

Entrepreneurial In-Migrants and Economic Development in Rural England

Abstract

Counterurbanisation is generally viewed as a negative phenomenon but Stockdale and Findlay (2004) present rural in-migration as potentially 'a catalyst for economic regeneration' based on in-migrants' business activity. Over half of rural microbusinesses in the North East of England are owned by in-migrants and provide an estimated 10% of jobs in the rural North East (Bosworth, 2006).

In the light of these new drivers of rural development, exogenous and endogenous approaches alone are increasingly inadequate (Lowe *et al*, 1995, Murdoch, 2000; Terluin, 2003). Ray instead proposed Neo-Endogenous Development, defined as 'endogenous based development in which extra-local factors are recognised as essential but which retains belief in the potential of local areas to shape their future' (2001, p4).

Preliminary research suggests that in-migrants tend to retain more extensive business networks while developing valuable local contacts (Bosworth, 2006). As endogenous actors with diverse networks, in-migrants are well placed to strengthen connectivity with the 'extra-local' and introduce new vitality to rural economies.

Keywords entrepreneurship; migration; in-migrants; rural development; economic development; counterurbanisation; microbusinesses; networks; rural economy; rural England; North-East England; Northumberland.

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Introduction

Studies of 'rural entrepreneurship' have developed rapidly over recent years as the composition of rural communities and economies has changed. Just 20 years ago, such a term would have been the preserve of agricultural studies but changing rural environments have opened up this new area of socio-economic research. As traditional primary industries generate relatively lower incomes and provide less employment in rural England, policy makers are also shifting the emphasis away from land-based activities to take a more holistic view of rural economies. The UK Rural White Paper (DETR, 2000) set out such a vision for rural England, embracing the need for a 'diverse economy', 'high quality public services' and 'high and stable levels of employment'. Within this vision, no specific reference is made to the role of agriculture although it remains a part of a diverse economy and retains an important function in the enhancement of the natural environment.

A concurrent transformation in rural areas has been the developing trend of counterurbanisation, which 'has been happening for at least 50 years, and has gathered momentum in the last 20 years' (Slee, 2005, p255). For the purposes of this paper, counterurbanisation is defined as 'an inversion of the traditionally positive relationship between migration and settlement size' (Champion, 1989). A large amount of literature has focused on the implications of counterurbanisation for the social transformation of rural settlements and rural life. In-migration raises property prices disadvantaging indigenous residents (Gilligan, 1987; Hamnett, 1992) creating the need for 'affordable housing that can help villages retain and attract young people to work and live there' (Jim Knight MP, 2005). Other authors have pointed to the potential reduction in the viability of services (Divoudi and Wishardt, 2004), and the loss of a sense of community (Bell, 1994). Murdoch *et al* (2003) discuss the new conflicts that arise in rural societies between in-comers and traditional residents and Savage *et al* (1992) describe how gentrification is affecting neighbourhoods as wealthier classes are creating and sometimes enforcing their own identities on parts of rural England.

This paper does not seek to challenge these negative consequences directly, but it does seek to establish a counter-argument in terms of the enrichment of rural economies against which any detrimental impact should be assessed. These counter-arguments fall into two main categories, the direct and measurable economic contribution of businesses owned by in-migrants (Phillipson *et al*, 2002a; Stockdale and Findlay, 2004; Bosworth, 2006) and the less tangible introduction and dissemination of new networks, expertise and knowledge (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006; Phillipson *et al*, 2001; Atterton, 2005; Chell and Baines, 2000; Jack and Anderson, 2002). Slee (2005, p255) explains that the injections of wealth and income associated with these new rural residents have helped the traditional rural population to ‘weather and adapt to a deep crisis in their livelihoods’. In the light of these new outlooks, greater attention is being given in both national and regional policy to the possibility of attracting in-migrant entrepreneurs as drivers of local economic development (Countryside Agency, 2003; One North East, 2006).

This focus on in-migrants comes at a time when new theoretical approaches to rural development are being proposed. Stockdale (2006, p354-355) points out that local development requires ‘appropriate human capital to be present’ and, in-migration can be conducive to development where it is ‘associated with individuals possessing, among others, entrepreneurial skills’. By stressing the importance of both local and extra-local factors, *Neo-Endogenous Development* lends itself to a study of in-migrants as potential intermediaries and not just as new business units in rural economies. This paper, therefore, charts the origins of neo-endogenous development and seeks to identify its critical components in terms of the human, social and economic resources now found in rural England. Within this context and through the use of survey data, the role and characteristics of in-migrants are assessed and compared to local, or indigenous, business owners.

Neo-Endogenous Development and Extra-Local Linkages

The central aims of rural development, requiring the creation of economic opportunities for local people (Commission for European Communities, 1988) and the maintenance of sustainable living and working environments (DETR, 2000), may be uncontroversial but the best approaches to achieving these remain disputable. Top-down or exogenous approaches have been criticised for promoting ‘dependent development, distorted development, destructive development and dictated development’ (Lowe *et al*, 1998) while bottom-up or endogenous approaches underplay the fact that many of the causes of rural change originate from outside the rural area altogether (Cloke, 1996, p435).

In addressing the ‘problem’ of rural development, Lowe *et al* explained that among proponents of exogenous models of development ‘it was widely believed that stagnant regions needed to be connected to dynamic centres and expanding sectors’ (1995, p89). This rhetoric holds true today but the best means of generating that connectivity for a sustainable local economy provides the focus for debate. As Lowe *et al* (1995, p87) explained, we need to look ‘beyond exogenous and endogenous theories of development’ because such a dichotomy is unhelpful. However, as Murdoch (2000, p408) recognises, this need not mean abandoning the old theories but instead ‘we should expect that combinations of both will, or should, be the norm’.

The shift from exogenous to endogenous approaches saw a greater focus on the rural areas themselves rather than an urban-centred policy of supporting the periphery. In moving away from economies of scale arguments to an awareness of the value of harnessing local resources through local initiatives and enterprise, rural areas are seen in a more positive light. Also, as food and primary production became less dominant and broader service economies emerged, so the potential for wider capacity building now provides the opportunity for rethinking rural development. This still requires ‘technological progress’ to capitalise on local resources but while the Solow Swan model of economic development describes this as an external factor requiring exogenous investment (Vazquez-Barquero 2002), more recent theories suggest that it can be achieved endogenously. This requires connectivity beyond the local area but

the resources of human and social capital that can give rise to technological progress can be embedded in key actors locally.

In proposing 'an approach to the analysis of rural development that instead stresses the interplay between local and external forces in the control of development processes', Lowe *et al* (1995, p87) laid the foundations for neo-endogenous development which Ray later defined as;

'endogenous-based development in which extra-local factors are recognised and regarded as essential but which retains belief in the potential of local areas to shape their future'. (Ray, 2001, p4)

As with purely endogenous approaches, there remains a responsibility for local areas to take the initiative and stimulate development from within, allowing a degree of control to be retained locally. In proposing a 'mixed exogenous/endogenous development approach', Terluin (2003, p333) recognises that rural development is 'a complex mesh of networks in which resources are mobilized and in which the control of the process consists of an interplay between local and external forces'. Actors should not be limited by local boundaries, rather they should seek to explore the opportunities provided by extra-local factors that can enhance local development potential. To maximise this potential, two attributes are required, namely the ability for an area to interact with the 'extra-local' and for the local area to accrue the requisite means to realise development locally.

The first of these attributes requires networks that link people and businesses to others outside the immediate locality. These networks may take many forms and perform different roles but without them, the financial and informational resources and opportunities associated with extra-local factors will be missed and the threats from outside will not be recognised. The second attribute concerns the ability of a locality to host neo-endogenous development and this requires a combination of resources. As well as the more tangible resources of income, raw materials, people and technology, a local economy requires actors to work together through local networks in order to maximise economic potential. These networks may take many forms from trading relations or formal business co-operation to personal acquaintances through which local knowledge and stronger relations may build.

Developing this idea through Bourdieu's (1996) theory on the forms of capital, Ray (2003, p5) explains that 'the emergence of a neo-endogenous development initiative provides a mechanism by which individuals, be they business proprietors or employees, could invest their capital in order to earn not only financial returns (as wages or profits) but also returns in kind as accumulated embodied capital'. The idea that both financial capital and forms of human or social capital can be increased through neo-endogenous development sets the tone for the analysis in this paper where the economic and then some of the non-economic impacts of in-migrant business owners are examined.

The significance of both local networks and strategic extra-local connections places in-migrants in a valuable position as they can be expected to bring with them new connections and different life experiences. This is not to say that local people do not have extensive networks, but in-migrants from diverse backgrounds can contribute a wider range of contacts and attributes. For these benefits to be realised in a local economy, however, demands that those possessing the resources engage with other local actors in ways that enable the conduct of trade and the sharing of knowledge and information. The interface between in-migrant and local business owners, the networks that develop between them and the resulting impact on rural economies remains somewhat under-researched.

In-migrants are making an impact on rural economies (Raley and Moxey, 2000; Phillipson *et al*, 2002a; Stockdale and Findlay, 2004; Bosworth, 2006). They are creating jobs and spending money in their new localities and they bring with them new forms of human capital which is essential for endogenous-based development. It is also hypothesised that they are helping to diversify the local economy and provide links to increasingly extensive social and business networks but the processes by which this occurs and the characteristics of businesses making the greatest impact remain unclear. This study seeks to examine the number of firms and jobs involved and identify some of the specific characteristics of in-migrant firm owners. In particular, the employment generation and growth potential of these rural microbusinesses is assessed in the context of stimulating neo-endogenous development.

The Economic Impact of Rural In-Migrant's Business Activity

Employment Creation

Employment appears to be a significant motivation for migration and this increases as the distance of the move lengthens (Halfacree, 1994; Stockdale and Findlay, 2004). The traditional view that many of these migrants commute to urban centres is challenged by Stockdale and Findlay (2004, p9) who discovered that 7% of migrant heads of household worked from home and 67% worked less than 20km from where they lived. Moreover, they found that in-migrants are also creating jobs locally, further highlighting the positive economic impact of counterurbanisation. Across five English districts (Alnwick, Ashford, East Devon, South Warwickshire and Wear Valley), they found that each self-employed migrant created an average of 2.4 full-time jobs. When migrants were defined as those who were not born or brought up in the study area, this statistic was reduced to 1.7 additional full-time jobs (*ibid*, p13). Some 86% of in-migrant business owners worked within their district of residence so their impact is clearly concentrated in the local economy.

Stockdale and Findlay's work was based on a household survey and picked up all types of rural business but in the North East, Raley and Moxey reported on a survey of 1,294 rural microbusinesses¹ which showed that 46% of owners were local (i.e. they had always lived within 30 miles), 9% were return migrants and 45% were in-migrants (i.e. they moved into the area as adults). This demonstrates that in-migrants are a significant group within the rural economy of the North East and one that merits greater attention. They also found that these in-migrants were active in different business sectors and that the time between migrating and establishing a business was quite variable so in-migrant entrepreneurs are certainly not a homogenous group.

Using Raley and Moxey's data as part of a study of microbusinesses in rural Northumberland, it was found that for each self-employed in-migrant, some 1.9 additional jobs were created. Taking Northumberland as a representative sample for the whole of the North East it was estimated that 8,500 jobs were provided by in-migrant microbusiness owners and this equated to 6.9% of the total of 123,448 jobs. Although perhaps not a huge percentage, it should be remembered that

microbusinesses by definition employ no more than 10 full time equivalent staff (Raley and Moxey, 2000). Further calculations included the 87% of microbusiness owners who worked solely in their own businesses and, applying this to the North East as a whole, it was estimated that a total of 11,158 people were employed in rural microbusinesses owned by in-migrants, 7,600 of these in full-time positions. This is 8.3% of the total number of full-time jobs in the rural economy of the North East (Bosworth, 2006). As a comparison, in 2002, agriculture and fishing provided just 3,398 (3.7%) full-time jobs in the rural North East (Countryside Agency 2004, p66).

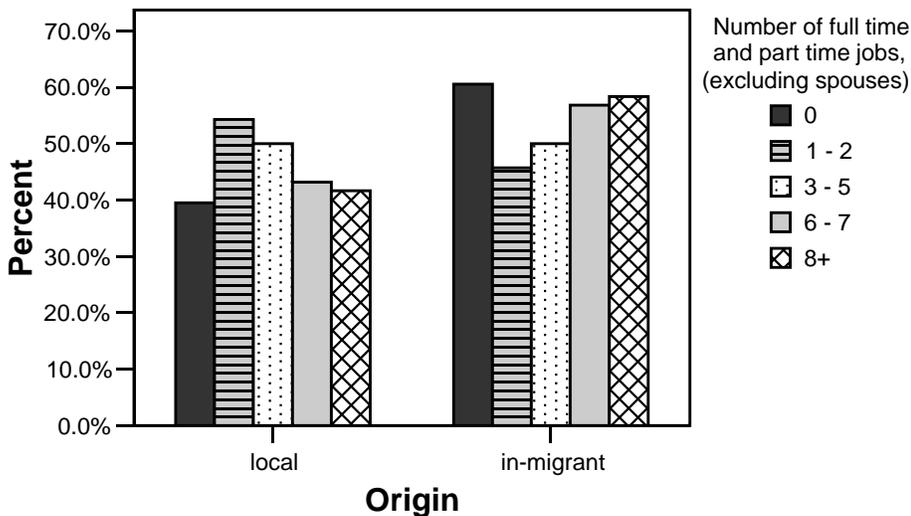
These figures assume that the microbusiness survey is a fair sample of all microbusinesses but they exclude farm businesses. As the North East has the highest percentage of business stock in the 'agricultural and fishing' sector compared with all other regions (Countryside Agency, 2004), it clearly remains an important sector. Making adjustments for the fact that farm businesses are excluded from this data, it was calculated that non-agricultural rural microbusinesses whose owners have moved at least 30 miles into the area as adults provided a total of 5,500 full-time jobs. Although a very specific category, this makes up 6% of the 91,640 full-time jobs in the rural economy of the North East and that is still over 50% higher than the total full-time employment in agriculture in the region (Bosworth, 2006).

In-migrants are clearly responsible for a significant proportion of business activity in the rural North East but the implications for the rural economy depend on many other characteristics associated with these businesses. The subsequent analysis revisits the database of microbusinesses across the whole of the North East and contrasts the characteristics of those run by locals and in-migrants. The classification of 'rural' for the purposes of sampling businesses was taken from an urbanisation index developed by Coombes and Raybould (2001), which focused on the size of a settlement and its distance from other settlements, and the definition of in-migrant is also retained from the original study.

Further analysis of this data for the North East region shows that in-migrants are much more likely to employ no permanent staff (Figure 1 illustrates that 60% of the firms with no staff are owned by in-migrants) but of those that do create jobs, in-migrants tend to create more. On average, locally owned businesses provide a

slightly higher number of jobs with an average of 1.98 compared to 1.88 full or part time positions but this difference is not statistically significant. With firms employing no staff removed from the analysis, the mean number of jobs remains similar with local firms having 3.14 and in-migrants having 3.17 employees. In a sample is restricted to microbusinesses, it is unlikely that there will be a significant difference in employment statistics but a chi-square test did confirm that in-migrants were more likely to have 6 or more employees. This is shown in the graph below where microbusinesses with higher numbers of staff are increasingly likely to be owned by in-migrants.

Figure 1. Comparing the job creation of local and in-migrant microbusiness owners.

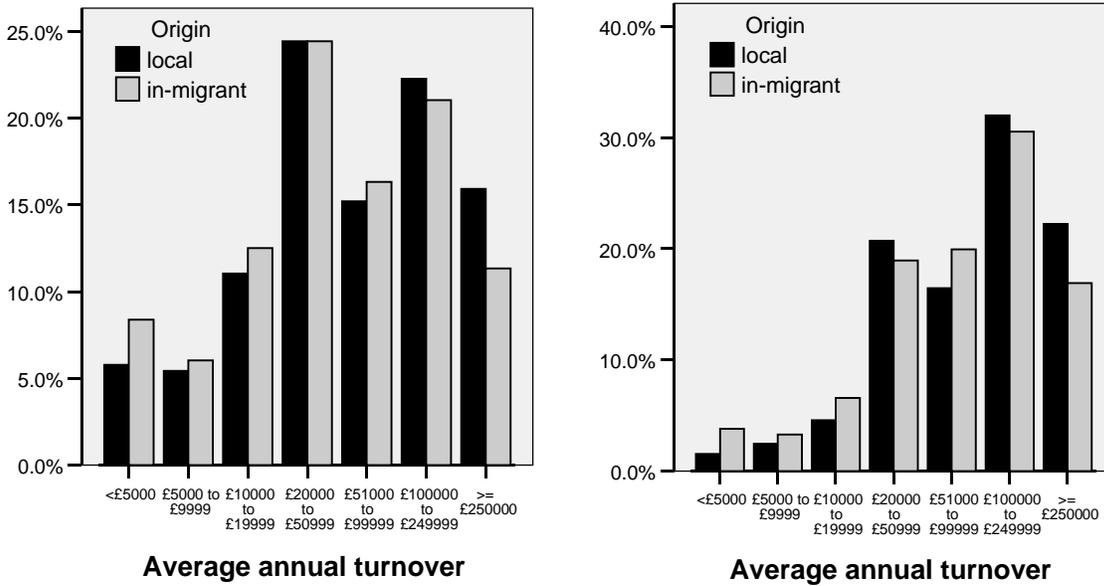


Income and Growth

No data was available for the profits of microbusinesses so it is not possible to assess their contribution to net regional income but categorised data was available for the annual turnover of each business. As figure 2 illustrates, firms with higher turnovers are more likely to have local owners whilst those with lower turnovers are more likely to be in-migrants. To remove any bias based on the higher number of sole traders among in-migrants, those businesses with no employees were removed from the analysis for the second graph. Although there are fewer firms in the lower income categories in the second graph, the distribution between local and in-migrants remains

similar, with microbusinesses owner by indigenous people tending to have higher turnovers.

Figure 2. Comparing the average annual turnovers of (i) all local and in-migrant owned microbusinesses and (ii) excluding those with no employees



Given that locally-owned businesses tend to be older than those run by in-migrants (firms owned by locals have a mean age of 25.1 years compared to 20.7 years for in-migrants) and older firms have higher turnovers, such a pattern might be explained by the fact that the trend of in-migrants establishing businesses is a relatively recent one. For future predictions, the growth aspirations of each category of business will help to determine whether the size of their firms will change over time.

The statistics for the North East show that 44% of local business owners are not seeking growth² compared to only 36% of in-migrants (including return migrants). Equally, 41% of in-migrants are seeking growth compared to only 31% of locals and the figures are similar for those reporting that they may be interested in growth. A chi-square test confirms that these differences are statistically significant within a 5% confidence level. On a similar note, just over 40% of in-migrants considered that more sales were possible compared to just 3% of locals, again reflecting a more positive and optimistic outlook. From these results we can forecast that the

differences in annual turnover between local and in-migrants' firms will level out and also that in-migrants will employ more people in the future.

Figure 3. Origin of microbusiness owners and their attitudes towards growth.

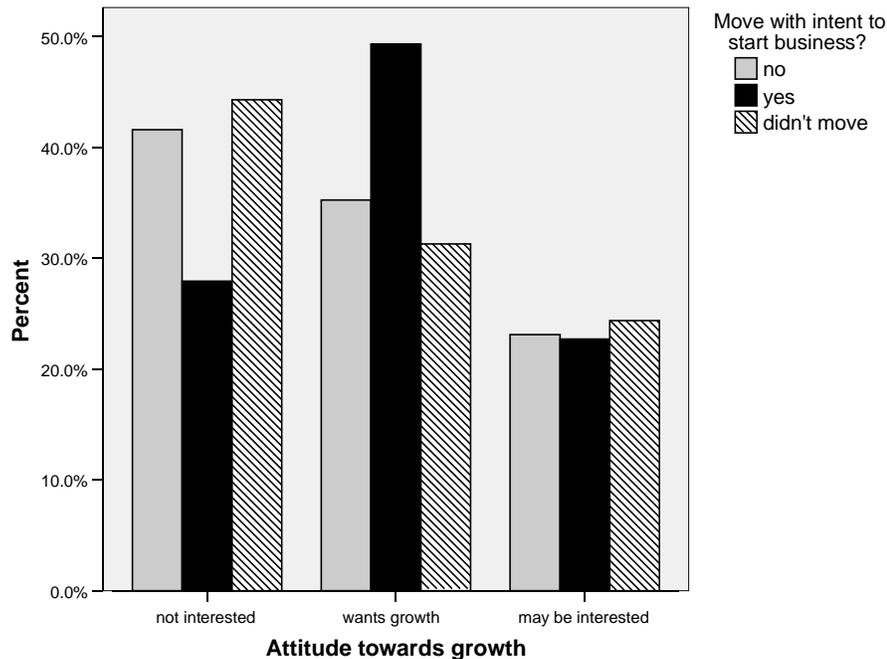


Figure 3 illustrates the growth-orientation of rural microbusiness owners and also distinguishes between in-migrants that planned to establish a business and those that did not. As well as confirming the figures above, it emphasises that those moving with the intention to start a business are more driven by growth. Although in-migrants are categorised as one group in much of the analysis, it is important to recognise that they have diverse backgrounds. 'The majority of returnees or in-migrants had not moved into the area with the intention of starting the firm – this was a subsequent decision' (Raley and Moxey, 2000, p35) so policy should be aware that new enterprises develop from many different circumstances and the motivations for starting businesses are equally diverse. Research for ONE North East (2006, p49) confirmed that the majority of in-migrant entrepreneurs moved for other reasons but 'subsequently became entrepreneurial after they had relocated'. This may be attributed to 'lifestyle' start-ups but the process through which in-migrants become entrepreneurial requires further investigation.

The importance of such distinctions is demonstrated by the statistics from the survey of North East microbusinesses. Those business owners intending to start a business when they moved had on average 2.5 employees compared to just 1.5 for those who did not have such plans. Also, those that planned to set up a business have slightly larger annual turnovers so this is perhaps an indicator that those with the resources to plan a move and run a business also have more capital to invest in that firm. Given that these differences exist and considering the implications for where policy might be targeted, subsequent research will seek to develop this line of analysis by exploring three categories of in-migrant business owners. These are 'Business Relocators', those moving with an ongoing business (branches or secondary sites may be a subset), 'Planned Start-ups' those moving with a clear intention to establish a new business; and 'Unplanned Start-ups', those moving without any business plans.

Diversifying Rural Economies

As well as income, growth and employment, the arrival of more in-migrants has coincided with greater diversity of businesses in rural economies. Economic change and counterurbanisation have occurred together but the relationship and any causality between them is somewhat ambiguous. Between 1991 and 1996, professional services saw the largest increase in employment provision with the primary sector, principally mining and quarrying, seeing the greatest loss (Whitby *et al*, 1999, p17). The survey data shows that in-migrants dominate the professional services sectors while they are scarcer in the primary sectors. Moreover, manufacturing has been in decline across the whole North East region but in the rural economy there was a small increase between 1991 and 1996. In-migrants account for just over 60% of rural manufacturing businesses so it might be concluded that they have supported this sector in otherwise challenging times. This does not prove that in-migrants are responsible for the changing sectoral patterns of the rural economy but their arrival coincides with the diversification of rural economies which, especially in the light of agricultural crises such as the foot and mouth outbreak (Phillipson *et al*, 2002b), is considered a welcome development.

Other indicators of how in-migration is changing rural economies include the fact that only 39% of female business owners were local compared to 49% of males. With 69% of responses coming from males, they are still the dominant sex among rural business owners but this dominance may decrease with further in-migration. In-migrants have, on average, attained higher levels of education and, in 1999, more of them had access to the Internet so they are introducing greater human and technological capital into the rural economy. Also, in-migrants are more likely to work from home or other freehold property. Counterurbanisation has been associated with pricing local people out of rural housing markets so perhaps this sounds a cautionary note regarding local entrepreneurs being priced out of the commercial property market in certain sectors or locations. These are only hypotheses at this stage but ones that are being investigated in more detail through ongoing research. They are mentioned here to illustrate the many ways that migration patterns are affecting local economies through the diverse characteristics and aspirations of their owners.

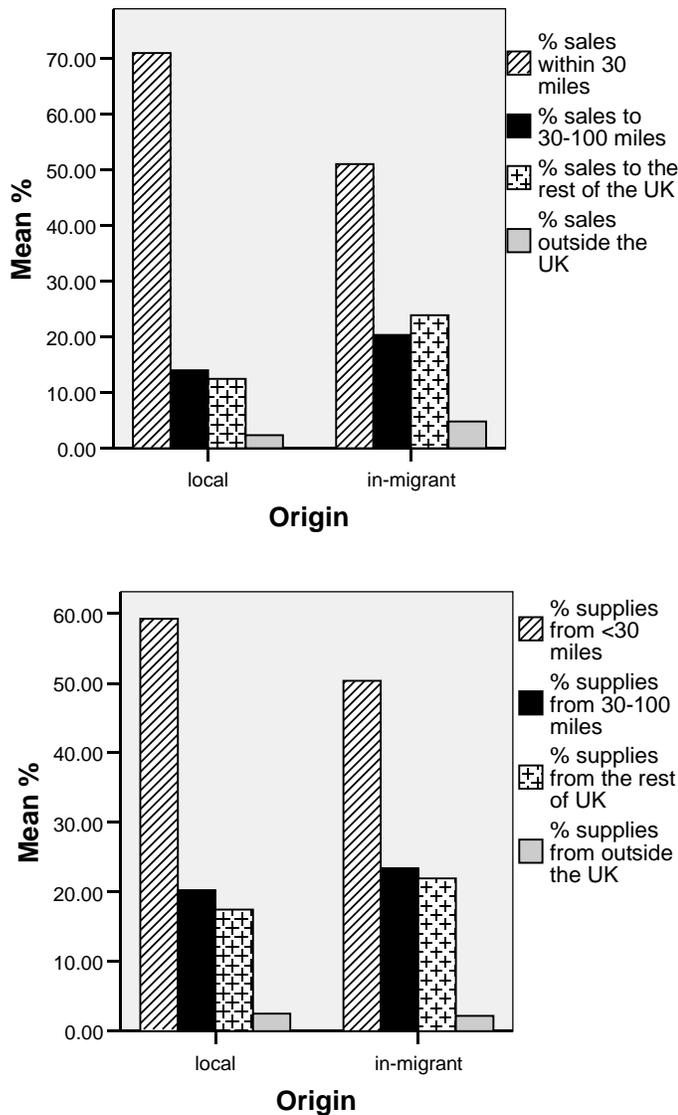
Local Orientation of Microbusiness Activity

Employment, turnover and growth are key economic indicators but modern rural economies require additional attributes to compete against the economies of scale associated with larger, more established commercial centres. In relation to rural development, we have to consider whether businesses transfer resource within the local economy. A firm may be successful at introducing good working practices and new sources of information, but the benefits are minimal if that business has no local connections through which these attributes may be shared. This does not necessarily mean sharing 'trade secrets' but simply trading with local firms will create local multiplier effects and integrating with local business networks can provide access to new sources of information and new ideas.

There is a growing body of literature on networks in rural economies with many definitions and interpretations of 'networks' and 'networking' but, for the purposes of this analysis, the trading patterns of rural microbusinesses are used as an indicator of their local and extra-local outlooks. Acting locally and maintaining access to other

extra-local resources lies at the heart of neo-endogenous development and from the graph below it appears that in-migrants are successfully achieving this.

Figure 4. Comparing the destination of sales and source of supplies between microbusinesses with local and in-migrant owners



Respondents were asked to estimate the proportion of their sales and purchases made at the local, regional, national and international scales and this allows analysis of trading or economic relations. With actual turnover figures, it would be possible to calculate a multiplier effect associated with local and in-migrant firms too. Although

these are only estimates on the part of the respondents, their perspective of where key markets are located is still very useful for thinking about their various networks. From the data it was possible to determine that in-migrants conduct significantly less trade at the local level (defined as a 30-mile radius) than their local counterparts but, as figure 4 illustrates, local trade remains the most significant for both groups.

The second finding from these graphs is that more of the income generated by in-migrants originates from outside the local economy. They make 50% more sales regionally, and 100% more sales nationally and internationally compared to locally owned firms. In-migrants also purchase slightly more supplies from outside the region compared to locally owned firms but this difference is not as great as for sales. Because this difference is greater in terms of sales, in-migrants can be expected to generate a higher net income through their extra-local trade compared to locally owned firms. The fact that in-migrants still rely on local markets for a lot of supplies means that a large proportion of this income will also be retained in the local economy creating a positive multiplier effect.

These figures are only proportionate to each individual firm's total sales and expenditure so to test this more accurately in relation to income generation for the local economy would require details of the monetary value of the sales and expenditure. Nevertheless, this analysis provides a good indication of microbusinesses trading patterns and especially the business owners' perspectives on the geography of their key markets. Phillipson *et al* (2002a) conclude that in-migrants' awareness of other market opportunities is likely to be a significant explanatory factor but it may also be due to a lack of local knowledge, so it is hoped that this will improve through their local involvement.

The only data available from this survey that can provide an insight into information networks is the extent to which businesses use different advice agencies. In-migrants are significantly more likely to use public sector advisory bodies³ and, perhaps connected to this, they are also more likely to apply for grants. Of these, in-migrants who had the clear intention of starting a business were significantly less likely to be successful in that application. Of those securing grants, local business owners have on average received lower amounts (the mean value of grants for locals is £3,329

compared to £7,144 for in-migrants) but this is only based on a sample of 113 successful applicants so the statistical significance is less strong.

As well as being more likely to use public sector advisors, 47% of in-migrants sought advice from the private sector compared to just 43% of local microbusinesses. In both cases, this activity demonstrates that in-migrants are developing relationships within the local economy and, moreover, they are generating business for the advisory bodies concerned. The nature of these relationships is unclear but where firms develop close relationships with advisors, a lot of information and expertise might be exchanged and where businesses come together through the use of such services, this intangible 'trade' might be extended across different sectors through people from different backgrounds. Chell and Baines (2000) explain how strong and weak relationships provide different benefits to the actors involved and Malecki and Oinas (1999, p15) explain that the development of trust through such relations is also associated with 'economies of time in information gathering'. Such exchanges of information have an undoubted value to rural economies but the extent and nature of the information that is exchanged and the people who have access to the most valuable opportunities are somewhat under-researched.

Conclusions

The data for the North East of England demonstrates that in-migrants are having a significant impact upon rural economies. As well as creating jobs and aspiring to grow their businesses, in-migrant business owners are actively involved in local trade and use local advisory services. It has not been possible to carry out a detailed investigation into less formal 'networks', the extent to which in-migrants are involved and the benefits that such relations can have for their businesses, but these results help to inform such research.

The research has also highlighted that these in-migrants are a very diverse group. There are those moving with clear business plans and those who only establish their own businesses after continuing in other employment. Some of these identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities but others may feel restricted by the lack of

alternative local employment and become ‘necessity entrepreneurs’. Each individual business will follow its own trajectory based on many factors so while certain generalised statistics can usefully be produced, more detailed research can help to understand the micro-level decisions and interactions that effect the development of different businesses.

Although the focus of this research is on in-migration, the indigenous population remains significant as it is the introduction of new attributes to rural economies rather than the wholesale replacement of traditional rural economies that is at the heart of this research. Interviews with microbusinesses in Northumberland (Bosworth, 2006) demonstrated that in-migrant and local business owners had mixed views towards each other. Some were envious of the wealth of in-migrants, especially in the hospitality trade, while some were grateful for the boost that in-migrants were providing to local economies and this affected how easily in-migrants were able to integrate into the community. With these differences, it will be difficult to fully understand how in-migrants might assimilate into rural communities but by focusing on relations and the associated flows of information and trade, it is expected that the implications of entrepreneurial in-migration for rural economies can be better understood.

¹ The original survey sample was compiled from lists of businesses supplied by Northumberland Business Link and Northumbria Tourist Board. From a total of 5314 addresses, 1294 usable questionnaires were returned from microbusinesses in rural districts of the North East. There is almost certainly a bias towards firms that have used Business Link but their database is not exclusive and with 71.2% of the respondents claiming not to have used Business Link, it is hoped that this is still a reasonably representative sample.

² In the original survey questionnaire, respondents were asked to state whether they were ‘definitely not interested in expanding the business’, ‘would definitely like the business to grow’ or ‘would consider expanding the business’. Business growth/expansion was defined as increasing turnover and/or taking on more employees and/or expanding the premises or machinery.

³ 55.2% of in-migrants have sought advice from at least one public advisory service compared to 42.3% of locals (29.7% and 23.1% respectively have used at least 2 such services).

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