstly the age profile of the two groups is compared;

TABLE 4.13 AGE COMPARISON

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total
Head of Household Age	17-29	Count	14	10	24
		%	7.2%	2.9%	4.5%
	30-45	Count	48	46	94
		%	24.6%	13.5%	17.5%
	46-65	Count	78	147	225
		%	40.0%	43.0%	41.9%
	66+	Count	55	139	194
		%	28.2%	40.6%	36.1%
Total		Count	195	342	537
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

p<0.001

The results highlight the difference in age profile of in-migrant and non-migrant households (p<0.001). Non-migrant households tend to be younger with only 28.2% of heads of households being aged over 66. Whereas in-migrant households had 40.6% of head of households aged over 66. In total 83.6% of in-migrant heads of households are aged over 45. The figure for non-migrant heads of households is 68.2%. This difference in age profile of in-migrant and non-migrant households is noteworthy, particularly in considering the impact of in-migrants on local rural economies. Stockdale (2006) has highlighted that many pre-retired in-migrants may be stepping down from full time working to part time working or self-employment. This could impact upon rural economies. There is also potential for the influx of older migrants to rural areas to exacerbate existing issues surrounding ageing rural populations. This can have important repercussions on service provision by rural local

authorities (CRC 2010). What impact the influx of older in-migrants will have on rural areas is the subject of current research by Stockdale (2010).

In terms of the gender profile of non-migrant households, as expected, they shared similar patterns to in-migrant figures. The ratio was 49.7% Male to 50.3% female. Turning now to the household structure; the following table outlines the household structure profile of in-migrant and non-migrant households.

TABLE 4.14 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE COMPARISON

		Non-migrant		In-migrant	Total
		Count	%		
Household structure	1 person household	Count	48	108	156
		%	23.8%	30.9%	28.3%
	2 person household	Count	74	162	236
		%	36.6%	46.4%	42.8%
	3 person household	Count	30	32	62
		%	14.9%	9.2%	11.3%
	4 person household	Count	50	47	97
		%	24.8%	13.5%	17.6%
Total		Count	202	349	551
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

P<0.001

What table 4.14 reveals is that non-migrant households are more likely to be made up of 3 and 4 person households (which could be indicative of largely households with children) than migrant households – this is due to the younger age profile of non-migrant households.

77.3% of in-migrant households are made up of 1 and 2 person households where as this figure drops to 60.4% for non-migrant households. This too may have important ramifications for local service provision in rural areas as In-migrants may be less supported (by family and friends) in times of crisis as Green and Hardill (2003) identified and may therefore require more support from local service providers.

The next table outlines the differences between in-migrant and non-migrant Welsh speaking abilities. Some 37.9% of in-migrants have some comprehension of the Welsh language the next table outlines what the level rises to for non-migrants.

TABLE 4.15 WELSH SPEAKING COMPARISON

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total
Head of Household Welsh Speaking	First language Welsh speaker	Count	106	53	159
		%	54.6%	15.7%	29.9%
	Second Language Welsh speaker	Count	17	28	45
		%	8.8%	8.3%	8.5%
	Conversational Welsh speaker	Count	16	47	63
		%	8.2%	13.9%	11.8%
	Non Welsh speaking	Count	55	210	265
		%	28.4%	62.1%	49.8%
Total		Count	194	338	532
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

p<0.001

The table reveals that 71.6% of non-migrants have some comprehension of the Welsh language (compared to only 37.9% on in-migrants) with 54.6% having Welsh as their first language. Further on in this chapter the differences of Welsh speaking across Powys and Gwynedd will be addressed. Chapter 6 will then explore what impact Welsh speaking has on employment patterns; however we now turn to a comparison of non-migrant and in-migrant qualifications and employment status.

It has been established that migrants have higher qualifications than local populations (Brown et al 2004, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006). This is one of the explanations offered for varying degrees of economic activity between in-migrants and non – migrants. In this research the qualifications of both in-migrants and non-migrants were analysed and the results are presented below:

TABLE 4.16 QUALIFICATIONS COMPARISON

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total	
Head of Household Highest Qualifications	O-levels, GCSE's, NVQ's	Count	73	82	155	
		%	51.4%	29.0%	36.5%	
	A-levels	Count	14	18	32	
		%	9.9%	6.4%	7.5%	
	HND/ HNC	Count	14	37	51	
		%	9.9%	13.1%	12.0%	
	First Degree (BA/ BSc)	Count	21	85	106	
		%	14.8%	30.0%	24.9%	
	Higher Degree (MA/ PhD)	Count	6	21	27	
		%	4.2%	7.4%	6.4%	
	Other	Count	14	40	54	
		%	9.9%	14.1%	12.7%	
	Total		Count	142	283	425
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

p<0.001

The results support the findings of other studies (Brown et al 2004, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006) in that in comparing non-migrants and in-migrants, it is clear in-migrants have higher qualifications than local populations. In-migrants are more likely to have a degree (24.4%) or higher degree (6%) than local populations. The impact of this is that in-migrants are bringing with them a skill set that may be useful for rural areas. They may have access to extended networks and can therefore offer expertise to others in rural areas. One consequence of this is that further research may be warranted to determine in what ways rural regions can tap into this valuable resource.

The employment status of non-migrants was also analysed and the results are compared to that of in-migrants and presented below:

TABLE 4.17 EMPLOYMENT STATUS COMPARISON

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total	
Head of Household Employment Status	Employed Full time	Count	76	82	158	
		%	38.8%	24.5%	29.8%	
	Employed Part time	Count	18	30	48	
		%	9.2%	9.0%	9.0%	
	Self employed	Count	23	42	65	
		%	11.7%	12.5%	12.2%	
	Retired	Count	68	167	235	
		%	34.7%	49.9%	44.3%	
	Student	Count	3	2	5	
		%	1.5%	.6%	.9%	
	Looking after home	Count	4	6	10	
		%	2.0%	1.8%	1.9%	
	Unemployed and looking for work	Count	3	2	5	
		%	1.5%	.6%	.9%	
	Other	Count	1	4	5	
		%	.5%	1.2%	.9%	
	Total		Count	196	335	531
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

p<0.05

This table is not statistically significant as 43% of cells have expected count less than 5 therefore the analysis has been rerun on the following page with a reduced number of categories. However the table is included here for information as this is how the data was presented in other studies which allows useful comparison.

The results of table 4.17 show that non-migrant populations are less likely to be retired and more likely to be employed full time than non-migrant populations. This again can be partially explained by the age differences between in-migrants and non-migrants as in-migrants are older and therefore more likely to be retired. In order to understand the economic activity choices of non-migrants more fully the next table analyses only those respondents that are economically active.

TABLE 4.18 EMPLOYMENT STATUS (EXCLUDING RETIRED) COMPARISON

			MIGRANT		Total
			Non-migrant	In-migrant	
Head of Household Employment Status	Employed Full time	Count	76	82	158
		%	59.4%	48.8%	53.4%
	Employed Part time	Count	18	30	48
		%	14.1%	17.9%	16.2%
	Self employed	Count	23	42	65
		%	18.0%	25.0%	22.0%
	Other	Count	11	14	25
		%	8.6%	8.3%	8.4%
Total	Count	128	168	296	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The results highlight (controlling for retirement) that in-migrants are less likely to be employed full time (48.8%) compared with 59% for non-migrants and more likely to be self-employed (25%) compared with 18% for the non-migrant populations. This suggests that in-migrants are behaving differently in terms of their economic activity from non-migrant populations (albeit in small ways) – however the results are not statistically significant. This suggests that any differences shown between in-migrant and non-migrant populations are small enough to be due to chance or random variation between samples. Being an in-migrant does not necessarily correlate with being involved in particular economic activity. This questions the success of in-migrant drives to certain regions in order to boost economic activity levels, these issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The following tables outline whether non-migrant populations are involved in full or part time working and or multiple jobs working, which is according the Rural Observatory (2004) a particular feature of rural labour markets.

TABLE 4.19 FULL /PART TIME WORK COMPARISON

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total
Head of Household full or part time work	full time	Count	99	119	218
		%	81.1%	71.7%	75.7%
	part time	Count	23	47	70
		%	18.9%	28.3%	24.3%
Total		Count	122	166	288
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 4.20 NUMBER OF JOBS WORKED COMPARISON

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total
Head of Household Number of Jobs worked	One	Count	102	123	225
		%	83.6%	78.3%	80.6%
	Two	Count	16	21	37
		%	13.1%	13.4%	13.3%
	Multiple	Count	4	13	17
		%	3.3%	8.3%	6.1%
Total		Count	122	157	279
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The results highlight that non-migrants are less likely to be doing part time work, and less likely to be doing more than one job than in-migrants. This suggests that (although in small numbers) some in-migrants have a higher incidence of different kinds of economic activity to non-migrants including part time working and multiple jobs working. Whether this is due to differences in age profiles between the two groups or suggests under employment or less

stable employment for in-migrant groups will be discussed in Chapter 5. At this juncture it is clear as earlier tables have highlighted that the differences between in-migrant and non-migrant economic activity is not statistically significant. This is an important finding and highlights patterns of economic activity between in-migrants and non-migrants are very similar.

TABLE 4.21 COMMUTING COMPARISON

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total
Head of Household distance to work	Work from Home	Count	14	31	45
		%	11.9%	18.8%	15.9%
	Commute more than 30 minutes	Count	23	25	48
		%	19.5%	15.2%	17.0%
	Work local	Count	67	76	143
		%	56.8%	46.1%	50.5%
	Varied	Count	10	14	24
		%	8.5%	8.5%	8.5%
	Commute more than 1 hour	Count	4	18	22
		%	3.4%	10.9%	7.8%
	Abroad	Count	0	1	1
		%	.0%	.6%	.4%
	Total	Count	118	165	283
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

There is a body of literature on the commuting patterns of individuals including in-migrants (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999); this research has not connected with this literature as this was not a central theme of the research. However in understanding the economic activity choices of in-migrants it is important to consider location of work place. Therefore this study asked in-migrants and non-migrants in Powys and Gwynedd how far they travelled to work. The results revealed they are not statistically significant – (due to the small number of respondents that were economically active) and that almost 65% of in-migrants work locally. This figure rises slightly to 69% for non-migrants. In terms of home working 18.8% of in-migrants work from home compared to only 11.9% of non-migrants, however in-migrants are more likely to commute over 1 hour to work (10.9%) compared to non-migrant

populations of which only 3.4% commute over 1 hour to work. These results are similar to that of Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999), (2000). They reveal that in-migrants are more involved in home working than the general population (CRC 2005). They also reveal that the majority of in-migrants work local to their residence.

4.3 Characteristics that vary across local authority area

It is worth noting at this juncture that an error in the survey design meant that it was not possible to identify which local authority area every survey returned was from. The identification number of the survey was on the front sheet of the survey (this allowed the local authority to be deciphered) however when some respondents returned their survey they kept the front sheet of the survey for their own purposes. This meant that around 50 surveys were not able to be traced back to specific addresses. Thus the number of respondents in this section varies slightly to that in the previous.

Two local authority areas were selected as the case study areas for this research. These case study areas represented varying levels in self-employment, Welsh speaking and migration. This section outlines how the basic characteristics of in-migrants and non-migrants varied across these areas. The two areas selected were Powys and Gwynedd, for an overview of these areas and the case study selection criteria please see chapter 4.

There were no statistically significant differences in in-migrant heads of household age, household structure, qualifications, tenure, number of jobs worked, economic activity or distances travelled to work between local authority region. The only exception to this was in the case of Welsh speaking. Gwynedd has higher levels of Welsh speakers than Powys (see chapter 4) and was found in relation to the non-migrant subsample. The results for levels of Welsh speaking among in-migrants are detailed below;

TABLE 4.22 IN-MIGRANT VARIATION IN WELSH SPEAKING ACROSS LA

		LOCAL AUTHORITY		Total	
		Gwynedd	Powys		
Head of Household Welsh Speaking	First language Welsh speaker	Count	38	11	49
		%	34.9%	5.9%	16.6%
	Second Language Welsh speaker	Count	11	16	27
		%	10.1%	8.6%	9.1%
	Conversational Welsh speaker	Count	17	27	44
		%	15.6%	14.4%	14.9%
Non Welsh speaking	Count	43	133	176	
	%	39.4%	71.1%	59.5%	
Total		Count	109	187	296
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

p< 0.001

Chapter 4 outlined population parameters for the two case study selection areas – this highlighted the fact that Welsh speakers were more prevalent in Gwynedd than in Powys. The table above follows on from this and examines how in-migrants to Gwynedd tend to have higher rates of Welsh speaking capabilities than in-migrants to Powys. This suggests that in-migrants who can speak Welsh are attracted to areas with high levels of Welsh speaking and given the high number of native speakers involved in migration to Gwynedd it certainly seems to point to migration tending to reinforce the importance of Welsh speaking in this area rather than diluting it? This may be explained by the greater availability of jobs for Welsh speakers in Welsh speaking heartlands such as employment opportunities in local authorities and teaching (these issues were discussed further in chapter 3). Alternatively it could be explained by the fact that living in an area with high levels of Welsh speaking makes it more likely that in-migrants will become engaged with the language? The impact of speaking Welsh on economic activity will be explored in chapter 5.

4.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has been instrumental in answering the research question; what are the differences in the current economic activity of migrants and non-migrants in rural labour markets? This chapter has also tried to answer a number of additional questions. How do

the characteristics of migrants compare with those of other studies of migrants? How do migrants compare with non migrants? What are the differences in economic activity between the two groups? Do migrants differ between areas within Wales (and the significance of this for economic activity)?

In summary this chapter has outlined the characteristics of in-migrants to rural areas of Wales and compared them to the characteristics of non-migrants. The results have revealed that in terms of the differences between in-migrant and non-migrant populations there are some differences. These centre on the characteristics of in-migrants who tend to be older (83.6% are over the age of 46), and live in one and two person households (77.4%). In-migrants tend to be more highly qualified with 30.4% having a degree or higher degree. In-migrants are more likely to be retired (49.9%). The definition of in-migrant used impacts upon the results as comparisons between this study and for example the Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) study highlight that this definition has resulted in an older more likely to be retired migrant profile. This has important considerations for future work as more and more research outlines the potential impact of in-migrants economic activity. In terms of the differences in economic activity between the two groups in this research those that are economically active tend to work less full time jobs (48.8%) than non-migrants (59.7%) and be more likely to be self-employed (25%) than non-migrants (18%). In-migrants are also more likely to work part time and work multiple jobs. They are also less likely to speak Welsh than non-migrants. Variation in results was not statistically significant across local authority area or travel to work area, other than in the case of Welsh speaking where for both migrant and non-migrant populations it was more likely that you would speak Welsh if you lived in Gwynedd.

These results lead to the conclusion that there are differences between migrant and non-migrant characteristics which cannot be explained by case study area. The most significant of these differences centre on age, and in turn economic activity, and the variation in employment patterns between in-migrants and non-migrants.

These conclusions are subtly different from that made by other studies. The 2001 Census analysis does not record high levels of self-employment among in-migrant populations. This however may be in part due to the fact that the census definition of an in-migrant is limited to an individual who was not present at their current residence a year previously. This research has adopted a life time migration definition which has allowed individuals who moved many years before the survey to be considered as in-migrants. This partly explains the variation in age profiles of in-migrants between this and the study by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999). Because a lifetime migration definition has been used in this research an older age

profile is being captured, which makes comparisons between studies difficult. Keeble and Tyler (1995) noted that in-migrants appeared more entrepreneurial than non-migrants and noted how many rural businesses were started by in-migrants. They recognised that there was a time dimension between migration and business start-up which might explain why the Census (2001) data records self-employed in-migrants as low. This was also the reason that a life time migration approach was adopted in this research.

Chapter 5 develops upon these themes and uses the household survey data to control for a number of variables to identify what impacts most upon the economic activity choices of in-migrants to rural areas of Wales.

5 Influences on the economic activity of rural residents

5.1 Introduction

Whilst chapter 4 has highlighted that there are no statistically significant differences in the economic activity behaviours of in-migrants compared with non-migrants when one controls for age (i.e the retired). There was however some observed differences in the in-migrant subsample. This chapter now looks at the influences on in-migrants economic activity choices and assesses just as age impacts upon economic activity what other factors impact upon rural residents economic activity. Therefore this chapter addresses the influences on the economic activity behaviours of rural residents.

Chapter 4 set out that there are some differences in the economic activity behaviours of in-migrants compared to non-migrants. However these differences are not statistically significant. In the in-migrant subsample in this study in-migrants are more likely to be retired, working part time or being self-employed than non-migrants; whereas non-migrants are more likely to work full time than in-migrants. There are a number of possible explanations for why this may be the case, including the age of in-migrants, their stage in the life cycle and their motivations for in-migrating. This chapter explores the data from the household survey to answer the following research question do these differences exist in in-migrant and non-migrant economic activity patterns? And why do in-migrants move to rural areas and how does this impact upon economic activity? It does this by considering what individual, area and household level influences are impacting upon the choices of in-migrants as the conceptual diagram in chapter 3 highlighted. Firstly why in-migrants chose to move is addressed.

5.2 Migrant decision making

In order to explore what influences the choices of in-migrants to move to rural areas of Wales, this chapter begins by using data from the household survey to explore migrant decision making. However it is important to recognise that there are memory recall difficulties in migration research of this type. This is because migrants put a post move rationalisation on their actions and or cannot recall / were not aware of what influenced their behaviour. As Boyle and Halfacree (1998) argued migration lies within the realm of practical consciousness for in-migrants it is part of the hurly burly of everyday life and people are not always able to explain why they do what they do, when it makes perfect sense to them.

In the literature review the findings of research conducted by The Countryside Commission in 1997 were discussed. This highlighted the aspiration that all groups of residential dwellers had towards living in the countryside and interestingly, highlighted the satisfaction of those that currently resided there. This suggested that in-migrants may be driven by residential preference to move to the countryside, rather than traditional notions of distribution of employment, or access to affordable housing. Furthermore a number of commentators on rural in-migration (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Stockdale 2006, Bosworth 2010, 2011) as discussed in the literature review and chapter 3 emphasise the importance of quality of life factors in attracting those who start businesses to rural areas. However why do they choose which rural area to move to? The following table outlines the most common reasons in-migrants had for choosing their current place of residence. The table refers to heads of households only and was a multiple answer question so that in-migrants could select as many reasons as they wanted.

It is however important to clarify that migration is a 2 stage process. Firstly in-migrants make a decision to move, then in the second stage they chose where to move to. This is starting to be understood in relation to self-employed in-migrants, Bosworth (2008) has outlined 'commercial counterurbanisation' as a 2 stage process. The reasons in both stages may be the same, or it may well be different reasons motivating both stages. The following table cannot explain both decision making stages, but instead focuses on why in-migrants chose their current location and therefore explores stage 2 of the decision making process.

TABLE 5.5 MOTIVATION FOR SELECTING RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

MOTIVATION	SELECTED	%	NOT SELECTED	%	TOTAL	%
Property prices	71	23.5	231	76.5	302	100
Returns	46	15.2	256	84.8	302	100
Employment opportunities	49	16.2	253	83.8	302	100
Used to holiday here	71	23.5	231	76.5	302	100
Friends and family	104	34.4	198	65.6	302	100
Health care	15	5.0	287	95	302	100
Local schools	25	8.3	277	91.7	302	100
College University	8	2.6	294	97.7	302	100
Scenic beauty	150	49.7	152	50.3	302	100
Crime rate	57	18.8	245	81.1	302	100
Local culture	56	18.5	246	81.5	302	100
Bigger/ small house	42	13.9	260	86.1	302	100
Relocated with work	43	14.2	259	85.8	302	100
Be Close to people like me	12	4	290	96	302	100
Building plots	4	1.3	298	98.7	302	100
Start a business	20	6.6	282	93.4	302	100
Join a household member	17	5.6	285	94.4	302	100

The table above which was generated from in-migrant head of household response to the question in the survey highlights the variety of motives for in-migrants actions. The different categories represent work undertaken in the qualitative interviewing to uncover

the common themes of why people make the choices they do in regards to migration and economic activity. It was also produced by reviewing the 'other reasons' given in the survey which produced an amalgamation of the common reasons for peoples migration activity.

It is clear not all options provided in the table above refer to traditional quality of life factors, for example need a bigger / smaller house may be more to do with the life cycle than quality of life. The options available to the in-migrants included dimensions of physical, social, economic and emotional context. However the various dimensions all represent specific factors that may influence migrant's choice of where to relocate and many have some element of aspiration involved. In simplistic terms they suggest that by choosing to relocate to a specific location because of this reason, hopefully their 'life will improve'.

The results reveal the most commonly cited reason for choice of current residential location is scenic beauty (49.7%). This highlights the importance of destination specific features for in-migrants over traditional reasons for relocation to specific regions, such as employment opportunities (16.2%), as was discussed in chapter 2. It also highlights that physical features such as landscape or as Keeble and Tyler (1995) termed it 'pleasant residential environment' are strong motivations for choice of destination. This theme was also prevalent in the interviews where many of the interviewees also cited quality of life factors as the most important reasons for choice of residential location. However it was evident that the decision making was more complex than this and that many of the in-migrants had considered other factors. These factors were diverse and strongly related to the age of the migrant. Younger household profiles cited local school provision and safety of area for children. Some older age interviewees selected local healthcare provision and accessibility for walking and outdoor pursuits.

In the household survey the next most common reasons for relocation were 'to be closer to family and friends' (34.4%) and 'because we used to come on holiday here' (23.5%). This highlights that the top reasons for choosing certain regions for in-migration to rural areas is based on a 'quality of life indicator'. The second and third most popular reasons were about emotional factors, though these are undoubtedly part of achieving a higher or better quality of life. It is worth noting that property prices are tied 3rd (with '...used to come on holiday here') with 23.5% of in-migrants selecting this as a reason for their choice of location. This is more of an economic dimension but can also be considered as a 'quality of life indicator' – as many people aspire to property ownership.

The results also reveal that many of the in-migrants had chosen their destination based on an existing connection with the area, i.e. through having friends and family living locally (34.4%), or having been on holiday (23.5), moving to join an existing household member (5.6%) or returning to where they had lived previously (15.2%). The interviewees also highlighted that they had an existing connection with the area which shows prior knowledge or experience of the area is therefore important in the choice of destination. This raises questions as to how successful marketing campaigns which encourage migration to certain regions will be. Perhaps they should be targeting people with an existing connection such as the friends and family already residing in the region, or holiday makers to the area?

5.3 Lifecycle and its impact on choice of location

In order to understand the impact that life cycle/ life stage has on the choice of destination of in-migrants to rural areas of Wales bivariate analysis was conducted on the motivations for migration and age and motivations and household structure. The following tables are the cross tabulations for each motivation with the head of householder age that was statistically significant using chi square as the test. The percentages have been calculated on rows to facilitate comparisons between the numbers of different age groups who consider the factor to have been a motivation for selecting their current residential location. Only 2 of the quality of life variables presented in table 1 were impacted by head of householder age to a statistically significant degree. These were used to holiday here (older age groups) and local school provision (younger age groups) as the following two tables outline.

TABLE 5.6 AGE AND USED TO HOLIDAY HERE AS A MOTIVATION

			USED TO HOLIDAY		Total
			yes	no	
Head of Household Age	17-29	Count	0	8	8
		%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	30-45	Count	4	38	42
		%	9.5%	90.5%	100.0%
	46-65	Count	25	107	132
		%	18.9%	81.1%	100.0%
	66+	Count	41	76	117
		%	35.0%	65.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	70	229	299
		%	23.4%	76.6%	100.0%

p<0.001

TABLE 5.7 AGE AND LOCAL SCHOOL PROVISION AS A MOTIVATION

			LOCAL SCHOOLS		Total
			yes	no	
Head of Household Age	17-29	Count	1	7	8
		%	12.5%	87.5%	100.0%
	30-45	Count	9	33	42
		%	21.4%	78.6%	100.0%
	46-65	Count	13	119	132
		%	9.8%	90.2%	100.0%
	66+	Count	2	115	117
		%	1.7%	98.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	25	274	299
		%	8.4%	91.6%	100.0%

p< 0.001

In regards to the tables above and the following analysis it is worth noting that the head of household age refers to age at time of survey not at time of migration. Therefore in assessment of the impact of age on migrants motivations the length of time since migration will also be a factor as they may have been substantially younger when they migrated to the area.

Stockdale (2006) notes that older in-migrants are less likely to rely on paid employment and can therefore move to areas where there are thought to be more limited employment opportunities. Retirement migration itself remains the focus of much rural research, this is in part due to the fact that rural populations are undoubtedly ageing, and some researchers argue (Schmied 2005, Nivalainen 2003) that the vast majority of in-migrants to rural regions are indeed pensioners. Others (notably Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Findlay 1999) however dispute this.

A disproportionate number of respondents to this survey were retired, which may reflect both the ageing nature of in-migrants but is also a common methodological problem with surveys. Chapter 4 established aggregate data on the sample and outlined that within the in-migrant sample 167 respondents were retired which equates to 49.9% of the in-migrant sample. It is therefore clear that any analysis of the sample has to consider age a key element – and bear in mind, imbalance of older age groups, may have an impact on any statistical significance that can be established. With this in mind the results revealed that there were differences between the motivations of older in-migrants to that of younger in-migrants.

The results highlighted that between the age groups there are small differences in reasons for choice of migration destination. These include whether past holidaying in the area encouraged in-migration. This appears to have been a more important factor / influence among those aged 66 or above (35%). The following discussion refers to analysis not presented as the results were not statistically significant however it is discussed here to provide a context for in-migrant choices that vary with age.

Property prices were more influential for younger age groups 37.5% of all 17-29 years olds surveyed cited it as a reason for their location choice. Having friends and family in the area was an important concern for all age groups, but especially for the younger group of whom 75% cited it as a motivation for moving to this location. The two most frequently cited motivations for choice of in-migration to their chosen area common to all age groups were 'scenic beauty' and 'friends and family in the area'. The two statistically significant results were: 'local school provision' (important not surprisingly for the 30-45 year olds) and 'having holidayed in the area' (important for the oldest age group) which have chi square values of $p < 0.001$.

Another variable closely linked with age is that of household structure. This variable produced a statistically significant finding in relation to one variable: local school provision. (See table 6.4)

TABLE 5.8 LOCAL SCHOOL PROVISION AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

			LOCAL SCHOOLS		Total
			yes	no	
Household structure	1 person household	Count	2	90	92
		%	2.2%	97.8%	100.0%
	2 person household	Count	8	129	137
		%	5.8%	94.2%	100.0%
	3 person household	Count	4	27	31
		%	12.9%	87.1%	100.0%
	4 person household	Count	11	31	42
		%	26.2%	73.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	25	277	302
		%	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%

Household structures comprising of 3+ members are statistically more likely to cite 'local school provision' as an important consideration in their choice of location. This is an obvious finding reflecting the presence of school aged children among households headed by a younger person.

Other bivariate analysis was conducted on whether in-migrants with differing qualifications had differing reasons for their choice of where to move to, but no statistically significant findings were produced. This suggests that education does not impact upon which dimensions influence a person's choice of residential location, in relation to rural migration. The interviewees had varying levels of qualification ranging from trades certificates in building to PhD's and again there was little difference in their motivations for migration. Many cited the quality of life factors which upon further discussion encompassed a range of variables including employment opportunities and the local housing market.

This section has highlighted how people at different stages of life have different reasons for selecting an area in which to move to. Those in the younger age ranges cited economic dimensions and local provision dimensions such as local school provision and property prices more frequently than other groups, whereas the older age groups cited more emotional dimensions such as returning to a place where they went on holiday more frequently. Therefore it is important to acknowledge that there are different factors which shape the context in which households think about the desirability of in-migration. However it was also clear that some factors are common to all in-migrants such as the presence of 'friends and family' and the 'scenic beauty' of rural locations. The discussion now addresses whether the choice of residential location is different for householders who own their own home.

5.4 Tenure and its impact on choice of rural location

Bivariate analysis was used to assess in terms of tenure; whether in-migrants who own their own home outright, with a mortgage, or who rent, have different reasons for where to move to in rural areas. Different tenures also have different 'rules of entry'; this therefore implies that different forms of tenure may have different motivations for moving.

TABLE 5.9 TENURE AND MOTIVATIONS

VARIABLE	TENURE		
	Outright Owner	Mortgaged Owner	Rented
Results are in % within tenure group			
Property prices	30.1	17.1	8.7
Returnees	14.8	17.1	13.0
Employment opportunities	13.1	26.3	13.0
Used to holiday here	31.8	7.9	19.6
Friends and family	32.4	32.9	45.7
Health care	5.7	1.3	8.7
Local schools	5.1	14.5	10.9
College University	2.8	1.3	4.3
Scenic beauty	53.4	48.7	41.3
Crime rate	19.9	17.1	19.6
Local culture	17.0	18.4	26.1
Bigger/ small house	16.5	10.5	10.9
Relocated with work	10.8	19.7	17.4
Be Close to people like me	4.0	2.6	6.5
Building plots	1.7	0	2.2
Start a business	8.5	3.9	4.3
Join a household member	3.4	11.8	4.3

What these results suggest is that property prices are (naturally) of more interest to property owners but of particular interest to outright owners (who are likely to be older). It also suggests that people with different forms of tenure may have different reasons for

choosing rural areas. In reality the differences are not that great, all tenure types are influenced by 'scenic beauty' and having 'friends and family' in the area. Whilst those who own their homes outright are also influenced by where they have previously 'been on holiday' (again older respondents), those with a mortgage are more influenced by 'employment opportunities', and those who rent are influenced by the 'local culture'. These results are interesting because they highlight that people who own their homes outright (who also are more likely to be older) are choosing locations perhaps for emotional reasons and for property related reasons, in that they were more likely to select property prices and or needed a bigger or smaller house. This suggests a pattern of house re-sizing which (if resizing to a smaller property) would fit with the age profile of in-migrants who are outright home owners as outlined in chapter 4.

However it is worth noting 8.5% of people who owned their home outright selected 'moved here to start a business' almost double that of the other forms of tenure, This may be similar to the patterns highlighted by Stockdale (2006) of the young old downshifting to open a small business. This is interesting when compared to people who have a mortgage to pay who are more concerned with the local employment opportunities (26.3%) and 'local school provision' than opening one's 'own business'. People who have a mortgage were also more likely to have moved here to 'join an existing household member', they were also significantly less likely to choose moved here because they 'used to come on holiday' here (again a reason attributed to older age groups see table 5.2). This group may represent a younger cohort who has moved to rural areas with families as is suggested by their interest in local 'school provision' and follows the family household structure identified in the Countryside Agency Report by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999).

Finally the respondents who were renting their properties are not so easily categorised in that they appeared to consider a wider range of factors which centred on emotional dimensions such as having 'friends and family' in the area and 'local culture'. They were also slightly more likely to select 'local healthcare provision' and wanting to be 'closer to people like themselves'. What this tells us about people who rent their homes and who choose to migrate is unclear, and is perhaps an area where further research is warranted.

The chapter now turns from a review of the main reasons in-migrant's chose one rural location over another to what choices they make upon migration particularly about their economic activity.

5.5 Individual level characteristics and their impact on economic activity

This section addresses what factors influence the economic activity of in-migrants. Chapter 3 proposed a series of hypotheses about what factors may impact upon the economic activity of in-migrants. This section of the chapter utilises the household survey and qualitative interviews to consider some of these factors.

5.5.1 Age

Chapter 4 outlined what forms of economic activity in-migrants are involved in and some information on commuting patterns and compared this information to non-migrant groups. The results revealed some subtle differences in in-migrant and non-migrant economic activity. In order to fully understand the reasons for this variation and why in-migrants engage in the economic activity they do in rural areas, it is important to consider what factors are influencing in-migrant's choices. This section aims to understand what factors at an individual's level may be influencing the economic activity of in-migrants.

We know from the literature (Stockdale 2006, 2010) that age impacts upon in-migrants economic activity. Table 5.6 outlines the impact of age on economic activity in this sample. The results reveal (predictably) that the younger the in-migrant the more likely they are to be a student or working full time. The older the in-migrant the more likely they are to be retired. This will be explored further with the economically inactive excluded from the analysis. Please note due to the number of cells with an expected count less than 5 a chi square test is not appropriate on this data.

TABLE 5.10 IN-MIGRANT AGE AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

			HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AGE				Total
			17-29	30-45	46-65	66+	
Head of Household employment status	Employed Full time	Count	5	27	49	1	82
		%	50.0%	60.0%	34.0%	.7%	24.5%
	Employed Part time	Count	0	5	22	3	30
		%	.0%	11.1%	15.3%	2.2%	9.0%
	Self employed	Count	2	9	27	4	42
		%	20.0%	20.0%	18.8%	2.9%	12.5%
	Retired	Count	1	1	39	126	167
		%	10.0%	2.2%	27.1%	92.6%	49.9%
	Student	Count	2	0	0	0	2
		%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.6%
	Looking after home	Count	0	2	3	1	6
		%	.0%	4.4%	2.1%	.7%	1.8%
	Unemployed and looking for work	Count	0	0	2	0	2
		%	.0%	.0%	1.4%	.0%	.6%
	Other	Count	0	1	2	1	4
		%	.0%	2.2%	1.4%	.7%	1.2%
	Total	Count	10	45	144	136	335
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 5.11 AGE AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY EXCLUDING RETIRED

			HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AGE				Total
			17-29	30-45	46-65	66+	
Head of Household – Employment status	Employed Full time	Count	5	27	49	1	82
		%	55.6%	61.4%	46.7%	10.0%	48.8%
	Employed Part time	Count	0	5	22	3	30
		%	.0%	11.4%	21.0%	30.0%	17.9%
	Self employed	Count	2	9	27	4	42
		%	22.2%	20.5%	25.7%	40.0%	25.0%
	Other	Count	2	3	7	2	14
		%	22.2%	6.8%	6.7%	20.0%	8.3%
Total	Count	9	44	105	10	168	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

By excluding the economically inactive, such as the retired and students, what table 5.7 reveals is that older in-migrants are most likely to be self-employed and younger in-migrants are more likely to be employed full time. However the levels of part time working are broadly similar across all age groups. This pattern of increasing self-employment rates with age is consistent with previous research (Stockdale 2006). Possible explanations for this pattern is that human capital and access to financial capital increases with age as does likelihood of owning one’s home; thus affording older people the opportunity to become self-employed. It may also be that many older people equate opening one’s own business with ‘shifting down’ from full time working - a kind of semi-retirement (Stockdale 2006). Similarly this may be the reason that part time working is as prevalent among older age groups as it is among younger age groups. Possible explanations for the trends of part time working among younger populations may be that women are only able or wish to work part time due to child care limitations (Green and Hardill 2003). Or perhaps these figures are representing the growing numbers of young people who are working part time while completing full time education. Table 5.8 explored the gender differentiated patterns of economic activity.

5.5.2 Gender

Due to the gender bias discussed earlier in regards to head of household. The categories of head of household and second adult have been combined for the following analysis.

TABLE 5.12 GENDER AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

			HOUSEHOLD MEMBER 1 and 2 - GENDER		Total
			Male	Female	
Household member 2 Employment Status excluding retired	Employed Full time	Count	45	39	84
		%	50%	38%	44%
	Employed Part time	Count	18	30	48
		%	20%	29%	25%
	Self employed	Count	17	24	41
		%	18%	23%	21%
	Other	Count	10	10	20
		%	9%	9%	10%
Total		Count	90	103	193

NB please note percentages have been rounded

What the results highlight is the increased levels of self-employment among in-migrant women, perhaps this is highlighting a pattern of varied employment alongside childcare and or caring responsibilities. This is an area where further research is warranted to establish if there are any statistically significant differences between in-migrant and non-migrant womens economic participation.

5.5.3 Nationality

TABLE 5.9 NATIONALITY AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

			Head of Household Nationality						Total
			English	Scottish	Welsh	Irish	British	Other	
Head of Household – Employment Status	Employed Full time	Count	28	0	33	2	19	0	82
		%	38.9%	.0%	62.3%	50.0%	52.8%	.0%	48.8%
	Employed Part time	Count	12	1	9	0	8	0	30
		%	16.7%	100.0%	17.0%	.0%	22.2%	.0%	17.9%
	Self employed	Count	27	0	7	2	4	2	42
		%	37.5%	.0%	13.2%	50.0%	11.1%	100.0%	25.0%
	Other	Count	5	0	4	0	5	0	14
		%	6.9%	.0%	7.5%	.0%	13.9%	.0%	8.3%
	Total	Count	72	1	53	4	36	2	168
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5.9 reveals that in-migrants who state that they are English are much more likely to be self-employed than in-migrants who state that they are Welsh (37.5% v. 13.2%).

Unfortunately due to the number of cells with an expected count of less than 5 a chi square test is not appropriate.

5.5.4 Qualifications

TABLE 5.10 EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND QUALIFICATIONS

			HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD HIGHEST QUALIFICATION						Total
			O-levels, GCSE's, NVQ's	A-levels	HND/ HNC	First Degree (BA/ BSc)	Higher Degree (MA/ PhD)	Other	
Head of Household – Employment Status	Employed Full time	Count	21	3	12	26	10	5	77
		%	48.8%	37.5%	54.5%	53.1%	71.4%	25.0%	49.4%
	Employed Part time	Count	8	2	3	9	1	5	28
		%	18.6%	25.0%	13.6%	18.4%	7.1%	25.0%	17.9%
	Self employed	Count	11	2	4	12	2	8	39
		%	25.6%	25.0%	18.2%	24.5%	14.3%	40.0%	25.0%
	Other	Count	3	1	3	2	1	2	12
		%	7.0%	12.5%	13.6%	4.1%	7.1%	10.0%	7.7%
	Total	Count	43	8	22	49	14	20	156
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5.10 (though not statistically significant and notwithstanding the criticisms of this question in the survey discussed in chapter 3), highlights that levels of qualification appear to make little difference to employment status. The level of qualifications of an in-migrant head of household did not affect their employment status in rural areas of Wales. The only exception appears to be in-migrants with higher degree's such as MA's, MSc's and PhD's who appear more likely to be employed full time and less likely to be self-employed (though the results are not statistically significant). This suggests that whilst in-migrants have higher levels of qualifications than non-migrants this does not impact upon their economic activity choices per se.

5.5.5 Occupations before and after migration

Chapter 4 outlined how the patterns of economic activity of in-migrants compared to local populations are in small ways different but how in broad terms they are very similar. This chapter has to date examined why in-migrants chose the destination to move to and what individual level factors have impacted upon in-migrants economic activity such as gender,

qualifications, nationality. This section now turns to what impact the act of migration itself has on the in-migrants economic activity.

The process through which people migrate and its impact on status has been discussed in the literature review in chapter 2. The discussion centred on the notion that through migration the economic status of households increased (Mulder and Van Ham 2005). In order to assess if this is the case in this study, changes were tracked in the standard occupational classification of in-migrant households. This was completed by asking in-migrant heads of household what their main job title was immediately before and after migrating and then at the time of the survey. This information was then coded into the standard occupation classification codes. The results are explored below.

TABLE 5.11 SOC BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION

STANDARD OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION (SOC)	IN-MIGRANTS PRIOR TO MOVE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD		IN-MIGRANTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER MOVE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD		CURRENT STATUS OF IN-MIGRANTS ALL EMPLOYED	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Professional Occupations	153	63.1	119	60.7	187	64.2
Skilled occupations	56	23.1	41	20.9	63	21.7
Unskilled occupations	33	13.7	36	18.4	41	14.1
Total	242	100	196	100	291	100

Table 5.11 does not track the transition of individuals over time but looks at in-migrant heads of households in aggregate. Mulder and Von Ham (2005) identified in France that migration raised the economic status of households. However the results presented in table 5.11 do not follow this pattern. This can perhaps be explained by the current appetite for 'down-shifting' in the UK which has characterised some migration – particularly those considered moves of counter-urbanisation. It appears from the analysis that migration may marginally cause a decrease in economic terms immediately after the move, which recovers over time. To summarise, in-migrants to rural areas of Wales are, it seems, unlikely to see their

employment status rise as a result of migration. This may well be related to the types of jobs available in local rural labour markets, versus accessible rural or urban labour markets.

5.6 Household level impacts on in-migrants economic activity

The previous sections of this chapter have outlined the individual level factors or characteristics that may impact upon in-migrants economic activity as set out in the conceptual model in chapter 3. This section of the chapter now addresses the household level factors that may have impacted upon in-migrants economic activity such as the household structure of the in-migrant household, the tenure of the household and the housing history of the household.

5.6.1 Household structure

TABLE 5.12 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT STATUS

			HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE				Total
			1 person household	2 person household	3 person household	4 person household	
Head of Household – Employment Status	Employed	Count	21	25	17	19	82
		%	53.8%	41.7%	63.0%	45.2%	48.8%
	Employed	Count	7	9	6	8	30
		%	17.9%	15.0%	22.2%	19.0%	17.9%
	Self employed	Count	8	21	2	11	42
		%	20.5%	35.0%	7.4%	26.2%	25.0%
	Other	Count	3	5	2	4	14
		%	7.7%	8.3%	7.4%	9.5%	8.3%
Total		Count	39	60	27	42	168
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The table above outlines that the households most likely to be involved in self-employment are 2 person households (35%). The least likely household structure to be involved in self-employment is 3 people households (7.4%). The results are not able to be tested for statistical significance due to the low numbers in the subsample. However the prevalence of self-employment among 2 people households is unsurprising as Green and Hardill (2003) stated this household structure is able to support the creation of a new enterprise through

pensions or other stable income streams. Alternatively 2 people households may support new business creation through informal help such as unpaid labour in the business. Three and four person households were also more likely (than 1 and 2 person households) to be involved in part time working, which may reflect patterns of part time employment among women with childcare and / or caring responsibilities.

5.6.2 Housing market history

Chapter 2 discussed research by Mulder and Van Ham (2005) which suggested that the previous residential history of in-migrants may impact upon their current economic status. Their research found that rural in-migrants who had previously lived in a city achieved higher occupational status than those who had not. In order to assess the impact of previous residential history on the in-migrants to Mid Wales, section 2 of the household survey asked in-migrants about their housing history. The results were not statistically significant and revealed that whether an in-migrant had ever lived in a city (included as question in the survey which allowed in-migrants to self-define whether they had ever lived in a city) made little difference to their economic activity choices.

TABLE 5.13 PREVIOUS RESIDENCE IN A CITY AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

			PREVIOUS RESIDENCE IN A CITY		Total
			Yes	No	
Head of Household – Employment Status	Employed	Count	52	27	79
		Full time %	50.0%	44.3%	47.9%
	Employed	Count	18	12	30
		Part time %	17.3%	19.7%	18.2%
	Self employed	Count	24	18	42
		%	23.1%	29.5%	25.5%
	Other	Count	10	4	14
		%	9.6%	6.6%	8.5%
Total	Count	104	61	165	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Furthermore whether they had previously lived in their current area of residence (i.e. they were returnees) made no statistical difference to their economic activity choices either.

TABLE 5.14 RETURNEES AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

			RETURNEES		Total	
			yes	no		
Head of Household - Employment Status	Employed Full time	Count	22	53	75	
		%	51.2%	46.5%	47.8%	
	Employed Part time	Count	7	22	29	
		%	16.3%	19.3%	18.5%	
	Self employed	Count	10	29	39	
		%	23.3%	25.4%	24.8%	
	Other	Count	4	10	14	
		%	9.3%	8.8%	8.9%	
	Total		Count	43	114	157
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The survey also asked how many properties the in-migrants had owned previously, the results of this are not presented as they were not statistically significant. However they suggested people who had owned more properties (above 5) were more likely to be self-employed, however this is most likely to be a reflection of the age range of people who have owned 5 or more properties. In summary it appears residential history makes no statistically significant impact on economic activity behaviours of in-migrants to rural areas of Wales.

TABLE 5.15 TENURE AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

			TENURE GROUPS			Total
			owner occupier out-right	owner occupier mortgage	rented	
Head of Household Employment Status	Employed	Count	17	44	17	78
		Full time	%	29.8%	58.7%	54.8%
	Employed	Count	15	11	4	30
		Part time	%	26.3%	14.7%	12.9%
	Self employed	Count	20	18	3	41
			%	35.1%	24.0%	9.7%
	Other	Count	5	2	7	14
			%	8.8%	2.7%	22.6%
Total		Count	57	75	31	163
			%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

p<0.001

Table 6.17 outlines how tenure impacts upon economic activity choices of in-migrants. What this table shows is that self-employment is highest among in-migrants who own their home out-right. Full time working is highest among those that have a mortgage and is also high for those who live in rented accommodation. As home ownership (outright) rates are highest among older populations this table further outlines the importance of age (combined with tenure) on the economic activity choices of in-migrants. The following table outlines the tenure of in-migrant households cross tabulated with the age of in-migrant heads of households.

TABLE 5.16 TENURE AND AGE

			HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD				Total
			17-29	30-45	46-65	66+	
FORM OF TENURE	owner occupier out-right	Count	3	9	75	109	196
		%	33.3%	19.6%	52.8%	83.8%	59.9%
	owner occupier mortgage	Count	3	26	47	6	82
		%	33.3%	56.5%	33.1%	4.6%	25.1%
	local authority	Count	0	1	6	5	12
		%	.0%	2.2%	4.2%	3.8%	3.7%
	housing association	Count	0	2	4	6	12
		%	.0%	4.3%	2.8%	4.6%	3.7%
	private rented	Count	3	7	8	4	22
		%	33.3%	15.2%	5.6%	3.1%	6.7%
	Tied	Count	0	1	2	0	3
		%	.0%	2.2%	1.4%	.0%	.9%
	Total	Count	9	46	142	130	327
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The table is not suitable for chi square testing as there are too many categories with small results however it is presented here for information. The table above outlines the older the in-migrant head of household respondent the more likely it is that they are outright owners of their home. Of all outright owners 93.9% are over the age of 46.

The chapter now turns to the area based influences on in-migrant economic activity choices.

5.7 Area impacts on economic activity

The previous section of the chapter outlined the ways in which household level factors can impact upon in-migrants economic activity choices. The literature review highlighted how individual, household and area level factors may all influence the economic activity choices of in-migrants. This section now turns to a review of what area wide influences can impact upon the economic activity choices of in-migrants including the local labour market, and levels of Welsh speaking in a region. As set out in chapter 4 no statistically significant differences were observed between in-migrants and non-migrants characteristics across

local authority area (except in the case of Welsh speaking). This section explores the impact different local authority areas and TTWA's has on in-migrants economic activity choices.

5.7.1 Differences across local authority district

The two local authority regions selected for this research were not selected as representative of rural Wales, they were selected instead due to the levels of migration, entrepreneurship and Welsh speaking. Chapter 3 explores the rationale for this and the case study selection criteria. This section of the analysis outlines what differences in in-migrant economic activity were observed across the two regions.

TABLE 6.17 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY ACROSS LA

The following table does not meet the requirements for chi square testing due to the number of cells with an expected count of less than 5 however it is included here for information and to highlight the similarity and variation across case study areas. The categories have been reduced for further analysis in the table following this one.

			LOCAL AUTHORITY		Total
			Gwynedd	Powys	
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed	Count	26	48	74
		Full time	24.1%	25.7%	25.1%
	Employed	Count	6	22	28
		Part time	5.6%	11.8%	9.5%
	Self employed	Count	14	22	36
			13.0%	11.8%	12.2%
	Retired	Count	60	85	145
			55.6%	45.5%	49.2%
	Student	Count	0	2	2
			.0%	1.1%	.7%
	Looking after home	Count	1	4	5
			.9%	2.1%	1.7%
	Unemployed and looking for work	Count	1	1	2
			.9%	.5%	.7%
	Other	Count	0	3	3
			.0%	1.6%	1.0%
	Total	Count	108	187	295
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The table above highlights how across the two local authority areas the results are broadly similar. In terms of retirement there appears to be 10% more retired in-migrants in Gwynedd and in Powys the incidence of part time working is double that of Gwynedd. The following table has reduced the categories and excluded the economically inactive from the analysis.

TABLE 5.18 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (EXCLUDING RETIRED) ACROSS LA

			LOCAL AUTHORITY		Total
			Gwynedd	Powys	
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMET STATUS	Employed	Count	26	48	74
		Full time	%	54.2%	47.1%
	Employed	Count	6	22	28
		Part time	%	12.5%	21.6%
	Self employed	Count	14	22	36
			%	29.2%	21.6%
	Other	Count	2	10	12
			%	4.2%	9.8%
	Total	Count	48	102	150
			%	100.0%	100.0%

The results of the table above where the categories have been reduced in order to test for statistical significance returned a value that indicates they there are no statistically significant differences between Gwynedd and Powys. Therefore it can be concluded that in this sub sample local authority area did not result in any variation in the economic activity choices of in-migrants. This is not unexpected as Machynlleth (in the Powys LA) for example has more in common with the Gwynedd TTWA's in that it is further west and has higher levels of Welsh Speaking. However comparing the areas at this broad level may assist in highlighting how regional variations such as LA planning policy may have impacted upon in-migrants economic activity. The results however suggest that the level of migration, local authority planning policy and the number of Welsh speaking population (at least on a local authority area level) has little impact on the economic activity choices of in-migrants. The next section looks at the results of the analysis across travel to work area.

5.7.2 Welsh language skills and Travel to work areas

The study areas for this research were 5 travel-to-work areas which represented varying levels of self-employment, in-migration and Welsh speaking (see chapter 3 for further information). The rational for this choice was that one influence on an individual's economic activity choice is the labour market in which they are operating. Furthermore some researchers have argued that being a speaker of the local language affords you

opportunities that are otherwise missed (Dustman and Fabri 2003). In order to examine the impact of these factors on in-migrant economic activity this research was conducted across varying rural space with differing labour markets and levels of Welsh speaking. These areas were;

1. Brecon
2. Knighton and Radnor
3. Machynlleth
4. Pwllheli
5. Portmadog and Ffestiniog

The first two TTWA regions: Brecon, and Knighton and Radnor are characterised by high self-employment rates (18.4% and 19.2% respectively). They also had high rates of in-migration, and low levels of Welsh speaking people (77.6% and 84.7% had no knowledge of Welsh respectively). Machynlleth was chosen as the third survey area as it represented an area with a median level of self-employment (16.5%) and a 39.9% rate for the percentage of the population with no knowledge of the Welsh language. Machynlleth also has the added advantage of attracting a certain element of 'green businesses' due to its proximity to the Centre for Alternative Technology and the Dyfi Eco Park. This may have encouraged certain types of in-migrants to the region. Machynlleth has more in common with the TTWA's in Gwynedd than Powys due to the higher rates of Welsh Speaking and the relatively isolated nature of the place. Finally Pwllheli and Portmadog and Ffestiniog were chosen as they represent moderately lower self-employment levels (15.8% and 12.75% respectively). They also have lower levels of migration and higher levels of Welsh speaking people (78.9% and 81.4% of the population having some level of knowledge of Welsh speaking). These regions also have high levels of ethnic Welsh people (as would be expected from the rates of Welsh speaking in the regions). These two areas also represent fairly isolated communities in that they are areas with limited transport infrastructure.

The table has too many cells with an expected count of less than 5 for the results to be tested for statistical significant. However the tables are included here to highlight some of the observed variation in economic activity choices of in-migrants across the TTWA's such as the high full time employment rate in Brecon and the higher than expected rate of self-employment in Machynlleth.

TABLE 5.19 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY ACROSS TTWA

			TRAVEL TO WORK AREA					Total
			Porthmadog and Ffestiniog	Knighton and Radnor	Machynllet h	Brecon	Pwllheli	
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed Full time	Count	15	14	9	29	7	74
		%	29.4%	22.6%	18.0%	33.0%	16.3%	25.2%
	Employed Part time	Count	4	6	2	13	3	28
		%	7.8%	9.7%	4.0%	14.8%	7.0%	9.5%
	Self employed	Count	9	8	10	4	5	36
		%	17.6%	12.9%	20.0%	4.5%	11.6%	12.2%
	Retired	Count	23	31	26	38	26	144
		%	45.1%	50.0%	52.0%	43.2%	60.5%	49.0%
	Student	Count	0	1	0	1	0	2
		%	.0%	1.6%	.0%	1.1%	.0%	.7%
	Looking after home	Count	0	2	2	0	1	5
		%	.0%	3.2%	4.0%	.0%	2.3%	1.7%
	Unemploye d and looking for work	Count	0	0	0	1	1	2
		%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.1%	2.3%	.7%
	Other	Count	0	0	1	2	0	3
		%	.0%	.0%	2.0%	2.3%	.0%	1.0%
Total	Count	51	62	50	88	43	294	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The following table highlights the patterns of in-migrants economic activity (excluding the economically inactive) across travel to work areas. The results highlight (albeit in small numbers) that Machynlleth represents a special case in terms of self-employment. The self-employment rate in Machynlleth is 41% this is much higher than the other TTWA areas. Perhaps the nature of the place and the 'green ethos' of the town is encouraging a larger than expected level of self-employed in-migrants.

TABLE 5.20 ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (EXCLUDING RETIRED) ACROSS TTWA

			TRAVEL TO WORK AREA					Total
			Portmadog and Ffestiniog	Knighton and Radnor	Machynllet h	Brecon	Pwllheli	
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT STATUS	Employed Full time	Count	15	14	9	29	7	74
		%	53.6%	45.2%	37.5%	58.0%	41.2%	49.3%
	Employed Part time	Count	4	6	2	13	3	28
		%	14.3%	19.4%	8.3%	26.0%	17.6%	18.7%
	Self employed	Count	9	8	10	4	5	36
		%	32.1%	25.8%	41.7%	8.0%	29.4%	24.0%
	Other	Count	0	3	3	4	2	12
		%	.0%	9.7%	12.5%	8.0%	11.8%	8.0%
	Total	Count	28	31	24	50	17	150
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The tables highlight the fact that the census data on the travel to work areas do not match the patterns of economic activity for in-migrants in this subsample. The census data puts economic activity for the areas above as follows:

TABLE 5.21 2001 CENSUS ECONOMIC ACTIVITY RATES

TTWA's NAME	EMPLOYMENT RATE	SELF EMPLOYMENT RATE	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE
Machynlleth	40.7%	16.5%	5.8%
Portmadog and Ffestiniog	42.9%	12.7%	7.1%
Pwllheli	39.3%	15.8%	5.0%
Brecon	45.9%	18.4%	3.5%
Knighton and Radnor	42.0%	19.2%	4.3%

There are two main ways in which the literature on in-migration and economic activity can be viewed in relation to the economic activity choices in-migrants make. Firstly some literature (Green and Hardill 2004, Anderson and Jack 2002) suggest that in-migrants are less well connected to the formal economy due to their limited social networks in rural areas. Dustman and Fabri (2003) also argued that migrants who were unable to speak the language of their destination were also at a disadvantage in labour market terms. These factors suggest that in-migrants may be pushed into self-employment as their employment prospects are more limited than local populations in rural areas. However this is not the whole picture – the literature (Stockdale 2006) also outlines how many older in-migrants are stepping down from full time working into self-employment. There is also some evidence (Anderson and Jack 2002) to suggest that through the process of becoming embedded in their new location in-migrants become aware of business opportunities that are available in their ‘new’ location. Furthermore in areas that are popular tourist destinations – which we know from the start of chapter 6 are particularly attractive to older in-migrants – there may be higher levels of self-employment in line with Stockdale’s (2006) observations. Therefore in this research it was anticipated that Porthmadog, Ffestiniog and Pwllheli being areas with high levels of Welsh speaking and traditional seaside holiday destinations, may have high levels of self-employment among in-migrants. In contrast to Brecon, Knighton and Radnor with low levels of Welsh speaking and Knighton and Radnor not being traditional holiday destinations – the levels of self-employment may be lower.

The results indicate that these patterns are broadly consistent in some TTWA’s; with Brecon having a low self-employment rate among in-migrants (8%) and Portmadog and Ffestiniog

having a high self-employment rate among in-migrants (32%). The results for Knighton and Radnor and Pwllheli did not show any such pattern. In the case of Machynlleth an unexpectedly high self-employment rate was discovered.

Machynlleth according to the census data is at the mid-range for levels of self-employment and Welsh speaking. In this study 40% of economically active in-migrants in this TTWA were self-employed, which is higher than any other TTWA. This begs the question as to what specifically in Machynlleth encourages or supports in-migrants to enter into self-employment? The area itself is building a reputation for a green ethos; this may be in part due to its proximity to the Centre for Alternative Technology. Many of the shops in the town cater to the needs of the 'green' economy; perhaps this region has a draw to particular types of in-migrants? It may be that this area is reaching out to the those in-migrants identified by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) as moving with the intention of becoming self-employed as part of a quality of life exercise. In order to explore whether there was any statistically significant reason for why the self-employment rate in Machynlleth was higher than in other TTWA's the relationships between a number of variables was considered. However the results revealed no statistically significant findings. It was not apparent that in-migrants to Machynlleth had specific reasons for migration or business start-up. They also did not appear to start different business types from other locations. Only one finding was different from other areas (though still not statistically significant) and that was that in-migrants who opened businesses in Machynlleth appeared to do so that they could work from home (44%). Machynlleth may be an area where further research is warranted as the numbers of businesses in this region in this study is small and it is not possible to explore why the self-employment rate is so high in this area without further data collection.

5.8 Chapter 5 Summary

In summary this chapter began by outlining the reasons in-migrants gave for their choice of residential location. The survey allowed respondents to choose multiple reasons which encompassed social, political, economic and emotional reasons. Despite options available to in-migrants to choose employment, property prices, or relocated with work, the most common motivations across all groups for migration to specific rural areas was to be close to family and friends and to live somewhere scenically beautiful. This suggests that whilst many in-migrants consider property prices and employment issues as a factor they are far more likely to cite quality of life motivations as the reasons for selecting which area to move to. Work by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) and Keeble and Tyler (1995) identified that the reasons people chose to move may impact upon economic

activity. Quality of life was a significant motivation for migration by self-employed in-migrants in the Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) and the Keeble and Tyler (1995) research. The next chapter will outline the impact of quality of life on self-employed business owners in this research. However the results of this chapter have revealed that quality of life is a multi-dimensional term which encompasses a range of socio, economic, political and emotional concepts. The factors which most impacted upon peoples choices of residential location were age, tenure and household structure. These factors are all related to lifecycle. Lifecycle / stage are important determinants of which areas in-migrants will choose to migrate to.

Chapter 4 set out that in-migrant and non-migrant populations do have some small differences in their economic activity choices. This chapter has followed on from this finding and evaluated what factors or influences could explain these differences. Age was found to be most important. It may seem disappointing to find that after substantial primary and secondary research that in-migrants don't differ substantially from non-migrants in their economic activity choices (controlling for age). However the reality is that this is an important finding. If they had differed then they may have required a specific policy approach or support mechanisms that are not currently available in rural areas. This appears not to be the case. The results confirm that in-migrants are moving into rural areas and are making similar choices to non-migrants. They are not, as popular culture would often seem to suggest, commuting out of the area, or taking up all the local full time jobs. The reality at least in this sub sample is that they are being influenced by the same forces and structures as non-migrant populations. This is perhaps with the exception of self-employment as will be explored in the next chapter.

6 Migrants and businesses in rural labour markets in Wales

6.1 Introduction

Rural economies are dominated by small enterprises in a diverse range of industries (WRO 2009). Many of these businesses are in-migrant owned (Keeble and Tyler 1995). A common theme within the literature was the potential for in-migrant owned businesses to impact upon local rural economies (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006, Bosworth 2008). Yet despite this very little research has outlined why in-migrants choose to start businesses? Or how these motivations differ from non-migrant owned businesses? And finally what differences exist between migrant and non-migrant owned businesses?

This chapter utilises the survey results and qualitative interview findings to explore in-migrant and non-migrant owned businesses in Powys and Gwynedd. This chapter uses mini-business profiles and aggregate data from a sample of 151 business owning households in rural areas of Wales. The results are used to outline the motivations for becoming self-employed, the types of businesses created and the differences between in-migrant and non-migrant businesses. The survey respondents are both migrant and non-migrant business owners. Unfortunately not all questions were completed by all respondents as is the case in many surveys. Therefore the number of respondents to individual questions will differ according to how many respondents answered the questions or whether it is a result based solely on in-migrants, non-migrants or all businesses.

The literature review highlighted the potential for in-migrants to impact upon local rural economies; these impacts can be both positive and negative. In-migrants have the potential to create employment opportunities both directly (through small business) and indirectly (through utilising local services) (Spilling 1985). But they can also increase local house prices and polarise local rural communities (Hamnett 1992). It is in the realm of economic activity and their impacts that this research is concerned with. Therefore the literature review concluded that in order to better understand the impact of in-migrants on local rural communities a greater understanding of the shift to self-employment was required. Some studies have suggested the shift to self-employment may take place *after* the move into the area but we know little about when migrants become self-employed, the delay between in-migration and self-employment and most importantly we do not know *why* some migrants turn to self-employment. Finally, the review concluded that the literature is notably deficient in describing the number and quality of jobs in businesses run by self-employed migrants.

This chapter therefore draws upon these themes to explore self-employment and migration in rural areas of Wales.

6.2 Setting the scene of rural self-employment

This section explores what motivates self-employment in rural areas and the differences between in-migrant and non-migrant businesses. The chapter begins by setting out some aggregate data on the businesses created by both in-migrants and non-migrant respondents to the household survey conducted in rural areas of Wales. Where appropriate chi square has been used to test statistical significance.

TABLE 6.1 AGGREGATE DATA OF SAMPLE BUSINESSES

	In-migrants	Non-Migrants	Total
Heads of Households	377	220	597
Businesses (any household member)	92	59	151
Self-employed heads of household	42	23	65
% self-employed among sample	11%	10%	

The discrepancy between the number of self-employed heads of households and the number of businesses arises because the survey asked questions of any business owned by the household. Therefore businesses not owned by the head of household have been reported in this section.

6.2.1 Scale of the enterprise

Keeble and Tyler (1995) and Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) have all undertaken work in rural areas on in-migrant owned businesses. Keeble and Tyler (1995) were concerned with examining the differences between rural and urban businesses. Whilst Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) focused on the job creation potential of in-migrant owned business. This research wanted to build on these two studies and examine the differences between migrant and non-migrant businesses and the transition to self-employment by rural business owners. Therefore the following tables outline the results of the questions put to rural business owners both migrants and non-migrants regarding the scale of their enterprises.

TABLE 6.2 DOES THE BUSINESS HAVE EMPLOYEES?

		DOES THE BUSINESS HAVE ANY EMPLOYEES?			Total
			Non-migrant	In-migrant	
Any employees	yes	Count	14	26	40
		%	43.8%	45.6%	44.9%
	No	Count	18	31	49
		%	56.3%	54.4%	55.1%
Total		Count	32	57	89
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The table above outlines the number of businesses that employ staff. The results highlight the similarity between in-migrant and non-migrant business owners.

The following table outlines how many employees (both full time and part time) the business employs including the business owner this can include employed family members.

TABLE 6.3 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES

			HOW MANY EMPLOYEES DOES THE BUSINESS HAVE?		Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Number of employees	0 or 1	Count	9	24	33
		%	39.1%	44.4%	42.9%
	two or more	Count	14	30	44
		%	60.9%	55.6%	57.1%
Total		Count	23	54	77
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The results reveal that approximately 40% of all businesses employed less than 2 members of staff with non-migrants marginally more likely to employ more staff than in-migrants. However as is set out further in the chapter this may be explained by in-migrant owned

business age being younger than non-migrant owned businesses – assuming businesses mature to take on employees.

TABLE 6.4 BUSINESS TURNOVER

		WHAT IS THE TURNOVER OF THE BUSINESS?			Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Turnover	under VAT threshold	Count	16	29	45
		%	64.0%	61.7%	62.5%
	over VAT threshold	Count	9	18	27
		%	36.0%	38.3%	37.5%
Total		Count	25	47	72
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The turnover of the businesses sampled varied considerably; the spread was from less than £10,000 for a handbag designer to over £550,000 for a company who specialise in tree surgery. In order to explore the data using SPSS the data was reduced to two categories; those companies who have a turnover less than the VAT threshold (£61,000 as at the time of the survey) and those that have a turnover above the VAT threshold. The results for in-migrant and non-migrant companies are displayed above. For the businesses who answered the turnover questions there is little difference (percentage wise) between the number of in-migrant and non-migrant businesses that were above or below the VAT threshold. When the full categories are utilised see table 6.5 it appears that in-migrants tend to occupy the middle reaches of the scale. Many non-migrant businesses were in the below 25k bracket, however non-migrant businesses were more likely to be earning in the higher turnover bands. The results are not statistically significant therefore it is not possible to conclude that in-migrants are more likely to have stronger or weaker businesses than non-migrants. The results however do indicate that many in-migrants' income from their business is very small, where as non-migrant businesses had turnovers within the median range suggesting less likelihood of the movement into self-employment being for survival reasons. A larger sample would be required to establish if this is statistically significant and therefore a real issue for rural business support services.

The interviews also revealed similar patterns. Some of the businesses have very small turnovers for example S.C.P had a very modest turnover of a few thousand pounds (which they were hoping to grow) vs. U.T.T who had a very healthy turnover and who have gone from strength to strength in recent years building a successful brand. The majority of the businesses interviewed had modest turnovers well below the VAT threshold but all were keen to see their business grow and hoped to increase their turnover in the future.

There was no issue in relation to businesses answering questions regarding their turnover.

TABLE 6.5 DETAILED TURNOVER OF BUSINESS

WHAT IS THE TURNOVER OF THE BUSINESS?					Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Turnover	Under £25,000	Count	10	17	27
		%	40.0%	35.4%	37.0%
	Under £61,000	Count	6	13	19
		%	24.0%	27.1%	26.0%
	Under £150,000	Count	4	11	15
		%	16.0%	22.9%	20.5%
	Under £500,000	Count	4	6	10
		%	16.0%	12.5%	13.7%
	Over £500,000	Count	1	1	2
		%	4.0%	2.1%	2.7%
	Total	Count	25	48	73
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In establishing the scale of the enterprise, the source of the start-up capital is another indicator of how strong an enterprise is. For example, venture capital companies often have a lower lending threshold of half a million pounds. Therefore detailed financial plans are required to access this investment and other investment such as some grant aid; this provides a crude indicator of the sophistication of the business. The businesses in this research were all questioned on how they financed the start-up of their companies. The results are presented below;

TABLE 6.6 FINANCE OF THE BUSINESS

		HOW WAS THE BUSINESS FINANCED?			Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Finance of the business	Self-financed	Count	15	34	49
		%	55.6%	64.2%	61.3%
	Loan/ other finance	Count	12	19	31
		%	44.4%	35.8%	38.8%
Total		Count	27	53	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As the table highlights approximately two thirds of the businesses were self-financed. In-migrants were slightly more likely to have utilised their own personal funds than non-migrants but the results are not statistically significant. The results have been reduced into simple categories for the purposes of analysis using SPSS however when the full categories are displayed (see below) you can see that some in-migrant and non-migrant businesses were able to attract bank loans and other external funding such as grants and venture capital. The numbers are small but it is encouraging to see that being an in-migrant or a local is no more of a barrier or an advantage to seeking sources of external financial support.

None of the businesses interviewed had sought venture capital and all had either self-financed or sought a personal / business loan. They had all accessed some local business support services and confirmed in their responses they did not feel being an in-migrant was a barrier to business support financial or otherwise.

TABLE 6.7 DETAILED START UP INVESTMENT OF BUSINESS

				Total	
		Non-migrants	In-migrants		
FINANCE OF BUSINESS	Personal investment of funds	Count	15	35	50
		%	55.6%	63.6%	61.0%
	bank loan	Count	7	14	21
		%	25.9%	25.5%	25.6%
	venture capital	Count	1	0	1
		%	3.7%	.0%	1.2%
	Grant	Count	2	4	6
		%	7.4%	7.3%	7.3%
	family or friends	Count	1	2	3
		%	3.7%	3.6%	3.7%
	Other	Count	1	0	1
		%	3.7%	.0%	1.2%
	Total	Count	27	55	82
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The next table outlines the age of the businesses owned by both in-migrants and non-migrants. The survey respondents provided a year of start up to this question – this resulted in a wide spread of business ages from a farm which was bought by a non-migrant family in Gwynedd in 1810 to a 3 month old shop opened by an in-migrant to Powys. Therefore in selecting suitable categories – it seemed logical to divide businesses into pre and post a specific year. The choice of the year 1990 was made based on the fact that this meant these businesses could have had an opportunity to embed and mature – therefore providing a more equal basis on which to compare in-migrant and non-migrant owned businesses. Of course in using such a cut-off date it is necessary to acknowledge that some businesses will have ceased to exist since 1990 and therefore are not captured by the survey, for others the business owner may have retired.

TABLE 6.8 AGE OF BUSINESS

			WHEN WAS THE BUSINESS STARTED?		Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Age of business	Pre 1990	Count	18	18	36
		%	72.0%	34.6%	46.8%
	Post 1990	Count	7	34	41
		%	28.0%	65.4%	53.2%
Total	Count	25	52	77	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

p < 0.001

The results show that in-migrants have younger businesses than non-migrants, two thirds have been established since 1990 compared to just 28% of non-migrant owned businesses. The results reveal that many non-migrant businesses (72%) are at least 22 years old. Compared to in-migrant businesses of which most are considerably younger than this, these results are statistically significant. The finding that in-migrants to an area will have businesses newer than established residents is to be expected – however it may also suggest that most in-migrants are not purchasing long established existing businesses or at least they consider the business to have started at the point of their takeover of it. These findings highlight that many in-migrant businesses are newly started – and may face challenges accordingly.

This section of chapter 6 has established that there are few statistically significant differences between non-migrant and in-migrant businesses except in the case of the age of the business. Both non-migrant and in-migrant businesses are just as likely to employ no one other than the owner and have a turnover below the VAT threshold. However in considering the detail (beyond whether they are statistically significant or not) the results suggested that in-migrants had a greater propensity for low turnovers than non-migrants. Non-migrants were however marginally more likely to attract investment in the form of venture capital and other sources of investment than in-migrants. This section has outlined

the scale of enterprise in rural areas the next section will address how integrated businesses and households are in rural areas of Powys and Gwynedd.

6.2.2 Households and business

Green and Hardill (2003) outlined how rural enterprise families have a similar pattern regarding household incomes, as rural farming families. Business income, pension income, employment income and other income streams were all seen as a patchwork of ways of creating a household income. This suggested that household members may be required to help out in rural enterprises in order to protect the household income stream. In farming families all household members play a role in ‘on and off’ the farm income generation. In order to establish if this is the case for rural enterprise households the survey asked respondents if they employed family members (informally or formally) and how many businesses the household owned. This section of the chapter outlines the results;

TABLE 6.9 EMPLOYMENT OF FAMILY MEMBERS

		DOES THE BUSINESS EMPLOY ANY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS?			Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Family member employees	Yes	Count	6	21	27
		%	28.6%	44.7%	39.7%
	No	Count	15	26	41
		%	71.4%	55.3%	60.3%
Total		Count	21	47	68
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The results outline that in-migrant owned businesses in rural areas of Wales are more likely to employ family members than non-migrants households. Possible explanations for this may be as Green and Hardil (2004) suggested, in-migrants have limited social networks (compared to non-migrants) and therefore need to rely on family members more. This was a theme explored in the interviews (the mini business profiles of which were set out in chapter 4) where the issues surrounding taking on external employees was raised and surprisingly many of the interviewees expressed distrust of taking on employees, suggesting that, as

they were not that well connected in the area it was hard to establish who to trust. They also cited the fact that this meant you were losing control of the business and it was easier to rely on those members of your household that have the capacity to help out. However the businesses interviewed were small in nature where it was possible to satisfy short term employee needs within the existing households – it would be a different reality for a larger scale enterprise.

TABLE 6.10 LOCATION OF BUSINESS

		WHERE IS THE BUSINESS LOCATED??				Total
				Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Location of the business	At home or within 5 miles	Count	22	55	77	
		%	78.6%	96.5%	90.6%	
	Further than 5 miles from home	Count	6	2	8	
		%	21.4%	3.5%	9.4%	
Total	Count	28	57	85		
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

p<0.01

According to the CRC (2005) ‘Under the Radar’ report there are a large number of small scale rural businesses based from home. The desire to work from home for child care and other reasons can be a significant draw for would be rural self-employed people. Therefore in order to understand the scale of the ‘self-employed from home’ contingent, this survey asked business owners to identify their place of business. The vast majority of the in-migrant businesses listed this as home. However in order to aid statistical analysis this has been further reduced to within 5 miles of home and further than 5 miles from home in order to establish if many rural businesses are within close proximity to business owner’s residences. The results reveal that 96.5% of in-migrant businesses are based from or within 5 miles of their home – compared to 78.6% of non-migrants. This suggests that the desire to work from home may be a strong pull factor for in-migrants. The interviews also confirmed this finding with all of the in-migrant businesses based from home. The interviewees stating that the draw to work from home was a significant factor in both migrating and business start-up.

The impact of the previous tables is important as it highlights that firstly in-migrants tend to have lower turnovers, secondly they are reluctant to employ members of staff outside their own household / family and finally that many (most) of the businesses are based from home. This is significant as it questions how integrated these businesses are to the local community and / or the potential impact of these businesses on the rural economy.

TABLE 6.11 NUMBER OF BUSINESSES IN HOUSEHOLD

		IS THERE MORE THAN 1 BUSINESS IN THE HOUSEHOLD?			Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Number of businesses	one business	Count	14	38	52
		%	66.7%	76.0%	73.2%
	more than one business	Count	7	12	19
		%	33.3%	24.0%	26.8%
Total		Count	21	50	71
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The table above outlines the fact that in some households there are multiple businesses – this is particularly the case for non-migrant households where a third of business owning households owned more than one business. Perhaps this is highlighting the mixed income stream generation of rural farming families as Green and Hardill (2004) identified?

As can be seen from this section owning a business often involves the whole household, either in terms of labour, general support or through the supply of other income streams. In some cases particularly in non-migrant households a third of households are involved in owning more than one business. The prevalence of businesses based at or close to home is also high, particularly in in-migrant households, where 96.5% of in-migrant businesses are based within 5 miles of the owner’s residence. This suggests that the motivations for starting a business play an important part in determining the type and location of the business. The following section outlines the factors that have supported or encouraged business owners to start businesses in rural areas of Wales.

6.2.3 Factors that influence start-up of businesses

In this section the motivations for starting a business are explored, these have been structured through the use of the concept of push and pull factors which is common within the entrepreneurship and in-migration literature and has been discussed in Chapter 2.

Brown and Ulijn (2004) note that pull factors are related to an individual opening a business because he / she believes that they will be better off as an entrepreneur either in a material or non-material way. Push factors relate to some level of dissatisfaction, frustration with previous wage employment, unemployment, or personal crisis are the most frequently cited push factors for entrepreneurship.

Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) outlined that businesses which had been created out of necessity (i.e. business owners were pushed into self-employment) were often less successful than those where the draw of self-employment was the primary motivation. This section utilises the concepts of push and pull to explore the motivations for migrant and non-migrant business start-up.

TABLE 6.12 WHY START A BUSINESS

WHAT WAS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN ENCOURAGING BUSINESS START UP?					
			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total
push and pull factors	Push	Count	9	23	32
		%	37.5%	48.9%	45.1%
	Pull	Count	15	24	39
		%	62.5%	51.1%	54.9%
Total		Count	24	47	71
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The previous table has been created from a question on the survey which asked business owners why they started their company. They were asked to select one reason (although it is noted multiple reasons encourage business start-up but for this purpose they were asked to

select the main reason) for starting their own business. The results were then categorised into push and pull factors; Push factors being – unemployment, unhappy in previous job, and redundancy. Pull factors being – wanting to work from home, lifelong ambition, turning ones hobby into a business. Of course there is some inevitable overlap between the categories as they are broad concepts. Despite the caveats the results reveal that in the case of In-migrants push factors were more prevalent with 48.9% of in-migrant business owners stating them as the main reason for starting their business compared with 37.5% for non-migrant business owners. However it is commonly understood that it is an interplay of push and pull factors that encourage the starting of businesses by individuals – a push factor may be the catalyst but a pull factor may be the main reason. So these results need considering in this light. However they do highlight that at least for 50% of in-migrants self-employment may have been in response to difficulty finding employment or loss of a previous job, which as Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) assert can make businesses less successful in the long run. In order to establish if difficulty finding employment in the rural labour market was an important factor in business creation, the following table examines whether this was the case for in-migrant and non-migrant owned rural businesses.

TABLE 6.13 DIFFICULTY FINDING EMPLOYMENT PRE-BUSINESS

		DID YOU EXPERIENCE DIFFICULTY IN FINDING EMPLOYMENT BEFORE BECOMING SELF EMPLOYED?			Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Difficulty finding work	yes	Count	7	11	18
		%	33.3%	21.2%	24.7%
	No	Count	14	41	55
		%	66.7%	78.8%	75.3%
Total		Count	21	52	73
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Based on the previous findings that in-migrants often cite push factors as the main reason for starting their business; it is important to understand what brings about these push factors,

particularly the local labour market. In order to establish the significance the local labour market plays in pushing individuals into self-employment, the question of whether the business owner had struggled to find suitable employment prior to becoming self-employed was raised. Respondents were provided the option to state not relevant if they had not looked for employment prior to becoming self-employed and were then excluded from the analysis. The results are displayed in the table above and suggest that non-migrants (33%) have greater difficulty in finding suitable employment prior to opening a business than in-migrants (21%). This suggests that for many in-migrants other push factors were important in encouraging business start-up rather than difficulty finding employment. – Perhaps these other push factors are related to retirement and redundancy – and therefore this is fuelling the desire of some older in-migrants to become self-employed as Stockdale (2006) explores.

TABLE 6.14 WHEN WAS THE BUSINESS STARTED

WHEN WAS THE BUSINESS STARTED?			In-migrant
When was the business start up	Started a business after migrating	Count	26
		%	45.6%
	Started a business before migrating	Count	10
		%	17.5%
	bought an existing business	Count	10
		% within Always lived in this area	17.5%
	family business	Count	3
		% within Always lived in this area	5.3%
	Other	Count	8
		% within Always lived in this area	14.0%
Total	Count	57	
	% within Always lived in this area	100.0%	

The table above outlines when the businesses were started i.e. prior to migration – or the take-over of a family business. The results reveal that most in-migrant businesses are created after migration. Of note are the 17.5% of in-migrants who bought an existing business and the 17.5% who started their business prior to migrating. This leads to questions over whether individuals moved with a specific intention to become self-employed – a pull factor explanation for business start-up.

This theme was also covered in the interviews where interviewees were asked when and how they started their business. All bar one of those interviewed had started their business post migration. The other (O.P.S) had brought an existing business with them when they had migrated though it too had undergone somewhat of a transformation. It was clear from the interviews that many had not intended to become self-employed, it was more a case that undergoing the process of transition to rural living had encouraged them to also consider alternative means of income generation and self-employment had seemed a viable option.

The following table sets out whether people who selected ‘moved with the intention of becoming self-employed’ in earlier sections of the survey are the same people who own businesses.

TABLE 6.15 INTENTION TO OPEN A BUSINESS PRE-MIGRATION

DESIRE TO OPEN A BUSINESS AND ACTUAL BUSINESS OWNERSHIP			OWN A BUSINESS		Total
			Yes	No	
Move with desire to open a business	yes	Count	13	7	20
		%	18.6%	3.2%	6.9%
	no	Count	57	213	270
		%	81.4%	96.8%	93.1%
Total		Count	70	220	290
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

p<0.001

Unfortunately not all business owners answered the question on whether they moved with the intention of opening a business therefore the correlation can only be made between 70

business owners and 290 in-migrant heads of households. Table 6.15 shows that 20 respondents to the household survey selected they moved with the intention of starting their own business and of those 20 – 13 (65%) now own a business. However 81.4% of business owners did not state that they moved with the intention of starting their own business. The results of this analysis are statistically significant. They suggest that whilst some existing business owners moved with the express intention of becoming self-employed (18.6%), many did not (81.4%). Therefore other factors have contributed to their decision to become self-employed which may or may not be location specific.

This section of analysis has outlined that a combination of push and pull factors are at play in motivating an individual to start a business. Many in-migrants appear motivated by the desire to work from home, whilst others were unhappy in their previous employment or were finding it difficult to find employment in their local rural labour market. The following sections will discuss in more detail specific in-migrant business issues such as the transition to self-employment and the motivations for migration of self-employed in-migrants.

At this juncture it is worth noting that this survey was conducted in two local authority districts both predominantly rural and in Wales (for further detail on the case study selection criteria see chapter 3). Initially it was hoped that a sufficient sized sample of businesses would be produced so that the different economic structures of the regions could be assessed with regard to self-employment. Unfortunately the limited number of businesses captured by the survey makes comparisons across areas unrealistic as this would be statistically comparing sets of less than 30 businesses. However whilst not statistically significant it is worth re-capping on the analysis of the two local authority areas. In brief the results highlighted no real differences were observed between the two local authorities. Business rates and types were consistent, with slightly more non-migrant business respondents in Gwynedd than Powys. The motivations for start-up and scale of the enterprises were consistent across regions. Therefore the tables have not been presented.

6.2.4 Growth plans of rural enterprise

The literature review discussed the fact that The Countryside Agency report conducted by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) stated in-migrants were more likely to move again after having migrated to rural areas. This may reflect patterns of a migration cascade with migrants moving further down the urban hierarchy and / or dissatisfaction with the previous move. In order to explore this issue the future plans of in-migrants were addressed in the interviews and the household survey. The analysis of the interviews with business owning in-migrants highlighted that the future plans of the in-migrants differed from interview to

interview, however, there were interesting points of commonality. These will be discussed below:

Through the review of the literature the concept of life cycles and in-migration and entrepreneurship were explored. The theory being (Boyle and Halfacree 1998) that in-migrants are likely to choose different locations based on their stage in the life cycle and that as time progresses they are more likely than the native population to move again to fulfil their differing lifecycle criterion. During the course of the interviews the in-migrants were asked if they envisaged moving again and the answers they gave were all strikingly similar despite there being a vast array of life cycle points within the sample. The answers tended to be yes they would consider another move as they were not content with their property type or its location. Whilst they wanted to stay 'in the area' now they knew the place they wanted a different house or location. A few of the older interviewees also stated that they thought they would move again to be closer to family and friends in their old age as they may need care in the future.

This leads to there being a need to further research this aspect of in-migration in order to ascertain the accuracy of the theory which is generally well accepted. In short when asked the question do you envisage moving again? The answer was that although they would consider moving house as their property requirements change, they would not consider moving out of the area in which they currently reside.

In discussions with the in-migrant business owners it also became clear that some felt that since migrating to the area the number of people moving to their village had increased and they now wished to move again; many to a quieter, more remote rural area. It appeared that some in-migrants felt that their vision of rurality was being muddied by more and more people migrating and they now wished to recapture some of this by moving again to a more rural perhaps 'idealised' place.

Amongst the interviewees the majority stated that they would not consider moving out of the area but may consider moving house within the district. The 1 or 2 that would consider moving would only consider moving to the location they moved from in the future to be nearer to family as they get older. One of the interviews stated that their mother had suffered with Alzheimer's and she was aware this could be a possibility for her. She said that whilst she did not want to live with her family and be a burden to them she would like to be nearer so that they can ensure she is well cared for. She envisaged at some point in the future, if her health failed, finding a suitable home closer to her children where they would be able to

keep an eye on her. This further highlights the lifecycle feature of migration – with migrants making decisions which are specific to a point in life knowing that at some point this may change. The intentions of many in-migrants to move again was a theme in the household survey too, the following section outlines the main results.

The household survey was used to ask respondents of their future intentions, the results parallel that of the interviews. The interviews suggested that some in-migrants intended to move again, many to a more 'rural' location and that the transition to self-employment is often a long journey and not one that in-migrants necessarily set out expecting to take.

The household survey aimed to uncover if non-business owning in-migrants had any future intentions to become self-employed. This was conducted in section 4 of the survey (see chapter 3 for a breakdown of the survey section by section). In-migrants were asked if they had any future intentions to become self-employed. Obviously some of the respondents would have been existing business owners so this question may have resulted in them stating they intended to start another business. Alternatively business owning in-migrants could have selected option c) we are happy as we are. Either way this was an oversight and an option for existing business owners should have been provided.

The table below outlines the results of this question and highlights that the majority of in-migrant households have no current plans to become self-employed or open a business (77%). Of non-business owning in-migrants 11.4% have some intention to become self-employed. However only 7.2% of all in-migrants plan to start a business in the future and of these only 4 have solid plans to do so. This further undermines previous findings which suggest that in-migrants are moving with the intention of opening a business. It appears that the impetus for entrepreneurship is mobilised suddenly and not necessarily a planned for event. Bosworth (2010) argues this is because in-migrants need to embed in their locality prior to becoming self-employed.

TABLE 6.16 INTENTION TO START A BUSINESS

DO YOU PLAN TO START A BUSINESS IN THE FUTURE?		BUSINESS OWNER		Total	
		Yes	No		
Future business plans	yes working toward it	Count	3	1	4
		%	3.8%	.4%	1.3%
	yes no solid plans	Count	6	12	18
		%	7.6%	5.3%	5.9%
	no happy as we are	Count	65	174	239
		%	82.3%	77.3%	78.6%
	no previously self employed	Count	1	18	19
		%	1.3%	8.0%	6.3%
	don't know	Count	4	15	19
		%	5.1%	6.7%	6.3%
	Other	Count	0	5	5
		%	.0%	2.2%	1.6%
Total	Count	79	225	304	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

p < 0.01

Moving from the future plans of in-migrants in general, the household survey and scoping interviews also explored the future plans of in-migrant and non-migrant business owners specifically. The household survey asked respondents who already owned a business what kind of future plans they had for it. The survey also asked if they had any specific expansion plans and what these were. The results are revealed below.

TABLE 6.17 FUTURE BUSINESS PLANS

FUTURE BUSINESS PLANS					Total
			Non-migrants	In-migrants	
Future Plans	expand	Count	6	9	15
		%	21.4%	16.4%	18.1%
	stay same	Count	19	40	59
		%	67.9%	72.7%	71.1%
	close down	Count	1	3	4
		%	3.6%	5.5%	4.8%
	diversify	Count	0	1	1
		%	.0%	1.8%	1.2%
	other	Count	2	2	4
		%	7.1%	3.6%	4.8%
	Total	Count	28	55	83
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The table above reveals that the majority of in-migrant (78.2%) and non-migrant (71.5%) owned businesses have no expansion plans or plan to close down. Interestingly 1 in 5 non migrant business owners planned to expand their business. This is explored below as the question centres on the businesses that do intend to expand - the following table highlights in what specific ways;

TABLE 6.18 SPECIFIC EXPANSION PLANS OF THE BUSINESS

WHAT ARE THE SPECIFIC EXPANSION PLANS?				Total	
		Non-migrants	In-migrants		
Specific expansion plans	employ more staff	Count	3	8	11
		%	37.5%	53.3%	47.8%
	buy another business	Count	3	1	4
		%	37.5%	6.7%	17.4%
	invest capital	Count	1	4	5
		%	12.5%	26.7%	21.7%
	Other	Count	1	2	3
		%	12.5%	13.3%	13.0%
Total	Count	8	15	23	
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Unfortunately the totals for this and the previous table do not correlate due to non response of questions by respondents. However the results reveal that, for in-migrant business owners their future plans are centred around employing more staff (53.3%). For non-migrant business owners they focussed on employing more staff (37.5%) and purchasing another business (37.5%). However the results do not meet the requirements for a chi square test to be conducted. An interesting feature of the expansion plans of in-migrant business owners wanting to employ more staff, is how this would be achieved when the majority of in-migrant businesses are based from home? The following table outlines whether the businesses that wish to employ more staff are the home based businesses or not.

TABLE 6.19 IN-MIGRANT EXPANSION PLANS AND LOCATION OF BUSINESS

			SPECIFIC EXPANSION PLANS				Total
			employ more staff	buy another business	invest capital	Other	
LOCATION OF PREMISES	home	Count	8	2	4	2	16
		%	66.7%	50.0%	80.0%	66.7%	66.7%
	under 5 miles	Count	1	2	1	1	5
		%	8.3%	50.0%	20.0%	33.3%	20.8%
	under 20 miles	Count	1	0	0	0	1
		%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.2%
	under 50 miles	Count	1	0	0	0	1
		%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.2%
	over 50 miles	Count	1	0	0	0	1
		%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.2%
	Total	Count	12	4	5	3	24
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As the table above highlights, the majority of businesses that wish to employ more staff are home based businesses – this begs the question where will they accommodate more staff? Of course this is dependent on the type and nature of the business. Perhaps these too will be home based workers? If not is there a shortage of suitable premises into which these businesses can expand in rural areas? Unfortunately as there are many cells with an expected count of less than 5 the table does not meet the requirements for chi square tests of statistical significant – but this has raised some interesting propositions which may be relevant for future research.

6.3 The transition to self-employment

The previous section has outlined the reasons given for business start-up by in-migrants and has revealed that many did not intend to become self-employed upon migration. Perhaps then the choice of entrepreneurship by some in-migrants can be explained by the difference in employment types across local and in-migrant populations. The non-migrant populations of rural areas are marginally more likely to work full time and in-migrants are more likely to work part time (especially in the case of women) and be self-employed (particularly older

men) (this is explored in greater detail in chapter 5). Because of the variation in in-migrant economic activity it follows that theirs may be slightly less stable than local populations. We know from the previous section that in-migrants are both pushed and pulled into self-employment, therefore this section addresses what is involved in this transition.

The interviews addressed various themes, including how the business owners transitioned to self-employment and owning a business. This provided an insight into the complex economic activity patterns of in-migrants and how in some circumstances this results in starting a business. In all of the interviews a time-lag occurred, between migration and self-employment. Some of the interviewees moved with the intention of becoming self-employed others did not, yet despite this difference, there was still a time-lag between the migration event and the business event. The household survey data was analysed to assess whether this time lag was consistent across the businesses identified in the survey too.

The following table highlights the length of this (time-lag) interim period in years and relates only to in-migrant owned businesses, opened after migration. This allows moves which included business relocation and moves to take over a family business to be excluded from the timeline analysis. However the results from these businesses were incorporated in all other analysis.

TABLE 6.20 AVERAGE TIME (IN YEARS) TO REALISE BUSINESS START UP BY IN-MIGRANTS

N=	26 ^{*1}
Mean	11.46
Median	8
Mode	1/ 3 ^{*2}

*¹ Is the number of businesses started after migration taken from table 6.14

*² (frequency of businesses opened after one year is 3 the frequency of businesses opened after 3 years is 3)

Table 6.14 outlined that 26 in-migrants (45.6%) opened their business after migrating to rural areas. Table 6.20 outlines how long after migrating (in years), these businesses were opened. The results highlight, using a variety of central tendency measures, that there is a distinct time lag between migration and entrepreneurship. This is dependent on whether an average figure is taken resulting in 11.46 years or the central point is used resulting on 8

years. These figures correlate with interview findings which suggested 6 years was the average time lag between the move to rural Wales and establishing a business. The mode figure representing 1 or 3 year is a reflection of the frequency of in-migrants moving into rural areas and upon doing so becoming self-employed within a year which in this study was 3 or after 3 years which in this study was 3. The spread of the data was from 1 to 31 years.

This analysis is most important as an aid to uncovering the time dimension to in-migration and economic activity choices about self-employment. The figure of 6 years is a reflection of this concept and aids our understanding about the life course of in-migrants to rural areas and their long term potential impacts on rural economies.

Given that for many self-employed in-migrants it is clear that the business start-up does not occur alongside in-migration and the propensity to start a business is found to increase with age, we might expect younger in-migrants to take longer to start a business than the older in-migrants. Using the business owner's age and the time taken to start a business analysis revealed that such a simple relationship does not exist. This suggests that from the point of migration to the business start-up, some in-migrants undergo a process which facilitates and encourages them to become self-employed, some do not.

During the course of the interviews it became apparent that for many in-migrants the decision to start a business was not part of the reason to in-migrate. The business decision occurred once in-migration had taken place. This was the case for WP photography as the mini business profile in chapter 4 revealed. The interviewee in question had commuted back to London for work for a number of years after the move, but eventually decided to become self employed as a means of being based from home permanently. It was clear from the interviews that a significant factor in self-employment becoming a reality was the unrealistic expectations by the in-migrants of the local labour market and discontent after some time of commuting or working in low paid jobs in the area. The interviews provided an opportunity for discussion where issues could be outlined and clarified. The household survey was too blunt a research instrument to pick up on these complex nuances.

6.4 Job creation potential of in-migrants

The literature review discussed the increase in employment in some rural areas. One possible explanation for this growth in employment is the jobs created by in-migrant owned businesses. Past research suggest that self-employed in-migrants create on average 2.4 full time jobs. Chapter 2 concluded that self-employed in-migrants not only create jobs

(Stockdale, Short and Findlay1999) and increased wealth, but also use local suppliers and create / provide links with distant networks (Keeble and Tyler 1995). Many of these new businesses are centred in the artisan craft arena and are servicing the demands of tourists (Lowe and Talbot 2000). This in turn helps to encourage more tourism to rural areas. Some see this as ‘turning the countryside into a theatre of consumption’ (Cloke and Goodwin 1992), others see it as helping to diversify flagging rural economies (Stockdale 2006, Bosworth 2010). This in turn helps to encourage on and off farm diversification, which has meant that employment is growing faster in rural than in urban areas (North and Smallbone 1996, Brown et al 2004). These are key factors which will undoubtedly be impacting upon local rural economies. In order to understand the quality of the jobs created, this research asked in-migrant business owners to state the number of employees (including the owner), the business had. The results are explored below:

TABLE 6.21 JOBS CREATED BY IN-MIGRANT BUSINESS OWNERS

BUSINESSES WITH ONE OR MORE FULL TIME EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	%	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INCLUDING OWNER	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES EXCLUDING OWNER
No one other than migrant	24	43.6	24	n/a
1-4 employees	20	36.4	53	33
5 or more employees	11	20	134	123
Total	55	100	211	154

55 businesses provided details of their employee numbers. It is significant that the majority of the jobs were created by a subsection of businesses that amounted to 6 out of the 55 who employed more than 10 members of staff. The majority of businesses with employees only employed themselves and one or two other members of staff as table 6.21 outlines. The number of jobs created by in-migrant businesses is significant and mirrors other studies (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Bosworth 2008). Excluding the owner on average 2.8 persons are employed per business in this research. Including the owner this rises to 3.8 persons per business.

How do these figures differ from non-migrants? The following table outlines the non-migrant job creation potential.

BUSINESSES WITH ONE OR MORE FULL TIME EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF BUSINESSES	%	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INCLUDING OWNER	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES EXCLUDING OWNER
No one other than migrant	8	36	3	0
1-4 employees	8	36	28	24
5 or more employees	6	28	40	34
Total	22	100%	71	58

As the table above highlights non-migrants create on average 3.3 jobs (including the business owner) per business, and excluding the owner they create on average 2.6 jobs per self-employed non-migrant. This is slightly lower than the job creation potential of in-migrant businesses but again it is clear that a minority of businesses have created the majority of the jobs.

Finally in terms of job creation, the literature review outlined that in-migrants do not have to own a business to create jobs in rural areas. The household survey asked all in-migrant and non-migrant respondents whether they employed any domestic help (cleaners, gardeners, child minders etc) in order to understand how prolific this was in rural areas. The results are displayed in the table below.

TABLE 6.22 EMPLOY DOMESTIC HELP

			Non-migrant	In-migrant	Total
Employ Domestic Work	yes	Count	<i>10</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>52</i>
		%	<i>5.1%</i>	<i>12.9%</i>	<i>10.0%</i>
	No	Count	<i>185</i>	<i>283</i>	<i>468</i>
		%	<i>94.9%</i>	<i>87.1%</i>	<i>90.0%</i>
Total		Count	<i>195</i>	<i>325</i>	<i>520</i>
		%	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

p<0.05

The statistically significant results reveal that approximately 13% of in-migrants (compared to approximately 5% of non-migrants) are employing some form of domestic service which is helping to create jobs or hours of paid employment in rural areas, not stemming from the

creation of enterprise. How many of these are full time jobs however is unknown – it is likely many will be part time work of a few hours a week. However this helps to revitalize rural economies, and supports studies which highlight the potential for in-migrants to boost local economies, without the creation of new enterprise (Spilling 1985). Despite this finding the most significant employment creation stems from the opening of businesses in rural areas by in-migrants; therefore the next section outlines some aggregate information on in-migrant owned rural businesses.

6.5 Differences in Business Types

There was a vast array of business types in the sample which varied across travel to work areas and between in-migrants and non-migrants. It was not possible to meaningfully classify the business types into industry sectors with the vast majority falling into 4 categories tourism based, artisan/ craft based, agriculture and personal / professional services. There were of course businesses in other categories but these were individual cases. Therefore the following discussion is based on qualitative analysis of the business types from the descriptions given in the survey and the qualitative interviews.

The first most striking difference between the business types of in-migrants and non-migrants is that of permanence. Many of the non-migrant businesses were involved in farming and retail or haulage. Whereas many of the in-migrant businesses were more person centred such as painters, sculptors, cake makers, business consultants and specialist technical skills such as Medico-legal reporting.

The second noticeable difference in business types is location specific in areas with a high tourism trade such as Pwllheli and Porthmadog and Ffestiniog and Brecon many of the businesses were artisan, and or tourism related. Whereas in Knighton and Radnor and Machynlleth, farming and or personal and professional services were more present. This was the case for both non-migrant and in-migrant businesses. However there was greater incidence of retail based in-migrant businesses in 'touristy' areas such as chip shops and guest houses. Perhaps it is easier to establish a public facing business as an in-migrant in areas with high tourism based economies?

6.6 Summary of Chapter 6

The aim of this chapter was to explore the characteristics of rural businesses and compare the differences between in-migrant and non-migrant owned businesses. The literature review

identified that many rural businesses are owned by in-migrants (Keeble and Tyler 1995). In-migrant businesses create a large number of jobs in rural areas – 2.4 jobs per self-employed in-migrant, Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999). Some research also argued that there was often a delay between in-migration and business start-up (Keeble and Tyler 1995). This research wanted to explore what influences the economic activity choices of in-migrants and in particular why some in-migrants choose to become self-employed.

This chapter has used the household survey and the results of scoping interviews, with rural business owners, to explore the characteristics of rural businesses and revealed that in-migrant owned businesses are in many ways similar to non-migrant owned businesses. There are some differences and these centre on the fact that in-migrants are most likely to have a business based from or close to home, than non-migrants (table 6.10). In-migrants are more likely to cite push factors for encouraging business start-up, than non-migrants (table 6.12). In-migrants are also more likely to employ family members than non-migrants (table 6.9). However in terms of non-migrants businesses they tend to be older than in-migrant owned businesses (table 6.8), many of them family businesses (table 6.14) with two or more employees (table 6.3).

The chapter also addressed the motivations of in-migrants for starting a business and the timeline of business creation. What this analysis revealed is that many in-migrants are pushed into self-employment (table 6.12) though relatively few cited, faced difficulties finding employment (table 6.13) as a reason for becoming self-employed. In terms of the time line for business start-up, whilst other researchers have identified that a time lag appears to be present between migration and self-employment (Keeble and Tyler 1995); others have offered potential explanations (Bosworth 2010), no one has previously quantified the length of this time-lag. This chapter, set out that the in-migrants to rural areas of Powys and Gwynedd who took part in this research, often moved up to a decade before becoming self-employed. There was much variation in the timeframes of individual in-migrants, but overall, the common theme was that most in-migrants did not move and then quickly become self-employed; the ones that did, often moved to purchase an existing business or take over a family business (table 6.14).

The conclusions that can be drawn from this chapter are, that in-migrants to rural areas of Gwynedd and Powys – some years after moving, create on average 2.8 jobs (excluding the owner) per business owned within the local economy (this is higher than non-migrants). Some of these jobs are occupied by family members, unsurprising as many of their businesses are based at or near to their home. Many in-migrants appear to have little

motivation to expand their businesses, of those that do, many intend to employ more staff. This may be good news for local rural economies – however it is worth noting just as in the Stockdale, Short and Findaly (1999) and Findlay (1999) studies the majority of the employment created is by a handful of larger in-migrant firms 80% of the total jobs created are by 20% of the businesses. The majority of in-migrant owned businesses employs no one other than the business owner. It may therefore be a useful area for further research to establish what ‘kinds’ of in-migrant are more prone to creating these larger companies. Furthermore given in-migrants reluctance to employ non family members and the likelihood the majority of in-migrant businesses are based from home and do not employ anyone other than the owner – how beneficial are they for local rural economies particularly if as Keeble and Tyler (1995) identified their business is conducted over distant networks?

7 The Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

As remote working and the increased flexibility of workplaces continues to rise (Green et al 1999, Guardian 2008) so too do individual's residential mobility (Marsden 2006). This in turn means in-migration to rural areas may become more accessible, resulting in further demographic change across the UK. How this demographic change will impact upon rural areas in terms of economic activity is an interesting consideration. This research makes an important contribution to this debate by profiling the influences on in-migrant economic activity choices. In order to ascertain what impact in-migrant's economic activity choices may have on rural areas – it is first necessary to understand why in-migrants make the economic activity choices they do.

The literature review (chapter 2) highlighted why research into rural economies is essential. We know that rural space in developed market economies has witnessed a variety of changes in recent times and continues to be at the centre of a wide range of political and academic debates (Rogers 1993). In broad terms, the changes taking place in rural areas are part of a larger picture of general socio-economic and political processes (Ilbery 1998). Much recent research agrees that rural space is witnessing a turnaround, in both its dominant function and its demography.

There has been an inflow and out flow of people to rural areas which is commonly associated with the inflow of people of retirement age and an outflow of young people (Stockdale 2006). Whilst this is a significant part of the picture, as young people move for education and employment reasons and the retired migrate to specific hotspots, there is also considerable inflow of people occupying other age bands. These people are part of the economically active population such as family household structures and the pre-retirement group of in-migrants (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale 2006).

It was evident from the literature (see chapter 2) that in-migrants are an important economic driver within the rural economy (Stockdale 2006). The evidence for this impact comes in the form of business start-ups (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999), and in terms of the number of jobs created (Findlay 1999). The assertion that in-migrants create jobs and wealth has attracted the attention of policy makers and researchers alike. This has led to research into the impact of in-migrants, in terms of the types and numbers of jobs created, as well as understanding the industrial sectors in which jobs are generated (see Stockdale 2006, Raley and Moxey 2000, Findlay 1999, Bosworth 2008). However, this research argues that the economic driving force of in-migrants in rural areas cannot just be understood in terms of the

economic impact of in-migrants, but needs to be considered at a household level. In-migrants economic activity choices, post migration, are not widely understood and it's the forces that push and pull in-migrants to participate in different forms of economic activity that needed further exploration.

Three main conclusions were developed from the literature review:

Firstly, many in-migrants are motivated to move by quality of life considerations (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). One aspect of which appears to be scenic beauty. For Keeble and Tyler (1995) quality of life and pleasant environment are interlinked. Self-employed in-migrants in particular appear to be most strongly influenced by scenic beauty and this may influence their wish to move to rural areas and start their own businesses (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). This appears to be a pull factor explanation for in-migration and self-employment. It also seems to fit into some of the debates surrounding counterurbanisation, which stress the need for in-migrants to be rejecting city living to qualify as counter-urbanites (Haliday and Coombes 1995). This seems to be a simplistic and idealised view of in-migration and entrepreneurship. In reality the numbers of self-employed rural in-migrants, according to 2001 census data one year after the move, is very low.

Secondly the literature review concluded that we need a better understanding of the changing economic activity of rural in-migrants once they move into the area. It is important to establish if in-migrants economic activity choices differ from non-migrants. Furthermore in regards to self-employment Keeble and Tyler (1995) suggested that the shift to self-employment takes place sometime after the move into the area but we know little about when migrants become self-employed, the delay between in-migration and the move into self-employment and most importantly we do not know why some migrants turn to self-employment, while others do not. We know from the entrepreneurship literature that there are a number of factors that impact on individuals' choices to become self-employed (Carter and Jones-Evans 2006). Rather than the idealised counterurbanisation influenced approach to why in-migrants start their own businesses, this thesis argues that the move to self-employment by rural in-migrants is in response to a number of push and pull factors. Upon migration to a new location, it is clear that in-migrants face a variety of challenges and opportunities that may encourage them to make decisions they may not have considered prior to migrating (Anderson and Jack 2002). We therefore need to understand what forces are impacting upon in-migrants that in some cases push or pull them towards self-employment.

Thirdly, the literature is notably deficient in describing the characteristics of businesses run by in-migrants and how if at all they differ from the characteristics of businesses run by non-migrants.

This research has focussed on these three key areas above, in order to more fully understand the economic activity choices made by rural in-migrants. This is an important contribution to understanding contemporary rural economic change as more and more research uncovers the types, numbers and sectors of jobs being created in rural areas by in-migrant owned businesses.

Utilising a household survey and qualitative interviews as the instruments of enquiry the methodology (chapter 3) set out the case study locations in which this research was conducted. Powys and Gwynedd are two local authority areas in Wales which are both remote rural in character. These areas were selected due to their economic, demographic and bilingualism differences. They represent different types of remote rural area and therefore provide a backdrop against which varying levels of self-employment, Welsh speaking and in-migration impacts upon the economic activity choices of in-migrants.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 outlined the main findings of the research; Chapter 4 focused on examining the characteristics and economic activity choices of in-migrant heads of household and comparing these with the characteristics and economic activity choices of non-migrant heads of household. The results revealed that economic activity choices by both groups were broadly similar; there were some minor differences for example in relation to full time working and self-employment however these were not statistically significant.

Given that there appeared to be little difference between in-migrant and non-migrant economic activity choices, chapter 5 then focused on exploring what factors or influences were impacting upon in-migrant heads of household economic activity choices. The analysis revealed that the main influences on in-migrants economic activity choices at an individual level were age, and previous employment history. The influences at a household level were tenure and household structure. Finally the factor that influenced in-migrants most at an area level was the TTWA which encompasses factors such as the local labour market, accessibility and the 'Welshness of the region'. A common theme within both chapters 4 and 5 was the choice of self-employment by in-migrants and the possible explanations for this. This was the focus of chapter 6 which utilised the household survey and a series of qualitative interviews to compare the businesses of in-migrant and non-migrants in rural

areas of Wales. The results revealed that in-migrant businesses were more likely to be based from home and less likely to have (non-family) employees.

This section of the conclusion has briefly reviewed the thesis. This chapter now turns to synthesise the findings to consider the broader picture and places the results of individual sections of the thesis into a wider context. This is achieved through exploring the central argument of the thesis and evaluating the main conclusions of the research, evaluating whether the thesis is convincing, critically reflecting on the limitations of the research and considering where further areas of research could move the argument forward.

7.2 How the Literature has framed the research

The literature review outlined in chapter 2 along with the initial interviews shaped the research questions that this research centred on and in turn shaped the key concepts and methods used. There were specific elements of the literature review that were particularly influential and created a framework for the research. The next sections outline how the analysis feeds into these key concepts and the success and failures of the framing of the literature.

This research used a lifetime definition approach to migration this stemmed from the work of Boyle and Halfacree (1993, 1998) who outlined how migration is part of the context and culture of individual's lives. In-migrants are influenced by the structures in which they are operating but it is within the wider context of their life journey and not one episode in time. Boyle and Halfacree used Giddens (1984) work on Structuration Theory to embed migration within the hurly burly of people's lives. This research built on this work and it too considered migration as a life journey and operationalized this within the methodology through the questions asked in the qualitative interviews and the household survey.

Whilst the use of a lifetime definition of migration allowed a consistent definition of in-migrants and their lives it also created a 'messy' or 'fuzzy' timeline. Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) used a specific date (in their case the census date) to provide a cut off, which aids clarity. However given the work of Boyle and Halfacree (1993, 1998) and the potentially long term consequences of past migration for current economic activity suggested by the work of Keeble and Tyler (1995), a longer term view was taken in this research.

The use of a lifetime definition to migration has framed the research in a number of ways; firstly questions were asked of individual's economic activity over time to build a richer profile from the survey. Secondly a range of businesses were found some of which were (in any

normal context) very well established (some over 40 years old). This provided a wealth of detail on businesses that would have ordinarily been excluded from in-migrant analysis. Finally in viewing migration as a part of an individual's life embedded in the structures that operate, a range of push and pull factors (as understood by Clark and Drinkwater (2000) and Storey (1991)) could be considered that had all brought about the migration and economic activity decisions they had made.

The analysis revealed being an in-migrant does not have a cut-off point, people don't feel more like an in-migrant if they moved in the last census period. Therefore in accordance with Boyle and Halfacree's (1993, 3998) work this research concluded migration is a part of an individual's whole life. The impact of it and the structures that enable and constrain it are interwoven therefore research that views it as a solitary independent event is missing the wider implications of the process. One interviewee expressed this best (WP):

"it doesn't matter how long you live here.....if you aren't born and bred in this valley you're an outsider, but I like it were special. We get on ok with everyone and the longer we are here the more we fit in. In a way we have done something different you know all these things were going on with work and the kids and stuff and I kept thinking we should go, just move, do it. And then we did and it was great... there are now different worries but they seem less when you can just chill and know you are safe."

The rural idyll has also been an important framework for this research, as it has guided some of the questions and analysis on quality of life. The literature review outlined the common notion of the rural idyll and its development over time, which has shaped much debate in rural studies (see Cloke and Goodwin 1992). However this research used the 'rural idyll' to frame some of the questions in the survey and interviews to try and gauge whether this popular notion had played a part in encouraging migration by rural in-migrants. Boyle and Halfacree (1998) (amongst others) suggested the pervasiveness of the notion in structures had encouraged actors to 'buy in' and migrate to achieve wish fulfilment, in their collective behaviour theory. In the survey it was couched in terms of 'quality of life' itself a concept but interlinked with 'rural idyll'. Quality of life was viewed as a multi-dimensional concept with many facets representing elements of the rural idyll i.e. low crime rate, community cohesiveness, pleasant residential environment etc.

The results revealed many in-migrants were influenced by 'quality of life' dimensions a number of which are interlinked with the rural idyll. However what was also clear was that it was a combination of factors which had impacted on migrant's decision making 'quality of

life' and its associated dimensions being just one. People's long standing connection with the area through friends and family and having been on holiday here previously was also extremely important in terms of location choice. This was also evident from the interviews where one interviewee (HB) set out their reasons for moving:

"We were looking for the good life I suppose you might say we had had enough of all the changes in our old place too much building, too many foreigners, we wanted peace and quiet. And so we had a think and you know my wife knew this bit of the country from when she was younger and we had friends nearby. And then we thought well it's got a good road link to the kids and the property prices aren't bad lets head there. So that's how we came to be here."

The interpretation of quality of life as a multi-dimensional term in this research has provided a more complex conceptualisation.

A concept often linked to quality of life is counter urbanisation. This has played an important role in debates on in-migration in rural areas for some years now and has been addressed in the literature review (chapter 2). This research sits within this research field however this concept was not explicitly explored in this research: for example, in seeking out examples of counter urbanisation or identifying ideal types. It is more the case that this research is moving on from describing it or the people who embark upon it and accepted that they do, now what do they do once they have done it. That is not to say that all rural in-migrants are counterurbanites and this research did not attempt to decipher who does or doesn't 'count' as such. Counterurbanisation has been so important in the literature that you could not review rural migration without mentioning it. However it did not seem very helpful in the specific case of research into the type of economic activity practiced by rural in-migrants. However in hindsight perhaps this is a concept which should have been more closely interwoven to the research design.

The work on counter urbanisation by Champion (1989,1992) has helped to frame this research by providing a context or overarching structure for rural repopulation. The counter urbanisation structure as understood in terms of Giddens Structuration Theory that in-migrants are both operating in and reproducing. However it may have been beneficial to review ideal types in terms of counterurbanisation.

Bosworth (2010) has built on the notion of counterurbanisation and further proposed commercial counterurbanisation as a driving force in rural economic development. This

stems from the work by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999), Findlay (1999), Raley and Moxey (2000) and Bosworth (2008) who identified the job creation potential of in-migrants. However Bosworth's (2010) assessment of the commercial counterurbanisation of the countryside appears to miss the context of the economic activity decision. This stems from the fact that in Bosworth's (2010) model there is limited discussion of the reasoning behind decision making or factors that influence in-migrant economic activity. Perhaps the structure of the migration process enables entrepreneurship as Jack and Anderson (2002) suggest but as this research has highlighted in-migrants broadly make the same economic activity decisions as non-migrants. The in-migrants in this study were not statistically significantly more likely to start businesses than the non-migrant populations. The work by Bosworth (2008, 2010) and those mentioned earlier in the paragraph has played a key part in framing this study as it is in unpacking their findings that the main thesis of this research lays. It is clear from the work of earlier research into in-migration (Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999), Findlay (1999), Raley and Moxey (2000) and Bosworth (2008)) that in-migrants create Jobs. The Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) study assessed this to be 2.4 full time equivalent jobs per self-employed in-migrant. Further studies have found broadly similar results, indeed this research identified a pool of 55 businesses who had created 211 jobs (the majority of which were created by 6 of the 55 firms).

Work on the job creation potential of in-migrant owned businesses have been an important framework for this research. It has provided the impetus to explore in-migrant economic activity and in particular in-migrant owned businesses. The results of this research build on these previous studies and offer an explanation for and qualify the impact of the job creation potential of in-migrant owned businesses.

Rural businesses in general have been the subject of other studies such as that by Keeble and Tyler (1995) who outlined the fact that many rural businesses are in-migrant owned and are more innovative than urban counterparts. Lowe and Talbot (2000) established that many rural businesses are micro businesses and in the artisan craft arena. Unfortunately as Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) assert many self-employed people are involved in survival self-employment. This is particularly the case in rural areas where job opportunities are limited and small businesses face unique challenges (Smallbone 2003). These considerations of rural business have framed the research by assisting in preparing questions regarding business and self-employment, being mindful of the many types of self-employment evident in rural areas.

The many types of businesses evident in this sample represent a broad range of business types which included 'one man band' artist types, executive consultants, and multiple venue

retailers. The type of businesses present did not vary across different type of rural space to a statistically significant degree (a larger sample would have been required for these purposes). However qualitatively it was possible to make connections between rural areas, levels of tourism and business types. For example in the Porthmadog and Ffestiniog and Pwllheli TTWA's there were more 'tourism' based businesses, whereas in the Machynlleth and Knighton and Radnor TTWA's there were more businesses that were not location specific and individual based i.e. consultants, accountants, artists etc. These findings highlight the impact of the type of rural area on the economic activity of the in-migrants a theme which is addressed below and one which has played a key role in this work. In selecting case study locations the concepts from the literature played a key role. The literature review identified that there were different kinds of rural areas. In widely accepted rural definitions such as the ONS rural definition used in this study there is a distinction made between areas based on density of population. However in some of the literature the differentiation of rural space went further. This was the case with the work of Marsden's (1998) that developed a socio politico rural typology. He identified four types of rural area based on the social characteristics and balance of local power.

Marini and Mooney (2006) built on this original typology to create a framework for rural economies. They outlined three types of rural economy 1, the rent seeking, 2, the dependant and 3, the entrepreneurial economy. Work by the Wales Rural Observatory (2004) highlighted the differing patterns of employment across different rural areas and their analysis revealed that in the most remote counties of Wales the incidence of multiple jobs working was higher.

The literature above shaped the case study selection which is discussed in chapter 3, and resulted in two different local authority areas being selected and within these areas 5 travel to work areas. These case study areas were selected not to be representative of rural Wales but because they had interesting features that had been pulled from the literature. The analysis of the survey on some questions made a distinction between the case study areas in order to establish the impact of different rural space. However the results revealed little in the way of difference between local authority areas. However some small and subtle differences were evident across travel to work areas such as the levels of Welsh speaking among in-migrants, the numbers of people self-employed and the types of businesses present.

As the previous paragraphs have highlighted, the concepts from the literature have framed not only the methods used but also the analysis. The key features of the literature review have also been reviewed alongside the findings of this study and have been confirmed or

countered by the results of this research. The main findings of this thesis have been that in-migrants make broadly similar economic activity choices to that of non-migrants. This is both beneficial to the structures of rural economies in that they are not particularly likely to be commuting out of the area and with them taking all their disposable income. However as they are likely to stay local and choose economic activity choices at similar levels to non-migrants they increase competition for jobs in an already difficult job market and could therefore prove to be a negative to the local economy.

Some in-migrants choose to become self-employed and open businesses, though not at levels greater than local populations. These businesses are often based from home and the findings suggest may be less beneficial to the local economy than non-migrant owned businesses. This is because the in-migrant owned businesses (although it is important to clarify this is a generalisation there are of course some exceptions) are more likely to employ family members than non-migrant owned businesses. The in-migrant owned businesses also had less impetus for growth and appeared more to fit the category of 'survival self-employment' with many of them falling into the very lowest turnover brackets. The implications of these findings are two fold; firstly they confirm that in-migrants upon migration become a part of the local structure. This is to the extent that the push and pull factors that impact upon rural populations to participate in various forms of economic activity are the same regardless of migration status. Secondly rural businesses are not the panacea for rural areas – it seems unlikely that commercial counterurbanisation (Bosworth 2010) is going to sweep the countryside revitalising rural economies. This is given the fact migrants start businesses at broadly the same rate as non-migrants and appear to be less inclined to widen the economic benefits of the business to the local economy. They prefer to employ more family members, have their premises based from home and have more limited expansion plans than non-migrant owned businesses.

7.3 What is the value of structuration theory to the project?

Structuration Theory was developed by Giddens (1989) over a 30 year period as a means of bridging the naturalistic and interpretative traditions. It is not without its critics and according to some (Gregson 1987) it is not a viable epistemology (as discussed in chapter 3). However it has been used in this research as it offers a way to consider how in-migrants are influenced by the structures around them but are also discursively reproducing them by their actions. It has been a useful way of organising concepts about in-migration as will be

explored below. It has not been used in this research as is commonly the case to identify structures.

This research utilised Structuration Theory to organise concepts about in-migration and small business creation and underpin analysis of the interviews and household survey. Giddens work on Structuration Theory was considered in relation to first order constructs and levels of practical and discursive consciousness as understood by Giddens (1989). This was particularly relevant in the qualitative interviews where individual's unconscious motivations were explored and the unintended consequences of their actions in relation to migration were considered.

Structuration theory is not a simple epistemology to follow and in hindsight the value or contribution it has made to the research may not be outweighed by the time taken to understand the theory. However as the following paragraphs set out it has been a useful tool and one which has greater scope for exploration in migration research.

One example of the value of structuration theory to the research is in the interviews, which highlighted how in-migrants wish to move to rural areas to feel part of the community and to be in a rural place. As the area becomes more favoured by in-migrants they then find dissatisfaction in the local and wish to move again. Structuration Theory helps to explain this dichotomy as it understands the duality of structure and agency. In-migrants perceive rural areas as offering them a 'better' quality of life so they through the in-migration process move in. They are influenced by the social structures around them that set out the urban as inferior to the rural. Upon migration they perpetuate the structure of migration as the 'good' choice and further encourage people to want to migrate for the rural idyll. This in turn makes the rural more populated and takes away from its original charm to the migrants who feel 'invaded' in their rural area. This is of course an unintended consequence of their actions (as understood by Giddens) but is useful in understanding the often expressed desire to move again by in-migrants in the interviews.

Structuration Theory also outlines how actions are rooted in a particular space and time. This has been an important consideration in this research. In-migrants residential location and economic activity changes over time and therefore it is important to consider not only their actions / location today but the changes that have occurred leading up to this point and the changes expected. The survey utilised this concept and asked questions of individuals over time to build a profile of their actions. This was useful as most other surveys in the field have relied solely on information from one point in time. However as has been discussed

previously migrants often put a post migration rationalisation on their actions so answers regarding early decisions may alter from what the response would have been at the time. Notwithstanding any post move rationalisation on the part of the migrants the interviews were able to explore with the migrants their life histories by discussing economic activity and migration decisions over time. Structuration Theory has added value to this study by allowing the researcher to uncover not only the practical consciousness of everyday migrant living but also the discursive consciousness of migrant decision making and post move rationalisation. This research has considered the participants as people who are not powerless dupes (Giddens 1989) but as agents of power who are both enabled and constrained by structures they are operating in. This adds value to the study because whilst very few migrants state economic reasons as the reasons behind migration, when discussed in the interviews it was clear that often they choose where to migrate on the basis of house prices and availability of employment and or business opportunities – all economic reasoning.

The definitions used in this research were set out in detail in chapter 3 and stemmed from the work of other researchers as outlined in the literature review and the desire to explore specific issues. The definitions in this research were explicitly building on previous work (Boyle and Halfacree 1993, 1998, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Keeble and Tyler 1995) so that these results would be comparable with theirs and add to the body of knowledge in the field. They were also used for methodological reasons and in terms of producing a research set that has been able to answer specific questions on in-migration and economic activity they have been successful. However they are not without their limitation and whilst touched on in chapter 3 the following section sets out the main issues uncovered in terms of definition.

This research used a lifetime definition approach to the term migrant meaning that anyone who had moved into the rural area at any point in their history could be considered an in-migrant. This varies from most other studies where migrants have been determined from a specific point in time. This is usually the case in studies such as the labour force survey or the BHPS where the setting up of the data collection determines who 'qualifies' as an in-migrant. In this research the research intention was to capture as many people as possible who had migrated so that the economic activity of in-migrants could be assessed after different intervals since migration. The reasoning behind this was to establish given the numbers of self-employed in-migrants 1 year after migration according to the census is low if time since migration plays a part in encouraging self-employment.

Whilst there was a sound reason for using a lifetime definition of in-migrant this in itself causes issues. Particularly when the questionnaire asks respondents to fill in sections if they think they meet the definition. Specific instances of this arise when individuals tick the box to state that they have always lived at their current address (and are therefore not an in-migrant under the definition) and then proceed to fill in the survey sections on residence in a city. This may represent respondents whose parents have always lived at this address but whom themselves have resided in a city for example during a period of higher education. This confusion persisted on other questions such as are you a returner to the area. Some individuals who had ticked always lived at this address also ticked yes they were a returner to the area. Again this may represent younger cohorts who have temporarily migrated for further education or some imagined migration. However what is clear from these discrepancies is that it suggests that there is no simple way to determine whether one is an in-migrant or not, and clarifies why some studies take a reference point in time. This is especially true given the increasing mobility amongst populations the notion of where one has 'always lived' becomes more difficult to determine and is certainly open to different interpretations.

The use of a lifetime definition to migration whilst posing some challenges was able to allow consideration of housing and employment histories spanning in some cases 60 years. This would not have been possible using a fixed point in time definition of migration. The use of a lifetime definition for migration has some lessons which are useful for other studies in the field of migration: firstly allowing all moves to be considered as migration yields a sample which is rich and diverse in migration 'types'. This is both enabling and constraining and should be well considered prior to selection i.e. depending on how much detail is required or the 'types' of migrant required using a lifetime definition may obscure the picture. Secondly people's perceptions of whether they are a migrant or not may vary greatly from the accepted definition. In the case of this research it was clear that people who had migrated (albeit temporarily) for higher education were 'confused' as to whether they were a migrant or not and the rigid definition imposed in this study did not take account of this.

A similar issue was encountered in relation to whether an individual was a returnee / returner to the area. The respondents self-defined their status in this regard and in some quarters this caused confusion. Just as in the case of individuals filling in sections they shouldn't when 'non-migrants' the same was true for 'non returnees' who completed sections on having lived here previously. It is not clear how this has been misconstrued save to say just as in the case of in-migrant it is not always clear how people fit into different categories. Again given the increased mobility of populations its more difficult to chart peoples residential journey. This discrepancy regarding who is or isn't a returnee has not invalidated the results. All

questions in surveys are prone to different interpretations depending on the circumstances of those answering the question, and the way that they look at the world. This survey is no different.

A further issue to consider specific to the lifetime definition of migrant is that of the post move rationalisation effect. Some of the questions in the household survey asked why respondents had chosen particular locations etc. However when migration has taken place a significant time ago the reasoning at the time may be tied up in a wealth of post move rationalisation which can be hard to decipher (Pooley 1998). In the interviews (given the qualitative nature) it was possible to explore these issues in some depth and this allowed a more rounded explanation for peoples migration decisions to be uncovered. Whereas in the household survey it could be interpreted that many people were choosing the 'expected answer' or social desirability acquiescence responding. There is no way to guard against this except to consider the implications of it on the conclusions drawn and in that regard a caveat has been made in response to any questions where this may have been an issue.

Other definitions were employed in the research as outlined in chapter 3 but none of the others proved as significant as that of in-migrant. The definition of self-employment and / or owning a business again was a self-defined question on the survey. Respondents were asked if they or anyone in the household owned a business or was self-employed. The research acknowledges that there are a myriad of ways an individual who is self-employed or owns a business may be classified and in attempting to keep the survey simple for respondents may have inadvertently excluded some people who are 'in business'. However there is little room for manoeuvre on this issue as whichever way one describes the nature of being in business another may find it doesn't adequately reflect the nature of their business. In this research the way in which the survey outlined who was or wasn't a business owner identified a pool of businesses on which analysis could be conducted. The only confusion lay in who in the household was the business owner as this wasn't always clear and in some cases further clarification was sought.

In all cases where a respondents answers were not appropriate or where issues regarding definitions arose the survey was not used in order to ensure the integrity of the sample.

7.4 Reflection on Mixed methods approach

This research utilised a mixed methods approach combining in-depth qualitative interviewing with a household survey. The rationale for this choice is explained in chapter 3 but in brief; following scoping interviews it was determined that the research questions were best answered by a large scale household survey. A survey allowed aggregate profiles of in-migrants to rural areas to be developed. Surveys are also not as prone to large interviewer effects like interviews are (Gomm, 2004). However surveys can be blunt and detail about people lives is often best gleaned through interviewing them where a rapport can be built and ideas exchanged. Therefore qualitative interviews were conducted prior to the household survey in order to inform the survey design and allow ideas about in-migrants economic activity to be explored.

In the case of this research a mixed method approach allowed hypotheses to be tested on a large data sample and face to face interaction with self-employed in-migrants who could explain and clarify their answers and any research puzzles. The interviews also allowed concepts to be developed which helped frame the survey and the types of questions to be asked. This ensured the research questions could be explored from different perspectives. The interviews conducted were semi structured qualitative interviews that took place over a series of meetings with a purposive sample – participants were identified at a networking event for small businesses. They were not selected to be representative of the business community. The interviews were not tape recorded in order to avoid any artificiality of dialogue. Detailed notes were made during the interviews which were circulated among the participants for comment and reflexive notes were made following the interviews – which were also circulated to all participants.

In research often interviews are conducted with participants of the household survey. Indeed a range of more structured qualitative interviews could have been conducted with respondents of this survey and with policy makers and relevant professional in the case study areas. However due to the amount of pre-collected data already available it was determined that the research questions could be well answered without the need for additional interviews. However it was acknowledged that further interviews would have usefully aided in providing greater detail for the research questions particularly in relation to how in-migrants impact on rural communities and has been outlined as a further area of work in this conclusion.

Further interview with relevant policy makers and local professionals would have provided a third dimension to the research. This would have been able to provide more detail on the local structures operating in the case study areas, that the in-migrants themselves may not have been able to articulate. And it is with regret that they were not completed however the voices of policy makers, planners and business support services in rural areas have a multitude of outlets. The voices of in-migrants themselves and in particular self-employed in-migrants have few therefore this research's focus on in-migrant respondents both for the survey and the interviews may be a strength as it is a useful addition to existing works that seek to voice rural issues. It also provides a good jumping off point for further work as exploring some of the findings of this research with professionals in the field would be a valuable update on this work especially given the current economic climate and the impact this may have on in-migrant economic activity.

7.5 Critique of the study's methodology

In devising a methodology for this study a number of factors were taken into consideration; such as what is the research puzzle that needs exploring? What have other researchers in the field of study used? What time / cost implications are there? Unfortunately as is often the case in a rush to get the study underway not enough time and consideration was made in the preparation and this is a failing I acknowledge. The following sections set out the intentions of the methodology, where these have been realised and explicitly acknowledges the limitations of the methodology.

The methodology attempted to utilise some of the ideas of structuration theory to explore the economic activity of in-migrants and in particular the push and pull factors that have led some in-migrants to start businesses. In doing this two fields of study were combined – immigration and entrepreneurship. As Structuration Theory espouses (Giddens 1989) this research cannot make grand generalisations, rather the results of this work have set out some commonalities and themes (or minor generalisations) that have been uncovered in 2 case study areas in rural Wales. And given similar rural areas facing similar economic circumstances and local pressures this research will aid in the understanding of in-migrant economic activity and in particular small business start-up.

The methodology utilised a mixed methods approach, the first of which were qualitative interviews. The majority of which were conducted at the preliminary stage of the investigation and acted as scoping interviews – a sound board if you will for the themes and

concepts uncovered in the literature review. They were also used (though not at the time being aware of this literature) in a Grounded Theory (Glasner and Strauss 1967) sense in that much of the literature review was conducted alongside and after the interviews were analysed. Themes identified in the interviews then guided the research efforts. Following this early stage of analysis a reconfiguring of the research puzzle was undertaken and it was established that a household survey would allow ideas from the literature and scoping interviews to be explored with a larger data set.

In many ways this research methodology was evolutionary and, like many studies which mix interviews and a survey it was only upon completion of the interview analysis that a decision could be made as to the future direction of travel. This is a strength and weakness of the methodology, strength in that the research has been guided from an early stage by the literature and primary research with in-migrants and the researcher was open to ideas developed through contact with the self-employed in the study area. However a weakness in that the interviews were perhaps more like conversations and were not well organised. They could have been taped, transcribed, more formal and structured. Some of the rapport and therefore free flow of exchange of ideas may have been stifled by this but further analysis would have been more readily undertaken.

In terms of the impact of these weaknesses in interview methodology on the results of the research, it is a mixed picture. Firstly this research is not making any grand generalisations and therefore any concern that their small number or unstructured nature is being used to prop up broad assertions is unfounded. However secondly it is acknowledged that inherent issues regarding bias and objectivity are present in research of this nature. This is because whilst the interviews were not intended as representative their framing makes them open to criticism – would another researcher utilising the same methodology arrive at the same conclusions it is not clear they would. However is this negative? The interviews were designed to give an initial understanding of the perspectives of rural migrants who run businesses. Another researcher might have got different answers and results from the interviews but this does not make them biased, beyond the fact that they influenced the sorts of questions and issues to be answered in the next stage of the research. Different starting points will always lead to different sorts of research. There is no objective way of choosing research questions and thus no other more objective way of proceeding. This is particularly the case given the wider changes in the economy since these interviews were conducted. And so it is important to be explicit about the value of the interviews to the research and explicitly acknowledge their purpose. To that end they provide a useful insight into the economic activity of a group of non-representative in-migrants living in rural areas of Wales

which adds a richness of detail to the results of the survey but is not a sound basis on which to make generalisations.

In terms of the household survey and the strengths and weaknesses of this research it is clear there were a number of issues. The weaknesses include that there was insufficient time was allocated to considering exactly what the questionnaire was intended to capture and in turn how the questionnaire upon return would be analysed. This led to the questionnaire having a number of questions that in hindsight were not well conceived and in some cases not terribly useful. The sample was also procured from the electoral roll and no 'cleaning' of this data was undertaken therefore when some of the responses were returned they had been sent to residential care institutions where the survey was not appropriate. This was wastage on the part of the survey as well as inconvenient for the staff. The nature of the sample also meant that it was inadvertently sent to some uninhabited and or holiday homes which resulted in confused results or non-response – again further wastage. The household survey was also conducted (not intentionally but simply due to natural timing) during the school holidays period which may have meant more people were away on holiday and a larger than would be expected number of teachers filled in the survey. The impact of these weaknesses is difficult to measure above and beyond annoyance for the researcher. More difficulty lies in ascertaining the validity of the methodology in general. Is a survey the most appropriate method of exploring the economic activity of in-migrants? Can Structuration Theory and quantitative methods be compatible? Has the use of chi square been a sufficiently useful tool for answering the research questions? These issues have been discussed during salient parts of the thesis but are explicitly set out here as representation of their importance to the thesis.

The survey allowed a range of areas identified as potentially interesting and relevant from the qualitative interviews to be explored with a wide sample. The results generated were sometimes surprising, and sometimes indicative of poor survey design. However the survey results alongside all these other quirks provided economic activity information for 597 households and over 1300 individuals. This notwithstanding any potential for the survey to be non-representative due to a third of addresses being excluded from the electoral register and the high non response rates and the fact that the survey was only circulated in English, it provided an aggregate data set on which commonalities and themes could be explored. The survey was never meant to be representative of all migrants to rural areas in Wales. It was always selective in terms of the places chosen. It was therefore both a suitable and easily replicable method for conducting the research, Of course other methods could have

been used and have been discussed in chapter 3 but the use of both interviews and a survey in this research allows a broad picture to be formed interspersed with rich detail.

Structuration Theory as some of its main critics set out (Gregson 1987) is not descriptive enough on appropriate methods. However this can also be viewed in the context of it does not confine the user to one 'type or method'. Instead it provides a conceptual framework within which results generated can be put into context. Therefore I do not believe that Structuration Theory and quantitative analysis are incompatible.

Structuration Theory has allowed the concepts developed in the literature to be considered in terms of the duality of structure and agency and the actions of individuals to be rooted in a particular space and time. It has also provided context for in-migrants ability to recount and /or post rationalise their actions – a particular concern in migration studies. The fact that the data generated which has been considered in light of this framework is both qualitative and quantitative is irrelevant. Of course other theories could have been utilised but in using Structuration Theory in this capacity the research has offered a new approach to considering migration and economic activity.

How the data was analysed and whether the use of chi square as the principle means of determining the probability of the result being a coincidence is an important consideration. There are a number of ways this data could have been reduced and analysed and I have acknowledged more forethought should have been made on this issue prior to the survey design. However the principle means of establishing whether the results found in a sample is statistically significant is by comparison. What this research has been able to do is compare the economic activity, age and household structure (among other variables) of in-migrants and non-migrants and use chi square as a means of establishing whether the differences are statistically significant or not. In the main they were not, which highlighted the similarity of the choices of both groups and therefore provides an interesting insight into more commonly held views on in-migrants to rural areas. Could other techniques have been applied – yes they could; more sophisticated multivariate analysis could have been completed. This has been addressed in chapter 3 and the conclusion drawn that chi square was a suitable and practical means of establishing the statistical significance of the research.

7.6 Evaluation of the impact of Welsh policy on migration

The literature review also considered policy and it was in this section that specifically Welsh in-migration policy was addressed. It was outlined that there is little in the way of policy that

relates to in-migration directly however it is a cross cutting theme over a number of government departments and so a broad range of policy from economic development to planning is relevant to in-migration. The main findings of this research have outlined how in-migrants make broadly similar choices to non-migrants in terms of economic activity. However in-migrants are more likely to work at or very close to home than non-migrants this is particularly the case of self-employed in-migrants the majority of which have home based businesses. The business types of in-migrants tend to be focussed on 3 main industries: 1. The professional services sector such as financial planning, translation etc. 2. The creative industries such as crafts people and artists and finally 3. The tourism industry where business types ranged from B&B's to chip shops.

Welsh Government policy can play a role in managing in-migration albeit without a specific policy as the following sections outline: However firstly it is important to address does the Welsh policy context help explain the character of in-migration to Wales and the type of business activity started by in-migrants? It seems given that the policy is not very different from that of England and Scotland it does not. Given the main findings of the research indicate in-migrants make broadly similar choices to non-migrants it does not appear that a specific policy approach is required to support in-migrants into employment above and beyond that which is in place more generally as set out in the Welsh Government Program Annual Report 2011. However it appears that a desire to work from home is strong among in-migrant households. Therefore further support for home based working both internally at the Welsh Government and promotion beyond may be a successful means of attracting well qualified migrants into work. Home based working is further aided by the Welsh Government policy in support of next generation broadband across rural Wales, and the access to specialist broadband support of 'not spots' (areas currently without means of accessing any form of broadband) in rural areas it currently provides.

In-migrants as well as preferring to work from home also have a preference for home based businesses. This has ramifications for Welsh Government policy in a number of ways. Firstly the continued investment that the WG make in supporting SME's and micro businesses through the £40 million SME investment fund and the £6 million micro business loan fund is as likely to impact migrants as it is non-migrants. This is borne out by the fact there was no statistically significant differences in access to capital (grant and loan based) between in-migrant owned businesses and non-migrant owned businesses in this study.

Secondly the penchant for home based businesses among in-migrants and given the nature of the business activity undertaken by in-migrants it seems unlikely that additional

requirements for business starter units to accommodate the needs of in-migrant businesses above and beyond that provided for in the general planning framework is required. However there is a role for planning policy in supporting home based businesses in rural areas. Welsh Government planning policy in rural areas outlined in Technical Advice Note (TAN) 6 sets out the requirements to qualify for a rural exception site dwelling under the proviso of rural enterprise dwellings. However one of the criteria that it is required for applicants to meet is that the business must be land based. Whilst there is a debate as to how stringently these requirements are upheld in practice at first glance it appears given the common in-migrants business types it is unlikely they would meet this requirement. Therefore if the Welsh Government intends to encourage in-migration by self-employed persons or in-migrants to become self-employed in rural areas some revisions of this planning policy may assist in this regard.

Finally a strong focus of Welsh Government policy is on affordable housing. This is not traditionally considered a priority for in-migrants given the planning policy focus on 'local affordable needs'. However a focus on affordable housing means that increases in prices of existing housing stock which is partially caused by in-migration can be mitigated against through the affordable housing agenda. Furthermore not all migration occurs amongst homeowners as was the case in this study. Many people who were renting their homes had moved to be closer to family and friends and the focus on affordable housing in the Welsh Government and local planning policy ensures a reasonably steady supply of available properties. Of which some are reserved for those in housing need whether they are an in-migrant or not.

Although there is no specific Welsh Government policy on migration it is clear that much policy has an implication for migration. Therefore just as rural proofing is one of the Welsh Government indicators perhaps migration given its impact on the social, cultural and economic profile of rural areas should also be? The Welsh Government has implemented a rural proofing toolkit for use with all Government policies and strategies. This is to aid them in meeting their key indicators, which includes a specific indicator ensuring appropriate rural proofing of Welsh Government policies and strategies. A similar approach could be taken in relation to migration, a toolkit could be introduced which would ensure migrants and migration is a factor considered in the development of future policy and when conducting policy reviews.

7.7 Conclusions from the analysis and the contribution to Knowledge

The central theme of this thesis has been that in-migrants economic activity patterns are similar to that of non-migrants (as chapter 4 demonstrated). However the influences on economic activity may vary from that of non-migrant groups. In-migrants are subject to a different range of push and pull factors which influences their decision making. This in some circumstances can lead them to consider more varied forms of economic participation, including becoming self-employed, albeit at similar levels to that of non-migrants.

In order to explore this thesis, this research combined two fields of literature – Entrepreneurship and Migration. The literature on migration discusses at length the demographic patterns and movements of people involved in migration streams, however little discussion occurs on the factors that have impacted upon in-migrant choices. This is in contrast to the entrepreneurship literature which highlights the processes of entrepreneurship and the structures which support or discourage people's business goals. The entrepreneurship literature also takes account more thoroughly what individual, household and area level characteristics support business start-up. It does however not discuss the demography of entrepreneurship. This research has taken these two fields and considered in-migrants economic activity within the context of varied rural space and the processes by which in-migrants make these decisions. It is in this context that this research makes a significant contribution to knowledge, in the field of rural economies.

7.7.1 Characteristics of rural populations

Chapter 4 explored, through the results of the household survey, the characteristics and economic activity choices of in-migrants and non-migrants in 5 travel to work regions across Powys and Gwynedd. The results were analysed using SPSS and cross tabulations and tests of statistical significance (chi square) were used to establish the statistical relationships between variables. The results of chapter 4 have been used in this conclusion to build a profile of the sample.

In-migrants tended to be older than local populations (40.6% of in-migrant respondents were over the age of 66 compared to only 28.2% of non-migrants). In-migrants tend to live in 1 and 2 person households (77.3% of in-migrants versus 60.4% of non-migrants). Non-migrant populations have stronger connections to the Welsh language with 71.6% of non-migrants having some knowledge of the Welsh language, compared to 62.1% of in-migrants who have no knowledge of the Welsh language. Finally in terms of qualifications in-migrants tend

to have higher qualifications than non-migrants (30.4% of in-migrants have a degree or higher versus 19% of non-migrants).

The focus now turns to the differences in economic activity between in-migrants and non-migrants in rural areas of Wales. Analysis for all head of household respondents over the age of 16 revealed that 50% of in-migrants in the sample were retired, compared with only 34.7% of non-migrants. 25% of in-migrants were employed full time, whereas 38.8% of non-migrants were employed full time. 12.5% of in-migrants were self-employed and 9% were employed part time. This is compared to 11.7% of non-migrants who were self-employed and 9.2% who were employed part time.

In order to examine the relationship between migration and economic activity, chapter 5 presented data where the non-economically active categories (such as the retired, looking after home, and student) were removed. The results again revealed that in-migrants were less likely to work full time than local populations (48.8% vs. 59.4%) and more likely to be self-employed (25% vs. 18%). In-migrants were also marginally more likely to work multiple jobs than non-migrants (21.7% vs. 16.4%). The Wales Rural Observatory (2004) set out that in the most rural counties of Wales of which both Gwynedd and Powys are part – individuals were often involved in more multiple jobs working, than in more accessible areas. It appears that in this sample, the incidence of multiple jobs working may also be higher among in-migrant groups.

The work by Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) set out that in-migrants were not widely involved in commuting activities, despite popular perception. Many in-migrants worked close to their rural residence. This pattern was also born out in this study. Only 10.9% of in-migrants commuted over 1 hour from home for work. This is higher than local populations where only 3.4% commuted over one hour. However, overwhelmingly in-migrants worked close to home with 18.8% working from home, which is higher than local populations of whom 11.9% worked from home and higher than the CRC (2005) figure (13%).

The aim of chapter 5 was to set out the differences and similarities between in-migrant and non-migrant populations of Powys and Gwynedd. This was to establish if the economic activity of in-migrants were different to non-migrants. The results highlighted that in-migrants and non-migrants economic activity were broadly the same? In-migrants were however marginally more likely to be self-employed and less likely to be employed full time than non-migrants.

The current policy framework in rural areas supports growth through endogenous development – in basic terms this means that development should come from the bottom up.

Stockdale (2006) argues that in-migrants are a central component to this happening – this is because they bring with them to local rural communities expertise and access to distant networks. Ray (2006) argues that a policy of neo-endogenous development needs to be fostered in rural areas, whereby development is bottom up (local) – but that extra-local factors are encouraged and developed (in this case in-migrants). In essence (insofar as in-migrants are concerned) they are both supporting the same theory that in-migrants have a valuable contribution to make to local rural communities. However, if this is to be capitalised on for the benefit of rural areas, then it is important to understand how in-migrant and non-migrant choices vary. As the literature review (chapter 2) established, other research set out that in-migrants were becoming self-employed and creating jobs, but very few had compared how this differed to non-migrants.

7.8 Influences on in-migrants economic activity choices

This thesis argued that in-migrants economic activity is in response to a number of push and pull factors. These factors push and pull in-migrants into making economic activity choices that are different (in subtle ways) from non-migrants. These are assessed below;

The WRO (2004) observed that the most rural counties of Wales also had the highest incidences of part time and multiple jobs working. Another area level factor was the local labour market which it was anticipated would impact upon the choices made by in-migrants (Marini and Mooney 2008) as the local labour market mediates the types of jobs available; in this study the labour market boundaries were delineated by travel to work areas. Another influence that was at an area level was that of the ‘Welshness’ of the region. This was measured in terms of the numbers of Welsh speakers. The literature highlighted that in-migrants may not be as well connected to the informal economy as non-migrants (Green and Hardill 2003). Furthermore being the speaker of the local language affords people economic opportunities that are not available to non-speakers (Dustman and Fabri 2003).

Various individual level factors were also expected to impact upon an in-migrants economic activity choices such as age; which is an important indicator of economic activity. This is because it impacts on lifecycle stages an important structure which impacts on the agency of in-migrants (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998). It was anticipated that Welsh language proficiency may also impact on in-migrants economic activity choices as proficiency of the native language of an area impacts on ones access to social capital (Dustman and Fabri 2003). Another individual level factor was qualifications, in-migrant are said to have higher levels of qualifications than local populations (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Stockdale

2006). It was anticipated that this may have important repercussions on their rural economic activity choices.

Finally various household level factors were thought to be important determinants of in-migrant economic activity choices such as, previous residential location, residence in a city, and whether they are returnees to the area (Mulder and Von Ham 2005). Tenure and the specific motivations that influenced the household's choice of current residential location were also considered, as this was thought to influence the choices they made (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). All of these variables which were captured in the research strategy, built up a broad demographic picture of the households who are choosing to migrate to rural areas; but also a specific picture of household's employment and housing histories.

7.8.1 Motivations for moving by in-migrants

Previous studies have used the term quality of life to explain in-migrants decisions to relocate to rural areas. Often it has been interlinked with environmental features such as pleasant residential environment or scenic beauty (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). However it is also used as a multi-dimensional term relating to a number of variables that people perceive to be part of a 'good quality of life' some of these include local school provision, crime rate, and even the weather (Rogerson 1999).

The household survey offered respondents 18 variables or dimensions of quality of life as options as to why they had chosen to move to their present location. The results were then analysed using SPSS and a picture emerged of how these dimensions were impacted by age, household structure, economic activity, tenure and qualifications (for an in-depth review of the findings please see chapter 6). The results revealed that beyond subtle statistical differences, the results were broadly similar. Most in-migrants to rural areas were motivated by three main dimensions, these included scenic beauty, having friends and family in the area and property prices. Self-employed in-migrants and in-migrants with other economic activity choices all shared similar motivations for moving.

This finding confirms that of Keeble and Tyler (1995) and Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999), in that self employed in-migrants are often motivated to choose locations based on the perceived pleasant residential environment. However this is no different to in-migrants employed in other ways, motivations for choice of residential location did not impact upon subsequent economic activity choices post migration, in this research. The implications of this in terms of endogenous development are – areas with a perceived pleasant residential environment are going to attract more in-migrants, they will engage in all types of economic

activity; but be marginally more likely to be self-employed and less likely to work full time than non-migrants. In conclusion other factors play a greater role in determining economic activity choices than motivations for choosing residential location; these will be explored below.

7.8.2 Individual and Household level characteristics

The literature review outlined that life cycles dictate entry to labour market and retirement age, and at least in the case of these study areas, people over the age of 46 are more likely to be self employed than any other age groups. 44% of economically active over 66+ year olds were self employed; this is in stark contrast to the 15% of 35-44 year old age group.

Age plays an important role in shaping economic activity whether it is in terms of retirement or self employment. However, another important factor shaping economic activity is tenure. This too is closely related with age, the household survey data revealed that 35% of all in-migrant head of household homeowners who own their own home outright are self employed. This compared with only 10% of in-migrants who rent their homes and 24% who have a mortgage and were self-employed. Of course owning ones home outright and age are closely linked with 93.9% of outright home owners over the age of 46.

Members of in-migrant households of 2 or 4 people are more likely to be economically active and in particular be self employed than 1 or 3 person households . This is perhaps explained by the proliferation of single person households amongst the retired respondents which accounted for some 24%. As this brief overview of the impact of age, tenure, household structure and gender on economic activity choices has revealed; our choices of economic activity are shaped by larger forces than an individual's desire to do one thing over another.

Nationality also appears to influence in-migrants economic activity -whether an in-migrant was English or Welsh appears, to a statistically significant degree, to impact on economic activity. Though the diversity of nationalities is low in the sample, the results suggest being English vs. Welsh plays an important role in shaping economic activity. This is highlighted by the fact that in-migrants who list their nationality as English are more likely to be self employed, 61% of self employed in-migrants are English. English in-migrants in this sample are also more likely than other nationalities to be retired with 46% of them retired (see table 6.12).

Turning now to residential history and household level impact upon in-migrants economic activity choices. The analysis revealed that having lived in a city appeared to make no statistically significant difference to economic activity despite literature suggesting that residence in a city impacts future economic activity and status (Mulder and Von Ham 2005). In considering the impact of housing history on in-migrants economic activity, whether individuals or households were returning to an area was considered. There is a mixed picture on the impact of return migration on economic activity (Stockdale 2006). This research did not result in any statistically significant findings to suggest that being a returnee impacts upon economic activity. Furthermore home ownership in a city was considered as part of an investigation into the impact of housing history on economic activity. Whether in-migrants had previously owned a home in a city and therefore perhaps accrued capital and the subsequent impact of this upon economic activity did not produce any statistically significant findings. It is clear from the findings of chapter 6 on individual and household influences that these have a significant impact on in-migrants economic activity choices.

7.8.3 Area level characteristics

The final layer of influences on in-migrants economic activity choices, explored in this research, were that of area level influences. This level centred on the local labour market which was operationalized as 'Travel To Work Areas' (TTWA) and the level of Welsh speaking in the region. As chapter 4 describes, this research was conducted in Powys and Gwynedd. These areas were selected not because they were representative for rural Wales, but because they showed varying degrees of the phenomena under consideration. Chapter 6 then set out what impact these factors had on the economic activity choices of in-migrants.

The results of the analysis indicated that, in terms of the local labour market, the TTWA into which the in-migrants moved appeared to have an impact upon the economic activity choices of in-migrants. However, the results were not statistically significant. For example, in the travel to work area of Machynlleth, the self-employment rate for in-migrants was 40%. According to the 2001 census, the self-employment rate for the population in general was 16%. This disparity is not easily explained, but represents areas where further research is warranted.

The impact of the levels of Welsh speaking in a region also appeared to have mixed results on the economic activity choices of in-migrants. The TTWA's with high levels of Welsh speaking such as Pwllheli and Portmadog and Ffestiniog may be expected to have had high levels of self-employment among in-migrants. However the results were mixed with Pwllheli having high levels of self-employment but Portmadog and Ffestiniog having low levels. What

is clear from the results is, that no such simple relationships between levels of Welsh speaking and self-employment exists.

7.9 Variation in businesses between in-migrants and non-migrants

Chapter 6 highlighted the characteristics of rural businesses and the motivations for start-up for both in-migrants and non-migrants in order to explore the differences between the two types of businesses. The chapter outlined that there were some differences between in-migrant and non-migrant owned businesses, non-migrant owned businesses tended to be older than in-migrant owned businesses. Why people decided to become self-employed and start a business was also different across the two groups. Non-migrants were often involved in family businesses, whereas in-migrants had more difficulty in finding other employment opportunities. In-migrant owned businesses were predominantly based from home or within 5 miles of home (96.5%), whereas non-migrant owned businesses varied (21.4% based over 5 miles from home).

From the literature review, it was evident that we lacked an adequate understanding of the time dimension of business start-up by in-migrants. Keeble and Tyler (1995) had acknowledged that there was an interim period between in-migration and business start-up, but this had not been the specific focus of their research. A theme of this research was that, we understood that the migration event and the business event were not necessarily undertaken at the same time and that a process was at play between migration and self-employment. Chapter 6 outlined that for some in-migrants these events were simultaneous. Some in-migrants moved to take over existing businesses; others moved their business with them.

However, there remained many rural business owners who did not move with the intention of becoming self-employed and did not open the businesses immediately after the migration event. The timeline for self-employment was explored with this group and the results revealed that often the decision to become self-employed followed on from the migration decision by a number of years (see table 7.19). This may be an important consideration for rural areas looking to encourage would be entrepreneurs to their region.

It is clear from the literature that in-migrant owned businesses create jobs (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999). These jobs make an important contribution to rural economic development. In order to support rural business growth, it may be necessary for policy to ensure it is capable of supporting the ambitions of rural business owners. For example, many of the jobs were created in businesses based from home. The survey asked

respondents if they intended to grow their business; of those that did, many intended to employ more staff. This is an interesting finding as it highlights that perhaps these businesses will be creating more 'based from home' jobs or, they may need to expand into commercial premises. This may increase demand for rural business support services, as in-migrant businesses strive for growth. It may also increase demand for commercial premises, or for a more relaxed attitude towards rural development by local planning authorities. The Welsh Assembly Government has tried to respond to this need for greater flexibility through the newly released planning policy Technical Advice Note (TAN) 6, which supports rural enterprise dwellings in areas outside settlements. However, whether the calls for greater flexibility will be heeded by local rural planning authorities; particularly in regard to in-migrants needs, remains to be seen.

In order to explore what impact the conclusions of this research could have on local rural economies, business support services and local planning authorities, it would have been prudent to conduct interviews with them. Unfortunately this remains an area of research which is outstanding despite it possibly being a valuable tool in outlining the contribution to knowledge this thesis makes.

7.10 wider impacts of in-migrants economic activity choices

In-migrants are marginally more likely to be retired, self employed and less likely to work full time than local populations. This is therefore contributing to a day time economy in rural areas as discussed by The Commission for Rural Communities in its report 'Under the radar: tracking and supporting rural home based businesses' (2005). This helps to support local rural services, such as country shops and post offices. In-migrants are also impacting on the housing market, as they have higher levels of home ownership than national averages. As to whether this impact is positive or negative, would depend on whether you are a first time buyer struggling to get on to the housing market or someone who has seen the value of their house price rise due to the increase in desirability of certain rural areas (Hamnet 1992). Impacts on the local housing market will in turn impact on local rural economies, as an influx of people into rural areas creates demands for goods and services.

An increase in the number of home owners, the survey suggests, could also lead to an increase in small business creation. The creation of new enterprise in rural areas by in-migrants creates jobs (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999) and increased wealth, as local suppliers are sought and links with distant networks are created (Keeble and Tyler 1995). Many businesses in rural areas are centred in the artisan craft arena and are servicing the demands of tourists (Lowe and Talbot 2000). Perhaps in-migrants are also creating

businesses in the artisan craft arena. This may help to encourage more tourism into rural areas, which some may see as turning the countryside into a 'theatre of consumption' (Cloke and Goodwin 1992). Others see it as helping to diversify flagging rural economies and encourage on and off the farm diversification. Research also suggests that employment is growing faster in rural areas than in urban areas (North and Smallbone 1993, Brown et al 2004). These are key factors which will undoubtedly be impacting on local rural economies.

In-migrants tend to have higher qualifications than non-migrants. The entry of new social groups into the countryside creates demand for domestic services, thus employment is being created without business creation. The survey revealed that in-migrants are twice as likely to employ domestic help as local populations.

This chapter has revealed some of the important impacts that in-migration can have on rural economies. This is in terms of individual in-migrants and their economic activity choices and in terms of the collective impact of wide scale countryside demographic change. Whether in-migration is the driver of all the changes in the countryside or is reacting to existing patterns of regional development remains to be seen.

The results of this research concluded that in rural areas of Wales with varying degrees of Welsh speaking, accessibility to transport links and self-employment rates the economic activity of in-migrants and non-migrants is broadly similar. This is an important finding as it highlights that whilst the push and pull factors influencing in-migrants may be different to that of non-migrants, the result of these forces is economic activity at similar levels and types to that of non-migrants and therefore a specific policy approach is probably not required. Many in-migrants to these rural areas were influenced to move to these areas by the scenic quality of the locations, an existing connection with the locality and had previously considered economic conditions. Therefore if the Welsh Government were so minded and sought to encourage in-migration to rural areas they should be doing so expecting similar levels of economic activity from these new inhabitants. And in terms of 'marketing for in-migrants' it appears reaching out to those with an existing connection through family and friends or previously holidaying in the place would be more effective than general marketing.

In terms of business, in-migrants do indeed create businesses in rural areas of Wales and at similar levels to that of non-migrants. However the businesses they create are subtly different to that of non-migrant owned businesses. They tend to be personal / professional service or tourism related and target wider markets than non-migrant businesses. They are statistically more likely to be based from home and have few intentions to develop beyond a

home based business. They also are less likely to employ non family members than non-migrant businesses. The general view of in-migrant business is a positive one with much rural research setting out the job creation potential of these businesses (Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Bosworth 2008). However this research has built on these previous studies to examine the businesses and reveal the rich detail regarding these jobs and the results are not as positive as would have been hoped. In short many in-migrant owned businesses are not well connected to the local economy, they source their customers from distant markets, are very unlikely to have a traditional 'premises' and are reluctant to take on staff outside of their family. One of the interviewees (OPS) expressed the situation best when he set out:

“the truth is many of us (in-migrants) we like to live here but in terms of your business its best to play it safe...we don't know many people round here so I wouldn't give them a job not when my son can do it....and you know most of my customers I knew from before..... so its just a case of dealing with them over the internet now instead of in person. I suppose it would be easier if we spoke the local lingo but at my age I'm too old to learn new things we will play it by ear? and when we get older either my son will have moved up here permanently or we will go back down there near to him.”

Obviously there are multiple reasons for in-migrant attitudes and behaviours but what is clear is that as Green and Hardill (2002) identified in-migrants may be less well supported in times of need as they are not well connected to the informal economy. It appears the same is true for in-migrant owned businesses as many source their customers distantly, have little in the way of 'local' support either through employees or neighbouring businesses (given most are home based). Perhaps given the business types involved i.e tourism based on distant market based businesses language barriers play a part in these decisions in rural areas of Wales. In short whilst most business activity is desirable perhaps a policy intervention through business support services may be warranted to ensure that in-migrant owned businesses connect to the local rural area as much as non-migrant owned businesses. However this is a kind of chicken and egg situation as the type of businesses people start take account of their own isolation from the locality so they don't need local support.

7.11 Summary

Returning now to the central theme of the research, why do in-migrants make the economic activity choices they do in rural areas of Wales? The answer appears to be broadly for the

same reasons that non-migrants do. Rural population's economic activity is dictated by a number of push and pull factors that are related to individual, household, and area level influences. The role of the person in their economic activity cannot be downplayed; however, the influence of external forces such as the rural labour market is also important. It is not clear that in-migrants are impacted in any specifically different ways to non-migrants. Therefore the thesis of the research which set out that in-migrants make different choices to non-migrants and that this is because the influences on migrant decision making are different to that of non-migrants, does not appear to hold true. In-migrants to rural areas of Wales who opened businesses however tended to have a marginally different set of reasons for why they became self-employed, than non-migrants. Subsequently the businesses created by in-migrants and non-migrants were also different, in subtle ways.

Is the evidence for the findings convincing? The methods used to conduct this study were appropriate to the questions asked. Other methods could have been used which may have resulted in richer detail (see chapter 3). However the household survey and qualitative interviews used in this research have provided a large data set, in which themes and commonalities were explored. The survey allowed tests of significance to be conducted and returned some statistically significant findings. The results mirror and build upon the findings of other research (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Bosworth 2006). Therefore the results are convincing and do provide a platform on which to argue that in-migrants and non-migrants have more in common in their economic activity than they do differences.

What is new about these findings? This research has presented analysis on the economic activity of in-migrants in more detail than has previously been presented. The findings have outlined the ways in which in-migrant and non-migrant populations differ in their economic activity. This has concluded that with the exception of self-employment the push and pull factors which help to determine an individual's economic activity choice are similar for both in-migrants and non-migrants. Turning now to self –employment this research has utilised concepts from the entrepreneurship and migration literature, to explore self-employment by in-migrants in particular rural regions. The results have revealed that in-migrants and non-migrants vary (albeit subtly) in their reasons for becoming self-employed and the businesses themselves vary. In-migrants appear to be pushed into self-employment more often than non-migrants which as Carter and Jones-Evans (2006) assert, may impact upon the future success of such businesses. This may be an important consideration in determining what influence in-migrant businesses can have on local rural economies and the impact of these businesses on rural endogenous development. This is also true of the process of becoming

self-employed for in-migrants and the time dimensions of these choices. It is clear that in-migrants take time to start businesses and that these businesses take time to mature. In-migration and the associated subsequent businesses appear to be an unlikely solution to immediate local rural economic needs, in the case study areas. Time is a key component in the in-migration – entrepreneurship process.

How can these findings be utilised by other studies? Other research in the field of rural in-migration and economic activity often discusses the potential for in-migrants to become self-employed (Stockdale 2006, Stockdale 2010 Bosworth 2006, and Bosworth 2010). The time dimension of in-migrants economic activity choices has also been briefly touched upon (Keeble and Tyler 1995, Stockdale, Short and Findlay 1999, Bosworth 2010). However, this is the first research which has attempted to explore, in detail, this time dimension. Whilst it would not be feasible to say that in x number of years after in-migration a certain percentage of in-migrants will be self-employed; this research can say that many in-migrants do not move to rural areas of Wales with the intention of becoming self-employed. Using a lifetime migration definition, we can establish that the process of becoming self-employed after migration takes a number of years, sometimes over a decade. This is an important consideration for future research, as it has implications for the definition of in-migrant used and how a sample of potential in-migrant business owners may be sourced. Furthermore this research has established that as Keeble and Tyler (1995) and Stockdale, Short and Findlay (1999) stated many self-employed in-migrants are attracted to rural areas because of the perceived quality of life benefits, including pleasant residential environment. However this is true of most in-migrants to rural Wales – self-employed in-migrants were no more likely to state this as a motivation for choosing their residential location.

This research has combined the fields of entrepreneurship and in-migration literature to consider the decisions made by in-migrants in regard to economic activity. The combining of these two bodies of literature have been most useful in conceptualising the various impacts upon economic activity. By examining both sets of literature this research has taken a broader view and been able to consider the push and pull factors associated with entrepreneurship along with the demographic patterns used in in-migration. The result has been that we now understand that.

Based on the findings of this research the next section addresses the possible policy implications.

7.12 Possible policy response

This research was partly sponsored by the Welsh Government, and as such it seems appropriate to include some discussion on the ways in which the findings could be translated into an effective policy response.

This research has highlighted the fact that most in-migrants do not move with the intention to become self employed. The impetus is mobilised, often many years after, the migration event. It is therefore important to understand the time space dimension of in-migrant created businesses in rural areas. This research concluded it takes a number of years for in-migrants to open a business, during which time they have participated in a number of complex employment patterns. This may impact upon the type and direction of a policy response. As the conclusion has set out, there is a time-lag between migration and entrepreneurship. If migrants are to be utilised as an important driver of endogenous development in rural areas, then this approach will take time, as new migrants need to develop into entrepreneurial migrants over a number of years.

In order to adequately support in-migrant rural businesses; current business support activities need to be tailored, in rural areas, towards home based businesses, which require a different business growth model. This is because home based working is particularly important to in-migrants. Traditionally the availability of business premises has been a strong concern for local planning departments, typified by the strong focus on employment land allocation in local needs assessments. This policy is starting to change in Wales with the introduction of TAN 6 and the notion of rural enterprise dwellings. However, it is not clear that this will translate, beyond agricultural dwellings, in the local development plans of individual rural local authorities. The needs of home based businesses are more complex than the traditional business model and therefore resources may need to be allocated to offer different support services, including the expansion of broadband into rural areas.

Many in-migrant businesses in this study created jobs. This was often by a handful of business owners who created multiple jobs. The majority of in-migrant business owners just created employment for themselves. However of those businesses that did create jobs, some of these jobs were being filled by family members. Whilst this is still creating local employment, these opportunities are limited to in-migrant households. A recurring theme within the interviews was of a reluctance to take on employees outside of the household, as this was felt to be risky and / or costly in tax / time terms. This may therefore require addressing through business support services.

It is clear that age is an important determinant of economic activity: this is particularly the case in this research. In this study in-migrants tended to be older than non-migrants – older in-migrants were more involved in self-employment and older in-migrants tended to own their homes outright; this was an important factor in self-employment. This suggests that areas with a high ‘older’ in-migrant population or an ‘aging’ in-migrant population may be able to capitalise on their desire to start businesses thus supporting regional growth. However, in working to attract ‘older’ populations, regions face added burdens as social care and other needs increase with age. In rural areas where provision of social care costs more, the drawbacks may outweigh the financial incentive of the businesses created by in-migrants. Further research is warranted to understand the implications of in-migrant ageing on rural populations.

This section has outlined a few broad areas where policy could intercede in rural areas, to support the needs of rural in-migrant owned businesses and or encourage new business creation. However it is clear from this research that area level influences had less of an impact on in-migrants economic activity choices than individual and household level influences. Therefore when developing possible policy responses this is an issue that needs consideration.

7.13 Areas of further research

This study has provided aggregate household information regarding the economic activity choices of in-migrants and non-migrants in rural areas of Wales. This research has therefore provided a spring board from which to investigate the intricacies of economic activity decision making, within-migrant households. It would also potentially form a solid basis on which to conduct a time lapse study on in-migrant employment and housing histories. This could be done by identifying a pool of migrants or potential migrants and then surveying or interviewing them at points over time to assess at what point the impetus to move and or start a business is mobilised. Such a longitudinal study is lacking in the literature.

During the analysis, a number of areas for further research have been flagged, which may warrant further investigation; including, the impact of ageing on rural populations and the associated economic activity of older in-migrants. Older in-migrants have the potential to transform rural communities, they often have higher qualifications and experience and connections to wider networks than non-migrant populations. However, it is not clear that this is being capitalised on by rural areas – therefore further research is required to

determine what impact older in-migrants can have on rural areas and what are both the positive and negative consequences of older in-migration.

Qualitative interviewing may also be a further area of research that is warranted as this could focus on the decision making of rural in-migrants and as Boyle and Halfacree (1998) outlined allow the migration decision to be explored rooted in the everyday lived experiences of the in-migrants.

The businesses themselves could also logically be a future area of research. This would allow for a larger sample and more in depth discussion with business owners in rural areas. Alongside this involving business support services and or policy makers could also usefully address and explore any mismatch between in-migrant needs and business support services.

Some of the findings of this research were based on small samples and therefore tests of significance were not able to be conducted. A further area of research would be to procure a larger sample for tests to be conducted on. This would be particularly useful for the gender differentiated patterns of self-employment among in-migrants and the job creation potential of non-migrant vs in-migrant businesses.

A final area of further research would be test the conclusions of this research across different types of rural space – is the time lag between migration and entrepreneurship consistent across countries and regions or is it specific to rural areas of Wales?

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9 Appendices

- A. Household survey
- B. Ethical questionnaire from ESRC
- C. Interview request letter
- D. Topics covered at Interview



Dear Householder,

This survey is part of my PhD study at the University of the West of England in Bristol. My research is being supported by the Economic and Social Research Council and the National Assembly for Wales. By completing this questionnaire you will be contributing greatly to my research.

The research being conducted is about employment in rural Wales and the types of jobs people are involved in. Some of the questions in the survey are also about business and household structure and in-migration into rural areas.

Your address was chosen at random from the electoral register, all information in the survey is confidential and none of your details will be passed on to any third parties.

This survey is intended for households in rural areas of Wales; even if the survey was addressed to someone no longer residing at this address, it can be filled in by you as it is the address not the person that is important. Not all the questions on the survey may be relevant to you, but please answer all those that are.

The survey is very important to my research and your time in completing it is greatly appreciated. It should take no more than 10 minutes; I have included a prepaid envelope for you to return it in.

Once again thank you for your time I look forward to receiving your reply. If you would like to contact me to discuss any issues you have with the survey please do so on the following e-mail sarah.groves-phillips@student.uwe.ac.uk or phone number 01570421591

Yours sincerely

Sarah Groves-Phillips

Household survey number:

- Information for filling in the questionnaire
- All information you provide in this questionnaire will be confidential and will not be passed on to any third parties; it is for the sole purpose of my research project.
- The questionnaire asks for information relating to the employment and housing history of the household members living at this address and as a matter of convenience has asked for any household member to complete the questionnaire on behalf of all the household members.
- In order to be able to distinguish the different household members, on the first page of the questionnaire one of the first questions asks for you to tick which household member is the head of the household. In terms of which household member this applies to is up to you, in some households it may be the highest wage earner in others it may be the person who deals with most of the domestic chores or who pays the bills, thus it is not necessarily the oldest male member.
- This survey is to be filled in by anyone who lives at the address listed on the envelope, whether you are retired, unemployed or self employed any information you are willing to give is very useful.
- Please fill in all questions that apply to you especially the questions shaded in grey.

Section 1 Household Structure and employment status

These questions are included to build up a profile of the types of households living in rural areas.

This table is to be filled in for all household members (HM)

Household member	HM1	HM2	HM3	HM4
Name				
Tick who is filling in the survey				
1.1 Age	<input type="checkbox"/> 0-16 <input type="checkbox"/> 17-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-45 <input type="checkbox"/> 46-65 <input type="checkbox"/> 66+	<input type="checkbox"/> 0-16 <input type="checkbox"/> 17-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-45 <input type="checkbox"/> 46-65 <input type="checkbox"/> 66+	<input type="checkbox"/> 0-16 <input type="checkbox"/> 17-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-45 <input type="checkbox"/> 46-65 <input type="checkbox"/> 66+	<input type="checkbox"/> 0-16 <input type="checkbox"/> 17-29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30-45 <input type="checkbox"/> 46-65 <input type="checkbox"/> 66+
1.2 Relationship to head of household (please tick one)	<input type="checkbox"/> Head of household	<input type="checkbox"/> spouse /partner <input type="checkbox"/> child <input type="checkbox"/> mother <input type="checkbox"/> father <input type="checkbox"/> sibling <input type="checkbox"/> other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> spouse /partner <input type="checkbox"/> child <input type="checkbox"/> mother <input type="checkbox"/> father <input type="checkbox"/> sibling <input type="checkbox"/> other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> spouse /partner <input type="checkbox"/> child <input type="checkbox"/> mother <input type="checkbox"/> father <input type="checkbox"/> sibling <input type="checkbox"/> other please add
1.3 Welsh speaking	<input type="checkbox"/> first language <input type="checkbox"/> second language <input type="checkbox"/> conversational <input type="checkbox"/> none	<input type="checkbox"/> first language <input type="checkbox"/> second language <input type="checkbox"/> conversational <input type="checkbox"/> none	<input type="checkbox"/> first language <input type="checkbox"/> second language <input type="checkbox"/> conversational <input type="checkbox"/> none	<input type="checkbox"/> first language <input type="checkbox"/> second language <input type="checkbox"/> conversational <input type="checkbox"/> none
1.4 Place of birth e.g. Sheffield				
1.5 Nationality	<input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish <input type="checkbox"/> Welsh <input type="checkbox"/> Irish <input type="checkbox"/> British <input type="checkbox"/> Other national identity – Please add	<input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish <input type="checkbox"/> Welsh <input type="checkbox"/> Irish <input type="checkbox"/> British <input type="checkbox"/> Other national identity – Please add	<input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish <input type="checkbox"/> Welsh <input type="checkbox"/> Irish <input type="checkbox"/> British <input type="checkbox"/> Other national identity – Please add	<input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish <input type="checkbox"/> Welsh <input type="checkbox"/> Irish <input type="checkbox"/> British <input type="checkbox"/> Other national identity – Please add

1.6 Ethnicity	<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese or other Asian <input type="checkbox"/> other Please add:	<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese or other Asian <input type="checkbox"/> other Please add:	<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese or other Asian <input type="checkbox"/> other Please add:	<input type="checkbox"/> White <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed <input type="checkbox"/> Asian or Asian British <input type="checkbox"/> Black or Black British <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese or other Asian <input type="checkbox"/> other Please add:
1.7 Highest qualification	<input type="checkbox"/> O-levels / GCSE / NVQ <input type="checkbox"/> A-levels <input type="checkbox"/> HND / HNC <input type="checkbox"/> First degree (BA, BSC) <input type="checkbox"/> Higher degree (MA, PhD) <input type="checkbox"/> other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> O-levels / GCSE / NVQ <input type="checkbox"/> A-levels <input type="checkbox"/> HND / HNC <input type="checkbox"/> First degree (BA, BSC) <input type="checkbox"/> Higher degree (MA, PhD) <input type="checkbox"/> other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> O-levels / GCSE / NVQ <input type="checkbox"/> A-levels <input type="checkbox"/> HND / HNC <input type="checkbox"/> First degree (BA, BSC) <input type="checkbox"/> Higher degree (MA, PhD) <input type="checkbox"/> other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> O-levels / GCSE / NVQ <input type="checkbox"/> A-levels <input type="checkbox"/> HND / HNC <input type="checkbox"/> First degree (BA, BSC) <input type="checkbox"/> Higher degree (MA, PhD) <input type="checkbox"/> other please add
1.8 Employment status <i>(Ignore this question for children under 16)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Employed Full Time <input type="checkbox"/> Employed Part Time <input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Retired <input type="checkbox"/> Student <input type="checkbox"/> Looking after home <input type="checkbox"/> unemployed and looking for work <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> Employed Full Time <input type="checkbox"/> Employed Part Time <input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Retired <input type="checkbox"/> Student <input type="checkbox"/> Looking after home <input type="checkbox"/> unemployed and looking for work <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> Employed Full Time <input type="checkbox"/> Employed Part Time <input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Retired <input type="checkbox"/> Student <input type="checkbox"/> Looking after home <input type="checkbox"/> unemployed and looking for work <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add	<input type="checkbox"/> Employed Full Time <input type="checkbox"/> Employed Part Time <input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/> Retired <input type="checkbox"/> Student <input type="checkbox"/> Looking after home <input type="checkbox"/> unemployed and looking for work <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add
1.9 No of jobs currently worked <i>(If currently working)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> multiple Please state number:	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> multiple Please state number:	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> multiple Please state number:	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> multiple Please state number:
1.10 Title of main Job e.g. teacher				
1.11 Full time or part time	<input type="checkbox"/> full time <input type="checkbox"/> part time	<input type="checkbox"/> full time <input type="checkbox"/> part time	<input type="checkbox"/> full time <input type="checkbox"/> part time	<input type="checkbox"/> full time <input type="checkbox"/> part time

1.12 Location of workplace e.g. Brecon, Home				
1.13 time taken to travel to work from home (in minutes) e.g. 20 minutes				
1.14 Length of time at job				

Section 2 Housing History

These questions are included so we can understand where households in this area have originated from. They are to be filled in by or on behalf of the **head of the household**.

2.1 Have you always lived at this address?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <i>If yes, please go to Section 3 of the survey</i> <i>If no, go to next question</i>
2.2 Have you always lived in this area? (By this area we mean within 20 miles of this part of Wales)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <i>If yes, please go to Section 3 of the survey</i> <i>If no, please go to next question</i>
2.3 When did you move to this area?	
2.4 Where did you live before moving to this area?	County Nearest Town Country
2.5 What job did you do before moving to this area?	
2.6 What was your first job after moving to this area?	
2.7 Have you ever lived in a city?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <i>If yes, please state which one?</i>
2.8 Where would you say you grew up?	County Nearest Town Country

2.9 Had you ever lived in this area before moving here the last time?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <i>If yes, please state when you moved away from the area</i>
2.10 Please indicate which of these factors were important to you in choosing the area where you now live <i>(please tick as many as apply to you)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Property prices <input type="checkbox"/> Moved back to where I came from <input type="checkbox"/> Employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> Used to come on holiday here <input type="checkbox"/> Have friends and/or family in the area <input type="checkbox"/> Health care provision <input type="checkbox"/> Local school provision <input type="checkbox"/> Local College or University <input type="checkbox"/> Scenic beauty of the area <input type="checkbox"/> Crime rate <input type="checkbox"/> Local culture <input type="checkbox"/> Needed a bigger/ smaller house <input type="checkbox"/> Relocated with work <input type="checkbox"/> Move closer to other people like me <input type="checkbox"/> Provision of building plots for self build house <input type="checkbox"/> To open my own business <input type="checkbox"/> Joined an existing household member <input type="checkbox"/> Other <i>(please write what this is)</i>
2.11 When did you move to your current address?	
2.12 Please indicate what form of tenure you have at this address (tick one box)	<input type="checkbox"/> Owner occupied (out-right) <input type="checkbox"/> Owner occupied (mortgaged) <input type="checkbox"/> Local authority <input type="checkbox"/> Housing association <input type="checkbox"/> Private rented <input type="checkbox"/> Tied
Owner occupiers please answer the following questions	
2.13 How many homes have you owned including your current home?	
2.14 How old were you when you bought your first home?	
2.15 Have you ever owned your own home in a city?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <i>If yes, please state which city?</i>
2.16 Where was the first house you bought?	County Nearest Town Country

Section 3 Being in Business and employing people

These questions have been included to build up a profile of the types of businesses in rural areas. They are to be answered by or on behalf of the head of the household.

<p>3.1 Do you (as a household) employ people to do any domestic work? <i>(e.g. a nanny or a gardener)</i></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes- <i>(please specify how many hours per week each employee works and their job title)</i> 1. 2. 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>
<p>3.2 Do you run your own business?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>
<p>3.3 Does anyone else in the household run their own business?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <i>please go to section 4 of the survey</i></p>
<p>3.4 Has the business owner always lived at the current address?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>
<p>3.5 When was the business started?</p>	
<p>3.6 Does the business employ anyone other than the owner? <i>(Please add the number of full time and or part time employees)</i></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes Full time Part time <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>
<p>3.7 Please tick the statements that apply to the business in the household</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> I moved to take over a family business <input type="checkbox"/> I started the business after an unsuccessful job hunt <input type="checkbox"/> I started the business as I was unhappy in my old job/s <input type="checkbox"/> I started the business after taking early redundancy/ retirement <input type="checkbox"/> I started the business so I could work from home <input type="checkbox"/> Opening the business was a lifelong ambition <input type="checkbox"/> I started the business as a hobby alongside my old job <input type="checkbox"/> I started the business as a hobby after finishing my old job <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add</p>
<p>3.8 How many businesses are owned by household members?</p>	
<p>3.9 If you have moved to this area did you do it with the intention of opening a business?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Yes</p>
<p>3.10 What are the main products or services of the business or businesses owned by the</p>	

household members?	
3.11 What is the annual turnover of the business?	<input type="checkbox"/> under £25,000 <input type="checkbox"/> under £61,000 <input type="checkbox"/> under £150,000 <input type="checkbox"/> under £500,000 <input type="checkbox"/> over £500,000
3.12 Does the business employ any family members if so how many?	
3.13 How many employees in total including the owner does the business have?	
3.14 Please tick the statement which best describes the start up of the business	<input type="checkbox"/> The business was opened after moving into this area <input type="checkbox"/> The business was opened before moving to this area <input type="checkbox"/> I bought an existing business in this area <input type="checkbox"/> I moved to take over a family business <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add
3.15 Please tick the statement which best depicts the future plan for the business over the next two years	<input type="checkbox"/> I plan to expand this business in the near future <input type="checkbox"/> I plan to keep this business as it is in the near future <input type="checkbox"/> I plan to close this business in the near future <input type="checkbox"/> I plan to change the type of business in the near future <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add
3.16 If you plan to expand the business in what ways do you intend to do this?	<input type="checkbox"/> Employ more staff <input type="checkbox"/> Buy another business <input type="checkbox"/> Invest capital in the existing business <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add below
3.17 Before opening the business what was your main job or career?	
3.18 What was your main reason for becoming self employed?	
3.19 Did you find it hard to find work before becoming self employed?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
3.20 Where is the business located? E.g. home based, shop in Brecon	
3.21 How far are the business premises from your home?	<input type="checkbox"/> At home <input type="checkbox"/> under 5 miles <input type="checkbox"/> under 20 miles <input type="checkbox"/> under 50 miles <input type="checkbox"/> over 50 miles
3.22 What was the main source of finance for the business start up?	<input type="checkbox"/> Personal investment of funds <input type="checkbox"/> Bank or other institution loan

	<input type="checkbox"/> Venture capital <input type="checkbox"/> Grant <input type="checkbox"/> Loan from family or friends <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add
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Section 4 Future Plans

These questions have been included to understand what the future plans are of households across rural Wales. They are to be answered by or on behalf of the head of the household.

<p>4.1 Does anyone in your household plan to open a business in the near future?</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are working towards <input type="checkbox"/> Yes in the future no solid plans <input type="checkbox"/> No we are happy as we are <input type="checkbox"/> No we have previously been self employed, no longer wish to be <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know never thought about it <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add below
<p>4.2 If you have any solid plans to open a business can you give an example of how close you are to doing it e.g. searching for start up funds, acquired funds, looking for premises e.g.?</p> <p><i>Please write at what stage you are at in the space opposite</i></p>	
<p>4.3 If you're household is considering opening a business in the future how long do you think it will be before you do?</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 year or less <input type="checkbox"/> 3 years or less <input type="checkbox"/> 5 years or less <input type="checkbox"/> Over 5 years <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add
<p>4.4 Please tick the statement which best describes your households future moving plans</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to return to where we previously lived <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move to a new place in Wales <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move to a new place outside Wales but in the UK <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move to somewhere in Europe <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we are planning to move further away than Europe <input type="checkbox"/> Yes we have thought about it but have no specific plans yet <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know, never thought about it <input type="checkbox"/> No we are happy where we are and plan to stay here permanently <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add
<p>4.5 If your household have any solid plans to</p>	

<p>move in the near future can you give an example of where you are at in the process in the space opposite? E.g. had house valued, house on market, looking for property elsewhere e.g.</p>	
<p>4.6 If your household is planning to move in the future how long do you think it will be before you do?</p>	<p> <input type="checkbox"/> 1 year or less <input type="checkbox"/> 3 years or less <input type="checkbox"/> 5 years or less <input type="checkbox"/> Over 5 years <input type="checkbox"/> Other please add </p>

Thank you very much for completing this survey your answers to these question will help a great deal with my research, this questionnaire is the first part of my research after which I will be conducting several interviews with people who do a variety of jobs in rural areas. I am looking for people who would be willing to take part in a short interview to discuss the type of job they do or business they run, please tick the following box if you would be willing to consider being part of the second stage of the research.

<p>4.7 Would you be willing to take part in any further research on this subject? Such as a short interview.</p>	<p> <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No </p>
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Thank you again for filling in this survey your answers are very much appreciated

If there are any comments you would like to make regarding this survey or any of the issues raised by the survey please do so in the space below.

Ethical questionnaire

The following table is a research checklist based on ESRC ethics checklist which highlights how this research is low risk.

	YES	NO
Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, your own students)		X
Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. students at school, members of self-help group, residents of nursing home)		X
Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)		X
Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?		X
Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involves invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?		X
Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?		X
Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?		X
Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?		X
Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?		X
Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?		X
Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS?		X

Employment and migration in rural Wales



Dear

I am writing with regard a questionnaire you completed in the autumn of 2007. I am a postgraduate student with the University of West of England in Bristol and it was my survey you completed. Thank you for filling the questionnaire in, your participation was very helpful to my research.

On the survey you stated that you would be willing to be part of a second stage of the research which involves a short telephone interview. The purpose of this interview is to ask people why they choose the employment and residential options they do.

I write to you now in order to ask for your phone number so that I may ring you at a convenient time and ask you a couple of questions. Being part of this second stage of research will be very quick and will really help me to understand people's choices.

Thank you again for filling in my survey, you have helped me a great deal already. If you would be so kind as to allow me to include you in the short telephone interview, I know it would really help with the research.

Please fill in the short form attached which asks for your telephone number and convenient times for me to ring you and I will be in touch shortly. Your details will be held in the strictest confidence, all data will be anonymised and no information will be passed to third parties.

Once again thank you for your time I look forward to receiving your reply. If you would like to contact me to discuss any issues you have with being a part of the telephone interviews please do so on the following e-mail sarah.groves-phillips@student.uwe.ac.uk or phone number 01570421591.

Yours sincerely

Name:

Telephone number:

Alternative Telephone number:

Preferred day of call: (please tick as appropriate)

Monday	28 th of January	
Tuesday	29 th of January	
Wednesday	30 th of January	
Thursday	31 st of January	
Friday	1 st of February	
Saturday	2 nd of February	
Sunday	3 rd of February	
Monday	4 th of February	
Other day (please add)		
No preference		

Preferred time of call: (Please tick as appropriate)

Morning	
Afternoon	
Early Evening	
Specific time (please add)	
No preference	

Thank you again for filling this in please post this back to me in the prepaid envelope supplied, alternatively you may ring me with this information or email it to me. The phone number and email address are on the letter attached.

If you have any comments or any special requirements please feel free to add them below.

Topics covered during Qualitative Interviews

- A. Business Specifics – Age, Type, No of Employees, No of Family members employed, Customer Base, Location
- B. Migration – Reasons for, choice of location, timeline of decision making and move
- C. Previous Employment and or business History
- D. Reasons for becoming self employed
- E. Use of business support services (locally)
- F. view of doing business locally
- G. Previous Residential History
- H. Household Structure and household income generation
- I. Future Residential plans
- J. Future business / employment plans
- K. Reflections on business / employment choices
- L. Reflections on migration decisions