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**The Arcadian Enterprise: An Enquiry into the Nature
and Conditions of Rural Small Business**

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THE ARCADIAN ENTERPRISE : AN ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CONDITIONS OF RURAL SMALL BUSINESS.

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THE ARCADIAN ENTERPRISE: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE

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CHAPTER ONE

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of rural entrepreneurship which attempts to understand what it is that rural entrepreneurs do within the rural context. Our understanding of entrepreneurship is fragmentary, often narrowly focused and discipline bound. Entrepreneurial theory lacks even a limiting definition of the phenomenon. As Bartlett 1988 claims, it is an intellectual onion; if you keep peeling off the layers you are left with nothing and come away in tears. This seems to suggest that entrepreneurship is a process rather than an entity. Furthermore a major focus of entrepreneurial research has been the entrepreneur as an individual, yet paradoxically, entrepreneurship is essentially a social act. Accordingly the central argument of this thesis is that in order to understand the entrepreneur we must place entrepreneurial action in its social context, we must study the process of entrepreneurship. This study therefore endeavours to investigate the actions of the entrepreneur in one context, rurality. Consequently this study is a detailed examination of a rural environment and the interrelationships of this environment and entrepreneurs. Its purpose is to try to establish the nature of the relationships between rurality and to specify the conditions of the entrepreneurial process.

To discuss process implies change over time and entrepreneurship does seem to be about change. Entrepreneurial action appears to harness change and fit it into an economic relationship. Yet economic explanation is only a limited abstraction, it is a tightly bounded cross section of aspects of change. Therefore to reach a fuller understanding of entrepreneurship we need to observe and analyze the wider context of the enterprising individual within a changing society. The rural environment provides an lucid example of changing context and consequently the opportunity to chart the connections to rural enterprise. Contemporary rural change is both economic and social. Whilst these changes may be local manifestations of wider change they are specific rural changes, both different and unique to rurality. They involve both industrial and social change, so that, for example, rural repopulation can be seen as a production of the post industrial epoch.

Rural change is deep and pervasive and includes economic and social restructuring which has been brought about economic, technological and social change. In particular traditional agricultural methods and systems face new imperatives. The use of the countryside is under duress from economic change as the customary and established post war notions of enduring food production becomes less and less acceptable. As Lowe 1992:5 points out, "Undoubtedly agriculture across Europe has experienced more rapid change in the past

30 years than ever before." So ideas of sustaining the countryside by the indirect subsidy of agricultural use have been challenged by the western over-production of foodstuffs. Furthermore the intensive production methods used to create this productivity have come to clash with the ideology of the traditional rural idyll. Thus the historical land use of agriculture in the countryside has been augmented as industry and people have moved back into the country. This urban-rural shift is driven by arcadian attraction, so that we may begin to discern that rural production is shifting from the material production of food and fibre towards a more direct consumption of the countryside itself. Thus we may argue that the historical and contemporary cultural loadings of how rurality is conceived have shaped the rural outcomes. Concern about this rural change is widespread, especially changes which are inimical to the conception of the rural idyll and these concerns reach well beyond the countryside. For example at a recent Public Enquiry about a proposed super quarry in remote Harris there were eight hundred notes of interest. Yet only eighteen of these were from the Western Isles.

Rural change therefore provides an interesting context for studying entrepreneurship. Rurality, the bundle of concepts and ideologies which make up the popular conception of the countryside has gained increasing prominence within post modern society. What Marcuse describes as the post-necessity society has opened possibilities of pursuing attractive arcadian life styles within the countryside. Yet within these changes there is paradox. The traditional countryside is often seen as a context of limited economic opportunity, the idyll is not industrial. The very attractions of the countryside create a lean environment which may be hostile, and inhibit enterprise. The concerns about quality of life have an affinity to the romance and anti-industrial ethic which informs arcadia. So that rural enterprise in these conditions may be a particularly fruitful context for study. So rurality is not just a passive background to enterprise, but is an active component, an explanatory variable in the entrepreneurial process. Ritchie 1991 describes this as a "definition of a situation... built up in accordance with the principles of organisation which govern events and our subjective involvement in them." Ritchie recognises that these "frames" may carry different levels of reality, but importantly that they still create rules. Thus any meaningful conceptualisation of rural enterprise must take serious account of this context.

As Burrows 1991:21 explains, "entrepreneurship is thus clearly a function of individual, situational and social variables." Consequently to understand rural entrepreneurship, it follows that an analysis of this context, the physical and social construction of rurality, must precede the entrepreneurial investigation. If as Schumpeter 1934:3 suggests, "The social process is really only one indivisible whole. Out of its great stream the classifying hand of the investigator artificially extracts facts", we must first develop a broad understanding of the richness of this rural to begin to discern what are the key issues in the nature and conditions of rural

entrepreneurship. So to ascertain what are the key focused issues, we must first examine the wider context of rurality. Accordingly this study begins by exploring rurality to develop the appropriate focused research questions.

Although we can identify entrepreneurship with change, further explanation is problematic. Its very nature of transition and transformation seems to defy definition. The entrepreneurial literature often avoids confronting this issue by focusing on aspects of entrepreneurship. For example economics considers outcomes; psychology seeks the special entrepreneurial qualities whilst sociology tries to fit entrepreneurship into a social framework. Yet each of these aspects share the theme of change, concerns of economic change; how individuals deal with change and the relationships of individual change and society. So that if change is the fundamental characteristic of entrepreneurship it is also inevitably a process. This may account for the elusiveness of the concept. Entrepreneurship cannot be fixed in time as specifiable and predicable action, but instead it exists only as a process in time. Thus although we cannot, in consequence, yet define precisely what constitutes entrepreneurship we can determine what actions and activities go on and constitute small business. Thus we can describe the entrepreneurial process. Accordingly entrepreneurial process within the operation of rural small business is seen to be an appropriate organisational form to study rural entrepreneurship.

- The West Highlands of Scotland were chosen as the area in which to observe the entrepreneurial process. It was anticipated that the low population numbers would render the structure more transparent, thus exposing the dynamics of entrepreneurship. Change too, should be simpler and more obvious with the linkages identifiable. To paraphrase Koestler 1982:x, the smallness of the area should, "have made it easy to survey trends which in other places appear confused and diluted by size".

Given this perspective which stresses "meaning" as well as action, the study had to be set within a framework of discovery rather than verification. Yet this raised serious problems of methodology, especially of reliability, if the work was not to be dismissed as speculation and impressionistic description. To overcome this, and other risks of conceptual flights of fancy, a variety of ethnographic techniques of qualitative data collection were combined with the formal analytic methods of Grounded Theorising, Glasser and Strauss 1967. The flexibility and open ended nature of this methodology permitted the investigation of an extensive range of potential explanatory variables, but requires that the inductive analysis is grounded in the concrete evidence of the emerging data. Given the nebulous nature of "enterprise", this structure of enquiry creates data based and grounded conceptual development.

Although the initial scope of the research is broad, the form of the research forces management

by developing focus on the key issues and problematics. This is achieved by progressive problem focusing and examination. The answers to the animating questions of the general enquiry provide a funnel to direct the advancing focus of the research questions of the next round of enquiry. Thus the very general issue, "What do rural entrepreneurs do?" is answered by establishing "what is the rural" and what is meant by "entrepreneurship?" These initial general questions shape the literature review so that the answers, derived from the literature, provide the detail of the final research question. With this approach the study is "grounded" in the data but theoretically informed by the literature.

Summary

This section has outlined the area and the interest of the research. It has argued that rural entrepreneurship is best investigated as a social process which takes account of both the context and the actions of rural entrepreneurs. Since rurality is a context undergoing change, it is seen to be a particularly interesting context within which to observe the entrepreneurial process. However since this context involves meaning and interpretation, in addition to physical structure, a qualitative methodology is proposed to determine the relationships between rural structure and entrepreneurship. This methodology involves progressive focusing on the emerging issues and problematics.

This purpose of this section is to explain why the researcher considered the study worthwhile. Apart from the animation of professional curiosity there are two broad academic justifications for the research. First the general rekindled interest in entrepreneurship and small business, and secondly the growing interest in the environment and nature. The countryside is a tangible focus of this environmental concern, so that a study of enterprise in a rural setting is contemporarily relevant. In spite of the interest in both these areas there has been little research specifically directed towards detailed information gathering about rural small business and no analysis of the interaction of the entrepreneur and the rural context. This study attempts to provide this information by a close investigation of a number of rural entrepreneurs. It is hoped that the exploration of the rural context and the examination of what goes on in rural small business will produce deeper understanding of rural entrepreneurship and its relationship to the rural context.

1.2.1 The Importance of Entrepreneurship.

- Historically the importance of the entrepreneur has been recognised. Ely 1891, quoted in Gouch 1969:170, claimed that, "the function of the entrepreneur has been one of the most important in modern economic society." In recent times interest in small business, entrepreneurship and enterprise has grown steadily in the United Kingdom since the publishing of the Bolton Report 1971. During the Thatcherite era, post 1979, this attention evolved into a political philosophy, "The Enterprise Culture". Burrows 1991:17 comments that although there has always been a body convinced of entrepreneurial significance, "the discourse of the enterprise culture has become one of the major articulating principles of the age."

The importance of entrepreneurship is well established in the literature. It appears to play a vital role in both social and economic life and well-being. Socially, Bechhoffer and Elliot 1985:197, quoted in Curran and Burrows 1987, are in no doubt of the significance of the entrepreneurial class who, "not only remain an important class, economically, politically and socially but show widespread indications of a revival of its fortune." Goffe and Scase 1987:8 suggest, "Historically, entrepreneurship in Europe has enabled those disadvantaged in one way or another, to achieve material and personal success. On a wider perspective Werner Sombart, according to Hebert and Link 1988:103, saw entrepreneurs as "new leaders". Bendix 1956:vi saw the

entrepreneurial role as influential, and that "an analysis of the entrepreneurial class is vital to understanding industrialization". Landes 1969:15 shares this view of historical significance, "(enterprise) more than any other factor, it made the modern world.. it possessed a social and political vitality without precedent or counterpart." Shackle 1988:ix considers that the entrepreneur is,"a maker of history... for whom the world is a sesame of untold riches." Etzioni, quoted in Anderson et al 1989:19, claims that,"entrepreneurs, by promoting new patterns, help bring society and its component units in touch with reality." Even the Marxist, Warren 1980:9 concedes that "Capitalism's unique achievement has been to release individuals' creativity."

In economic terms Adams and Brock 1986:xi claim that America's 500 largest corporations have failed to generate a single new job since 1970. Later they argue that new jobs must originate from small entrepreneurial firms. Blackford 1991:114, is in no doubt that small firms are the source of innovation. Quoting Birch 1988, another evangelist of the small firm, "Galbraith (JK) doesn't seem to realise that the bubbly, yeasty creative segment is the small business sector." Despite this enthusiasm Curran and Blackburn 1991 suggest that a reason for this apparent small business growth, one linking government culture and subcontracting, is that it may be merely a fashionable management strategy. Yet Schumpeter 1912:93 claims of the entrepreneur, "all changes in economic life are due to their activities." Demsetz 1982:271 says that "The entrepreneur is important enough to disrupt - and then restore - equilibria, to fuel economic development, and to bring a nation out of the depths of a recession." Collins, Moore and Unwella 1964;16 share this view of entrepreneurial importance, "a country's economic development may be limited by a relative shortage of this crucial factor." As Curran 1986:54 suggests, "the entrepreneur as economic hero has a long tradition in capitalist industrial societies." Indeed, sometimes the scope of enterprise appears so comprehensive that, to borrow from Voltair, if entrepreneurship did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

As a more objective measure of importance, Curran and Blackburn 1991:163 show that self employment, which is often associated with enterprise, has grown from 1.9 million in 1977 to 3.4 million in 1989. We can also be certain that academic interest in entrepreneurship has grown apace. Kerr 1988 claims that US and European Entrepreneurship programmes have grown tenfold whilst Katz 1989 reports some 93 endowed positions and entrepreneurial chairs. Solomon and Fernald 1991:32 show that, in the US, entrepreneurial course offerings 1979-1986 show a 428% increase. In the UK Curran 1986:28 notes, "In 1970 it would have been hard to find a course for the intending or existing small business owner: in the 1980's there is hardly a college or polytechnic or university without at least one course in small business education."

1.2.2 The Need for Clarification.

This range of academic observers seem in little doubt as to the increasing prominence of the entrepreneur. However it appears that rigour may sometimes shade into rhetoric. As Gumpert 1986:33 comments "entrepreneurship is the stuff of which American heroes are made". Indeed Elizabeth Ehrlich 1986 chose to title her article, "America expects too much from its Entrepreneurial Heroes." Such hagiography should promote academic suspicions. We must also consider the political expediency of "enterprise culture"; which Burrows 1991:17 describes as popular and politically potent; as a cheap alternative to the escalating costs of "dependency". As evidence of its potency Rainnie 1991, refers to how, "the reformist left meets the radical right in an orgy of small business adulation."

The sycophancy surrounding "enterprise" is particularly open to cynical interpretation with the amplification of the social costs of industrial restructuring. In particular the promulgated sea changes in attitude from the large scales of the Fordist era to the fragmented individualism of the 1990's. This may be usefully considered in conjunction with the political fall from grace of collective consumption. Burrows 1991:3 points out how little we understand of the links between the enterprise discourse and this restructuring. Belasco 1980:172 warns against the situation where ideological impulse is raised to the level of a basic working assumption.

Entrepreneurship has regained a high profile within the individualism of post-Fordist society. In economic terms the fragmentation of industry which seems to characterise advanced capitalism is in stark contrast to the behemoths of the Keynesian era. The focus has, quite justifiably, returned to the contribution of the individual rather than to the system *per se*. The flexibility and adaptability of entrepreneurial activity is sympathetic to the acceleration of change and, importantly, remains compatible with the needs of autonomous decision making and action. These qualities are in contrast to routinised rule following behaviour. The entrepreneur can also be seen to act as a bridge between competing demands of the rapid changes and uncertainties of our society and the need to control and rationalise. Seen from this viewpoint, the entrepreneur deals with uncertainty and synchronises change into society.

There has been a resurgence of interest in small business in the era of the post oil price rise shocks. As Segenberger et al 1990 describe the change to what they term the "The New Entrepreneurship". SME's used to be a mute or marginal subject in economics and the social sciences. The wide spread understanding was that in the evolution of industrial society technology and specialisation were necessarily and distinctively associated

with large scale organisations. Consequently small business was a vestigial remnant of an earlier era of development. Adam Smith's pin factory became the role model for scale of production efficiencies. Marxist analysis saw small enterprises as remaining only in areas "where modern industry has only sporadically or incompletely got hold of", 1974:6. The spectacular failures of some giant businesses coupled with widespread job losses led to a reappraisal of the economic role of small business. In the USA, Birch 1979 made the claim that small firms had created the majority of all new net jobs, whilst the OECD 1985:80 noted that small firms were particularly well important for net job growth. Whilst there was dissent as to whether the size dimension *per se* was responsible, whether small firms had innate qualities of competitiveness and innovation superior to large firms, small firms were argued to be more suited to the increasing turbulence of demand. In particular that smaller firms were better matched to the growing service sector and to differentiated consumer tastes. Furthermore that new technologies, especially micro-electronics, shrank the efficiency gap of long and short production runs. Thus smaller firms were better suited to the changing social organisation of production and consumption.

In spite of the apparent growth of enterprise, and despite its political approval and patronage there is a dearth of holistic understanding of the entrepreneurial process. As Cannon 1991:6 notes, "Research into enterprise might be described as containing many strands but little pattern." Entrepreneurship has become an omnibus word, so that it carries a variety of meanings. It has come to include small business, new businesses, innovation and in the froth of Thatcherite privatisation has even stretched to economic individualism. Consequently it has a number of guises. We remain uncertain of exactly what it is that entrepreneurs actually do. Indeed, we cannot even define it satisfactorily. This research attempts to establish what rural entrepreneurship is, and provides an opportunity to test the reality against the rhetoric. Curran 1986:54 also points out that understanding the day to day decision making process is an area of research which needs expansion. "Not only for the insights it provides on those who run small business but also as a way of linking theory and research on the small enterprise with a wider range of social science theorizing and research."

1.2.3 Rural Entrepreneurship and Small Business

The issues surrounding rural entrepreneurship have become important because of the growing interest in both entrepreneurship and the context of the countryside. Yet as Curran and Storey 1993 note, "small businesses in rural areas-especially the increasing numbers which are engaged in non-agricultural activities - have been largely neglected by researchers." Furthermore Redclift and Whatmore 1990:187 suggest an important link between entrepreneurship and rurality, one which justifies theoretical investigation. "Right wing ideology of the entrepreneur as a proactive force in the economy holds particular resonance in the rural context because of the strong domestic idiom that rural England has come to be represented as the idealized moral and social order." As Nisbet 1976:57 notes, "from the very Romanticism that flagellated the new structures of industry comes the view of pre-industrial Europe as near to a rural paradise". This bizarre alliance of liberalism and agrarian conservatism is not limited to England. Peterson 1990:103 shows a similar situation in the USA. He adds the rural concern of the "Goldschmidt Thesis" which proposes that the loss of farmers, as stewards of rurality, will lead to the weakening of the idealised rural communities. These are seen as the "Heartland" of America; representing the spirit of America, home to the pioneer qualities and to the idealised prototypical business form, the family farm. The real American way of life, like its English counterpart, is portrayed as rural and alien to the city. So rural entrepreneurship is a profoundly theoretically interesting area.

The countryside is undergoing major economic and social change. These changes have been brought about by economic forces, agriculture has industrialised in response to market and political pressures. The post war political attitudes of maximising production have resulted in heavily subsidised over production. At the same time this industrialisation of the countryside has clashed with a growing social awareness of the traditional values associated with the rural idyll. These tensions are exacerbated by the articulate environmental movement who see rurality as a reservoir of nature. Yet change is the essential milieu for enterprise, entrepreneurs are often agents of change. So the changes in rurality provide an arena to observe how the rural entrepreneur responds. Suarez-Villa 1991:345, regrets the, "neglect in the analysis of broad perspectives which are so vital to an understanding of the entrepreneurial role in the process of social change." As Marsden et al 1990:12 suggest, "It is imperative to respond, as recent research has failed to do, to Newby's 1986 call for a holistic approach to the analysis of rural social relations." This study will address the entrepreneurial aspect of these social relations.

Interestingly, and also worthy of exploration is the feature, shared by entrepreneurship and nature, of

elemental creation. Nature is the primary, the fundamental source of life and for the maintenance of that life. Production and reproduction are mystic, magic even, "from one came many," the ultimate creation. This primordial force of creation and mankind's utter dependence on this process has recently come under the closest scrutiny. Environmentalism has come to be a deification of that same elemental creation, with technology the fallen angel. The enigma is that entrepreneurship is also about creation, of making profits where none existed before. Entrepreneurship is Prometheus unbound, Landes 1969, the innovating power which harnesses technology. Yet somehow those fundamental traditionalists see such enterprise, not as creation, but rather as a form of exploitation, a zero sum game where gains must be balanced by an equal loss. Aristotle 1924:20, "for it is unnatural, and a mode from which men gain from each other." In consequence the investigation of rural entrepreneurship, the arena of both enterprise and nature, offers an stimulating prospect.

These concepts, rurality and entrepreneurship share the theme of "life on a human scale". This stresses the individual as a significant social actor of some importance, rather than the anonymities of large scale industrial society. Consequently they may gain strength as a fanciful nostalgic pre-industrial, or even early industrial image of social and economic relations which develops as an antithesis of the turbulent uncertainties of today. This retrospect, according to Bechhoffer and Elliot 1981:194, "conceals contemporary social relations or produces a truncated analysis of them." Accordingly we need to ascertain how and if, these "cultures", described by Stuart Hall as, "mental maps of meaning" actually engage with behaviour; or if we can dismiss them as "the latest in a long line of mystifications designed to bamboozle the masses", Burrows 1991:3. Accordingly an examination of the construction of these icons, sorting the myths from the realities, travesties from traditions, and testing the depth and pervasion of meanings and experiences appears both appropriate and worthwhile.

The need for modern entrepreneurial theory is well documented. Vesper 1980:65 claimed that research is, "academically flaky", and lacking a scholarly body of knowledge. Although Hoy, 1985:5 remarked that entrepreneurship had been legitimised as a field of scholarly discourse this could not extend to theoretical development since Bygrave 1989:13 pointed out that "entrepreneurship has no great theories". By 1991:13 both Bygrave and Hofer were still able to state, "it lacked a substantial theoretical foundation." Indeed 1992:21 they find, "the major challenge is to develop models and theories based on a solid foundation." Although there has been considerable work on the diffusion of innovation in agriculture, Rodgers and Shoemaker 1971 list over a thousand studies, there remains a need to understand non-agricultural change in the countryside. The clear

conclusion is that there is a need for theory. Especially theory which explains what entrepreneurs actually do, as well as how they do it.

1.2.4 Structure and Agency in the Countryside

Paradoxically if arcadia provides this rural structure, enterprise may provide the agency to recreate the structure afresh. As Burrows insists 1991:3, an analysis must take account of both structure and agency. Yet as Mommson 1989:18 recalls, Nietzsche claims that in practice only outstanding individuals have any chance of putting forward objectives for, and giving new directions to society. Rural entrepreneurs may be these outstanding individuals, they may represent and fix this post necessity society. Their role as social actors deserves investigation. Peet 1991:177 for example proposes, "Human beings do not reproduce themselves by chance, but through deliberate effort. The challenge is to discover the variety of ways in which structured `types of effort occur in empirical practise".

1.2.5 Summary

This section has argued that the value of this research is that it addresses several topics which can be summarised as:-

- 1) Entrepreneurship is important both economically and socially. However there is a vagueness about what is meant by entrepreneurship. This research will describe and analyze the actions and activities of a number of small rural businesses.
- 2) There is uncertainty about the role and action of entrepreneurship in social change. This research will attempt to relate the entrepreneurial activities to rural change.
- 3) The countryside appears to be more than a spatial production. The cultural and ideological loadings have created a rural idyll but the pervasion and effects of this social construct are unclear. This work will establish the nature of these loadings from the literature. It will attempt to determine their pervasion and effects.
- 4) Despite these issues the topic of rural enterprise has not been extensively researched. Furthermore the approach of this study, of theoretical informed grounded data and analytic induction of these data, should offer some detailed insights.

1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH; A READER'S GUIDE

The purpose of this brief section is threefold. First, to explain the logic of the research project by providing a reflexive account of why and how the themes pursued were seen to bear upon the topic. Secondly to guide the reader through the subjects explored. Finally to present the layout of the thesis to explain the links between the different sections.

1.3.1 A Reflexive account of the reasoning supporting this research.

The starting point, the animating question, was that rural small business seemed to be different. This notion was not arrived at objectively, but a mix of intuition and observation indicated that some aspects were unlike those of urban businesses. In particular attitudes towards profit maximisation seemed to be at variance with some urban entrepreneurs. Commentators, for example Curran and Storey 1993, had suggested that the observable differences were likely to be attributable to a pragmatic acceptance of the limited opportunities and markets within the countryside. This point, whilst undoubtedly correct, did not seem to be the whole reason. Why, for instance, did people who were aware of these limited markets choose to set up in the countryside? At a broader level Long 1977:189 highlights the value of actor orientated approaches to rural development which take account of social groups located analytically within a regional context. The regional context for this enquiry is rurality, so that understanding this issue appeared to require an understanding of the social and economic conditions of rurality.

Thus the answer seemed to lie within rurality itself. Qualities associated with the countryside seemed to have a profound attraction. Yet these qualities, cultural and physical, were largely unfavourable to new business. But even established business people, who recognised the difficulties of trading within the countryside, were reluctant to consider moving to the potentially more lucrative urban areas. One possible answer was suggested by modifying Davidsson 1989:24 ideas. He suggests, that if economic pressure is reduced, as is the case in our relatively affluent society, Maslow's 1954 higher order needs may be a motivation to enterprise. Whilst this was an interesting situation, and one which had not been explored, research into finding if and why this had come about presented methodological difficulties.

The principle problem was that the entrepreneur's reasoning was likely to be complex and probably culturally conditioned. Reasons were unlikely to be simple but a compound of unarticulated ideology. Berger and Luckman 1966:27 make this point, "Only a very limited group of people in any society engages in theorizing, in the business of 'ideas' and the construction of *weltanschauungen*. But everybody in society participates in 'knowledge' in one way or another. The separation of these aspects, the taken-for-granted knowledge about rural society and raising these to theories and explanation was anticipated to be difficult. Consequently a survey of attitudes and reasons would probably be unproductive because of first, the uncertainty about defining and isolating these attitudes. Secondly, responses might be anticipated to produce stock answers from what C. Wright Mills called the "Vocabulary of Motives". The only certain way of understanding the motives and rationals seemed to be to link what people said was their reasons with their actions, what they actually did.

The solution, at least in the early stages, was to investigate the "setting", rurality. The literature proved to be a rich source of material which provided the basis for two complementary models, which helped to explain why the countryside was a special setting. The physical model developed, "gravitation", offers a physical and economic explanation of rurality. The cultural model augments the physical aspects of the countryside suggesting the social construction of rurality. These models provided a pre-understanding, an "action frame" within which it was possible to begin to investigate rural entrepreneurship.

The next step was to try to establish what is meant by entrepreneurship. This was followed by an examination of explanations of entrepreneurs. This critical exploration of the literature implied another model, the protean entrepreneur, to account for the variety of forms of enterprise which could be found in diverse social and economic settings.

Given the viewpoint that rural enterprise is as Berger 1963:78 puts it, "socially grounded", that is, conditioned and created in a world of assumptions and interpretations, the actual data had to incorporate the "life worlds" of the entrepreneur. As Moser and Kalton 1989:3 point out "fact collecting is no substitute for thought and desk research". As they recommend, "sometimes good judgement requires the deliberate sacrifice of quantitative precision for the greater depth attainable by more intensive methods of attack." All this indicated that ethnographic methods of recording the actions, as well as the discourse of entrepreneurs, would produce the most relevant data, and that Grounded Theorising was most likely to provide understanding. It is acknowledged that solving one set of methodological problems raises another set. As Silverman 1993:ix notes, the need to "empathise" and mirror other people's experiences tends to replace validity and reliability as research

criteria. Nonetheless this research is an exploration, an attempt as Wolcott 1990:29 commends "to meld description and interpretation".

1.3.2 A Reader's Guide

The structure of the thesis follows figure 1; Chapter One sets out the reasons why the research was considered worthwhile. It also indicates the problems, real and potential, in devising an appropriate research methodology. Chapter Two takes up these problems and proposes the theoretical orientation of the research which is structure and agency within Giddens' theory of structuration. It is argued that the agents, rural entrepreneurs, operate in a social world which is structured as rurality. The agents produce both continuity and change. The literature review of Chapters Three and Four is an attempt to understand this structure and the issues of these respective components of rural enterprise.

Chapter Three examines the structure of the countryside by attempting to answer the first research question, what is meant by rural? This question raises a series of issues about how the rural is seen, and how it can be explained. A recurring theme throughout this varied literature is that rurality has a particular social significance which interacts with spatial process. Thus, for the purpose of this research, it is argued that it is best treated as a reservoir of values.

Chapter Four explores how the literature explains enterprise. It shows that enterprise also has a number of meanings for different groups. Yet the analysis of these meanings shows that entrepreneurship can be effectively described as the process of value extraction from an environment. Accordingly Chapter Five moves into a preliminary analysis to explain the possible role of the entrepreneur in the countryside. It suggests that the particular role is the extraction of value from the rural environment. This chapter therefore provides, in Glaser's 1978 term "sensitivity", a basic framework of understanding on which to collect the field data and provide preliminary analysis.

Chapter Six is about the methodology of this research and explains why the particular methods were chosen, in addition to describing the methods. Chapter Seven describes the data found, but as grounded theorising demands, it also begins to analyze these data. The emergent themes are that different groups extract different values, and in different ways from the rural environment. Chapter Eight, the conclusions, develops this analysis to answer the research question. A model of rural entrepreneurship is proposed which is followed by a discussion on the conditions of rural enterprise. Finally the contribution of the research is evaluated and some proposals for further research are made.

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE RESEARCH AND AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

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2.1 Introduction

2.2 Theoretical Orientation of the study: The Interaction of Structure and Agency

2.3 Introduction to the Literature Review

The Objectives of this Chapter,

To explain and account for the direction and content of the research.

To show the way the problem was viewed.

To show how the data were gathered.

To show how the data were analysed.

To explain the approach to the literature.

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE RESEARCH AND AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to flesh out the broad ideas set out in the introduction. Its object is to explain and account for the organization of the research. The study addresses two issues, at one level recording the activities of the rural entrepreneurs but also to relate these actions to broader socio-economic issues of rural structure. In particular how entrepreneurs manage in the apparently lean environment of rurality. This required an analytical framework relevant to the research question to select the most appropriate, relevant and useful path through the study and to give direction to the literature review. Consequently theory in this approach is a resource rather than a topic.

This "method" is a procedure, a systematic way of looking at, and thinking about, things which enables us to discover things that we did not initially know. Long 1977:7 discusses this, proposing that such a selection framework also provides a justification for the presentation of selected material. He argues that the main rationale is the identification and evaluation of dominant theoretical orientations; those sets of ideas, assumptions and methodological approaches which serve to guide the researcher. It might be added that these also serve to guide the reader, in that they provide a ready made framework of understanding from which to evaluate the research. To examine an area from, for example, a political economic or marxist, orientation would alert the reader to the signals of, say, modes of production and all that might be implied within that phrase. Long does not suggest that such theoretical orientations need be so well formed as a theory. An orientation can, however, offer ways of selecting, conceptualizing, categorizing and ordering data. Importantly it suggests ways of relating different areas of the research. This aspect is particularly important in this study because of lack of a specific literature of rural entrepreneurship and the segregated concepts of rurality and entrepreneurship in the literature.

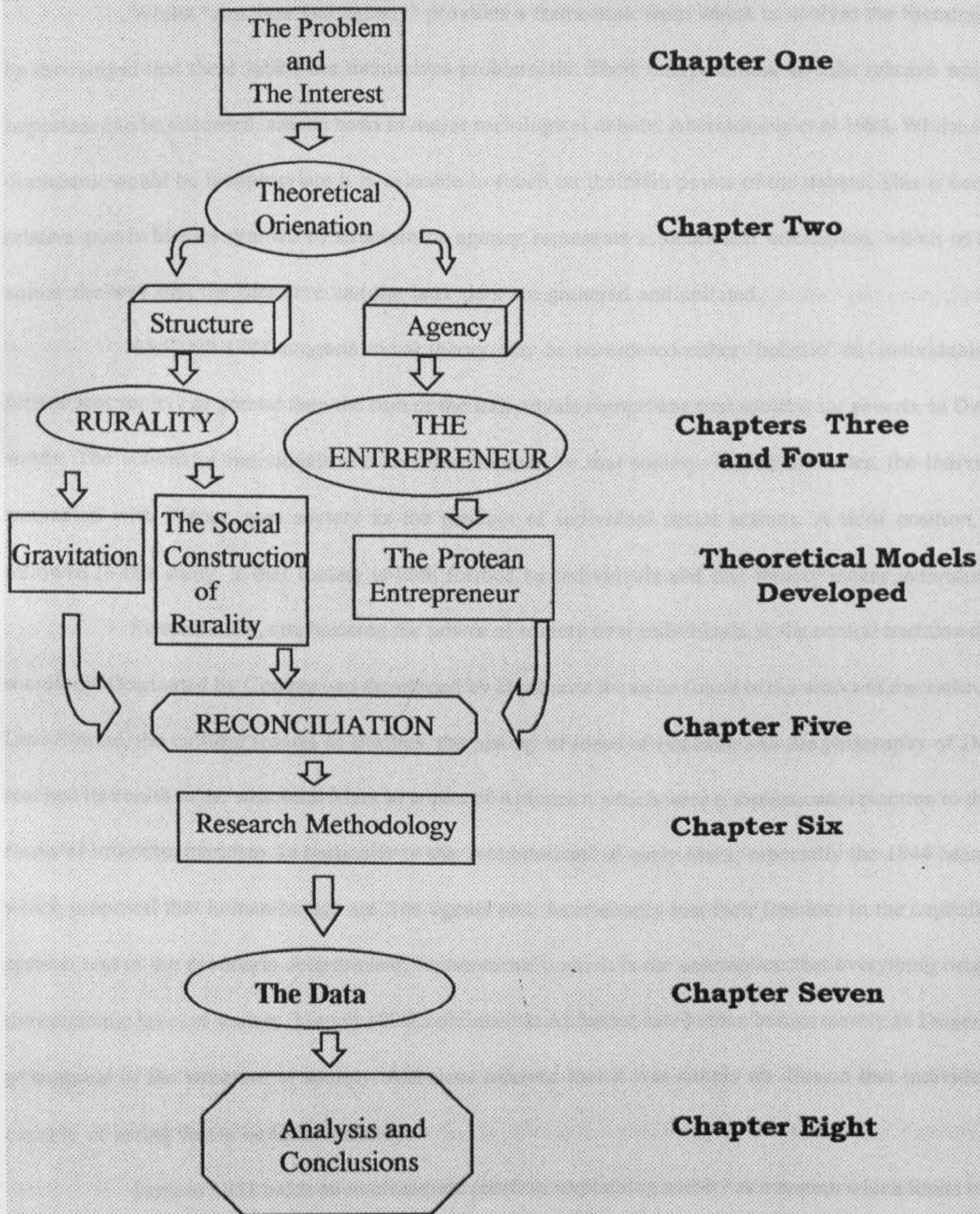
A theme which is common to both subject areas is change. The outstanding feature of the contemporary literature on rurality, indeed arguably on society, is change. The literature bristles with references to change; reordering and restructuring are the commonplace terms. Different aspects of social, economic and spatial are examined from many different perspectives. Major works on social change include Bell 1973, Kumar

1978, Thrift 1989, Cloke and Thrift 1990, Lash and Urry 1987: economic change, Mandel 1975, 1980, Piore and Sabel 1984, Offee 1985, Aglietta 1979 : spatial changes, Massey 1984, Cooke 1989,1990: and specifically rural change, Lowe et al 1990, Blunden and Curry 1985 and 1987. All of these have some bearing on rural change.

Yet a common feature the entrepreneurship literature is also change. Frankenberg 1967:82 refers to this as the "magnificent dynamics"; Anderson et al 1989:18 see the entrepreneurial role as adapting to change. Mitton 1989:11 regards the entrepreneurial mission as one of change whilst Schumpeter's focus is entrepreneurial engendered change. Binks and Vale 1991 also draw attention to the relationship of entrepreneurship and change as do Burrow and Curran 1991. Rosa and Bowles 1990 see entrepreneurship as the manifestation of change; and change, insist Hebert and Link 1991:157, is the province of the entrepreneur. Accordingly it is reasonable to assume connections between rurality, change and the entrepreneur: and to use this connection as an approach to the examination of the literature. The role of the entrepreneur as an individual within society is, as we have seen, considered significant. Consequently a theory which takes into account this relationship is required as a theoretical orientation of the study.

The following sections develop this theme of structure and agency. First Giddens' notion of structuration is advocated as an appropriate theoretical framework for the literature review. Structuration conveys both continuity and change. It therefore provides a conceptualisation of rurality as structure and a role for the entrepreneur as agent. It also acknowledges man in society and society in man. Later sections consider how the literature can be related to this framework. Given Berger's incisive comment 1963:129 that "ideas as well as men are socially located", the conclusion reached is that the variety and complexity of the material compels a critical analysis of the literature. The diversity of competing explanations within the literature requires that the review is conducted in the sociological tradition of "says who ?"

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH Figure 1



2.2 Theoretical Orientation of the Study: The Interaction of Structure and Agency.

Whilst "structure and agency" provides a framework from which to analyse the literature it must be recognised that these labels are themselves problematic. Their interpretation, and the relative weights and importance to be accorded, are the basis of major sociological debate, Abercrombie et al 1984. Whilst a detailed discussion would be inappropriate it is valuable to touch on the main points of the debate. This is because the relative power biases granted to structure or agency represents a theoretical orientation, which in turn will colour the way that the literature and the later data are gathered and collated.

As Craib 1984 suggests social theory may be considered either "holistic" or "individualistic" the former sees society as greater than the sum of the individuals comprising that society, *sui generis*, in Durkheim's words. The actions of individuals are thus determined by that society. Whilst the latter, the individualistic associated with Weber, sees society as the product of individual social actions. A third position, the one followed in this study, is that society is both formed by individuals and that society makes individuals.

Structuralism, emphasising the power of society over individuals, is the central tradition of French sociology. Originated by Comte and developed by Durkheim it can be found in the works of the anthropologist Levi-Strauss, the cultural studies of Barthes, the history of ideas of Foucault and the philosophy of Derrida. It reached its zenith in the structural Marxist works of Althusser, which were a sophisticated reaction to the cruder forms of orthodox marxism. In particular to the "voluntarism" of early Marx, especially the 1844 Manuscripts, which proposed that human beings are free agents who have simply lost their freedom in the capitalist social system; and to the economic determinism, "economism", which is the assumption that everything originates at the economic level of society. Menell 1980:3 claims that Althusser saw human beings merely as *Trager*, carriers or supports of the structure of society. Althusser inferred that it was simply an illusion that individuals were capable of acting freely or independently.

Parsons 1951 holds an intermediate position, explaining society as a system which limits individual action, "a voluntaristic theory of action." Whilst Parsons' structural-functiona lism does emphasise the large scale systematic elements of society, it can be criticised for allocating unwarranted importance to the integrative aspects of individual action. This suggests that action is always directed towards maintaining the equilibrium of society and order. This normative concern with stability detracts from the possibility of individual action as

an instrument of social change and conflict. The agent is denied any autonomy outside the teleological functionalist role of society's needs.

An oppositional view is presented by the interpretative school, who consider the actors' role primary. Symbolic Interaction, grounded in Mead 1934, was developed by Blumer 1969. The explanation of society hinges upon human understanding, it aims to show only the "occasional" logic of people's actions. As Craib 1984:77 notes that if social interactions are in constant flux the theoretical starting point must also be flexible and vague. Rock 1979:228 confirms this, "The character of society is so obscure that scientific attempts to discuss it are generally absurd..Indeed it is not entirely reasonable to suppose that society and its "structures" are organised." Rock concludes that society should only be represented as a "shapeless conglomeration of fluid exchanges." Conversely Mennel 1980:19 argues that Mead's "rather vague notions of culture, sub-culture and cultural transmission have been introduced as a short-cut to more macroscopic concerns". Consequently for Mennel, the theoretical shortcomings become evident. As Craib 1984:87 puts it the world is seen as a personal invention.

Phenomenology is also actor based, but prioritises intersubjectivity, how actors understand each other and how they come to have to have similar perceptions and conceptions of the world. Shutz 1974 argues that actors have a "life-world" *lebenswelt*; and their objectives are to pragmatically make their way in this world. Structure is therefore reduced to the sum of the actor's handed-down knowledge and streams of experiences. As McCarthy 1978 summarises, "An approach that remains within the confines of an analysis of structures of consciousness is methodologically incapable of grasping the objective context of social action. It is in a sense a sociology without society." Nonetheless Berger 1963 and Berger and Luckman 1967 and Berger and Kellner 1974 have developed these ideas to show that such intersubjectivity can be "objectivated" in social institutions. They become overarching values rooted in the social environment and provide a focus of social organisation.

Giddens theory of structuration accords structure a formative position in social action but also recognises the agents freedom within the structure, a freedom to modify the structure. Giddens 1984:2, "in interpretative sociology actions and meanings are accorded primacy in the explication of human conduct...for functionalism and structuralism however, structure has primacy over action." Giddens argues that both conceptions are flawed since interpretative sociologies are founded on an imperialism of the subject whilst functionalism and structuralism are founded on an imperialism of the social object. The real matter is the

ontological question of how social relations are ordered across space and time. He goes on to justify this by pointing out that human social activities are recursive. "In and through these activities, agents reproduce the conditions that make these actions possible." Since social systems involve regularised relations of interdependence between individuals or groups they can best be analysed as recurrent social practices. Social systems, the situated activities of human objects, exist syntigmatically in the flow of time. Structures are necessarily the products of systems and are characterised by the absence of a subject. The system is thus produced and reproduced in the interaction.

So for Giddens structure is not an objectified entity within which the agent may only act like a hamster on a treadmill. Social actors should not be regarded as cultural dopes or mere bearers of a mode of production. The agent has power, through reason, to decide whether to remain in the cage at all. "Those theories with no conceptual space for agents understanding of themselves or their social context have tended to exaggerate dominant systems or ideologies as in Parsons or Althusser." Cassell describe structure thus, "Structure does not for Giddens, have an objective existence external to the actions of agents but structure and action are conjoined. We reproduce structure in the form of "rules", but importantly these "rules' may be changed by individual action." As Giddens notes, all production is necessarily reproduction, this therefore provides a structure. However the seeds of change are in every act which reproduces the "ordered" form of social life. In what Giddens calls the "duality of structure" social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute the system.

Giddens structure is therefore both constraining and enabling. He cites Goffman's work to show how social interaction can be constrained by the structure of rules but also notes Shackle's economic comments which stress the temporal and contingent nature of economic interaction; "The present is always open to the free initiative of human actors." As Giddens argues the specific task of social theory is to study the conditions which govern the interconnections of structure and agent.

Turning to consider the appropriateness of Giddens' work for this study, Giddens 1976:103 provides what he considers the three main conditions relevant to the reproduction of the structures of society. It is striking how relevant these are to rural entrepreneurship. First is the constituting skill of social action. This seems closely related to the special skills of entrepreneurs. Second, the rationalization of these skills as a form of agency. This is less obvious, but might be anticipated to suggest that the entrepreneur has a number of "rationalities" behind his motivations. Thirdly the unexplicated features and settings of interaction that promote and permit the

exercise of such capacities. This can be taken to refer to those special features of rurality which impinge on enterprise. These comments of Giddens seem to confirm the suitability of structure and agency, within structuration, as a suitable orientation for the research.

Bhaskar 1979 provides some clarification of Giddens model which is relevant to this work. He begins by noting that society and agents are radically different; they have quite different properties. Society's first property is that it is relational, and that these relationships outlast any individual. So it is useful to see these relationships as between positions rather than individuals. Thus individual entrepreneurs may have any number of quite different business interactions with society, but the enduring relationship of the entrepreneur and society continues. Also rurality, or rather rural society, following Bhaskar, is to be defined rationally. We cannot limit our examination of the structure to "things", but rather to check how these "things" impose on rurality. Given the apparent power of the Romantic movement to establish their version of rurality, and the emerging attempts by the Green movement to impose their judgments this point seems particularly apt.

The second feature that Bhaskar distinguishes in society is "ontological depth", that societies have levels of existence below what lies on the surface. These underlying levels form the structure of society. These comments are highly appropriate to some romantic and artistic views of rurality. Furthermore the contested interpretation of this ontological depth, what we mean by rurality, is a root cause of the many varieties of the rural fundamentalism briefly discussed earlier. These vary from the benevolent imagery of a therapeutic walk in the countryside to the forced ruralization of the cadres in Maoist China; from the planting of trees in urban areas to the Ujaama villages of Tanzania. Bhaskar's comments give us a conceptual framework to appreciate these underpinnings.

Considering agents, he argues that human action does not create society but that it maintains or changes it. So societies do not determine agents, nor *vice versa* but as Bhaskar puts it a "transformational model" of human action where society is the raw material, is acted upon by human agents and in turn, reproduces society. At this point it is interesting to note the striking conceptual parallel with Schumpeter's notion of "creative destruction". Nonetheless as Craib, 1984:24, notes a social agent's actions and intention and its effect on society is that there is no simple relationship, instead there are, "complex, indeterminate outcomes".

Giddens 1976, explains that society is not made by a single person. Society is created and recreated afresh, if not *ex nihilo*, by the participants in every social encounter. Giddens points out that this reproduction is a skilled performance, so that in this case we may argue that entrepreneurs may be especially

skilled. In respect of this skill we should note Winch's point about action and agency. He insists that these actions are to be seen as contemplated causal interventions, in particular that the social actor could have acted otherwise. This distinction, of choice, seems particularly relevant to an understanding of entrepreneurial action. It sets it apart as intentionally causal and intrinsically different from other action. For example, the entrepreneur may have a quite different set of rationals from the corporate decision maker, whose actions are strictly bounded by the corporate context. So in this way the entrepreneur, as an agent is free to take, or not to take action; or indeed to pursue a range of actions towards any number of goals, and in any number of contexts. As Giddens 1976:78 puts it, "an hierarchy of purposes, the interlocking or interweaving of different purposes."

To borrow further from Giddens' ideas, he suggests 1984:284 a number of guidelines for research within the orientation of structuration which guide this work. He begins by pointing out that all social research has a necessarily cultural or anthropological aspect. The condition of entry is to become familiar with what social actors already know, and what "goes on" in their daily life. Sociological descriptions have the task of mediating the frames of meaning within which actors orient their conduct. Consequently they must describe the "milieu" to those unfamiliar with it. The social scientist must draw upon the same sources of "mutual" knowledge and "display" the tacit forms whereby practical activities are ordered. He points out that institutional analysis is only a methodological device. Those who mistake it as the field "in toto" are mistaken, its predictability is made to happen by social actors, and are always to be interpreted within the flow of intended conduct. The time-space co-ordination of social activities means studying the contextual features of locales through which actors move as well as determining what the actors do. From a development perspective Long 1990:6 asserts the value of such a counterpoint to structural analysis. "It is theoretically unsatisfactory to base one's analysis on the concept of external determination. All forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing life-worlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and in this way are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures."

This approach forms the purpose of the literature review, to understand the milieu of rural enterprise. First in terms of those special features of rural and local which comprise rural structure, and secondly to discover how entrepreneurial actions can be explained and to determine the key features of entrepreneurship.

2.3 Introduction to the Literature Review

Given these guidelines the literature review of this study is a vital part of the research. It is not just scene setting or a bland resume of a variety of scholarly or popular views on what comprises the countryside or entrepreneurship. Not only must we know the literature as the "sum of the mental activity" - the knowledge about the area we wish to understand - but we must also see the literature in its relationship to the context we wish to understand. To see how the literature explains the perceptions of the countryside and the perceptions of entrepreneurship. It requires to take a critical perspective of both these areas in order to understand the social milieu of rural entrepreneurship. It must first identify the constructs, what Gouldner called "Domain assumptions", and then unpack them to see who has created them and why. This is so that we may develop some understanding of how these components may affect rural entrepreneurship. Accordingly the objectives of the literature review are to build a broad picture of the interactive components of rurality and entrepreneurship.

This then is the approach to the literature review. Its purpose is to identify and to understand the elements which comprise rural entrepreneurship. The method employed is first to describe what has already been established about rural entrepreneurship, what Newton called, "standing on the shoulders of giants". The second is to critically unpack this material to arrive at a broader understanding. This is achieved by posing the research questions and seeking answers within the literature.

An initial difficulty was the lack of material which directly addresses the subject of rural entrepreneurship. There is however a great deal of literature on the separate subjects of rurality and entrepreneurship. The structure of the review therefore reflects this; so that Chapter Three is a review of rurality which addresses the research question of "what is rurality?" Chapter Four considers the literature on entrepreneurship to establish what entrepreneurship means. Chapter Five is an integration of these discrete elements of the literature to develop a picture of the dynamic milieu of the entrepreneur in rurality. It a synthesis of the disparate elements from the literature to provide a pre-understanding for the field research which traces out the "domain assumptions" and their inter-connections and effects for the rural entrepreneur.

The Objectives of this Chapter were,

To explain and account for the direction and content of the research.

To show the way the problem was viewed.

To show how the data were gathered.

To show how the data were analysed.

To explain the approach to the literature.

How this was achieved,

It was argued that the entrepreneurial process could be seen as agency but that this agency was not entirely autonomous. Structure was recognised to have a conditioning effect on agency. Yet this was not a deterministic effect but was shaped by the agent's interpretation of that structure. Consequently Giddens' structuration was argued to be an effective theoretical approach to the study because it incorporates this relationship. It recognises the effects of structure and relates this to action and vice versa.

The purpose of the literature review of rurality was therefore to try to establish the meanings of rurality, to see how these may affect entrepreneurial action. The review of the entrepreneurial literature was concerned to find out what comprises entrepreneurial action and how this might be related to structure. The information derived from the review therefore provides the framework for the field data collection by clarifying the problematic issues, so providing progressive problem focusing. Structure and agency provides the form of the analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RURALITY, THE STRUCTURE FOR RURAL ENTERPRISE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.1.1 What is meant by Rural and why are the Highlands Rural?

3.1.2 Definitions of Rurality

3.1.3 Concepts and Theory Construction

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3.6.6 Conclusions

3.7 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW OF RURALITY

The Objectives of this Chapter

To answer the research question - What is "rural"?

1. By critically exploring and analysing the literature to establish what people mean by rural.
2. To develop an appreciation of how these meanings might affect actions, particularly entrepreneurial activity.

To answer the research question - "Why are the Highlands rural"?

1. By critically examining the physical nature of rural.
2. By considering how rural has been theoretically explained.

THE ARGUMENT

The central thesis of this chapter is that rurality is much more than either a spatial phenomena or simply the outcome of market forces. Rurality also has a powerful cultural identity which combines with these physical and economic features. Consequently, if we are to understand rural enterprise, we need a model, an interpretative paradigm to account for the multiple dimensions of the countryside and to explain these interconnections. This chapter therefore is an investigation of both the physical and the social construction of rurality.

"There is in science and art alike the drive on the part of the creator to get away from the ordinary world of perception and what we like to think of as common sense. Einstein once wrote "It is not that art or science is an ivory tower, a refuge or a retreat. Each is, on the contrary, a means of bringing to the highest level a form of observation and an intensity of understanding that is often thwarted by what Robert Bridges called the "endless literalness of what lies about us".

R. Nisbet 1976.

This chapter, as proposed earlier, seeks to set out and interpret the milieu for rural enterprise, the countryside. Central to the review is the argument that rurality is both a physical and a social construction. The countryside is therefore held to be imbued with qualities which are not amenable to wholly empirical analysis. Nonetheless these qualities are important factors in shaping how the countryside is conceived. In turn these normative conceptions help form the structure which is the action frame of rural business. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to understand these constructions by unpacking into the different beliefs and views which have come together to create the taken-for-granted assumptions about rurality. It does so by posing two initial research questions: What does rural mean and why are the Highlands rural? This critical analysis of the literature provides some answers, and these answers provide the multi-dimensional context, rurality, for the research.

It might be argued that there are already models or theories which purport to explain the countryside and its rural geography. However this chapter seeks to show that these existing models often fail to capture the essential nature of rurality. In particular how they neglect the formative power of "Arcadia" and its influences. Rurality seems to have a moral quality, a talisman of mistily remembered values: a touchstone of nostalgia for some lost community, the idyll. Seen in this light the narrow range of explanation of these existing models becomes apparent. We might consider as an example spatial models of development,(for example Myrdal's 1957 theory of innovation diffusion) which take no account of the particular cultural aspects of a local place. Furthermore many of these explanations assume a national homogeneity. For example, economic explanations of growth and development (for example WW Rostow 1960) assume a homogeneity of national space, and assume a linear development, which by theoretical fiat disallow any unique local characteristics. It is argued that these accounts provide only very limited explanations of rurality.

Consequently this section is a challenge to the assumptions of some broadly isotropic plain of development, differentiated only by minor regional differences. The research area, the West Highlands of Scotland patently contradict any such assumption. They are characterised by their striking contrast to urban areas. Where cities and suburbia are concentrations of tightly packed units for living and work, the Highlands are open spaces with a scattered population. Paradoxically, given this disparity, urban and rural areas share a similar standard of living. This incongruity raises the question of why some areas are rural, and others not; and particularly, why are the West Highlands so distinctively rural? Or indeed, the what is so special about the countryside that creates such differences.

3.1.1 What is meant by Rural and why are the Highlands Rural ?

The underlying inquiry remains the investigation of how this impinges on entrepreneurial activity. Moreover, it is argued that understanding this relationship will produce insights into what rural entrepreneurship is about. The chapter begins by exploring the range of definitions and moves on to consider these disparate meanings of rurality. It then discusses how these meanings can be operationalized as concepts, after some deliberation on the construction of concepts. The following section demonstrates how the model of the social construction of rurality can be created from key concepts. The literature is explored in three broad categorizations, spatial, economic and cultural which includes the temporal because these appear to be the key aspects of rurality.

Central to the notion of the social construction is how these different elements combine to produce the countryside. This interplay is discussed at length in Chapter Five. So although few new facts arise out of this investigation of rurality the framework of the explanatory model developed from the literature provides a different perspective of the countryside. The plan follows the classic pattern of first pulling apart the "countryside", deconstructing rurality to explore what people mean by the description. This is followed by analysis and completed by the new synthesis of the components in a new conceptual framework. In addition to the illumination of rural entrepreneurial work, some general predictive power is claimed for the model. In particular the notion of zones of production and arenas of consumption shows how increasing affluence, new divisions of leisure, promote the "encapsulated" countryside as a culturally produced and restricted area.

Change was identified earlier as an important exploratory tool. Change in the countryside appears to be a gradual shift from a production zone to one of consumption. The post Fordist countryside is no longer simply valued on its ability to produce food but instead is subject to quite different aesthetic criterion. In particular the reassertion

of "nature" as a deity to be homaged and appeased rather than the modernist attitude of control and exploitation hold particular resonance in the changing countryside. As always this new role is a reflection of the power of some specific groups to determine or influence images within ideology. These changes are therefore explored and some case material is provided to illustrate the transition. Whilst this shift towards the post modern countryside closes off some traditional ways of earning a living it also opens up a whole new range of possibilities for enterprise. These are opportunities and ways of capturing these macro socio-economic changes and weaving them into the new rurality. In short, this chapter provides an examination of the commodification of the countryside.

3.1.2 Definitions of Rurality

By continually discussing rural in a taken for granted manner, (as in Rural Sociology, Rural Sociological Society etc), we fail to call into question its realness and inadvertently tend to reify it.

Falk and Pinhey 1978:553

It is conventional in any scientific investigation to first define the phenomena to be investigated. However, in this case it becomes clear that rurality has many guises. Thus, the following range of definitions of rurality and the countryside indicate an early problem of deciding what's special about the countryside. It becomes evident that different types of definition all focus on quite different aspects of rurality, showing that it holds different, complementary or even contradictory, meanings for different groups. As an example, Gilg 1985:4, notes that rural sociologists characterise rural as a lack of metropolitan influence. Yet confusingly Pacione 1984 devotes a chapter of his book, "Rural Geography", to "Metropolitan villages". This lack of a canonical definition provides the enigma which forms the basis of the investigation. An awareness of the variability of what precisely constitutes rurality does not necessarily mean bad science. As Feyerabend in his plea for "epistemological anarchy" suggests doctrinaire adherents of a discipline may be unable to communicate with others, let alone convince them of the merit. In accordance with this justification the following eclectic list of definitions provides an expansive opening to the exploration of rurality.

"The word rural describes those parts of a country which show unmistakable signs of being dominated by extensive uses of land either at the present time or in the immediate past." Wibberly 1972:2.

"It is the area covered by nine-tenths or so of Britain's non-urban land surface with which this book is concerned." Cherry 1976:2

"The countryside, a vogue word, a delightful suburbanism with the flavour of the garden city about it"

Sir John Betjeman in Lowe 1979:117

"In the iconography of the age, the city stood for misery and ugliness, the countryside for bliss and beauty"

Marsh J. 1982:36, The Pastoral Influence in Victorian England, cited in Mingay 1979

"The definition of a rural community in a widespread and confused literature has become an elusive concept"

Lewis 1979

"The first thing that we can say about what we mean by the countryside in the late 1980's, then, is that there is no universally accepted definition of the term." Blunden & Curry 1988:4.

What seems significant about these definitions is that whilst there is dissent about what "is" the countryside, there is consensus about what it "is not". It is not industrial or urban, nor is it bound up with any conventional notion of urban society. It appears to take its form as a contrast, as something different. Keeble et al 1992:2, even in the "precision" of a Government sponsored quantitative survey of rural business, accede to the problem and refer to, "areas.. ..most characterised by above-average dependence on agriculture, sparse population, and relative remoteness from large towns." Cloke and Park 1985: 6, therefore conclude, "there is no unambiguous way of defining rural areas and so any debate over such definition will, *ipso facto*, be rather sterile". This seems much too facile an answer, since after all, we all know what we mean by countryside, the problem is how to satisfactorily describe it.

Cloke and Park 1985 suggest that the difficulty of providing an "all embracing" definition has proved elusive on three grounds. First, they point out, the demand for a definition usually arises for quite specific functional purposes and in consequence reflect the different narrow viewpoints. For example a farmer's definition would be quite different from that of a local authority planner. Moreover we should be concerned that such a functional definition actually "defines out" teleologically any explanatory powers of a description. If rurality were defined as agrarian it could stop us asking why, or even detecting change. Can, for example "set aside", be understood as agrarian?

The second difficulty enumerated by Cloke and Park is temporal change. Societies attitudes towards rurality have changed and demands on the rural landscape have also changed. The example of set aside illustrates this point. Thirdly, they point out that the concept of countryside is subject to considerable spatial variation. On a regional scale the West Highlands are quite different from, for example East Anglia. Yet both are undoubtedly the countryside. Contrast too, the wilderness regions of the US or the Alpine regions of Switzerland: as Cloke and Park insist the search for rural definition has to take account of spatial differentiation at every scale.

Acknowledging these points suggests the concept of a continuum, where places are not defined, but ordered, as more or less rural. Cloke 1977, constructed his now famous "Index of Rurality" on this basis. A token of its utility is its ubiquitous appearance in most rural geographic textbooks. Using a sophisticated multivariate analysis of factor loadings Cloke portrays a continuum of rurality, avoiding the need to recognise specific characteristics of polar types. However we should note that this continuum is not simply linear but multi-faceted, so that a rural place may have complex linkages with different aspects on the continuum. Despite this attempt at comprehensiveness, for quite practical reasons, Cloke's index has the limitation of such "hard" empirical data. All the nuances of what we think of as rural are simply not able to be measured. So although it is technically useful its application must inevitably be

limited to technical analysis. Indeed the "Chiltern Hills" which represent the "countryside" for many in the South East of England are not defined as rural within this classification!

Conventional empirical categorisations singularly fail to define the complexity of modern rurality. The use, for example of occupational status, is no longer a relevant or valid, limiting spatial specification. The changes in agricultural technologies and economics have emptied the countryside of smocks and nicky-tams and filled it with green wellies and commuting Range Rovers. So "Hard" definitions of this sort, despite appearing "scientific" miss out on the significant element of symbolism which characterise rurality.

Philip Lowe 1989:113, describes how symbolic evaluation arises, "since the late 18th century industrialisation has provoked popular nostalgic reaction for the disappearing pre-industrial world: partly apocalyptic, fearing the outcome of the Faustian bargain of technological society; and partly utopian in seeking to recreate communities human solidarity out of the dislocation and fragmentation wrought by industrialism." It is significant that arcadia can be found in Utopia; without exception literary utopias are rural. Huxley, Morris and Carlyle all share the idyll. So as Kumar's 1991 discussion on the creation and values of Utopias points out, Arcadian myth is deeprooted. The notions of rurality which finds physical form in the countryside, are inevitably bound up with pre-industrial legend.

The Romantics found the countryside a rich and malleable medium for their imagery. So that the notion of arcadia is now fused into the conceptions of countryside. It remains a malleable concept, its moral elevation, beyond the everyday, permits the fluid evolvment of new and modern higher normative levels. Today concern has moved round to the environment, but the environment is inevitably intertwined with the countryside. Indeed the countryside for many is the last tangible arcadian "environment".

Any methodical consideration of what the countryside is must include this conceptual imagery of rurality. It is argued here that rurality is a product of the interaction of expectations and experience. What we see as special about the countryside, is also a cultural commodity. Furthermore what we see shapes how we act towards the countryside, so whilst "seeing is believing", believing may also be seeing! So the emotive elements of rurality are perhaps even more important than the physical dimensions. A major compounding problem in symbolism is the elision of other symbolic qualities into rurality. The idyll is not just agricultural but seems a reservoir of social qualities; the real essence of man and most importantly non-industrial. Arcadia has become a nexus of community, nature, heritage and tradition. Indeed as shall be demonstrated the imputed value of the countryside appears to grow in opposition to industrialisation. These notions are not restricted to Britain. Rurality, as symbolically described above, but described

as Jeffersonian ideals, is the explanatory variable in some US rural sociology studies, for example R. Nelson 1965 or W.J. Goudie 1987.

One excellent example of the penetration of the arcadian ideology was the 1960's community studies. With hindsight it is easy to dismiss them as the flawed but easy elision from rural settlement to community; where rurality slips into becoming an explanatory variable. We must acknowledge that these "tassels on the Celtic fringe", Frankenberg 1966:43, seemed to offer by studying isolated communities a clear, less cluttered vision of what is happening in wider society. Furthermore they often seem attractive places to live and work! This may however be a research artefact. In seeking "essences" to describe or authenticate, the study can produce a false harmony, a holism is created in stressing "cohesive" and similarities. Although the crude determinism of these early community studies and "ways of life studies" are utterly discredited in the social sciences they remain, as Lee and Newby 1983 point out "as bulwarks of the wider society". In doing so these elements in the social construction of rurality grow as antitheses of industrial society.

Jones 1973 provides a continuum of typologies of rural-urban community which shows the variety of normative functions which are embedded within the concept of the rural.

<u>Author</u>		<u>Rural Typology</u>	<u>Urban Typology</u>
Sir Henry Maine	1861	Status	Contract
Herbert Spencer	1862	Military	Industrial
Ferdinand Tonnies	1887	Gemeinschaft	Gesellschaft
Emile Durkheim	1893	Mechanical Solidarity	Organic Solidarity
Max Weber	1922	Traditional	Rational
Robert Redfield	1947	Folk	Urban
Howard Becker	1950	Sacred	Secular.

There is however considerable evidence that these arcadian myths do not simply remain as legends but instead permeate and influence social behaviour. Prof. Sadler of the Institute for the study of Sparsely Populated Areas, in Tranter 1978, argues that the concept of a "way of life" was used by Planners as a defence of existing interests in the Shetland Act 1974. He wonders if they "scooped up the idea of a Shetland way of life off the streets of Lerwick and included it without further analysis". Frankenberg 1966 provides an excellent summary of this now somewhat archaic view of urban-rural differences. Howard Newby wryly describes as "the ultimate in mischief", Tonnies 1957 "Gemeinschaft - Gesellschaft" description of the characteristics of rural folk societies as "community" and their deterioration into an urban "association".

Given that this emotive portrayal of values associated with rurality is now historic, and academically disreputable, there is still abundant evidence of its contemporary use. Pahl 1966, for example is obliged to dismiss the ascription of folk values to rurality, especially in the Metropolitan villages as "Villages of the Mind". Wiener 1981:73 quotes from one of the largest social surveys of public attitudes, "Although England is so overwhelmingly urban, it seems as though most English people picture their country as rural". Later he notes that White 1974, claims "entertainingly" that "There is some corner of the English mind that is forever Ambridge!"

The pervasive use of rural themes in advertising provides further powerful examples of "rural" influence. We are exhorted to eat in "country kitchens or to wear "country" styles. Time after time we see the bucolic image summoned up to impart some normative superiority to products which are largely irrelevant to rurality. "The Country Diary of an Edwardian Lady" sold 2.6 million copies and seventy five million pounds worth of associated merchandise, Hewinson 1987. Wiener 1981, examines how Worthington Brewers used every rural cliché during its three year series of advertising which characterised its beer as rural and traditional. "The men of the cities yearn for things of the country ... old turf, quiet villages and abiding peace ...to them in their canyons of stone and steel comes Worthington brewed in the age long English tradition, redolent of the countryside, friendly and shining clear as the English character itself", Illustrated London News 13.6.36. Whilst we might expect this candied sentimentality to sour our taste for their beer, Worthington must have been convinced of its value. The use of rural associations to convince potential customers of a products worth is now commonplace. Producers use rural association to add value to their products.

Governments are also influenced by arcadia. The Scott Report of 1942 which shaped post-war British Rural Development, was introduced with this statement, "without vision the people perish and without natural beauty the English people will perish in the spiritual sense". Patrick Abercrombie, the influential planner insisted in 1943, "Town should be town, and country, country". Statements, such as these from policy makers confirm the argument that perceptions influence outcomes. The subsequent Town and Country Planning Acts and the Agriculture Acts of 1947 firmly set the role of the countryside. Blunden and Curry 1985 and 1988, and Rodgers et al 1985, provide further details of the legislation and evidence of its role in constructing the countryside.

Other evidence of the pervasiveness of the idyll lies all around us. Corbusier, the much maligned modernist inventor of the multi-story sky scraper, intended that the high density of "his cities in the sky" would allow the countryside to permeate the city. Similarly Ebenezer Howard who designed the "Garden Cities" conceived the idea so that the ills of the city could be ameliorated by having the countryside actually within the city. Howard 1902, "The spontaneous movement of the people from the crowded and unhealthy cities to the bosom of our kindly mother earth." Today's green belts are seen as "green lungs" to refresh the jaded city dweller. Consider the environmentalists' dendrophyllia, whose objective seems to fill the cities and the countryside with freshly planted hard wood trees, as a some sort of sylvan therapeutic. Or more prosaic, Sinclair 1991: 191 points out that in a survey by the Halifax Building Society amongst its fifteen million members "The

Cottage" and "Rose Cottage" came second and third in a popularity poll of house names. Indeed even the colour of the countryside, green, is used to express a benign sentiment. Clearly then the countryside is more than simply a wasteland of undeveloped space.

The countryside is special; it exists as a social construct. It is associated with particular aesthetic and moral values which have little direct relationship to either the modern countryside's spatial or settlement form. Yet as we have seen the countryside concept is not entirely predictable and remains elusive. Its emotive loading makes it difficult to grasp. Like community or tradition it is an "omnibus" term, allowing us to ride along the meaning route just as far as we wish, and to stop off wherever we chose. All this has shown the problems associated with defining concepts. On one hand the quantitative definition squeezes out the power of the symbolism. By considering only the physical, land forms, land use, industry or population density we exclude the spirit of rurality as it affects most people. On the other hand images and meaning systems are slippery and ephemeral. They have no concrete existence, different groups may not even share an image, or worse, an individual's meanings may vary from one context to another. Yet, despite the ambiguities, any definition must reflect the importance that images of rurality holds. A concrete and comprehensive definition is unattainable.

If a "hard" definition is unknowable, is it possible to couch a definition in socio-cultural terms, to capture those elements of the idyll? Again we encounter the problem of exactly what rural means. Ideas and experiences of rurality vary; rurality itself is not homogenous, so that the green fringes of outer suburbia may well be rural for some, rather than the remoteness of the Outer Hebrides. Thus no definition can hope to manage the dualism of rurality, the romance and the reality. Nonetheless it is worthwhile to recall that a definition is not a theory, or even a description. It is a limiting device, and the purpose of this research is discovery.

Instead we must try to grasp the shifting sands by defining it interpretatively, as it is in the eye, and in the mind of the beholder. This, the recognisable description, avoids the problem of mutating values. It reflects that concepts can have different, even conflicting values at different times. It does however raise problems of relativism, of a formless contingency. The research question is extremely general, so the quandary is how to open up, rather than the inhibition of defining down. The solution is to unbundle the conceptual package of rurality, to examine separately the components in this social construction of rurality.

This permits us see the nuts and bolts of the construction details and allows us to understand the maintenance of arcadia.

3.1.3 Concepts and Theory Construction.

The previous section showed that a hard and exhaustive definition of rurality was impossible. It was argued that the implicit meanings and values associated with rurality precluded crisp definition. This problematic raises questions of how "meanings", especially variable meanings, can be operationalised in the research. It was proposed that the social construction of rurality was a suitable model for this work. However this proposal might be viewed as contentious, given that it makes some claims of causality. The following section therefore considers theory construction to justify the model proposed.

Models or theories are abstractions, a refining from the seething complexities of reality. The isolation of one set of characteristic key features of a situation allows the consideration of their relationships. Accordingly a theory is a configuration, a structured set of relationships. It is worth stressing the dual nature of theory development. First the recognition of the key variables and secondly their relationship as the explanatory form. Thus Keynes, in his theory of how governments could control unemployment, first developed the key concept of aggregate demand. This key concept was then set into his explanatory context, the relationship of aggregate demand to consumption, investment, exports minus imports and government expenditure. An alternative illustrative theory is Marx's primary concept of mode of production and the brilliant way this fits into the relationship of historical materialism. This relationship shows the inevitability of class formation in most modern societies.

What is significant about such models is that they do not, even marxist theory, attempt to explain everything, at all times. In abstracting they privilege some concepts at the expense of others for the sake of clarity. It follows therefore that we should not anticipate that our models could explain all phenomenon equally well. In some models particular parts and their dynamic relationships may stand out in bold relief, affording a clear explanation. However this clarity this may be at the expense of some other dynamic, which is overshadowed. The selection of which concepts are cardinal to the theory is of course, subjective. Thus we may, for example, look at Marx's theory of historical materialism and dismiss it as an inappropriate, inadequate

and unsatisfactory explanation of late 20th Century class formations. Such classes may appear to be better explained by say, theories of contradictory classes in neo-marxist models, e.g E.O. Wright: or the consumption cleavages of neo-Weberians. e.g. P. Saunders. But Marx' theory is explaining a generalised long term soci-economic relationship, which if we accept the unavoidable caveats of such a long term perspective, does explain profoundly the long term production of social divisions. By contrast the theory of consumption divisions is much more contemporary, and whilst currently highly insightful could easily become obsolescent and remains Eurocentric. Thus we may conclude that theories are not necessarily competitive, but indeed, may even be complementary. In abstracting from the complexity they may be addressing different parts of the phenomena.

Physical science also uses models to explain the workings of particular parts of a phenomena. There are however, serious differences in the validation of such physical relationships. Weik 1989:524 goes so far as to suggest, "that validation is not the key task of social science." Most significantly abstractions of physical science can have a real existence. The physical, the hard scientific equivalents of these key conceptual categories can have a definable actuality, not limited to a theoretical classification. Furthermore relationships between "key concepts" are often reducible to mathematical analysis, they conform precisely to universal rules. Tsoukas 1989:552 shows that this is because the natural sciences can conduct experiments in which the conditions for the constant conjunction of events (i.e. closed systems) can be constructed. This is a very different situation from the probabilisms of the social sciences. Of course the more esoteric levels of physics still use metaphor for encapsulating models, "big bang, black holes, electron clouds," and such like. Indeed as Keat and Urry 1975:17, quoting Hempel, argue, "The greatest advances in scientific systematization have not been accomplished by means of laws referring explicitly to observables, but rather by means of laws that speak of various hypothetical or theoretical entities. (emphases in original). So conceptual explanations have a convincing and well founded historical precedent.

Nonetheless the fundamental difference may be partly attributed to the action of human agents in society; in physics atoms have no free will. This distinction allows physical theories to be defined as subsystems and also as discrete parts of a larger system. The "purpose" of an activity can therefore always be accurately described as a system need; by contrast a social activity described in such terms could be dismissed as teleological. Social models need to go beyond the poverty of functionalism to show human purposeful intent.

However the most significant difference lies in validation, what may be construed as proof of the

accuracy of the model. Clearly hard scientific models can rely on multiple repetition of a worked example, this can be verified by parallel mathematical proof and of course such experiments can be "falsified". How very different are our social models which are always ideal typifications, and simply do not have an existence outside our conceptualisation. Lindbolm 1987:512 suggests "trivial theories" are the result of "the methodological strictures that favour validation rather than usefulness." We ultimately depend on producing convincing examples to persuade that our model does perform as claimed. The dualism of theory formation discussed earlier involves convincing first of the appropriateness of the selected key concepts and secondly to consider the validity and value of the proposed explanatory relationships. This intense subjectivity of social models explains why, for example marxist models are most convincing for marxists ! The explanation is built on conceptual categories which have already been established.

This model of the social construction of rurality has those self same strengths and weaknesses. However the use of grounded theorising allows the recognition of established key conceptual categories. These are then available to integrate into the dynamic relationship which is the social construct of rurality. Selection of the key variables involves a critical review of the literature on space and development. From this review those concepts which appear to have value are selected for integration into the theory. An early problem encountered is the multifaceted nature of rural development. It is not enough simply to restrict the parameters of the model to physical features because these are evolved over time; indeed much of what we think of as rural is the absence of development. Nor is it enough to consider only economic models, since a central part of the thesis is that "development" is a social process which is not reducible to economism. Yet if man does not live by bread alone he does still need to eat. So that even if we see how romantic images are important modifiers of arcadia, they do so in the context of what is possible, usually in the broadest sense of what is economically possible.

Menell 1980:ix however cautions, "But conceptual schemes and theoretical approaches increase our understanding of the social processes in which we are caught up only if they are developed hand in hand with empirical investigation - guiding the investigation but in turn continuously modified by it". To understand the social construction of rurality we have to understand its affects. This was demonstrated earlier when it was shown that this concept is both powerful and influential; shaping government planning and development policies; used by advertisers to "add value" to their products and arguing that rurality may be becoming a major focus of direct consumption. It is therefore entirely reasonable to argue that the conceptual form of rurality actually

shapes the physical. Obviously this is achieved dialectically, topographic and spatial features must influence development but, and this is a fundamental caveat, the developed form of the countryside is the outcome of social forces. Farms, villages and towns are the result of decisions to build or equally important not to build. The countryside even in the apparent absence of a "built form" is still a social construct.

The concept of rurality is therefore neither an economic or geographic determinism. Nor is the earlier comment on the dialect an indication of acceptance of materialism or economism. It must be already discernible that "rurality" is more than the outcome of market forces. Engels in his eulogy at Marx's graveside [1883] claimed, "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history ...hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology" Kamenka 1983:70. Engels was wrong about Marx "discovery". Darwin discovered a complex system of genetic combinations, whose outcome was directed by context and circumstances. Such laws do not exist about the social world, there is no end purpose to society. Doctrinaire pursuit, in terms of finding the political economy, which would comprehensively explain rural phenomena is sterile, closing more doors of discovery than it opens. Notwithstanding this rejection of Marx' determinisms some elements of his insights can illuminate our concept. Eagleton 1991:70 argues convincingly that Marx's theories of alienation and rectification allows products "an apparently autonomous existence". This point seems to reflect the earlier discussion on how the social construction of rurality can help account for the power and longevity of the rural idyll. Significantly it permits the possibility of understanding the concept by careful deconstruction.

One possible way of deconstructing the idyll is to use the Durkheimian notion of "Social Facts". "Think of social facts as things" Giddens 1978:25, or as Papineau 1978:1 describes them "external to the reality comprised by human individuals" but nevertheless acting as a constraint upon those individuals. Indeed Durkheim used the concept of social facts in his explanation of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity, reminiscent of Tonnies folk societies. This functionalism seems to fit the social construction of rurality. Rurality has a supra-individual existence. For example if you were to be told that a walk in the woods was refreshing, this would require no elaboration. Rurality is more than just fields, farmers and fresh air. If each or any of these elements were removed we would still be left with recognisable countryside. But Durkheim insists that social facts are *sui generis* of society, separate and distinct. This argument is precisely opposite - rurality is a social production, not divisible from society, and most certainly not independent of that society.

Papineau uses a rather clever example which illustrates the point well. Radio waves, he says, are a phenomenon which can affect things. They have an existence separate from society. This echoes the description of rurality. But, he asks, are they autonomous? Of course not, they are a product of the society and could not exist without the society. Such is rurality.

"How is it possible that subjective meanings become objective facticities?" ask Berger and Luckman 1966:30, "that human activity should produce a world of things?" Quoting Weber 1947:101 "the object of cognition is the subjective meaning-complex of action". This suggests that we live in a reality of our own making. The problem of understanding such a world then becomes, to borrow their analogy, "how to push the bus that you are riding?" Giddens 1986:158 calls this the double hermeneutic, indicating the two levels of interpretation required. Rurality may then have these two levels of meaning, one objective and the other entirely subjective. The researchable problem then is to find as Weber 1977 calls it "The meaning-adequacy". Schutz 1954:257 argues that the primary aim of social science "is to obtain organised knowledge of social reality ... within which we have to find our bearings". Yet Schutz's aim of gaining "organised" knowledge does not accept that the "social reality" is also organised, and this may be a fundamental limitation to such phenomenological theory. However Goffman, the master of the micro world of social interchange, identifies the structures of contextuality in dramaturgical exchange. Goffman, in particular was well equipped to understand the interplay of "rurality", having used Shetland as a background for his PhD thesis, Becker and McCall 1990:31. So we may reject this limitation of the phenomenological perspective.

Nor of course can we argue that facts speak for themselves. Even the way "facts" or data are gathered presupposes a theoretical framework. One particular hazard in dealing with ideological conceptions is the risk of using rurality as the explanatory variable, The 1960's community studies are a good example of such an explanation in search of a question! Whilst Frankenberg's 1987:136 reconsideration of "Communities" accepts as "an intermediate stage of romanticism" the "syndromes" of the studies. Thus the idea of an "Immaculate Perception", where facts speak for themselves, is at least implausible. Perhaps even to talk of "theories" as explanatory framework is misleading. The "determinisms" discussed earlier are really meta-narratives, ways of seeing phenomena in a structured way. This being the case it is possible to extend the argument that they cannot therefore be "wrong". If we take marxism as an example, at some risk of over-simplification, we may perceive how well economic relationships are explained. However the cost of the clarity of this explanation is the lack

of attention to social action. We might explain the meta-theories as bringing some aspects into relief, but in doing so, throwing others into shadow. The point I wish to make is that if we use a rigid framework we may only focus down on problems; explanation must be deductive in terms of the framework. Axiomatically this precludes the generation of new insights which are outside the framework.

Kuhn 1970:59 puts this well, "the decision to employ a particular piece of apparatus and to use it in a particular way carries an assumption that only certain sorts of circumstances will arise". By contrast inductive thinking, outside any theoretical blinkers, can produce new insights. The problem is therefore to achieve a balance between the constraints of the doctrinaire and the "normlessness" of formless speculation. In fact to use inductive reasoning with the insights of the intellectual giants. As Weick 1989 puts it, "theory construction as disciplined imagination." Smith 1975:22 calls this the "Dionysian" approach, in contrast to Appollonian which tends to develop established lines of research. It is of course still possible to envisage rurality as having a functional perspective. I do not wish to raise Parsonian ghosts, but Giddens reminds us that society reproduces itself in a cognitive manner. Thus we could argue that the ideology of rurality exists because people choose so, they wish to have an arcadia. To support this we might summon up marxist ideas of alienation, of materialism and of commodity fetishism. Less esoterically we could consider Toffler's trilogies of change. He argues that the pace of change exceeds individual's comfort level; thus the notion of arcadia could appear to offer security and stability in these turbulent changes.

Contemporary commentators on Post Modernism also offer a "purpose" for rurality. Foucault's imagery of space as a system of containers of power is especially relevant, Harvey 1989:236. So we may see rurality as one of these containers of power. Since nature too is a vital post modern concept, the combination is powerful. Bourdieu also provides a useful explanation. He talks of "Distinction", which to risk over-simplification, splits culture into socially discriminatory aesthetic tastes and consumption. Thus the evaluation of the countryside becomes a social discriminator. Environmental concern becomes a form of high culture, and the "habitus" is the countryside. So these "purposes" also need to be accounted for in the social construction of rurality. As Geertz 1975:5 explains, "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun". Cohen 1989:16 proposes that these webs constitute culture. So the concepts which are sought in this review are the social construction, "whose analysis is not an experimental science in search of a law but an interpretative one in search of meaning."

"If everything occurred at the same time there could be no development: if everything existed in the same place there could be no particularity. Only space makes possible the particular, which then unfolds in time." A. Losch 1940.

This section begins the unpacking of the concepts which make up the social construction of rurality. It examines the literature, mainly from a geographic perspective in search of answers to the research question, why are the Highlands rural.

Whether space matters has been an important topic in geographic discussions. Opinions have run the full gamut from the early environmental determinisms; through the quantitative paradigms of the 1960's to the repudiation of space as simply unimportant in social process. The argument made here is that space does indeed matter. The popular vision of a shrinking world, a global village, leading to the conviction that we are somehow beyond geography is disputed. The critical examination of the literature reveals that whilst space qua space determines nothing, the effects of space can have very significant effects. First, that space imparts a separation on activities and places, allowing the distinctiveness of places to be perpetuated. "Space" is shown to be culturally specific, and therefore as a social construct, best explained as the interplay of culture and economics. In particular the geographical distribution of society in space creates an unevenness of power. It is therefore argued that society has polarized into cities and a rural periphery. Consequently resources, and the decisions made about the distribution of these resources are concentrated in these cities. This creates a gravitational effect so that further key resources from throughout the entire arena are naturally, and disproportionately, attracted to the centre. Thus this effect of space is experienced indirectly, but nonetheless forcefully encountered in rurality.

This "gravitation" model developed from the geographic literature simply shows how higher order activities rarely survive in rural areas. It is essentially a spatial theory, linking geography and economic process. The consequences are straightforward, since it is precisely those higher order activities which produce wealth and power. Their absence, axiomatically, reproduces the existing patterns of low order activities, primary industry and local servicing. These activities are unable to generate new innovative development, because there is little opportunity to add value. Further the absence of these more attractive opportunities drains the human capital from the rural area. The most able cannot find openings which would give scope for their talents, so they too, gravitate towards the centres. A vicious circle, created in space and driven by distance maintain rurality in this condition of retarded development.

3.2.1 What Space Is.

This section is concerned with space, since we lack any precise notion of exactly what "space" is. Space might be considered as simply emptiness, that void between, but clearly any geographic notion implies much more than this. Thus a discussion on the spatial dimensions of enterprise opens up an array of questions to interrogate beyond simple location. This section therefore explores various meanings and values of space, which support the conclusion that space does matter. The review begins by considering the temporal development of the concept, noting that space as a distinct and separate concept is bound up with social development. This, in turn strengthens the central argument, for the social construction of rurality. It identifies in historical context, natural space, mathematical space, social space and geographic space. Of these forms, it is argued, that the post-positivistic form of geographic space is the most helpful in aiding our understanding of the social construction of space, of rurality and ultimately of rural enterprise.

The history of space as a concept shadows the development of mankind; as the progressive abstraction of space from matter. Robert Sack 1980 describes the "primitive" view of space, natural space, as part of the unity of nature; space, substance and meaning. Thus for "simple" man, space therefore did not exist as a separate entity but as part of a holistic concept. Smith 1990:70 argues that space as an identifiable object of consciousness coincided with the origins of philosophy, of conceptual thought not directly connected to practical activity. He points out that for both Plato and Aristotle geometry provided "a glue to stick space and matter." Geometry is an abstraction from real physical bodies but yet is able to describe the structure of space. As Jammer noted in 1969:162, "historically viewed abstract theories of space owe their existence to the practice of geodetic work, just as ancient geometry originated in the practical need of land surveying."

Newton further separated space and matter by the complete abstraction of physical space and, in consequence, opened the way for further abstractions of space, such as social space. Yet these mathematical abstractions of non-Euclidean space have only the most tenuous connections to physical space. Individuals are totally unable to experience the relationships of sub-atomic particles, or the reactions of space and matter in black holes. The man responsible for identifying many of these spacial relationships Einstein 1969:xii insists, "it is necessary over and over again to engage in the critique of these fundamental concepts, in order that we may not unconsciously be ruled by them." But as Smith 1990:74 puts it, "contemporary social conceptions of space bear no resemblance to the n-dimensional spaces of mathematical physics." Thus he argues that social space should be treated as a purely relative

space existing within absolute space.

Notwithstanding Smith's comments the mathematical abstraction may hold some clues to the social significance of space. White and Gribben 1992 in discussing Stephen Hawking's work on space, point out that in modern theory of space, (super-strings) is not n-dimensional but only has twenty-six dimensions! The value of this information is in learning how mathematicians deal with these hidden extra dimensions. They use a technique inelegantly termed, "compactification". The essence of this involves considering, "the appearances of objects viewed from different distances in the everyday world." A hosepipe, for example, viewed in close up, appears as a two-dimensional sheet of material wrapped around a third dimension. The same hose viewed from far away appears as a one dimensional line, yet looking end on to the hose, it appears as a point, with zero dimensions. White and Gibben go on to argue, 1992:259, that this may be why we cannot see the other twenty-two dimensions of space." They may be curled up, or compactified into the multidimensional equivalent of cylinders and spheres." This notion of how dimensions of space may, entirely logically be hidden, might be a useful sensitizing lesson for social space, alerting us to the possible presence of undetected spacial factors, somehow folded inside our superficial perspective.

One example of this obtuse concept lies in visualising the compactification of geographic space in advanced city centres. There the friction of distance, this concentration, imposes such penalties that the central business districts are corseted and squeezed upwards. This significance of space is remarkable in for example, downtown Houston, Texas. A post modern boom town of the black gold rush; where skyscrapers crowd and jostle each other to reach upwards into space, whilst scattered at their feet are the derelictions of urban decay. It is difficult to avoid speculating that these megaliths of corporate conspicuous consumption have drained the area dry of profits and stand now as concrete totems to their own power. Totems rising, exclusively, into this new expensive dimension of space. Harvey 1975, looking backwards, comments on this symbolic use of space, "It is no accident that church and chapel spires dream over Oxford, a town created in the age of church power. Whereas, in this age of monopoly capitalism it is the Chase Manhattan Bank building which broods over Manhattan Island". Landmarks, perhaps to the historical dialect of space and society.

An alternative and opposite use of space is what Karl Popper, 1982:135 describes as the Cartesian notion; where space is reducible to matter. According to this interpretation there is no such thing as empty space, space is the essential spatial extension of matter. This is intuitively appealing, we rarely think of space as a discrete entity but are more likely to consider it, if at all, as a property of some other phenomena. Thus the countryside fills the void,

that space between urbanisations. This view meshes with Dunleavy's, which stated that space can have no independent causal effects. Yet the earlier discussion showed that space does have effects. The deeply rural is differentiated by space as insulation and by the dilution by distance of social and economic process. However some accommodation of the disparate points can be reached by stating that it is not space qua space which has the effects but rural space. Furthermore this space does not exist as space but as rurality, and it is rurality which matters.

Durkheim 1947 is credited with first using the term "social space". Yet he was careful to distinguish this abstraction from what he called, "real space", that is physical space. Nonetheless Durkheim's conception is rich. According to Giddens 1978:10, Durkheim's notion of the "isolated individual" entering into exchange relations is itself a product of social development. Thus such a conception remains metaphoric. In the same manner that the mathematical sciences use space as the abstracted field of natural events, social space represents, Smith 1990:75, "the humanly constituted abstract field of societal events." So social space can also be defined in a number of ways. Like the abstract mathematical space, it too lacks a tangibility. We can readily identify social space within a social exchange but this tells us nothing about the relationship, or even its location within physical space. As an example, social class differences, where working class and middle class occupy a different social space, they may also occupy a different physical space. However nothing within the social space discussion directly relates to the spatial location of the working class. Further theoretical development, beyond the remit of this investigation, is needed to provide a "geometry" of class.

Louis Wirth's 1925 classic analysis of "An Urban Way of Life", epitomises the Chicago School and resonates with this idea of social space. So too does Simmel's 1950 archetypal, "Metropolis". The paradox of concentration of social space is the limited contact with other souls. For Wirth this spatially produced grossly unnatural behaviour makes urban dwellers grow a protective shell to shield them from the incipient madness produced by the concentration. Kumar 1978:73 reviewing both these authors, compares the "fundamental social instability" produced in Wirth's "anomie" with Simmel's, "need to avoid being overwhelmed by the number and variety of contacts and stimuli". More lightheartedly, but equally trenchant, was the comment on social space by the rustic hero of Crocodile Dundee. Remarking on the population density of New York, he is delighted to see that 10 million people like each other enough to want to live together! Space concepts become entangled with social process, the confusion of the spatial formations of the Tonnie's dichotomy.

As Massey 1993:147 recognises, "constructing a notion of locality, or an understanding of any particular

locality, is a theoretical challenge. It means combining together understandings drawn from many branches of systematic geography.".... " To understand cultural changes.. behoves that we draw upon all the theories of spatial change"

Cooke 1990:5 finds a similar pattern of argument in Baudelair's discourse on the newly opened out space of the parks, the boulevards and avenues of Hausseman's Paris. Baudelair experiences these spaces as different from the fixity of settled peasant existence; different too from the cosy familiarity of the narrow winding lanes. For him they are transitory, fugitive and contingent. Transitory because of fewer friends and only brief periods together because of ever changing circumstances. Fugitive because of being surrounded by strangers, superficial because of the loss of shared assumptions and the consequential misunderstandings. This explained the less existentially minded migrants huddling in their ethnic enclaves. Contingent because the nominally free, the conscious individual, can choose a course rather than experiencing life as a series of necessities. Space in this conception is either a liberator or a tyrant.

So space itself has a number of dimensions. At the simplest level of analysis it is no more than the inert arena of society, where its effect is restricted to the separation of activities, serving to differentiate by insulation and isolation. This is obviously an important element of rurality, which is usually characterised by expansive spatial separation, in sharp contrast to urban areas. Yet at a more complex level it is possible to argue that space is not simply neutral. This spatial separation, and the consequent importance of space, is created by advanced economic activities. Simple or subsistence societies have little need to discriminate spaces. Furthermore different cultures and epochs have different concepts and uses of space. So that space can be characterised by both its economic and cultural dimensions. Geographic space, manifestly physical, attempts to provide a "geometry". Whereas much social science is able to pass through space in their particular abstractions, treating it as an external "given", space is the unique concern of geography. However as Smith 1989:78 points out, "the agency responsible for the conceptual abstraction of space, human practice, is introduced to the concept itself."

Thus it can be seen that not only does separation affect the relationship between places but that the patterning of society in space is the outcome of the impact of social process on the natural environment. In particular the "concentration effect" drains rurality of potentials. Accordingly, the reproduction of society, in that space, is thus cumulatively influenced by the previous uses of that space. The patent conclusion is that space matters, and that it matters even more to rurality. First, as distance it imparts a cost on communications, which can be seen as rural inaccessibility and as an barrier, an insulation to differentiate rurality and to maintain its distinctive inimitableness.

Space and distance, as we have seen, produce unequal effects in the spatial distribution of society. Including, but not limited to what Hamnett 1985:11, describes "The economic evaluation of distance plays a crucial role in the social organisation of space". So the countryside can remain, remote and contrary, contra-distinguished from the city.

This section has explored space and found it to be multi-faceted. Space was seen to be rather more than physical separation but rather less than a determinant of social action. It is best seen as a condition of human relations. Space as it is experienced may affect action, but the experience of space may vary considerably. Nonetheless rurality can be understood as a manifestation of space, or at least as a spatial form where space uniquely intervenes in human actions.

3.2.2. What space "does".

The discussion begins by examining the spatial debate within geography and continues by broadening the discussion to wider views of space. From the review it extracts what are to become the key sensitizing concepts in this section; how the notions of concentration and the corresponding gravitational effects couple with the insularity that space generates. The analysis demonstrates how these spatial effects impinge on rurality in first, a physical way, and secondly by insulation, allowing the development of a parallel cultural identity for the countryside.

Doreen Massey 1984 describes how, "the most absolute of environmental determinists saw human character and social organisation as a fairly direct and unmediated product of the physical environment." At its most extreme in the early, traditional geographic analysis this spacial concern became deterministic, using spatial factors to explain all manner of events and outcomes. Spencer, 1882, was responsible for this type of explanation, organismic theory, which although discredited still lingers. Within what was known as "commercial geography" it was for example, admissible, to explain the location of the Lancashire cotton industry in terms of "natural endowments". The need for a damp climate, convenient ports and the traditions of woollen manufacture appear as sound reasons for the establishment in that particular locale.

However the excesses of this environmental determinism far exceed this "background to enterprise". Semple 1903 argued that the frontier conditions of America stimulated democracy and entrepreneurship. Britain's Imperial hegemony came to be explained away as a result of her island spatial form. More sinisterly the underdevelopment of colonies was explained in terms of such local features as climate, Huntington 1915:9. The tropical heat made indigenous natives lazy, whilst the benign climate made food supplies easily accessible. Thus in contrast to the invigorating northern climes, southern man was less advanced and his "development" under colonialism was morally justified. This type of "rationality" may help explain the eschewing of all forms of environmental explanation by so many scientists today.

This Spatial Darwinism, the evolutionary geographic explanation, was eventually found inadequate and was replaced by the idea of a regional geography. Within this conception spatial differences founded on landscape features, but modified by economic activity, became the focus of this largely descriptive work. Thus areas would be described first in terms of geology and discussed "upwards to such topics as culture and politics." This was claimed to be the "synthesis of elements", Massey 1984:5. Space, in terms of natural advantage and the demarcation of the area influenced, became a legitimate unit of study. "Possibilism", rather than deterministically shaped environmental space,

conceded the importance of non-spatial factors. The emerging debate of the 1960's was probably part of the identity crisis of geography. The rejection of the crude deterministic models, and the later descriptive regional geographies, can be explained as the realisation that spatial development involved a great deal more than an appropriate climate and a convenient harbour.

Schaefer 1953 is usually credited with this paradigm shift, from pure description towards mathematical modelling. The ensuing geographies created the situation where this "science" of geography could embrace the positivistic mathematics of space. Massey 1984, derogatorily describes this "super-positivism" as the "science of the spatial". Spatial effects, the distribution of one thing were deemed to be a result of spatial causes, which caused the distribution of another. Within this quantitative geographic "science", space was both cause and effect. As Massey 1984:3 notes, "It needed little input from the other social sciences". She concludes, convincingly, that there cannot be spatial "laws" without social content. Nonetheless from within this largely descriptively and introvertedly atheoretical, and therefore unexplanatory school, Losch 1954 and Christaller 1966 can be singled out for providing a theoretical sustained analysis of how "central places" normally evolve.

Another analytically useful category was developed by Hagerstrand 1973 of the "Lund School". His notion of time-geography imparts a temporal dimension into spatial differentiation, one which will prove particularly useful in examining the idea of accessibility. In particular how the predictions of time-space convergence, or the space-time compressions, of a shrinking world by the global village proponents must take account of social and economic factors. Thus the "insulation" effect of space is proportionate to the ease, speed and cost of overcoming distance. Goodall 1987:173 quotes Tobler's first law of geography, Everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things. Space then, creates the barrier of the friction of distance but it does so unevenly and disparately.

The radical critique within "human geography" strongly challenged the idea of a simple spatial determinism. David Harvey's 1963 thesis argued for example, that the physical aspects of space were only one single factor. Even within such an ostensibly physical geography as agriculture, socio-economics proved to be just as important as spatial physical factors. This structuralist critique developed the argument that there was no separate realm of the spatial; no spatial processes without social content and no such thing as spacial causes. Dunleavy 1982 went so far as to claim that to study anything described spatially, such as rural, was to misrepresent prevailing social and political structures. Castells 1977 maintained that, "space, like time is a physical quantity that tells us nothing".

This radical critique illustrates the dualism and possible contradictions within conceptions of space; space as natural and space as social.

The extraordinary disparity of these poles of spatial analytical value calls for some form of resolution. Cloke 1987:71 comments on the how these contradictions have produced a strange hybrid in rural research. The dualistic tendency to differentiate rural characteristics whilst denying the validity of a rural focus. Yet even today, the largely discredited spatial deterministic community studies, still seem full of insights. We cannot be certain whether these were produced by the insularity of the research site or the insularity of the researcher. Urry 1981 and 1985 provides one possible solution to the enigma, that space itself can have no general effects. Rather social actions will be induced by specific spacial contexts, accordingly this justifies the type of analysis known as locality studies, where space is a "frame" rather than the explanation. Newby 1977:90 for example, challenges Pahl's 1970 dismissal, that the search for spatial factors of explanation is "fruitless". Newby suggests that Pahl may overstate, "Geographic milieux may define patterns...thus there may be a local social system but no causal relationship." This suggests that space is an effect rather than a cause, but that it may intervene in general process. Hence we can see how society does not and cannot exist on the head of the pin ! Only in theories which, by deliberate theoretical design abstract from space, can space be excluded from a meaningful analysis.

Ball 1984:68 provides a contrasting interpretation of the importance of space which supports this position. "Space is not simply a friction which economic activities have to overcome. Instead spatial differentiation implants a fixity on economic activities." He argues that the earlier type of explanation treats all spatial differentiation as essentially residual. He points out that the functional interlocking of activities causes spatial clustering and that agglomeration economies are closely linked to exchange activities. Integrating the critiques of the radical geographers, he argues that local locational factors, space, modify the macro processes of economic change. He cites the example of the closure of a steel works, where the international decline in demand causes an oversupply. But, it is local factors which cause this particular steel works to close rather than some other plant.(Ball's analysis is particularly relevant to the closure of the Ravenscraig steel plant, which although claimed by the unions to be profitable, it was geographically peripheral. This in turn illustrates the evolving nature of the economic conception of space. Undoubtedly, at one time, Motherwell was the local centre for steel. The economics of time-space compression has pushed it to the periphery.)

Equally important is how firms may also use space to maximise profits. Multi-branch plants can be set against

each other in a play off to derive the greatest benefits for the firm. Again the declining, even rustbelt of once industrial Lanarkshire provides an example at Cambuslang. There, Hoover the electrical appliance manufacturer, was able to negotiate highly favourable working conditions under the threat of mobile investment. Multinationals inhabit a warren of places, riddled with entrances and exits. They are able to use space by isolating "trouble" to one site. In contrast to this fragmentation, the trade unions, appropriately use unity, to try to lace together places in some common purpose. Formerly the use of flying pickets spread the dispute but this is, now illegal. However during a difficult dispute at the Timex plant in Dundee, the trade union decided to move its protest and pickets to the branch in France as a spoiling tactic. So space does intervene in economic process.

Locational choices in company start-up situations are also actively manipulated to bargain with development authorities to achieve the best location for the footloose industries. The location of Health Care International's new private hospital in the former shipbuilding area of Clydebank is an example. Financial inducements of large grants were used to anchor this footloose unit in a declining industrial area. This illustrates on one hand the relative mobility of capital, and on the other, the fixity of place. However it was the specific characteristics of Clydebank, a result of previous historical industrial development which created the conditions which created the "place", with its inheritance of unemployment and industrial decay. What is theoretically important about these observations is that space is industriously incorporated into commercial decisions. It is not a passive milieu, but acts alongside other configuring factors in the reproduction of society. Investments are made in space and immediately acquire a fixity, producing an inertia which change must overcome.

Ball's 1984 analysis shows how space operates as a modifier of general process, producing both economic and cultural distinctiveness. This is apparent in two ways, first as an insulation caused by the friction of distance. Secondly how this insularity interacts to propagate specific effects. Rurality, as was shown earlier, is often defined as a residual; that area which is not " industrial or urbanised". So clearly the identity of rurality is insular, it is all about spatial segregation. Segregation from the city and the segregation of activities, coupled with extensive land use, combine to form rurality, as society broadcast over space. Accordingly rural activities confront this friction of distance which raises additional costs to any exchange or communication. Giddens 1984:258 characterises this process as "Distanciation". Significantly the opportunity costs of change are higher as change must overcome both the friction of distance and the inertia of spatial fixity.

Mowatt 1979:153 provides a counter argument, from a political economic perspective, to the argument that

physical conditions produce disadvantage. He argues that, "remoteness, primary production, traditional and backward economies have long been wrongly seen as causes of marginality, rather than the outcome of the process of development. These are the result of incorporation into the capitalist world economy." We may however, take issue with Mowatt's conclusion that it is the incorporation of remote areas in the capitalist process which produces remoteness. Development over space is uneven; as we noted earlier changing centres of power may alter a place's relationship to the centre of power, a previously central place may become peripheral in a changing economic geography. This however, cannot justify a claim that the development process creates remoteness. Places which have been historically remote and remain so, cannot be seen to be the outcome of economic process. They remain remote because these places have economies which may not be "fully" incorporated into the industrial economy, they may have particular local economies which are peripheral in a physical as well as an economic sense. Mowatt attributes responsibility for spatial consequences on the capitalist system but completely fails to provide any basis, other than exhortation, to support his dictum. As Corbridge 1986:67 points out, "there is nothing in the concept of capitalism itself which should lead us to expect that it must have X, Y or Z development (or underdevelopment) effects. Such contingencies are not forged at this metatheoretical scale."

We may challenge Mowatt's assertion by taking up Marx's own argument of Historical Materialism. As Kamenka 1983:569 points out, the development of history allows that the productive forces of development are uneven. We may concede Bukharin's 1972:20 point "Important as the natural differences in the conditions of production may be, they recede more and more into the background compared to differences that are the outcome of the uneven development of productive forces." Nonetheless these natural differences remain important, they have not been entirely subsumed in some overwhelming global tide of development. Local characteristics, outlined by space, interpolate general process. Lenin's early works 1899, according to Smith 1984, draw attention to the territorial differentiation of town and country which he saw as an essential of the development of capitalism. Smith 1984:93 elaborates on Marx's comments in Grundrisse p 524, "Capital by its nature drives beyond every spatial barrier... Thus, whilst capital must on one side strive to tear down every spatial barrier to intercourse, it strives on the other to annihilate this space through time. The more developed the market.. the greater annihilation of space by time." What Smith stresses is that this is a theoretical but historically specific explanation of the popular impressionistic observation of "a shrinking world." What I wish to stress that this a process over time and necessarily uneven, as Marx pointed out the key issue is the "development of the market". Rural places and economies seem to stand out as being

different from the industrial economy by the very nature of their remoteness. Remoteness is sustained by a place's exclusion, remoteness means that it is not fully integrated into the industrial economy. The "idiocy of the countryside" which Marx so despised is the result of the countryside's exclusion or isolation from the industrialisation. So Mowatt is confusing a theoretically postulated end result of capitalism with a condition which is prior to, but co-existing within the capitalist process.

Remoteness may well be perpetuated within capitalism but is not necessarily caused by it. Thus development must be seen as a process over both space and time, this unevenness is the very nature of capitalism. To conflate the two issues as Mowatt does, fails to recognise the dynamics of the process of uneven development. Furthermore there is no evidence that remote places, e.g. Siberia or Ulaan Bator, fared differently under any collective system. They remain remote and less developed. Mandel 1975:91 concludes that the law of uneven development is not restricted to capitalism but is a universal law of human history. Thus a considered marxist analysis of space eventually leads back to what Smith 1984 calls "The Dialect of Geographic Differentiation and Equalization," which acknowledges spatial differentiation in spite of globalisation.

The iconoclastic Ivan Ilich 1974 provides an alternative radical conception of distance. He points out that motor cars create distances for all and shrink them only for a few. "the new dirt road through the wilderness brings the city within view, but not within reach of most Brazilian subsistence farmers. The New expressway expands Chicago, but it sucks those who are well-heeled away from a downtown that decays into a ghetto" These remarks are insightful, thought provoking in terms of the rural social condition and the uneven experiences of distance. He might also have added the spatial irony of Fordism. The Fordist production of motor cars produces personal freedom for the new car owners, ironically it does so by fixing, in space, the worker to the production line.

Both Christaller and Losch's conception of Central Place Theory provide an explanation of the operation of spatial process in service provision. Losch's work confirms the earlier observations that distance imparts a cost and that the crossing of this space may be experienced as a financial, time or information cost. Since this cost is directly related to distance, servicing those activities furthest away in space becomes the most expensive. According to Christaller's theory "central places" form as the most efficient position in space for servicing an area. Losch takes this further by proposing that certain activities have a "threshold", a minimum level of demand. Thus one might be prepared to travel 100 miles for an opera; 50 miles for a specialist bookshop but only 500 meters for a loaf. His model predicts a nested hierarchy of provision radiating out from the central place. The model appears adequate until we

consider the main assumptions of first, an isotropic plain, where cost and distance are uniform. This cannot apply to rural areas where the space between settlements imposes an extra cost. The second flaw is that Losch assumes an economic agent, the entrepreneur who will be willing to provide these services. But if the cost of providing the service is too high, as in remote areas, and the total demand too low, these areas, the hilltops of the Loschesian landscape, will remain economically unserviceable. This goes some way towards explaining the unequal distribution of facilities across space. It helps explain the special nature of rurality, where distance acts in concert with economic process to maintain the shape of rurality.

Hodge and Whitby 1981 provide some quantitative evidence of the correlation of unemployment and rurality. Their results show that the more rural the county; the higher the unemployment. In contrast the positive correlation between rurality and incomes shows how incomes fall with increasing rurality.

year	rurality/unemployment	rurality/income
1976	-0.6959	0.6252
1977	-0.6934	0.7308
1978	-0.7038	0.5133

Despite the antiquity of the figures, note the rising trend of distance and disadvantage.

Boswell, writing in 1785:168 provides a qualitative and historic analysis. He was well aware of the outcomes of this spatial scattering and its consequences on the quality of life. Discussing the New World as experienced by the emigrants from the West Highlands, "Men scattered thinly, make a shift but a bad shift without many things. A smith is ten miles off: they'll do without a nail or staple. A taylor's (sic) far from them: they'll botch together their own clothes. It is being concentrated which produces high convenience."

Cooke 1990:8 produces an illustration of how inequalities become built into developed and less developed areas. His division is not rural and urban, and his is a temporal analysis, of process over time. Nonetheless his units, "advanced" and less developed areas, share characteristics with the urban-rural partition. He is concerned to show how "modernity", which he argues coincides with competitive capitalism, entrenches spatial inequality. "Advanced" regions, he claims, force other areas to purchase their produce. Whitley 1990:171 suggests that the less-developed rural and peripheral regions of the European Community are in general characterised by an overproportional share of SMEs in labour intensive industries because they cannot support larger enterprises. This position echoes my "higher order" services. He points out that this exchange across regional market boundaries "sucked out" local capital; which was

then used to improve efficiency and competitiveness. This in turn compounds the advanced areas advantages.

However more significant than just the simple physical effects of spatial separation are the consequences of the "dilution" of economic and social process. We have seen how the agglomeration effects of population and demand thresholds limit the range of each area's economic activity. But the spatial economists failed to consider the reverse effects, of how if certain higher order functions can only happen at the core the periphery must inevitably be drained of this activity. Accordingly this concentration at the core means that all the spin offs, the multipliers from that higher level activity are correspondingly also drained out of the rural hinterland. Spatially dispersed populations cannot support higher order functions, or those people who carry out those functions. Rural activities are, in consequence limited. These limitations are not only restricted to commerce, but include management skills, investment flows, art and culture. In short, all the "higher order" activities of our society must naturally gravitate towards the core. Power becomes centralized, away from rurality, in this centripetal tendency. "Space", according to Warntz 1967:7, "is a tyrant and distance enforces his rule." This is a structural feature of rurality, inherent and not amenable to change, and is both a reason and a result.

This gravitational effect works selectively across rural society draining out elements of higher order, the most valuable people and the most valuable process. It works mechanistically, so does not require any conscious efforts by individuals or institutions to instigate or sustain the process. In terms of people the best educated are drawn towards the core simply because there are few higher level jobs. The more ambitious, even if not formally well educated, are also attracted by the wider range of possibilities to practice their talents. The range of opportunities in rural society is necessarily limited. Moving outwards, away from the core areas, the society becomes more remote and more rural and thus less able to support higher order elements. Thus the process becomes cumulative and self-sustaining. As Body 1973:16, discussing a remote Irish area argues, "With the tendency for emigration to be selective, communities in the west of Ireland become socially atrophied and demoralised." Alasdair Maclean 1984, himself an economic refugee, provides a less academic but vital account of this social process operating in remote Ardnamurchan.

In specific terms of new businesses Keeble 1990 reports that new firms in finance, property and professional services are overwhelmingly concentrated in the South East of England. The most peripheral regions, Northern Ireland, the North, Scotland and Wales recorded the lowest rates of business formation in this sector. Nonetheless Mason 1991:76 notes particularly high rates of new manufacturing firm formation in the Highlands and Islands. He explains

that in the spatial division of labour core regions have the highest concentration of managerial and skilled staff working in headquarters. Since most new firm founders are of this class the highest propensity for entrepreneurship is likely to be highest in core regions. Conversely the entrepreneurial potential of peripheral regions is reduced because of such occupational groupings. Furthermore he notes 1991:83 that a "significant proportion of new businesses established in remote rural areas have been founded by in-migrants, many in their late 40's and 50's after early retirement." Many of the businesses he adds are craft based, resource or tourist related and are not growth orientated." Perry 1982 and 1987 found a very similar situation in Cornwall, which of course is also remote and peripheral.

Mason 1991:89 makes a further point which helps explain gravitation's effect on enterprise. He observes that the awareness of entrepreneurial opportunities are dependent on the quality and quantity of local networks. "Most of the contacts sources of any individual are within half-an-hour's travelling time. It follows that the quality of information available to an entrepreneur is dependent upon the wealth of the stock of knowledge in the locality." Sweeney 1987 confirms this, pointing out that agricultural regions have a low stock of knowledge, and a weak nutrient information flow and a long logistical information cycle." Newby pointed out in 1984 that for the first time since the Industrial Revolution, technological change is allowing rural areas to compete on equal terms with towns and cities. But here again the gradient of centripetal attraction to the core operates. Indeed this technology which might ostensibly reduce this gradient of distance can actually reinforce the effects. Sawhney 1993 shows how, "rural telephony", instantaneous electronic communication, can actually destroy local businesses and jobs. The barrier of distance protected some rural businesses as space and distance sheltered local business from competition. Now easy and instant communications makes it as easy, or even easier, for the rural purchaser to buy from the central area with its benefits of choice and price. Even traditional local services, like plumbers and repairmen, can be centrally controlled by portable telephones.

In the Scottish Highlands the town supermarkets have computerised check-outs which are linked to the central headquarters. These allow a minimum of local stockholding and of course local decision making, as sales information is fed instantly to the central headquarters. Sawhney 1993:148 cites Samarajiva and Shields 1988:3, "...improved two way communication between the city and the hinterland may result in the ruin of local traders ...with a resultant loss of local autonomy in the long term." As Dillman 1988 reports telecommunication technologies, instead of helping small business can "suck out" trade and capital. So distance is reduced allowing the economics of scale to operate its gravitational effects.

Local examples of the duality of improved communications which are superimposed on existing space constraints include electronic distance education. Education centres in rural towns such as Dunoon and Oban are electronically linked to colleges in Greenock. We can see how decisions are again made at the centre which cut off any indigenous developments. By spending heavily on such equipment they may preclude indigenous, local teaching. Even the newly developed sophisticated network of electronic "tele-commuters" in Argyll fulfil a very basic role. Workers edit and summarise medical journal entries for journal abstracts. So whilst this is "think" work, a higher order service, the conditions are more akin to electronic outworkers than to the autonomous images of the "wired countryside".

In Dunoon a marketing organisation known as Database Direct has set up with the help of a grant of £82,000. They will receive telephone enquiries resulting from nationwide advertising campaigns, build and manage an electronic database and despatch targeted advertising material, Cowal Update November 1993. A director Mr. Bingle is quoted, "it is vital we harness the flexibility offered by advanced telecommunications, and part-time and job-sharing employment opportunities suits many people." The significant point is the relationship of the "advanced telecommunications" and space and flexibility, whether it works to enhance opportunities or simply to reinforce the friction of distance. Tellingly, the local manageress of Database Direct when asked if only women were employed, was pleased to point out that some men were also employed. "*with the limited job opportunities locally we get many men with keyboard skills.*" The electronic networks are best seen as spider's webs with a powerful spider at the centre. Like the web these networks are spun over space and work to the advantage of the spider not space.

As we have seen the process of gravitation is dynamic, it reproduces rurality. Power, as a consequence of the gravitation, tends to be concentrated in the centre. This should be seen to reinforce the rural role, since linkages to the centre are a subordinate relationship. Power lies in higher order functions. Higher order functions are those which first, are capable of generating higher than average incomes and secondly, normally require above average abilities. They are generally specialist, a consequence of a high division of labour, and require a large supporting base. This reason alone proscribes most rural areas, so preventing specialist servicing taking root in the countryside. Examples of higher order would include such organisations as corporate legal practices; company headquarters; general centres of excellence such as teaching hospitals. Lower order functions which are generally characterised by low profitability and innovation, lower levels of skills and expertise. Examples would include small shops, hotel and catering, transport services and of course, agriculture. Molotch 1976 discusses how "Cities become Growth

Machines", feeding on growth, creating a ratchet effect of growth.

These are of course, not watertight compartments, farming for example, may be highly innovative and skilled. However primary producers are inevitably "price takers", and consequently have little power to shape prices. In the West Highlands this lack of power is exacerbated by the low fertility, so increasing dependence on Central Government. Commenting on this problem, EC 1993:11, a policy statement by the community entitled "Our Farming Future" points out, "All developed countries are therefore obliged to subsidize agriculture to ensure that farmers' incomes remain compatible to those in other economic sectors." Significantly they also note that since 1973, British agricultural output has fallen from 2.44% of gross domestic product to, in 1990, 1.16% ; so primary agricultural production has become relatively less important.

Commins 1991:50, "In recent decades the farm sectors in advanced societies have greatly increased the supply of agricultural products, but given the conditions of inelastic demand there has been little change in the real terms of the revenue earned. CEC 1987:40 also OECD 1987:201. Peterson 1990:139 discusses the problem from an Australian perspective, "the rising cost of manufactured commodities imported into Australia in conjunction with the general overall decline in commodity prices for agricultural goods." This shifting balance is seen as a major problem. He goes on to argue that primary goods have simply become less important. In most developed countries raw material and food production are less than 10% of GNP and even less of the labour force. In fact in Britain the agricultural labour force is less than 3% of the total workforce.

Commins further argues 1991:54 that technology is not scale neutral. Mechanical systems are scale dependent for maximisation and inter-related technology tends towards "Systematic" farming. Biological-chemicals require levels of skill and knowledge and management ability which tends to favour larger units. They also tend to be packaged in units suited to larger organisations. So again we may see how power is attracted to the concentrated core.

The lack of higher order functions means that the various consequential multipliers associated with such functions are also leached out of rurality. Linkages within and without the professions, research contacts and all the various spin offs are all retained at the centre. The significance of this spatial organisational is that power lies at the centre. Even if we look at governmental organisations, whose avowed purpose is to ameliorate the friction of distance we can see the same pattern of power emerging. For example, Strathclyde Regional Council, a major channel for local taxes and a large rural spender is headquartered in Glasgow. Yet it makes decisions which include even such rural places as Tiree. These decisions cover an enormous range of factors touching on rural life, education, roads, fire,

police even sewage disposal. It might be claimed by the cynical that regional policies, on such matters as education and roads, are directed towards urban welfare. In education the most able pupil is drawn off to the urban areas to continue her education and is unlikely to be able to permanently return. Even roads and sewage disposal could be claimed to be organised to suit the summer urban visitor.

National government and the EC are more obvious sources of central power. The Government, through quangos, controls the Forestry Commission, or Forestry Enterprise as it is optimistically renamed. The Crown Commission controls sea bed leases which are essential to the fish farming industry. And as discussed the Department of Food and Fisheries decisions have major implications for local farmers and fishermen. The EC, with its enormous potential magnanimity, sets highly centralised standards to which supplicants must comply. Even God has his local headquarters in Edinburgh or Rome. In short rural areas, and the people living within them have a disproportionate lack of power as a consequence of the effects of gravitation.

So the spatial arrangement of society imposes a developmental handicap on those areas where society is most dispersed. There is an imbalance and a disproportionate loss of higher order skills, information and opportunities. These become concentrated in the central areas and strip rurality of that critical mass of synergy produced by the concentration of these factors of development. Power accumulates organically in the core as a consequence of this agglomeration. Central places cumulatively acquire power as these flows gravitate towards the centre. Accordingly the backflow, outwards from the centre, is not necessarily symbiotic but understandably represents the needs of the centre and embodies the power centrally concentrated.

There are weaknesses in this deterministic theory of gravitation. For example the loose definition of rurality permits a distinct fuzziness at the boundary of rural and urban. Furthermore the post-modern conceptions of space-time compression would suggest changes in rurality; but these are relative changes; absolute rurality remains remote and structurally differentiable. Whilst the theory argues that higher order activities gravitate towards the centre clearly many still remain. We have for example rural doctors, lawyers and teachers. Yet the career prospects of these professionals are limited, if they seek lucrative specialities they must look outside rurality. Many are content to trade-off these potentials for a pleasant life style, exhibiting satisficing behaviour; in turn this might be said to encourage fewer innovative "movers and shiffters". We might also point to successful rural firms, such as Norfrost of Caithness. This firm flourishes by making and even exporting bulky freezers from the North of Scotland, defying locational logic, and scorning gravitational theory. The answer must lie in the power and particular personality of the

female entrepreneur who drives this organisation, and how rural disadvantage is overcome or even turned upside down into advantage. This interesting area of explanation is considered later.

Gravitation therefore forms a general rule to which there may be exceptions. The theory suggests that this concentration effect is a tendency, although powerful, the specific attractions of some sites may counter this propensity and retain the "higher orders". Furthermore this argument for the concentration process, based on broadly outlined thresholds for higher order functions, provides no mechanism or definitions of what these "functions" are. Nor can this general process be seen to operate with any precision, different cores have different higher order functions. All that we may predict from the emergent spatial model is that rurality cannot sustain these functions. The model is thus limited in rural prediction. In fact as the evidence develops it becomes plain that only some very special functions can thrive in the lean environment of the rural arena, and that these can be explained by complementary theory of the social construction of rurality.

3.3 Nature

"Nature is transformed but such transformation is both a condition of social existence and a driving force of cultural development" Anthony Giddens 1976:15

This section continues the unpacking of the components of the social construction of rurality. It considers the qualities of "nature" which are ascribed to the countryside. Indeed it may be argued that the countryside is the spatial manifestation of nature. Thus although rurality is the economic production line of nature, its extensive land use and the apparent lack of artifacts support the notion that the countryside is nature. It follows from this connection that to understand "the countryside" we must understand what people mean by nature. The section briefly considers the historical development of "nature", the ways that people in society think about nature. It develops the argument that this "cultural" development of nature is closely related to the role that natural things have within society. The section concludes by considering the environmental movement who are seen as the latest in the historical context of society and nature.

In trying to understand the underpinning of "natural" ideologies a useful way of typifying nature is either man as part of a god given nature or man as super-nature. The tension between these two conceptualisations, the metaphysical of nature as external and somehow above man, and the materialistic concept of man in nature, mirrors mans' relationship to nature. Interestingly there appears to be almost a historical cycle. In simple societies, conventionally seen as "close to nature", man is seen as part of nature and subservient to natural laws. This seems entirely reasonable. Simple man lacks the tools and technology, the organisation or capital to materially alter natural laws. He must accept what is. He must fit into an existing niche, he cannot create his own. As society becomes more complex with role differentiation and increasing affluence man is seen to dominate nature, rationally milking Mother Nature for his own benefit.

The connections between simple man and nature are the most straightforward to trace. It is reasonable to accept archaeological evidence that modern man owes his existence to early man's ability to develop and use tools. In other words to reconstruct natural process for his own benefit. Doreen Massey 1985 provides an interesting present day examination of Australian aborigines. She is concerned to show how perceptions of land and nature are culture bound. She does this by comparing attitudes between the aborigines and mining companies over disputed property rights which she shows are a result of quite different perceptions of land and nature. As a marxist she seems obliged to trace this difference to property rights, land ownership and chooses to ignore, or to treat merely as an intermediate,

the way mining companies would use technology to wrest from nature whilst the aboriginal lack of sophisticated technology only permits a going along with nature. She quotes Reed 1969:136 who cites Captain Cook, on landing in Australia in 1770, "They live in tranquillity which is not disturbed by the inequality of condition [i.e. the distinction between rich and poor]. So Massey's analysis illustrates the tensions discussed above which surface as metaphysical approval of simple man's harmony with nature in contrast to industrial man's attempts to subdue nature.

Marx own work on nature was scattered through his work. The "early" Marx in the "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" 1844 (Struick 1972:112) was interested in demonstrating the unity of man and nature, the conceptualisation which Massey describes. From this "romantic" Marx developed the notion of "metabolism" which describes the character of the relationship between man and nature. In essence Marx showed that it was the labour process which transforms nature. Schmidt 1971:78, a marxist of the Frankfurt School, describes this, "men incorporate their own essential forces into natural objects (and) natural things gain new a new social quality as use-values... Hence nature is humanised whilst man is naturalised." Marx's later work was a more materialist version of nature stressing this "process". In "The German Ideology" 1968:63 Marx (and Engels) claimed that the process was complete, "The nature that preceded human history.. today no longer exists anywhere." We can therefore recognise the two parallel conceptions of nature in Marx work. First nature as external and God given, and secondly, nature as internal with man in-nature. Marx is mainly concerned with the latter, as Heyer 1972:76 puts it, for Marx, "The natural capacities of the human species interact with external nature through labour to produce the constantly changing economic, social and ideological situations - culture in the modern sense- in which man defines himself and his human nature." However, the former formulation, the transcendental quality, seems most relevant to the current views of nature.

This metaphysical conception of nature as supra-man has a long heritage. Pepper 1984, who provides an exhaustive examination of man's attitudes to nature, traces the tension discussed earlier to Baconian empiricalistic challenges to the metaphysic. He describes the unity of man and nature as being first propounded by the Greeks, initially by Plotinus (204-270AD) but summed up by Macrobius in the early Fifth Century. Central to this notion is the "Great Chain of Being". "All things follow in continuous succession... from the Supreme Good down to the last dreg of things, mutually linked together and without a break. And this is Homer's golden chain, which God he said, bade hang down from heaven to earth."(quoted in Lovejoy 1974:63) Thus the emphasis in this notion of cosmos, of cosmic order is the unity of all things under the deity of nature. The transcendental unity of nature, and mans' subordination within that order, reappears in the Romantic movement of the Eighteenth Century. Pepper 1984:72

recognises the similarity to animism, "the attribution of souls to animals, plants and inanimate objects." He notes that "mountains were given brows, shoulders and feet; rivers given heads and mouths", but significantly these parts of nature were endowed with the *universal spirit*, God is everything and everything God. This leads him to argue that this notion reinforces the existing social order, "The unequal order is pre-determined."

3.3.1 Links in the Chain

This explanation helps to explain the conservatism of the Romantic movement which can be seen as a reaction against the material changes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. These changes were brought about by the expansion of industrial capitalism which as Marx, amongst others, saw as nature "external"; man's use of nature and the growing dominion over nature. Byron and Shelly, for example, belonged to the old aristocratic order which was being usurped by the new industrial order. But this new order was a material order, stressing materialism over spiritual value. As Ophus 1977:164 puts it, "the Industrial Revolution unleashed forces which destroyed the medieval political synthesis which was based on the Great Chain of Being". Consequently as Pepper cites Russel 1946:653 "The Romantic movement is characterised, as a whole, by the substitution of aesthetic for utilitarian standards". Mary Shelly's 1818 product of science, Frankenstein's monster gives voice to these sentiments, "I cannot believe that I am the same creature whose thoughts were once filled with sublime and transcendent visions of the beauty and majesty of goodness". This is Shelly's vision of the outcome of externalising nature, or of worshipping the false god of materialism. So nature in this conception is profoundly anti-industrial. Williams 1980:80 "Nature was where man was not - the green vision of Constable: the green language of Wordsworth and Clare." As Pepper 1984:79 notes this harks back, "to the myth of the harmonious idyllic rural society of Ancient Greece (Arcadia)"

Where nature is God given it acquires an integrity of its own, so that nature appears to have purpose and meaning in itself. One outcome can be seen in changes in attitude to the landscape. Pepper 1984:80 notes, for example that mountains which had been seen in the 17th century as, "deformities, monstrous excrescences" had become a century or so later "objects of the highest aesthetic admiration." Silverman et al 1990:30 report that "Father West's Guide" instructed visitors to the Lake District to use only a "Claude Glass", a convex mirror arrangement, when viewing the scenery to prevent them being overcome by the power of the view. William Cobbet writing in 1832:127 commented on Scotland, "its inhabitants are little short of lizards, that is real barrenness". By the late 18th century nature was not just seen as beautiful but as morally healing, "a beneficent power over man". Ophus 1977:156 reports that in 1974 a US law professor, Christopher Stone produced a paper, "Should Trees have Standing" which argued that

trees and rivers should have legal rights. Ashby 1978:12 noted that the Sierra Club took legal action in the US Supreme Court to protect the Mineral King Valley. Although the action failed, a Justice of the Supreme Court produced an opinion that the rights of nature should be protected within the law. This can be compared with the older European attitude which Jeremy Bentham claimed to be, "nonsense on stilts." According to Pepper this conception took historical root in the USA in the Transcendentalists. Thoreau 1974:145, for example saw the wilderness as nature's garden. "In wildness is the preservation of the world". Emerson wrote, "The tradesman, the attorney, comes out of the din and craft of the street and sees the sky and the woods, and is a man again." Williams 1975:9 sums this up, "In the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life; of peace, innocence, simple virtue."

As an abstraction nature can be imbued with a high symbolic significance. For example its quintessential properties are opposed to that which is artificial or made by man. Its rhythms, cycles and regularities seem unchanging, immutable and a defiance of the sometimes seemingly aimless frenzy and chaos of modern life. Its patterns, interdependencies and symbiotic relationships might offer an alternative to the problems of Hobbesian order. The reassurances of its certainties and constraints contradict anomie and alienation whilst the bounty of Mother Nature counters human avarice.

Given this benign range of harmony and munificence it follows that we must reach some comprehension and categorisation of the various notions of "nature" and their relationship to society. Susan Whatmore 1990:4 refers to the power of sometimes spurious images of nature as the "ideological loading of nature". Williams 1980:6 in investigating this, examines how the native spirits of early cultures were modified under Christian monotheism to the singular, nature. Thus early in the orthodox medieval world the general formula was God as the first absolute, but nature was his minister and deputy. Williams comments that it is interesting that even those who reject the first principle, God, often retain the abstracted "nature". This formulation, the deification of nature allows "nature" its high moral position.

Consequently the image of nature, or at least one image of nature, acquires great power. It can be summoned as a quasi explanation, in debate "nature says", "nature shows" or in excuse, "its only nature". This is essentially what the Cambridge philosopher G. E. Moore in "Principia Ethica" [1903] calls "naturalistic fallacy". We must however remain aware of the paucity of this form of argument. What is appealed to is only one particular interpretation rather than the natural order itself. Williams shows just how flexible this form can be by suggesting that Nature can be seen as reactionary, opposed to change. Yet equally and ironically the Utilitarians "forged a useful tool" on the idea of the

natural as the mechanism of the market place. He reminds us that when nature is described as a system of ultimate mutual advantage he remembers the cyclone: when described as a ruthless competitive struggle he recalls the butterfly! Heyer 1982:63 makes a similar point, referring to Tennyson, "nature red in fang and claw" he argues that nature as a whole always,"remains metaphysically and teleologically conceived."

We may, as thinking individuals, accept that Nature is no more than sets of formal scientific laws; that energy cannot be created or that matter is nothing but a structure of atoms. Accurate as these definitions may be they fail to capture how we experience Nature. It is the elemental magic of creation: of reproduction: of creating two from one. This is a mysterious power, it is beyond rationality or cold reason. It is the very core of our existence, the basis of all beings. We can see for ourselves this enchantment at work. The bewitching magnetism of a tiny baby, alluring adult attention and protection, fixing it with an entrancing smile. Or the fragile charm of William's butterfly fluttering, lighter than the wind, from perfect flower to perfect flower. This is how we experience the magic potency of nature. It is the starting point and finishing point of all our existence; birth, life, death and all points in between, not its irreducibility to a bald stark logic. Surprisingly in the most affluent period western man has ever experienced there is now a rekindling of the notion of apocalyptic limits to natural bounty. The paradox is that Western individual man is now less directly dependent on nature than ever before.

3.3.2 The Environmental Movement: Prometheus Re-Chained ?

This notion of nature external to man is reflected in the distrust and distaste for industrial progress. Schumacher 1973:10, "man does not experience himself as part of nature, but as an outside force destined to dominate and conquer it." Environmentalists, deep greens, argue that we have gone too far in subduing nature and that we should once again seek the harmony of simple societies. Porritt and Winner 1981:11," Dark green thinking...it demands a wholly new ethic in which violent plundering mankind abandons its destructive ways, recognises its dependence on Planet earth and starts living on a more equal footing with the rest of nature." As Huxley 1962:249 in his ecotopia,"Island" commends, "Treat Nature well, and Nature will treat you well. Hurt or destroy nature and Nature will soon destroy you." Nowadays "concern for the environment" has reached a near-hegemonic position. Six-year olds talk in a metaphysical fashion of rainforests and recycling coke cans, a "histrionic harmony" which turns its back on technological advance. A rejection of what (Ophus 1977:158) Saint-Simon (1760-1825) referred to as society transcending nature with technology. It is precisely technological advances which create man's control over natural forces. What Toffler 1978:32 calls in his technological determinist way "that great growling engine of change". This

is not to support technological determinism; technology, and how it is used are a social function. The contexts for technological choice are a reflection of economic need and of the prevailing power structure.

As Lowe 1975:19 notes "Environmental lobbies legitimate their activities by couching their aims in terms of the common good. The Romantic movement, in which much preservationist sentiment is rooted, asserted nature against industry: the countryside, especially wilderness, offered the possibility of escape and refuge from industrial mass society." But Newby makes a salient point 1980:259 "the debate over the environment and the countryside is in reality a deeply political one, revealing issues which are the very stuff of politics: distributional justice, individual freedom versus planned allocation of resources, the impact of science and technology, the defence of private property rights, the expansion of individual choice and the satisfaction of social needs". Echoing the comments on the 19th century Romantic movement, Butler and Lowe 1982:21 put this simply, "Environmentalism has become the politics of the affluent." Or Wright 1985:57, "The appeal to Nature is above all a political landscape." Cloke 1990:309 points out therefore that sectional issues, "such as conservation and heritage" are construed by the service class in the local state as "community issues dealing with the common good." So Whatmore's 1990:253 comments seem justified, "The attachment of value to a particular environment or landscape reflects the wider power relations and social divisions and encodes them into the physical environment as Natural Resources or National Parks."

- The major impact of this concern for nature on rurality is the implication that the countryside represents "nature" and should therefore be left alone and undeveloped. Goudie 1986:34 provides the following reasons for restricting human impact.

Ethical - all species have rights, therefore it is wrong for humans to dominate for utilitarian reasons.

Scientific - we currently know so little, consequently we should preserve for future study.

Aesthetic - landscapes and ecosystems should enrich human life and values.

Recreation - nature should remain available for leisure use.

Genetic diversity - environmental stability is linked to genetic diversity, which is required for checks and balances.

Economic - we may be unaware of as yet unexploited wealth.

Unintended impacts - lack of comprehensive knowledge.

Although Goudie's reasons are less metaphysical than many produced by environmentalists, it remains clear that anyone holding such views can have little truck with development. It can be argued that this is the full circle of mankind's perception of nature. After centuries when men struggled to overcome "natural" problems a high degree

of control through technology was achieved, a return to nature external is demanded. These emotive arguments overlook the fundamental of human exceptionalism. The "rights" accorded to a human are not, and cannot be, the same as the rights granted to a tuberculosis bacillus. Yet Silverman and Sarre 1990:262 identify "rights, animal or human environmentalist right" as the hallmark of the radical environmentalist.

There is a tendency for human behaviour to reflect, in one way or another, the physical characteristics of the area in which it occurs. Bell and Newby 1971:16.

3.4.1. Do Places Produce Effects ?

The earlier discussion on "space" concluded that although space did have effects these effects were the result of the absence of particular features. In contrast, place, by definition, cannot be an "absence". Place is after all a marker, a locale for some collection of positive features which in combination produce the characteristics we know as place. Places are social spaces, they are a consequence of the attempts to control nature. Can we then say that this accumulation has causal effects, does it determine events ? Or as Stacey 1960:7 questions, "whether to locate social causation with local or non-local process and how to conceptualise local-national connections". The argument made here is that place has the potential to shape and modify general processes. Further that this latent power is not restricted to physical attributes; the images, expectations and ideologies of place, especially rural places is sufficient authority to mould actions. However places cannot, as entities, create or determine matters. It is human agency, conditioned by locality, which creates action.

Place can be seen to have limiting effects. Clearly the physical characteristics of place condition what is possible. Mountains or moor, hills or harbour, rivers or lochs, plateau or peak, all qualify what is ultimately physically achievable. Yet these natural features do not determine; it is possible to have oil wells under the North Sea. Cloke 1987:76 describes these as "Structural Permissives." Such physical limitations are not insurmountable, but in the equations of choice there must be a powerful need, economic or socially derived, to overcome these hurdles.

Similarly the cultural characteristics of place, both real and ascribed, may also impose restraints. The application of stereotypical attributes such as poverty or plenty, political stability or volatility, notions of fecklessness or laziness, seriousness or flexibility, honesty or integrity, entrepreneurial or stolid, all these may colour the relationships between place and social process. The whole unique interactive bundle of qualities that make up our view of any particular place ensures that any general process will never act out in a pure form. Instead it will be modified, and integrated into, this interactive realm of place. But these ascribed characteristics are moderating factors; place provides conditions, but not necessary and sufficient conditions to determine outcomes.

General examples of how these operate are easily found. We might for example, revert to our original question of why the countryside is rural. We might note that the difficult and sometimes mountainous terrain of the West

Highlands makes communication difficult and expensive. These qualities of the Highlands are certainly a shaping factor. Yet within the area, for example, the development of Oban as a port is obviously linked to its qualities as a safe and convenient harbour. As a place Oban develops unique characteristics related to its maritime role. However this functional role is not fixed. Instead it is always subject to economic and social review in the changing light of technological possibilities and socio-economic needs. The once bustling Clyde steamer port of Broomielaw in Glasgow, the node for the Western Islands and Highlands, has been overtaken by technology. Its obsolescence as larger, safer ferry ships sail from closer road orientated ports provides an example of the interaction of technology and place.

As a polar reverse of environmental determinism we might consider some examples of the creation of place. Ebenezer Howard's 1960, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, were a careful attempt to generate a place with particular characteristics, reversing into environmental determinism. They were a social experiment, which endeavoured to assuage the negative elements of urban life by mitigating them with the imputed benefits of rurality. The New Towns of the 1960's are the municipal inheritors of this ideology. Yet resort towns, from Blackpool to Marbella, Disneyworld to Dunoon owe their continued existence to the allocations of place. Each is selected as sites for hedonism, the purposeful pursuit of play and pleasure. Thus place, in these locales, performs a configuring role to local activities.

Checkland, the historian, argues for what he call the Upas tree effect in Clydeside. The Upas tree was a mythical tree which grew so big that its umbrella effect stopped the growth of all smaller vegetation. Nothing could grow in its shade. Checkland 1975 evinces that the heavy industry of Clydeside had a similar effect, shading out all new and unrelated growth industry. So when heavy industry expired there was no healthy undergrowth of green shoots replacement industries to replace the dying rustbelt. Whilst Checkland's case is unprovable, in keeping with all historical explanations, it lends support to this argument. That these local factors, in this case the predominance of shipbuilding, shaped local events.

Even if we disagree with Checkland's main drift, and such historical commentaries are open to disagreement, we can draw one useful point. That the permanence of place imparts a fixity to process. The built or unbuilt structures and infrastructures create an inertia which is resistant to change. Accordingly the physical attributes of place, at any given time, will impart effects. We may be able to extend this by considering if the cultural structures of place, those ideologies and views held by local people modify local process. The idea is pervasive, local ideologies are held to explain the lack of inward investment on Merseyside for example. In contrast the enterprise of California's Silicon

Valley is often promoted as an explanation of areal success. Certainly the rural ideology investigated later does provide significant evidence that perceptions of rurality are important shaping agents. But at this stage we have no way of establishing a general relevance. Furthermore it appears that such ideology of place is quite specific. It is specific to events, such as challenges to local imagery; it is specific to time, in that attitudes may change markedly over time; and, finally it is specific to particular groups or classes of shared interests.

Cooke 1989 in his review of localities showed how each locality, "displayed some capacity for proactivity built on a locally established identity". Even in 1885 LePlay observed that conditions of place and environment fed into organisations and attitudes. Cooke's later work, 1990:132 proposes, "This strongly suggests that locality retains significance and social meaning in a contemporary period when the combined forces of modernity in the state, in multinational capital and the mass media have all but effaced the older social solidarities of community."

In conclusion it has been demonstrated that place is an intervening variable. As home to contributory factors, it can modify, block or shape, but it cannot determine. Place is a locus of factors which may create a locality of activity. The locational reasons of why there are no bars in Mecca, why Oban remains a port and Edinburgh remains Scotland's cultural capital are all to do with the interaction of people and places. Place becomes a site for such activities and by habit and repetition such practices become enmeshed into the production and reproduction of the identity of place.

The following table provides a list of perceptions of rurality which is contrasted with some rural experiences. The purpose of the list is to show the development of the strength of the social construction of rurality.

A TABLE OF ATTRIBUTES AND QUALITIES ASSOCIATED WITH RURALITY

HISTORIC:

Land as historic provider (the countryside is the location of "land")
..... wealth
..... position

METAPHYSIC :

Nature as spiritual provider (the countryside is home to "nature")
..... home, cradle of mankind
..... ultimate reality

SOCIAL :

(the countryside is contrasted to the city)

Rural society as gemeinschaft
..... harmonic mutuality
..... moral solidaristic

TEMPORAL:

Rural passage of time is rhythms of seasons
..... natural days
..... lifetimes, natural spans

EARNING A LIVING :

Rural work is pre-industrial
..... non alienating
..... wholesome
..... honourable and dignified

SPATIAL :

Rural space is extensive land use
..... open, unbuilt
..... vegetation, wilderness to greenbelt
..... recreational

POSTMODERN :

Rural postmodernism is small scale not megalithic
..... human not mechanistic
..... individual not collective
..... flexible not fixed
..... simple not complex

ENVIRONMENTAL :

the rural environment is natural, untouched
..... reservoir of nature
..... distinct from mankind
..... real environment

CONTRASTING PERCEPTIONS, A DIFFERENT CLASS OF IMAGE

WORK:

rural work is low wages
..... long hours in poor conditions
..... hard manual labour
..... restricted opportunities
..... and few alternatives
..... paternalistic management and tied cottages
..... little skill recognition

SOCIAL :

- rural social life is limited privacy
- few social opportunities
- no drinking and driving
- limited recreation

LIFESTYLE :

- rural lifestyle is poor accessibility
- poor public transport
- poor choice in shops
- expensive prices in shops
- few amenities
- poor tv reception

3.4.2. Place as structured history: Time.

"To understand and to explain the comparative facts as they lie before you today, you must know the historical phases and the historical reasons for varying rates and varying directions of development and lack of development."
C.Wright Mills 1959:150

Places stand, or appear to stand as milestones in the passage of time. Communities are social entities created in time. They seem to offer an abstraction of time itself, by fusing the dimension of time into place. We are able to stand on some ancient site and share the past knowing that this self same place was occupied in some distant time. Places encapsulate history. We venerate old objects and places, not just as icons of the past but as authentics tied to ourselves by the threads of time. This section explores the way that time affects places, particularly rural places.

Time And Change

There is however locked into this temporal perspective a problem of linear progression. Time is taken as progress in a straight line ignoring the many abortive meanders. This common portrayal, of time and progress as inevitable can be misleading. We expect exhibitions and technology to be depicted in this way. The computer from a machine the size of the Albert Hall to notebook sized; or historical tales of man's development, W.W.Rostow's linear account of development; all see each stage as neatly progressive. The problem is that time becomes a quasi-explanation; even our intellectual giants, Durkheim, Marx and Weber all fitted time into a pseudo explanation of mankind. Mechanical and organic, growth of capitalism and the production of increasing rationality, these are all time based expositions.

Time does indeed impose a structure on places, and most often the outcome of time is progress. But it is not unavoidably so, yet the foundations of historical explanation are the inevitability of events. "This was such, so this became so." Time does not replicate the past. It renews the past, it builds on the old foundations but the erection does not follow any age-old plan. The events of today are only linked to yesterday, they are not part of yesterday. Today is a series of opportunities created yesterday. Time superimposes the present onto the past.

As Mead 1950 pointed out, it is historians, in the first place, who give meaning to any series. It can be misleading to emphasise "historical process". It becomes a creeping Darwinism, implying an inevitability of change and progress. Not only does this ignore the reality of the erratic nature as experienced, rather than the smooth progress as represented, it also implies that time itself creates. This we know is wrong. Time and evolution are not the same. Hall 1990:100 quotes Thermstrom 1965:240, reminding us that there is a major difference between Explicit history and Implicit which is "rooted in ideological preconceptions and uncritical acceptance." Furthermore it is the action

of men at each and every time who create. Time is therefore a unique frame of reference. Time links events and gives continuity to spontaneous actions. Time is the essence of that incremental continuity that we call change; whilst place is its arena.

Changing Time

Time is not an absolute, but subject to our personal perceptions. Harvey 1989 provides a brilliant account of space-time compression where he shows how space and time are inter-linked and increasing pressurised in modern and post-modern society and economics. Giddens 1984 argues that space-time distanciation is not merely a contentless form within which social relations exist but that time-space relations are constitutive features of social systems. Gurvich 1964 develops a typology of social times with eight different versions ranging from the "Enduring Time" of rural societies, through the "Retarded Time" the social symbols of community to the "Time in advance of itself" of competitive capitalism. Even scientific time we now know to be relative. As Hawking 1993:143 points out the discovery that the speed of light, did not simply appear the same, but remained the same no matter how fast the observer moved, meant the abandonment of any notion of absolute time. Instead each observer carries with him his own clock which need not necessarily agree with any other.

So too is the lived experience of time. The swagger of youth sees time as being mastered, until that memory becomes bittersweet as time becomes a relentless juggernaut treading on the very heels of life itself. Goffman describes how time is experienced in total institutions, significantly time itself is of little value. Consider city time, as for example, Toffler 1980,1990, describes it. It tastes of transience. Time seems to rush past. Today is urgently sacrificed on the altar of tomorrow to appropriate the insistence of the godheads of progress. Contrast this to country time, whose flavour is measured dalliance. It passes slowly in long summer days and long winter nights. It is qualitatively different, a timelessness of rhythms, of natural cycles rather than passages, and of stocks rather than flows. Rural time is a wheel cycling the permanence of the seasons.

Rural places then may express a different fix of time, a harking back to days when time was sequence. To explain why this is we have to see how time is linked into industrialisation. EP Thomson 1967:68 captures this well, "Time is now currency: it is not passed but spent". Landes 1983 points out how each town used to run on its own local time, quite independently of any other place. Durkheim 1947 talks of time as a "social institution" and shows that time is not natural but social. As Lash and Urry 1994:224 note, "time is an objectively given social category of thought produced within societies and which therefore varies as between societies". Yet commonplace notions of time are

profoundly industrial. Adams 1990:12, quoted by Lash and Urry 1991, summarizes, "In industrial societies time has become the measure of work where work was the measure of time in earlier historical periods." Weber 1930:48 extends this idea, quoting Benjamin Franklin, "Time is money."

Only the shortening of distances created by improved communications requires a synchronisation of time. Even today, although morning arrives eight hours later in Los Angeles than in Glasgow, it is only an inconvenience within the pressure of space-time compression of modern speeds. Time is now apocryphally liberated from nature, in what Moore-Ede 1993 calls the 24 hour society. Time like space, is now commodified, to be sold, exchanged or leasured. Indeed as Wright 1985 so eloquently demonstrates even images of time, the "trafficking in history" are valuable.

Yet country places may appear to still function at some ancient pace. Thrift 1990:106 relates how, up till the 16th Century, daily activity was essentially task orientated. A week was not a common unit of time, more important was the rhythm of the year, and particularly the seasons and related fairs and markets. Medieval time was thus organised around, "islands of time" within seas of timelessness, Lash and Urry 1994. Giddens 1984:120 makes a similar but clarifying point when he discusses how in modern "time-space convergence", regionalization allocates zones through time-space for routinizes social practices. Although Giddens examples are highly localised, he cites Goffman's back space and front space, or the example of bedrooms for sleeping and for night use. We can readily extend the concept to rurality, as a place for urban leisure and for leisure time.

Bourdieu 1977:163 explains the significance of modern time, "The reason why submission to the collective rhythms is so rigorously demanded is that the temporal forms or the spatial structures, structure not only the group's representation of the world but the group itself." So time anchors places' identity, and conveys to rural places a very special identity. Harvey 1989:351 could well have the countryside in mind, when in his discussion on responses to space-time compression, he suggests that one response is to find a niche,"the progressive angle to post-modernism which emphasises community and locality, place and regional resistances, social movements respect for otherness and the like."

3.4.3 Rural Places.

One classic dimension of rural places, which must be explored is the "gemeinschaft-gesellschaft" contrasts. Tonnies (1887) proposed that a gemeinschaft (which is usually translated as community) settlement would be characterised by naturalness, mutuality, affectivity; all essentially features of the idealised rural village. By contrast gesellschaft (usually translated as association) is marked by a high division of labour, no shared interests, individualism and competition, all creating an artificial social arrangement based on conflict of egoistic wills. In essence this is a picture of the "Leviathan" squalid city, dominated by the "dark satanic mills" which so distressed observers like Engels and Rowantree. Tonnies was concerned to emphasise the limitations of his ideal types, the introduction to later editions of his work stressed this point. Tonnies 1887 "I warned emphatically in my first preface against misrepresenting explanations and clever but misleading uses of my ideas." Nonetheless the images of this kinder, more human folk society remain, in bold contrast to the impersonal exchanges of "city" relationships. Newby considers it a enduring "mischief" that the norms of this folk society was suffused into rurality.

The contrasts of the urban present and this rural past have much to do with the space-time compression which accompanies industrialisation; the burgeoning division of labour, its artificiality and a sentiment for the apparent natural rhythms of the countryside. The ethnographic community studies of the 1950's and 1960's fostered the unfounded nostalgia for a rural way of life. Community was the buzz word, the panacea of the 1960's and these studies all seemed to confirm that there was a holistic, fuller form of society to be found around the village green. Rees, 1950:38 provides a graphic example of this hagiography of rural places. "The bonds of kinship, the connection to church or chapel and the individual's status all tie him to his locality, and make life incomplete elsewhere." We must acknowledge that Littlejohn's "Westrigg" was an exception and that some questioning of the "folk values" arose in the re-study of Redfield's 1941 Yucatan society. Nevertheless the wish fulfilment of "community" became firmly bedded into rural lore.

Today, despite the fact that these concepts can only be a residue of a bygone pre-industria, the notion still persists and flourishes as an ideology of the "real" Britain. It seems that the last century and a half of human advance are an aberration, a interlude until we can return to our green arcadia. Rural places risk becoming temples of tradition, with all the stifling of progress that this entails. Cooke 1983:276 in his incisive review of planning confirms how this idealist basis of planning stretches back to Geddes, Leplay and "other medievalists" and is about the unseemliness of full bloodied urbanity and the appropriateness of an alternative, organic synthesis of urban and rural.

This concept of rurality as idyll, as a real society of mutuality and reciprocity is still propounded and encouraged by the media. It is impossible to find any television programmes which do not equate the countryside with a harmony of pleasing, even pleasant pursuits. "The Good Life", "Take the High Road", "All Creatures Great and Small", the list is long, and all depict the folk society as congenial. Furthermore there appears to be a disproportionate quantity of "entertainment" which features the countryside. Possibly this is related to some "feel good factor", where the countryside provides a harmonious backdrop. If this is so it helps perpetuate the myth.

A recent television programme, "Heartbeat" about a rural policeman, not only portrays the pleasant life of a crime free rural community, but the arch villain is shown as a bluff agreeable rural rascal, who is even kind to dogs! Compare this to the representation of city cop shows, especially the generic American imports steeped in violence and often gratuitous cruelty. Somehow they represent a rupture in the fabric of society, them, the baddies, are threateningly outside the middle class society but pounding on the door, and occasionally breaking in the window. In contrast the bucolic series are not only peaceful but represent a symbiotic society, holistic, well balanced and complete. Surely then our acculturation process must burnish up our image of the idyll. The warm glows associated with rurality must feed into the imagery and produce an expectation augmented conceptualisation.

Dahrendorf 1968:120 condemned this German communitarian tradition as profoundly illiberal, "Tonnie's is a barrier on the road to modernity" and historically misleading. Bell and Newby 1971:24 argue that such ideas reinforce a moral code, raise moral tensions and significantly, for this study, render heterodoxy a serious crime. Even Marx, according to Nisbet 1966:25 was caught up in this confusion of rural places and folk society. "Marx whose distaste for ruralism was as boundless as his hatred of the past found himself in the Communist Manifesto contrasting the feudal patriarchal idyll relations of the past with the cash nexus." As Marx puts it, 1983:206, "the bourgeoisie has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal relations." Plant 1974:37 explains part of the evaluative confusion of "community" by noting its complexity and convenience. Hillery 1955 found 94 separate definitions. Specifically Plant noted that "Gemeinde", in medieval Germany referred to the totality of citizenship, rights to land and hence locality.

In the USA, rural sociology seemed content to assume unquestioningly, the conceptualised rural values, the Jefferson ideals. Loomis and Beigel 1975:222 discuss the contrasts of rural and urban culture in a Steinbeckian tone which resonates with all the plaintiveness of the Highland Clearances; and once again emphasising the importance of perceptions and actions. "The younger ones have loaded their possessions into old cars bound for the urban centres where the disease is more advanced, where the body of social values has rotted, where the stench will not be ignored."

Anderson 1963 states, "The American ideal of home, community and work is clearly rural and puritanical. Industrialism and urbanism combined in various ways to shock." One other example also captures this ingenuousness and fundamentalism. England, Gibson and Johnston 1979, in a refereed article in the journal, *Rural Sociology*, research the impact of the US shift to, "mass society values". They first identify the three fundamental agrarian values.

1. Farmer is independent, equal of all men and self sufficient.
2. Agriculture is a basic industry on which all progress and prosperity depend.
3. Agricultural life is natural and morally desirable, anti-materialistic and ascetic.

They then proceed to ascertain if the convergence to mass society has homogenized these values, to produce a reduction in rural value distinctiveness. After finding several precedents in the literature which support their hypothesis they conduct a survey whose results they regress to confirm the hypotheses, that rural values are not superseded by those of mass society. These extreme examples are simply not offered for the obvious criticism but are produced as exemplars of how deep the conceptualisation of rural moral superiority runs. Several other criticisms may be levied at the model of *Geimeinschaft-Gesellschaft* spatial analogies. First, it is about ideal types, but elements of both extremes of the ideal types may be found in each environment, rural and urban. Secondly that the model is much too broad and generalized. Its very simplicity leads to inaccurate generalisations and of course, to its broad applicability and appeal. We can however match these points to Hauser's (1967) comments. "Most of the scholars who contributed to these concepts regarded them not as generalisations, but rather as ideal type constructs", he usefully adds "without the benefit of adequate research this illustrates the danger of catchy neologisms which often get confused with knowledge". These comments seem to justify the careful use of stereotypes as comparisons but highlight the problems relating to the use of community as a "Unit idea of sociology". A different type, and perhaps a deeper, criticism is made by Pahl (1966) and Gans (1962) who both question the sociological relevance of a particular geographic locale. This point must inevitably be answered by this very research, but surely theirs is a very narrow blinkered, sociological view. Processes do not operate in a vacuum, they involve people who live and work in places. Places are different from other places because of geographic, social and economic reasons and places, as we have seen, become an integral part of social process.

In addition to this one sense of place, essentially geographic, we must also take account for the natural psychological affinity of groups of people. For example, experimental social researchers have shown that people will show some aspects of group affiliation even to non-communicating "groups" set up artificially in laboratories on trivial

or even random criteria, with no common interest. "In other words even if you assemble strangers in a laboratory, tell them they were picked at random, let them know that they may well never meet again and even prevent them from interacting with each other - almost as far as you can get from groups in real life - they still show feelings for and loyalty towards the group as a group" Sapsford 1979. Given this human tendency to coalesce, how much greater must this affinity be to integrate with a place, a place which represents home and that whole bundle of shared perceptions. This point raises another possibly confounding aspect, that community identity may increase in adversity.

Giddens 1979, in Cassels 1993:180, provides an alternative conception of locational mutuality. "If the notion of locale is combined with the influence of physical presence/absence we can characterise the small community as one in which there is only short distance in space-time separations. That is to say, the setting is such that all interaction has only a small "gap" to carry over in crossing space and time. It is not the physical presence in immediate interaction: it is the temporal and spatial availability of others in a locale." This suggests that proximity alone may enforce a moral order. However Giddens's discussion on Goffman's "back and front space" also suggests that he recognises that the process may be selective.

There are many examples of a geographic "nationalism", this principle of spatial affinity, where place becomes the binding agent held in common. The principles of "nationalism", shared identification, holds good for any size of unit or level of analysis. Adversity, however sets the glue. From the spirit of war, where it seems that rational thought is suspended in a patriotic fervour, for example of affinity with the Falklands, to the more general "mutuality of the oppressed". The implication here, and the historic relevance to rural areas is significant. Mutual aid, co-operation, all those communal factors associated with *gemeinschaft* are perhaps no more than simply a reactive defence mechanism. A pragmatic instrumental solution resulting from the physical, social and emotional constraints of rural living.

Ralph Glasser 1986 describes poignantly how he saw this working, and also debunks some rural mythology, "By that time too, the Gorbals itself was in flux as earlier immigrants moved away, or onwards to the golden land. The word community, often used to describe these collections of exiles, would not have been appropriate. Perhaps the strongest bond was created by loneliness and poverty, and anti-semitism's poisonous proximity. Despite the roseate vignettes often painted, the Jewish religion, far from being a wholesome unifying influence, was identified with the oppression from which they had fled. The bitter-sweet picture of the semi-rural ghetto left behind, the subject of sickly sentiment many decades later - in "Fiddler on the Roof" for example would have been angrily rejected." From this quotation we can clearly identify how adversity heightens mutuality, but surely this must be a false manifestation of

the quality described by Tonnies.

Further proof of the of the correlation of adverse circumstances and mutuality is poignantly described by Tom Steel, 1975, in his account of life on St. Kilda. On this last bastion of hunter/gatherers in the UK, life had to be co-operative, existence depended on this very mutuality. The value of this saga is that it demonstrates the cause, poverty, and its effect, mutuality. Poverty had so restricted options that this co-operation was an essential survival device. Steele's study also confirms the general effects that the friction of distance has on prospects and living standards, although rarely as extreme or so catastrophic and terminal as St. Kilda. McLughlin 1986:67 considers the evidence,"points towards a sharing of community poverty which required cooperation whether the inhabitants wanted to or not." Harre 1983 provides further indications of this enforced altruism. The Inuit Indians, whose "place" is also a hostile environment, have no word for "I" or "Me", they do not emphasise a personal identity, or individualism. It follows then that a modifying social effect of rurality, in particular the limitations of the lack of alternatives, may create a spurious mutuality.

The conclusion about folk values and morality in the countryside is that the concept is powerful but remains essentially mythological. In reality there is no convincing evidence of a special moral order, nothing but a hankering, a nostalgia of wishes to sustain the concept. Yet if the mythology itself is still extant, and the evidence reviewed is strongly supportive of its continuing existence, even of its growth, the myth alone could have significant effects. It seems that rural relationships have been mythologised, and the myths are elevated to an ideology has become endowed with a powerful normative wishful element, a normative prescription of place. Further, if rurality has been endowed with this idealized social and moral order, as an island of stability and meaning in the Toffleresque seas of change, what Harvey calls the ferment of modernity and post-modernity, we must expect, indeed anticipate, the continuing strengthening of the idyll. As Marsden 1992:219 cites Bye and Font 1991:14, "Rural space, for example cannot only supply a function of commodities or manpower supply, it becomes the main source for the provision of services (immaterial goods of non-product demand) and production factors which are relatively less commodified- air, water, tourism, leisure activities, healthy goods, and other 'secondary' products."

3.4.4 Places, People And Process: The Creation Of Identities

The emerging picture of the Social Construction of Rurality has begun to show how rural places are special places, places which are imbued with a range of arcadian attributes which emphasise a vague nostalgia. This section turns to consider the process of this construction, of how agents interact with places. Places, as we have seen, are the sites of personal and group experiences. So places become the unique concretations of history. They reflect, in their structures, the marking out of time and events. Like a palimpsest each succession of decisions and outcomes is marked onto the body of places, creating and recreating the uniqueness of each place as yesterday's structures shape tomorrow. The outcome of that process is the continuing uniqueness of place. Yet places change only gradually. They evolve slowly because of their fixity and permanence so providing an anchor for identity. Personal identity is important, our identities outlast our lives. Indeed to cope with this most cultures propose some spiritual after life. This section considers first, how this endurance reflects on people and their actions, particularly how people and places share their identity. Secondly, how places differ and how and why the differences remain entrenched even in mass society. As Clarke 1984:56 puts it, "Place, nationally, regionally and locally, played a role in organising in the identification of difference. Geordie, Glaswegian, Mancurian, Cockney; each local identity condensed a whole range of economic, social and political references into place."

- Places are a source of identity, we share the definition of ourselves with places. On one hand we take our identity from the place we live and on the other we impose this identity back, it is our place. We are, in a elective nested hierarchy of place, for example, first a Glaswegian, secondly a Scot, possibly third British and tentatively European. What this means is that we identify, and are identified, with these places, and to identify with some of the characteristics associated with that place. Place becomes what Mead 1956 calls a shared social symbol, one which becomes a basis of how actors face a situation and formulate action. Cooley talks of identity formation as "looking glass selves". What he means is how we look to images to build images of ourselves, places reflect us as we reflect them. Mead 1934 explains how we internalise the representations of our society, these images are cultural understandings. Thus we take into ourselves these representations of place. Places become the reciprocator of structure and agency.

A useful anthropological account of how place and identity are interwoven is provided by Heelas 1983. The Dinka of Southern Sudan have no concept of a "mental memory". When they "remember" something they regard the "place" where the event happened as the agent which then acts upon the person who is "remembering". Place for the Dinka

is the active source, as well as the reservoir, of who they are. Our Western sense of place is not as active as the Dinka's, but remains an important part of our social structure. This framework of identification sharing, place to people and vice versa is not always, or necessarily, admirable. Harvey 1990:308 argues that, "localism and nationalism have become stronger precisely because of the quest for security that place always offers in the midst of all the shifting that flexible accumulation implies." Howard Newby 1987:136 suggests an alternative, that the importance of place was historically fostered so that, "a sense of identity with place rather than with, say, class, cut off enclaves from subversive ideas." Similarly, but on a national scale, Tom Nairn 1981:20, claims that Nationalism is "the folk culture of the dispossessed."

Notwithstanding these reservations and cautions, rurality seems to convey a special personal identity. The antithesis of the Wirthian city is the multidimensional role of people within the bounds and confines of rurality. Country people know, or expect to know each other. Not just as our children's teacher; but also as a fellow golfer and her husband as the electrician. We might then expect that these overlapping roles cause rural identity to be fuller, more rounded and more real. Hegel and Simmel's "whole man". Rural identity should be ascribed rather than an aspiration. Certainly, "local" people meeting for the first time immediately seek to establish each others identity. "Where is it you stay?"; "Then you haven't lived there long"; "Who do you work for?". These interrogations are in contrast to an urban meeting where such preliminaries set out to fix you socially, by class and occupation. "Where do you live?" is not about a place but a class location." "What do you do?" is not concerned with your occupation but with your status.

Regardless of this genuine concern with a local identity, we must guard against overemphasising the benefits of localism. It may deflect attention from inequalities. Strathearn 1985:75 for example notes in her study of Elmton, "Inequality was obscured by appeal to localism." Cohen 1982 finds historical precedent in the Revolt of the Fields in 1874. The Duke of Rutland appealed to the men in dispute as follows, "I am strongly of the opinion that this is not a good thing, as those who advocate it are generally entire strangers, who do not live among you." Newby 1977:327 considers that this local focus is, "Partly a function of geographic isolation, but forged out of economic necessity." Whilst Bell and Newby 1971:15 argue, "community is a god word we are expected to abase ourselves rather than attempt to define it."

Despite such reservations, and challenges to the ideological buttressing of place there remains the fact, that places, urban and rural, are more than just political or bureaucratic entities. It is unimaginable that anyone would describe themselves as a "Strathclyder". Such ugly neologisms are no more than clumsy compasses, they lack the symbolism

dug in by time. By contrast, to describe oneself as Glaswegian or Scots conjures up whole arrays of possibilities and anticipations. Cranston 1954, describes the different qualities built into this sort of expression as a "hurrah" word in contrast to a "boo" word. Hall 1990:20 proposes that a cultural reality, "is a seamless manifold concatenation of action, culture and structure." Earlier 1990:19 he insists that action is, "carried out with the hubris of socially constructed reality." Places become what Blumer 1969:22 describes as, "proximate realities." So belonging to a place, sharing in its identity does seem to shape our actions.

Strathearn, 1982:185 describes the aphorism, "The village belongs to the people and the people to the village". The whimsy does not cloud the fact that localism and images are rooted in place. So that the identity that comes with belonging gives a sense of antiquity and continuity. It bounds our social horizons. Later 1984:185 she notes how, "images of consociation feed the imagery of local community. "The significance of place as community, according to Cohen 1987:107 is that it is the most adequate medium for the expression of the whole self. He continues that community is a mental construct, whose objective manifestation in locality gives it credibility. "It is highly symbolic with the consequence that its members can invest it with themselves." He concludes 1987:118 "People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity." Plant 1974:18 goes so far as to claim, "a member of a community is unaware where he as an individual finishes and his community starts."

An example of how this community concept combines with identity occurred in 1991 in the small rural village of Fintry, near Stirling. This case is an "indicative case" to demonstrate the vitality of the conceptualisation and how it is effected in practise. Fintry is a picturesque place having won for two consecutive years a "Best Kept Village Award". It might be pointed out that the lack of industry, the available time of the retired residents and the magnificent scenery surrounding it have had some importance. However, a local hotel company proposed a major expansion, fifty self catering units, a dry ski slope and a fitness centre. Many new jobs were promised and the general prosperity of the village ought to have been improved. Despite this, the proposal was vigorously fought by many of the local residents. On driving round the village it was striking that the small council house development had no posters, but that the windows of the private houses almost all sprouted bills proclaiming "Save our community". The clear implication of the notices was that the development would change the identity of the village.

In discussions with the villagers it became clear that those living in the private houses had a different identity of their village. Howard Newby refers to this phenomena as "two nations in one village". Their "nation" emphasised the

physical attractions of the village and one which they wished to preserve. They sought to protect their investment, physically in terms of the locational value of property and spiritually, in that they placed a high value on living in a small community. In contrast the council tenants seemed more concerned with jobs. They enjoyed the village just as much as anyone else, helping with maintenance of the public areas but were acutely aware of the problems of rural accessibility. Their identity was quite different. It is interesting to note how the concept of community was trundled out of the hayshed to support the restricted class interests. The campaign was eventually "successful" and the development proposal was withdrawn.

The point that can be drawn from this study is that identity is not fixed or precise. Indeed, several different identities can be superimposed on one place. These identities would reflect the very different experience of the holders. Places can become ideological hatstands, as Cohen 1987 points out, they are a single piece of furniture but are capable of holding a large and varied collection of hats. Mormont 1990, cited in Marsden 1992:218 concludes, "rural areas are no longer one single space, but a multiplicity of social spaces for one and the same geographic area, each of them having its own logic, its own institutions as well as its own network of actors." McLennan 1991:112 argues that ideologies themselves are not fixed, they are often fairly vague assumptions and prejudices. However they are no less potent for being imprecise. Such ambiguity allows a range of attachments to both ideologies and place. Agreement about which quality of place is most important operates on a subjective sense of identity. It is the recognition of some communality, that comfortable bundle of ideas which allow us to feel at home, and generate emotional allegiance. This means that we cannot dismiss attachments as only "sentimental", this very sentiment is essential for subjective identification. Althusser 1972 suggests that these bundles of ideas or "chains of ideologies" hail you, address you as a person in your heart of hearts. "Interpellation" he says is not just intellectual but operates on emotions. This is the identity of place created by the powerful images of rurality, elevated on its haughty moral pedestal of anti-industrialism.

Problems arise over the ownership of one particular hat or identity. One notable example of this contesting is Marion Shoard's 1980 "Theft of the Countryside", where she insists that the identity of the countryside is under threat by agribusiness. Her passionate, if imprecise, entreaty is about the surreptitious changes to rural identity, such as the loss of hedgerows and other characterizing features. Her particular identity of the countryside, albeit cultural, is being challenged. Her later work attributes this to rights of ownership. She explicitly claims the countryside belongs to everyone, in the face of established property rights and any need for agrarian profit. Her polemic and extreme

assertion is that "rural" ownership is different and is uniquely about stewardship, the preservation of rural identity.

Cohen 1987 discusses this point, and though his comments are general, they are highly relevant to the Fintry example. He argues that encroachment by outsiders challenges the identities which locals hold by virtue of their occupation of that place. As boundaries become blurred there can evolve an opportunity for the easy depiction of "place" as under threat. This ethnognomy is glibly described as "loss of way of life", and could represent a partial loss of sense of self. This description appears to confirm the general point of change and identity, the discussion on what has been described earlier as space-time compression, symptomatic of modern living, pressures our local and our personal identities. Since these ties are emotional as well as intellectual there is a capacity for different versions of place to coexist and to generate disagreement over which is right. As always "rightness" of the ideology is a reflection of the power to legitimise that particular version. As Berger and Luckman 1966:126 put it, "the success of particular conceptual machineries is related to the power of those who operate them."

Winstanley 1989:146 picks out how this rural moral superiority is caught up in notions of change, "The decline of community, the seemingly inevitable consequence of a migrant invasion is a recurrent theme in the literature of the countryside." Also how, "pure, organic and natural" are remarkably consistent descriptions of that countryside. These are the concepts which are woven into the fabric of the rural image. They have become the ideology of rurality. They go beyond description, they begin to offer meanings, purpose. Even if not for day-to-day aesthetic consumption they appear to offer a belief and purpose, or simply the desirable alternative of a pleasant place, a pleasant non-industrial place, the idyll.

We must however note that the nature of the bonds of place and people change over time. Sack 1980:44 points out how peasants were *glebae adscripti*, literally tied to the earth. Only trade and commerce modified this bond. "City air makes men free" runs an old German expression showing how industrialisation imposed change. Cooke 1990:23 shows how even today some places can still lock-in inhabitants. His example of Latafundia, which is a South American residual of the feudal system, shows how place can restrict opportunity yet produce stability and security. What Marx saw as "rural idiocy" was probably a recognition of the ties and bonds of this system. Gramsci, according to Cooke saw the ties as so restrictive that rurality could not produce, "organic intellectuals." Only modernity could break this fetter.

The Scottish Highlands seemed to have had a powerful local identity, founded in both place and kinship. The loosening of these ties was probably initiated in the late 18th Century, as the clan chiefs were attracted south to the

glitter of London society. This set in train the changes of the relationships of rurality and the cities which it was argued earlier persist today. London society life demanded money, specie not loyalty, finance rather than fidelity was the currency outside the Highlands. Peet 1991 referring to third world industrialisation argues that this incorporation is how capitalism "captures" places. Certainly these changes exposed the region to external financial evaluations, some might say realities, which showed the clansman, tenant crofter a miserable economic crop. Sheep or deer were better, so forced the split of Highlander and place.

In identifying with a place we are sharing in a whole collection of affinities; we are declaring who we are, or perhaps who we would like to be. Yet even this yearning is Janus headed. One repugnant face snarls intolerance in vacuous xenophobia based on a selfish hollow certainty of place. The other face is benign and welcoming. Heidegger's embrace of National Socialism in Nazi Germany must be an example of this dualism, Blitz 1981:207. Since we cannot simply dismiss a leading intellectual as mindless, we can see the value of Harvey's comments 1990:208. He interprets Heidegger's behaviour as a response to, "bland universalities of technology, the collapse of spatial distinctiveness and identity, and the seeming uncontrolled acceleration of temporal process." In other words that this veneration of place was also a consequence of time-space compressions.

Koestler, in a poignant recounting of his life, describes how Eretz Israel, then Palestine, was such a admirable place for him. Emotionally imbued with everything "Jewish", though not a "nation", it was the place of Jewish identity. Where professors abandoned intellectual pursuit to work the barren land, to infuse themselves with its identity. Today young people still visit kibbutzim to find their identity. This is in spite of the myriad identities now imposed on Israel itself, as Palestinian, Orthodox and even Abyssinian promulgate their Israel. Places then, are the bounded units of meanings and politics are always territorial.

Birley and Bridge 1986 trace out the relationships of places and people in the entrepreneurial context in Northern Ireland. They find that there "exists substantial barriers to growing an entrepreneurial society". They go on to list some of these barriers, many of which are also likely to appear in this research area; - a national culture with no tradition of self start; - the rise of the grant society and the "Grantpreneur" where availability of incentives and grants are in danger of constraining commercial development; - the historic ties with the UK hindering the development of local firms; - poor communication in the network of local activities. Significantly each of these points has equivalents and parallels in the West Highlands of Scotland. This dualism of people and places, as a process, is described by Berger and Luckman 1966 as reification. It would digress too far from the main themes of this work to consider their points

bishop etc.. Later they present that identity as an ontological and total status, but confusingly suggest that
A "Jew" may be reified by an anti-semite, in total opposition to the Jew's own reification of his identity. Importantly they propose that, "both reifications bestow an ontological and total status on a typification that is humanly produced." They conclude, and this helps explain the import of the rural idyll, it is important; "Because it prevents us from falling into an undialectical conception of the relationship of what men do and what men think". It permits us to appreciate this fetishism of rural places as role filling. Akin to what Durkheim calls religions, a nomic contrast to anomie.

Although this model of mutual identification of place and people and the nature of resistance to intrusions, is therefore highly plausible, a theoretical difficulty arises in how much is properly attributable to simply loss of identity. Change itself is often resisted, for any number of reasons, any of which may or may not be connected to this challenge to identity. The conclusion to be drawn is that wide changes are not popular, in part because the certainties of place are challenged, and in particular how sensitive is the sense of place. How vulnerable it becomes as a "Positional" good and in an emotive evaluation of place. The outcomes of change are unknown and we seem to be more comfortable with the familiar. Theoretically, as Giddens 1984:375 argues, "the enduring ties of kinship and tradition which bind people together have been eroded by the process of time-space distancing." Giddens believes that this produces a rootlessness leading people to seek ontological security in the private realm. Peter Saunders 1990 takes up this point to support his case for home ownership, the ownership of place.

The purchase of property, real estate, is for many the singular most actively positive act of identification with place. Whilst we all need a place to live, the exchange of up to a third of one's income for half a working lifetime is a major decision. This stake in a place must deepen the relationship. We make our decisions, whenever possible, of places to live, on the basis of a shared identity. We aspire to class locations, Durkheim's "territoriality of social facts". Places that reflect us, or as we might wish to be seen. Consider how instantly the new council house owner stamps her identity into place. New and different windows, doors and patios erupt before the title deeds are dry. Consider gentrification, where a new identity is thrust onto place. This is the process of the remoulding of place. Where an established identity but possibly disused identity, for example, Victorian artisans' respectability is evoked and reinstated as an appropriate habitus for aspiring but not yet affluent middle class, Bourdieu 1977.

The macro, industrial version of gentrification, Cooke 1990:46 calls it "urban displacement", is where whole areas

at length. However, it is worth noting that they argue that roles as well as institutions can be reified. They claim
1966:108,"the paradigmatic for this kind of reification is, I have to act this way because of my position.. as husband

at length. However, it is worth noting that they argue that roles as well as institutions can be reified. They claim 1966:108,"the paradigmatic for this kind of reification is, I have to act this way because of my position.. as husband bishop etc.." Later they point out that identity itself can also be reified, but confusingly suggest a range of reifications. A "Jew" may be reified by an anti-semite, in total opposition to the Jew's own reification of his identity. Importantly they propose that,"both reifications bestow an ontological and total status on a typification that is humanly produced." They conclude, and this helps explain the import of the rural idyll, it is important; "Because it prevents us from falling into an undialectical conception of the relationship of what men do and what men think". It permits us to appreciate this fetishism of rural places as role filling. Akin to what Durkheim calls religions, a nomic contrast to anomie.

Although this model of mutual identification of place and people and the nature of resistance to intrusions, is therefore highly plausible, a theoretical difficulty arises in how much is properly attributable to simply loss of identity. Change itself is often resisted, for any number of reasons, any of which may or may not be connected to this challenge to identity. The conclusion to be drawn is that wide changes are not popular, in part because the certainties of place are challenged, and in particular how sensitive is the sense of place. How vulnerable it becomes as a "Positional" good and in an emotive evaluation of place. The outcomes of change are unknown and we seem to be more comfortable with the familiar. Theoretically, as Giddens 1984:375 argues, "the enduring ties of kinship and tradition which bind people together have been eroded by the process of time-space distancing." Giddens believes that this produces a rootlessness leading people to seek ontological security in the private realm. Peter Saunders 1990 takes up this point to support his case for home ownership, the ownership of place.

The purchase of property, real estate, is for many the singular most actively positive act of identification with place. Whilst we all need a place to live, the exchange of up to a third of one's income for half a working lifetime is a major decision. This stake in a place must deepen the relationship. We make our decisions, whenever possible, of places to live, on the basis of a shared identity. We aspire to class locations, Durkheim's "territoriality of social facts". Places that reflect us, or as we might wish to be seen. Consider how instantly the new council house owner stamps her identity into place. New and different windows, doors and patios erupt before the title deeds are dry. Consider gentrification, where a new identity is thrust onto place. This is the process of the remoulding of place. Where an established identity but possibly disused identity, for example, Victorian artisans' respectability is evoked and reinstated as an appropriate habitus for aspiring but not yet affluent middle class, Bourdieu 1977.

The macro, industrial version of gentrification, Cooke 1990:46 calls it "urban displacement", is where whole areas

are refreshed, by removing their identities and laundering them to install a revised and sanitized image of place. Derelict and obsolescent areas whose purpose is now defunct, areas like London's Docklands, Glasgow's Merchant City, Vancouver's Gastown are flushed of all decay, and primed out as highly desirable residential areas. Jackson 1991:103 considers this is, "a worthwhile mephestophalien deal", "Charles Jenks describes rebuilding the inner city of warehouse conversions in San Francisco as, "twee but alive, clean but rugged, phoney but authentic history". Jackson proposes that gentrification "has robbed the buildings of their guts but supplied them with a cash flow." Whether we agree with him or not, the point is how these places must draw their value from their old redundant identity. The very acme of this process, denigrated by Hewinson 1987 as the "Heritage Industry", must be the veneration of old industrial places to become urban playgrounds and tourist spectacles. For example, San Francisco's Fishermans' Wharf recycles an old redundant and obsolete identity to become a smart tourist shopping mall. The prestige of an old identity, no matter how dubious, is commodified and resold with every tourist bauble. Old familiar identities are cherished.

We must also consider how these new identities of place can be imposed, top down. Glasgow is a case in point, it has in recent years acquired new clothes provided by the local, national and European states. It has become, "a Garden City, a City of Culture and most recently a City of Architecture". Although these, like the Emperor's new clothes, may be invisible and meaningless to many local people, they represent the power of sectarian interests to alter images of place.

So places become images, reflections of ourselves and of our expectations. These images are not fixed but are, if soundly grounded, infinitely malleable. Nonetheless the studies and discussion all point out that places are not reducible to things, places are personal. The values imparted, and shared with places as repositories of pasts, are deep and faceted. Identities are evolved, they cannot be entirely imposed. Consider the resistance of Highland Region to the Cairngorms being declared a World Heritage Site. Despite promises of tourism the local authority fought against this designation. It was not a "local" identity. Ordained identities, even an enhanced identity if by fiat, do not seem to readily embed themselves in place. People may resist challenges to their place's identity.

Price 1978:16 examines the economics of one form of place identity, landscape and its evaluation. Marion Shoard's point 1980 and 1987, discussed earlier, was that rural landscape is a public good and its value to the public was being unwarrantably reduced by agribusiness. Price develops the aspect of value pointing out that over-use by tourists may reduce its value. This point is also made by Hirsch 1977, as a "social limit to growth". Paradoxically,

Price notes that its value can also increase as more people come around to enjoying landscape. He speculates that visitors may become envious of year round residents, so he concludes landscape value is only relative. However Price's reasoning is that we consume landscape in the same way as we consume defence. As a public good it is collectively consumed, we may begin to see the tensions which arise in terms of provision and control. The underlying problem, is of course that most landscape is privately owned but consumed in a variety of ways which are both private and public.

Consequently the rhetoric of landscape conservation is often couched in terms of its future utility. This is significant, it is possible to logically refute a current valuation. For example, by claiming that the need to develop outweighs the value as it exists. If however the value is conceived as some imponderable future public use, the relative evaluation is impossible. Furthermore such "Future" type arguments can make any development proposal appear selfish. Price's final point is that landscape value is founded in the simple knowledge that the scenery exists, quite independently of being experienced. So images are again an important part of the construction of rurality.

Places then, are about identity, and old country places are best. The renewed places, simulacrums as Jean Baudrillard calls them, are a hyper-reality. They concentrate, distil and sanitize the oldest, strongest essences of place. Philip Cooke 1990:55 so despairs of places such as Beamish, a museum of industrial archeology for "time-tourists" that he designates them as, "industrial necrophilia"! But if places of such doubtful social and industrial antecedents can somehow confirm our pasts and corroborate our present, how momentous is the power of the ideological countryside. It is both old and authentic. Places and images of rural places have a solidity and a value. In consequence to challenge this institution, these bastions of tradition, on the grounds of base utility is tantamount to heresy. The idealised terrain is constantly renewed in the hagiography of the countryside.

3.5. Culture, the construction of the idyll.

"God made the country and man made the town. William Cowper 1783

In tracing out relationships between modernisation, change and culture it is difficult to avoid the impression that the cultural value attached to a system grows proportionately to its economic obsolescence. Rubbish Theory, Thomson 1979, which is an explanation of cyclical values whereby old things, once abandoned as rubbish, are rediscovered and found to have renewed importance, seems particularly helpful in explaining rural nostalgias. Hirsch 1977 uses a similar argument, but focuses on "social scarcity". His thesis is that such scarcity is a outcome of economic development and is produced by social distinctions. Thus antiques may have no intrinsic value, but gain value simply from their scarcity. So as Thomas 1983 puts it "Towns created a longing for the countryside; cultivation, for unsubdued nature; newly found security from wild animals, for species protection." He sees the essential contradiction that society was finding difficulty in coming to terms with the ruthless methods upon which its material comforts depend. Philip Lowe describes this nicely, 1989:113 "since the late 18th century industrialisation has provoked popular nostalgic reaction for the disappearing pre-industrial world; partly apocalyptic, fearing the outcome of the Faustian bargain of technological society; and partly utopian in seeking to re-create community as human solidarity out of the dislocation and fragmentation wrought by industrialism."

3.5.1 Historic Precedent

An example is the Parliamentary Enclosures 1760-1815 which had through efficiency improvements created the very surplus which permitted the Industrial Revolution. Paradoxically they also created the familiar rustic English rural imagery. As Blunden and Curry 1985:23, put it "Much of what is thought of as the traditional English farm landscape appeared in the period 1700 - 1820" or as Newby 1977:13 elegantly says "the English village is not a part of timeless antiquity but a product of the Georgian Enclosures". Many Scottish Highland villages may owe more of their formation to the Clearances but the principle of economic reorganisation holds good. This illustrates two major points. First how economic need may shape, if not determine, social systems. Secondly, although the feudal system gave way to a commoditisation of land, and private ownership, in spite of this commercialisation, the old rural ideology and authority remained important. The essence of this ideology was an *a priori* assumption of legitimation of both authority and notions of stewardship associated with rural land ownership.

Clearly it was not the enclosures *per se* which created these changes. Rather those features associated with the change in property rights, the commoditisation of land and the improvements in technical and agricultural sphere

which together formed the agricultural revolution. Historians such as R H Tawney, emphasise the disappearance of independent peasants who lost rights of access to common lands. Contrastingly Mingay, 1989:5, stresses the technological changes, Jethro Tull's seed mill or the Norfolk four course rotation system. Nonetheless the significance of the emergence of the capitalist system in agriculture and most importantly the entrepreneur, as an agent of change, seem vital to reach an understanding this "revolution". The farmer-entrepreneur who despite his economic power, was never accorded the status of landowners. On the contrary, the association of non-active ownership and status is striking. Wiener, 1981:12 quotes the "Economist" 16.7.1879, "it would pay a millionaire in England to sink half his fortune in buying 10,000 acres of land to return one shilling percent, and live upon the remainder, rather than to live upon the whole without the land. He would be a greater person in the eyes of more people."

Laslett 1965 provides a useful reminder of how this imagery is flawed as a general historical nostalgia. "The World that We Have Lost" was for most of the inhabitants a nasty brutish place. Poverty and authoritarianism combined to create a reality very different from the idyll.

This nostalgia seems to be a uniquely British ideology. For example American rural imagery, although powerful, was never anti-industrial. It portrayed rural America as nostalgically simpler and happier, as in Jefferson's "Rural Republic". Perhaps as in modern atheoretical U.S. rural sociology, it is idealised, but it comfortably accommodates progress and industry. Flinn 1982 sees three distinct elements in US views of rurality.

- i) small town ideology: democracy stems from the small town which also promotes a "natural" life-style.
- ii) agarianism: farm life is the best upbringing for a family, and the family farm the ideal of appropriate efficiency.
- iii) ruralism: the countryside is cherished for its open space, close association with nature and a "natural" order.

Henry Ford's reconstruction of the historic greenfield Village was a celebration of the marriage of this imagery of rurality and progress; albeit defined within a remarkably and uniquely "Fordist" moral interpretation of sociology and indeed, rurality.

Robinson 1990:13 considers that the British countryside is also considered a source of national strength. He points out the remarkable and comprehensive adaptability of the imagery by showing how the "Romantic Right" of British politics, finds sustenance in the Country house, the church and the hierarchical rural society based on the squire, the parson and the deferential workforce. Whilst the "Romantic Left" the rural myth is translated into eulogies of rural folk society, the village community, rural crafts and the worthiness of farm labour. The consensus is the combination to a "hostility to materialism".

At a physical level too, much of what is "picturesque" in the British countryside owes its existence to the aesthetic values triumph over mere economic utility. Newby 1979:16 points out how landscape architects were used as "the apotheosis of the Romantic Movement in 18th/19th century England to literally rearrange the landscape". For example at Craggside, where William Armstrong made a romantic Rhineland forest grow on a bare Northumberland hillside, Franklin 1989:6. Thus agriculture became an intrusion into arcadia. Repton in his manual "Observations on the Theory and Practise of Landscape Gardening" was adamant that "the beauty of the pleasure ground and the profit of the farm are incompatible". Newby 1977 quotes another famous "gardener" Gilpin, "Land which is merely fertile is a barren prospect". As Mingay notes changes, 1989:11 "at the beginning of Victoria's reign the landowners of England held undisputed sway over the countryside. Country houses continued to be built, ... and increasingly they were built by newcomers, especially towards the end of the 19th Century, by the recent arrivals into landed society of families fresh from a background of counting-houses, banking and shipping or even factories." Micheal Havinden 1989, describes how East Locking, an ancient Saxon village was partially physically resited; "often villages were seen as unsightly impediments to parks or gardens." Conceivably the epitome of this "picturesque" was in Somerset where Havinden reports that a Lady Acland provided red cloaks for the pensioners to wear.

The 18th Century model villages e.g. Nuneham Courtney, Milton Abbas were by-products of the landscaping activities of people like Capability Brown and Nathaniel Kent. However this formalised picturesque of "man over nature" gave way to a more natural conception. This is attributed to the influence of writers like Wordsworth, but found concrete form in Nash's prototype village of Blaise Hamlet; full of details like rustic porches, steep sloping roofs and dormer windows. William Morris scathingly described these as "Architectooralooral", quoted in Wiener 1981:65. No doubt these models would have gained even wider adoption were it not for the poor economic return. Havinden finds the cost of such cottages to be about £296, but the rent received was only around £4 per year. Since these cottages were let to tenant farmers' workers, no financial benefit was gained by low rents, the dividends were purely aesthetic.

The historian D C Moore finds, Newby 1987:63, "authority was the principle adjunct of wealth, and during the middle years of the century, land was the principle symbol of authority. Presumably it was this, rather than any anticipation of significant increments of rent which explains why both the prices of rural land and the number of great houses being built or remodelled rose into the 1870s". Looking at the economic aspects we can see how the agricultural improvements, those necessary rural counterparts of the urban industrialisation, created an increased

agricultural profitability until around 1880. This profit, along with new urban industrial wealth, was used to try to recreate an aesthetic built form of the idealised pre-industrial idyll. It may well be that this construction was an aspect of the quest for easily discernible status and respectability. The attempt to consolidate the wealth into a traditionally legitimized form of power and status dovetails neatly into Weber's comments on stratification, and significantly transcends mere "commerciality". This status, attributable and resting on formalised position of landholding, seems rooted in the status of the pre-industrial.

Cole 1959:104 quotes de Scitovszky 1941, in contrasting US with UK development, "The existence of a feudal aristocracy and landed gentry set a social pattern which to achieve, was the ambition of the newly rising capitalist class". Weber, quoted by Newby 1987:120 calls this "traditional authority, the sanctity of the order and the attendant power handed down from the past". Nisbet, 1967:107, captures the essence of this legitimization quest, "In traditional society authority is hardly recognised as having a separate or even distinguishable identity... authority is so woven into the fabric of tradition and morality as to be scarcely more noticeable than the air we breathe". In this respect it is worth noting the typical "artificial" model village was a closed one, whilst the archetypal open village seethed with entrepreneurial activity. Thus the very fortunes of urban industrial success were turned to fossilise the countryside into a romanticised idyll, a previous incarnation of Disneyland.

- This borrowing of status from tradition by locating it in rurality is still extant. Indeed the confusion of old values and old places produces an extremely powerful imagery even today, or perhaps especially today, in the post modern collection of badges and images. Hamnett 1984 argues that urban-rural moves are an attempt to capture and convert these images to reality. McGhie 1988 quotes one estate agent, "Now we are selling dreams. ...We tell people about the village, the views and the lifestyle before we talk about the house itself." Williams 1979:299 claims the country house is a potent symbol, "the abstraction of success, power and money founded elsewhere". Certainly the evidence of their desirability, at least in 1987, is pointed out by Thrift 1989:36, who notes the cheapest "Country House" within a hundred miles of London cost more than £200,000.

The historical romantic influence was not restricted to rural dwellings. Writers and painters conveniently portrayed the idyll to urban areas where they had widespread appeal. Treble 1989 notes the popularity of "paintings of rural subjects which represented a pastoral ideal which was disappearing beneath the onslaught of industrial development." For example William Collins [1788 -1847], "Disposal of a favourite lamb" [1813] was engraved twice and sold 15,000 of the smaller prints alone. Similarly the rural pathos is milked of sentiment in his "Happy as a king"

which she notes shows "rosy-cheeked children scrambling over a five bar gate, clean dimpled and robust despite their rags". The implication of moral superiority of rural living is hard to miss and as such, must be considered in the same light as the constructions of the "picturesque". A nostalgia for a mythical past which somehow remains very real and meaningful. Indeed there can be few of us who are not in some way familiar with the words,

*"Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile,
the short and simple annals of the poor".*

"Elegy in a country churchyard" Thomas Grey 1747.

Even if we do not consciously subscribe to this ethic we are still forced into allegiance to the moral overtones railed against complex urban society. As is the way of all egalitarian concepts, which hold the "moral high ground", it is difficult to argue against the principle without appearing to also argue for some baser disproportionate selfish annexation of benefit. This appears to apply even when the "moral high ground" is given a geographic position, as it is in rurality. Its removal from the everyday experience of primary contacts, its ideological beatification, allows its ideology to gain in strength from this very separation. This, therefore is the mechanism which allows the perpetration of the rural mythology.

A parallel might readily be drawn between this secular metaphysical countryside and spiritual or religious practices. By raising the conceptual level of the Idyll, by viewing it historically it lies beyond profane or worldly dismissal. Indeed Victorian art did often mistake the two. John Linell [1792-1887] included in his painting "Harvest Home" the "potent symbols of benevolent countryside, gathered harvest, radiant sunset - epitomised the craving for the expression of man's unity with nature". Louis James 1989:64 argues that Wordsworth, whose influence is even now still widespread, experienced nature as religion, "the soul nurtured in the countryside is in touch with the essential passion of the heart, the sacred simplicities of life". Wordsworth felt that the restorative powers of nature brought forth the power of feeling. His influence over at least one of the great Victorian intellectuals John Stewart Mills is recorded in his autobiography. Yet even Wordsworth was a victim of narrowness of the aesthetic blinkers. He is reported by Bouch and Jones 1961, as "upbraiding the railway companies for laying on excursion trains and encouraging the humbler classes to leave the towns." Perhaps even more narrow minded was his "taking to task a farmer for using a mowing machine rather than a scythe". The poetry of the period also drew on the romantic rural mysticism. Marsh

1982:36 confirms that the romanticism and classic pantheism presented the love of nature as a transcendental experience, a form of worship referred to earlier.

Kumar 1991 has some profound comments on utopianism which are equally relevant to arcadia. Its use, "Lies not in its relation to present practice but its relation to a possible future." Its use and power is to overstep the immediate reality. "Just as the hidden God, incites the search...The commonly accepted boundary of the possible is always contingent, always dependent on the particular circumstances of time and place. Utopia describes a place of impossible perfection which nevertheless is in some genuine sense not beyond the reach of humanity. It is here if not now." He points out that virtually all societies have some similar myth, a golden age, arcadia or paradise, and most frequently this myth takes a primitivist form. Kumar 1991:4, "The "original" time or condition was one of simplicity and sufficiency. There was an instinctive harmony between man and nature." Later 1991:24 he argues that Utopias were primarily for political social speculation, to engage the sympathies and promote desire in the direction favoured by the writer. He suggests 1991:51 that all Utopias are uninterested in increase, or productive improvements. It, he notes, is difficult to find a utopia which celebrates the acquisition of material wealth. In consequence there seems little room on the arcadian fields for the forward looking entrepreneur.

Although we can only speculate on the depth of this historic penetration of rural imagery, it was clearly widespread. As Williams 1973:248 comments "there is almost an inverse proportion of the working rural economy and the cultural importance of rural areas." Even a Sheffield master founder, Ebenezer Elliot [1781 - 1849] who was also a poet, was unexpectedly full of anti-urban, anti-industrial feeling. In the "Village Patriarch", he describes a rural water mill, now ruined and derelict before the competition of steam.

*"What is this plague, unsearchable and alone,
Sightless and tongueless, till a wild voice howls
When nations die?"*

This plague is, for Elliot, industrial development. He looks forward to an apocalyptic age in which the forces of industry, "*Though their iron roots seem fast*", will also pass and the balance of man with nature will be recovered. Both Thomas Carlyle's "Past and Present" and William Morris 1891 "News from Nowhere" reek of anti-industrial sentimentality. Morris's dream is of a twenty-first century where capitalist industry has been abolished to leave a rural paradise. As W J Keith 1989:74 puts it, "Understandably most urban Victorian readers turned to rural literature for the same reasons that they sought the countryside itself - for refreshment and renewal, as a haven from the wearing

pace of city life". This depiction of arcadia as a touchstone of folk values grows unfortunately not from a deeper understanding of country ways, but rather as an opposite to the industrial areas, and to the values attributed to Blake's "Dark satanic mills" or William Cobbet's "Great Wen". The idealist Bulwer Lyton remarks in defence of these pastoral idylls, "we can have our real life whenever we please". Oscar Wilde has a clear picture of the contradiction between the aesthetic and the economic; his Lady Bracknell says, "Land has ceased to be either a pleasure or a profit, It gives one position and prevents one from keeping it up", 1993:332. Had Wilde been even more perverse he might have had her add, of urban capitalism "it gives one the means but prevents one enjoying it".

3.5.2 The Convergence of the Rural and the Urban.

Whilst all of the above indicates that rurality has a powerful image the question remains of whether this romance does actually make rurality different. The McLuhanesque global village conception indicates convergence rather difference. Brown and Wardwell 1986:106 suggest the following as factors of convergence of rural and urban places.

1. Improved communications.
2. The integration of trade, institutions and society.
3. The changing occupational composition and its diversity.
4. The transformation of the population composition with the decline of agriculture.

They also comment that most research tends to de-emphasise the urban rural convergence. This comment is clearly justified but they should be aware that this is most likely a research artefact. When one studies any area, its boundaries and its differences become highlighted simply because this is the analytical unit.

Frankenberg adds to the convergence argument 1966:275, quoting Durkheim 1960:28, "Geographic divisions for the most part are artificial and no longer waken in us profound sentiment". However Cohen 1987:76 points out, "The residents of Wandsworth, Winnipeg and the Western Isles all spend much time watching television - indeed watching the same programmes - they may use the same terminology to address their parents, may affiliate to the same religious denomination, may observe the same calendar and life-cycle ceremonies, and may apparently be dominated by the same economic imperatives. But none of these apparent convergencies of life styles entitles us to suppose that cultural boundaries are now redundant and anachronistic."

Indeed boundaries produce distinctions, the bounded identity of place. Yet the salience of these boundaries can also vary. Not just in the nested hierarchy of belonging, but in whom we chose to draw the boundary. As we saw "rurality" is not fixed, it remains a relational term; your rurality might be my suburbia. Furthermore these boundaries might be invisible to others. Cohen 1982:2 is in no doubt "if people perceive fundamental differences between themselves and others their behaviour will reflect that difference." Belonging, shared rural culture is significant even although capturing the precise significance is difficult. As Cohen notes, "it therefore means something to them which it might not mean to others."

As Harvey 1990:306 comments, "there are abundant signs that localism and nationalism have become strengthened precisely because of the quest for the security that place always offers in the midst of all the shifting

THE AETIOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RURALITY

PHENOMENA	ELEMENTS	CONSTRUCT EVALUATION	"SIGNIFICANT" DOMAINS	EMPHASIS
SPACE				
Landscape Growing space God's space Open Space Unbuilt Space	Insulation & Isolation (<i>Different - iation</i>)	Physical & Symbolic (<i>Material Production & Aesthetic</i>)	Principle - Economic Subsidiary - Aesthetic	Rural Exceptionalism
NATURE				
Cosmic order Transcendental- Unity Creation Romantics Nature-internal Nature-external Ecotopia Environmental	Organic Order (<i>Holistic order</i>)	Physical & Metaphysical (<i>Material Production & Aesthetic</i>)	Principle - Ideological Subsidiary - economic	Social orders
PLACES				
Community Harmony Folk Society Old Orders Jeffersonian- ideals Authentic Non-industrial History & Traditions	Identity (<i>Continuity</i>)	Symbolic & Cultural (<i>Emotive, Normative & Cultural Production</i>)	Principle - cultural subsidiary - social	Cultural orders
TIME				
Organic time Natural Rhythms Leisure time Time worn- Tradition Heritage	Non- Industrial Time (<i>authentic</i>)	Symbolic & Cultural (<i>Symbolic Production</i>)	Principle - symbolic subsidiary - cultural	Social process

The Social Construction of Rurality

FIGURE 3

that flexible accumulation implies." He sees a need for stability,"The new values placed on the transitory, the elusive and the ephemeral, the very celebration of dynamism, discloses a longing for an undefiled, immaculate and stable present. The match between this languishing and the image of rural culture is striking. Yet these sentiments are not new, but have developed with the earliest industrialisation. Marx, in the Communist Manifest 1848 made a similar comment, "All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind." (in Kemenka ed. 1983:207) As Cohen 1987:106 concludes, "the increasing remoteness of the supra-national EEC makes for a feeling of exclusion and so we need to look to a more convincing level of society with which to identify." For many this convincing level is a rural place where essences are seen as more distinct, where reality exists on a human scale. In turn the identity of these rural places becomes suffused with normative expectations.

Figure 3 attempts to summarise these different dimensions of the social construction by showing how the elements mesh the symbolic and the physical. The elements are allocated to significant "domains" which are categorized as ideological, cultural, aesthetic, social and economic. In turn the diagram demonstrates how rural exceptionalism creates the hegemonic and idealistic basis for the construction and continuation of "rurality" within social process.

The conclusion must be that, whilst it seems anachronistic to argue for the physical distinctiveness of place in the face of the evidence of convergence, there remains the meta-physical, the quasi religious production and reproduction of cultural distinctiveness. Raymond Williams 1963:35, discussing country images, which appear in English Literature over the centuries, portray what seems an old order, "A traditional society keeps appearing, reappearing at bewilderingly various dates." He proposes that these may exist as an idea against which contemporary change can be measured. Rural places are to be seen as cultural artefacts, embodying in their anti-industrialism a mythological sense of old and better orders.

3.5.3. The Scottish Highlands: A Brief Glimpse Backwards

"We are not interested in the past for its own sake, but rather because it is a vital component in the making of the present" McKendrick et al 1990:5

Thus far rural places in general have been considered, it has been argued that the social construction has produced particular and normative expectations of how rural places are seen. This section turns to consider these expectations historically produced the Highlands. It is inappropriate to provide a comprehensive review of Highland history, so instead the events around the times of the Clearances are considered. This is a particularly relevant period for this discussion because of the dynamics of social and economic change. First, the Clearances were about the attempted shift from a subsistence agriculture into the wider economy. Secondly the resistance and the reasoning of the Highlander provides an interesting social benchmark and thirdly the outcomes produced the "place", replete with local attitudes and ideologies and ways of making do. Finally, how even in the great explosions of innovation and enterprise of the Industrial Revolution, the asset base of the Highlands was so poor that the "best use" to evolve, within that vital and dynamic period of change, was as a leisure park.

Many accounts of the Highland Clearances, Prebble 1969 is an excellent example, harrowingly recount the distress of the forced evictions. However behind these human stories lies the tales of economic adjustment, most probably of a demographic adjustment within the changing land use which made peasant farming economically less unattractive to land owners. The population had reached the Malthusian limits of the impoverished resource base. A resource base which was beyond a technological fix or capitalist transformation. In comparison, the rural lowlands of Scotland and England, the uplands of Norway and Sweden were also experiencing the same demographic adjustment to economic stimulus. It may be argued convincingly that the particular experiences of the Highlanders made them more reluctant to join the diaspora. Instead of seeking out an urban fortune many elected to adapt, reducing their standard of living by continual subdivision of their meagre resources.

This form of argument is correct, but it is also necessarily limited. It fails to answer why the poor remain so poor, neglecting why the economic system in one area can remain relatively static in one area when it can alter so dramatically in another. The crudest form of Ricardian economics is applied; finite resources divided by the population must reduce *per capita* as populations rise. The key point is that "resources" are a socio-economic category and as such their value is fixed in socio-economic terms. It is significant that many of today's Third World poor and yesterday's Highlander did not have access to the magic of resource enhancement that capitalism and entrepreneurial

activity bring. As Caird and Moisley point out 1961:93 the crofting philosophy of "the equality of all men led to a lack of innovation and enterprise." Such ideology and poverty make a debilitating cocktail.

Despite the poignant and distressing emotionality of the tales surrounding the Clearances the evidence does not always seem to support the exploitation of the crofter. For example, the bankruptcy of the owner of Lewis, McKenzie, in 1846 after the depletion of his fortune by supporting his tenants. The evidence points clearly to the poor resource base of the area. Turnock 1970:15 makes the case that as the centre of gravity shifted southwards following the developing economic potential, the Highlands were increasingly marginalised. Collins 1978, detects the backwash effects of this southern growth as early as 1800. He points out that the Highland regional economy is open. So that patterns of development were determined by changes in relative factor costs, terms of trade and comparative advantage. In each of these areas the Highlands was weak. As coal and iron pulled industry to the lowlands, the size of firms and scale of technology became increasingly important. The railways, he argues, benefited lowland producers by tending to widen the gaps in distribution costs. Thus he argues the mobile factors of production, "capital, labour and entrepreneurship all migrated downhill" 1978:594. This argument mirrors the gravitation theory developed to explain the present day situation.

Fishing did remain an important part of the Highland economy, but as a primary production, it should be seen as development "in" the Highlands rather than "of" the Highlands. This is largely on account of the lack of any forward or backward linkages which could add value to the industry. Fishing is akin to mining, mere exploitation, and prices and profits are externally determined. However by 1881, some 75% of the population of the Highlands and Islands was directly or indirectly dependent on fishing. This was for urban markets as evidenced by the government payment of "bounties" on new boats built and the construction of the herring ports at Ullapool and Mallaig. The earliest record of this intervention was 1787 when a barrel bounty was paid. However fishing too was erratic, natural shortages of fish and salt scarcities provided obstacles to any kind of steady growth. Furthermore as Caird and Moisley 1961 point out, "It was very characteristic of the Hebridean society that nearly all the large-scale fish merchants and curers were of mainland origin."

Turnock argues 1970:14 "Fishing provides a clear example of economic subjugation of the west to the superior forces from without". Significantly Caird and Moisey 1961:96 note of modern times, "The lack of local enterprise and initiative in the development of commercial fishing in the Outer Hebrides is quite astonishing". As Smout confirms 1986:76 "The traditional society of the Gaels was not concerned with wealth maximisation".

Agriculture fared worse as upland farms were unable to exploit new technical developments. The Royal Commission Report 1893 records that in 1820 certain farm work, in the lowlands, took 53 man days, by 1892 the same work took 35 days. Similarly in 1842 an acre of barley required 27 man days, by 1914 only 3 days. In contrast the crofter was unable to utilise technology. Carter 1979:161 describes how "small farmers were forced to give up or attempt to hang on by exploiting to the utmost the unpaid labour of their own sons and daughters, until they in turn were driven by desperation to leave for the towns". Nor was their failure caused by capital shortage. Collins 1978:589 relates how the Duke of Sutherland spent £242,000 unsuccessfully on attempting agricultural improvements. The problems were the typical Highland ones of poor fertility, rough terrain, inclement weather and the short growing season. Even during the "golden years of agriculture" the prosperity was fragile and utterly dependent on outside factors.

The Highlands have been exposed to industrial modernity, but in a form which reflected the grander notions of remote splendour and consequently came into fundamental conflict with the fatalism of the established life style of the highlander. Lewis, on the periphery of the periphery, the Outer Hebrides, provides an example of this clash. An early attempt at "modernisation" was made by the "Gentlemen Adventurers" in 1598 under James VI. Gough 1969 merely reports that they failed, but Nicholson 1960:38 reports that they were set upon by Neil McLeod and, "two hundred barbarous, bludie and wicket Heilandmen" who cut their throats by the light of a lantern.

We take up the tale in slightly more peaceful times, in 1844 when James Matheson purchased Lewis from the bankrupt Mackenzies. Matheson had made a fortune in Hong Kong from trade, including opium. Smout 1986:69 describes how he built new roads and quays around his island. Nicholson adds 1960:42 that he built Lews Castle and several shooting lodges, schools, a fish curing station and a chemical works for extracting paraffin oil from peat. Matheson's efforts and expenditure (£384,000, Smout 1986:70) paid few dividends. Nicholson claims that Matheson had to import labour for his schemes from the mainland, even although islanders were in arrears of rent. In the famous incident of the Park deer raid of 1877 over a hundred armed men took possession of land which had just been turned from a sheep farm into a sporting estate. Matheson died in 1878 and his widow fled the island.

Leverhulm purchased Harris in 1917 from Matheson's widow for £143,000, £ 37,000 less than Matheson had paid but including all the improvements. Nicholson 1960:46 remarks that, "even so it was a liability, rents from crofting, farming and shooting were less than outgoings." According to Nicholson, Leverhulm was keen to encourage local enterprise, no doubt a reflection of his own success but 1960:32 "The Lewismen lack initiative to an extent

which can drive a Southerner to despair." Nicholson interpreted this to mean that the islanders disliked change, not because of their hard ways of earning a livelihood but because, the first to attempt innovation would expose them to the envy of their fellow crofters if they succeeded, or to their contempt if they failed. He claims that this attitude was a pessimistic fatalism in the face of so many previous natural disasters. It was utterly alien to Leverhulm.

Leverhulm planned the modernisation on his own autocratic terms, but on a grand scale. His attempt to build a railway was too expensive but he did build a gas works, a dairy and a laundry. Nicholson notes that Leverhulm felt that factory production was incompatible with the island image and so arranged for local wool to be spun and introduced an improved hand loom. Leverhulm's plans floundered against the land demands of returning soldiers. Nicholson 1960:139 reports a protester at a meeting, "We are not concerned with his fancy dreams that may or may not come true. What we want is land." Thoroughly discouraged, in November 1924 Leverhulm offered to his crofters the gift of the land over which their had been such dispute. Yet even then traditionalism prevailed and only 41 out of over 3,000 accepted the gift. Nicholson 1960:188 attributed this to the lack of leadership to take responsibility and the fear of paying higher rates. So both Leverhulm and Matheson's efforts and proven expertise failed to overcome the land preference of the traditionalist crofters.

An incongruity of the Victorian period was the desperate poverty and the attraction of the rich tourist, typified by Victoria and Albert. Smout makes a strong case for Sir Walter Scott's "Lord of the Isles" producing a romantic image for the Highlands, 1986:10. "Romance had its abode only in the Highlands, the land of the mountains and the flood. Shrouded in historic myths and poetry; studded with forests and moors where sportsmen could take their game." The truth was that these "sportsmen" were able to recreate their myths. In just the same way as Lady Acland found the pensioners' red cloaks picturesque, sportsmen could build their fairy tale castles and baronial hunting lodges to impress and entertain their friends. Murdoch 1852:8, quoted in Smout commented "Where Scott adopted the Highlands as a subject of romantic song and story then began a new era of comfort in every spot his magic touched".

This "High Culture" of Balmoralism, argued earlier to be still currently extant in the social construction of the Highlands, was "set" when Queen Victoria purchased Balmoral in 1848. It is not without its more humorous aspects, Smout 1986 and McCrone et al 1989 report how George IV to visit Edinburgh in 1827. George IV was by all accounts a very large man with a poor command of English, but Sir Walter Scott persuaded him to wear a kilt set off fetchingly by pink tights. More seriously, we should contrast this cultural production with the "Low Culture" of Highland Kailyardism propounded by writers such as Neil Gunn. The emphasis on stalwart characters, lads o'pairs

who by their inherent Highland "decency" overcome and overlook the poverty of their surroundings. Tom Nairn 1977:158 scathingly refers to this "sub-cultural Scotchery" as writers pursuing Scottish country quaintness into whimsical middens. But this kailyard culture also remains alive in the "couthiness" of folk songs and folklore. Appropriately for a low culture, its part in the social construction is not the triumphalism of the "Monarch of the Glen", the emphasis is on accommodation, getting by in adverse circumstances. Checkland 1984:138 argues that, "Scott favoured a subservient poor." Checkland adds 1984:198, that by 1914 the Highlander was an embodiment of, "the pristine virtues of man close to nature."

Collins 1978:601 charts the revival of medieval deer hunting, quoting de Lauvergne who in 1855 wrote, "nothing is more fashionable than Highland sports". In 1838 there were 45 deer forests; in 1912, 203 over 3.5 million acres. Not everyone was impressed. Prebble 1963:215 reports Thomas MacLauchlin grumbling, "We fear that Queen Victoria and her husband may hasten the consummation of making our Highlands a great deer forest by introducing a larger number of our English aristocracy to flock to them for the purpose of sport." Yet again we can see how urban normative ideology, the aesthetic discussed earlier, imposes itself on the Highlands. The pendulum of viability, in the frail marginal economy, had swung from the sheepwalks, with their imported southern tenants, to the aesthetic "aristocratic" southern deer stalker. As Orr, 1982:31 shows "The grandeur and solitude of Highland sporting estates attracted a flow of capital against which sheep farming tenants could not compete." In Rothiemurchus the land as a sheep walk in 1845 earned £350, but as a deer forest, £1000. As McCrone et al 1989:201 summarise, "the influence not only of the traditional aristocracy but also the nouveau riche, the further entanglement of land ownership and financial capital and improved communications were key structural factors."

The contention of this section are that the uses to which the Highlands have been put have been, on the whole, externally determined. Historically this determination has been shaped by economic demands within a powerful cultural perspective, in particular the status, authority or even charisma associated with landholding. This resulted in the displacement of the subsistence economy of the Highland peasant to higher value land use. Some commentators, such as Prebble 1963 have even argued that the initial gentrification of the Highland landowner created the need for a higher cash income to support their new urban life styles. Thus explanation must take account of the poor Highland resource base: the population numbers reaching a Malthusian ceiling without any technological or organisational "fix": and importantly the propinquity, and subsequent domination by, the much stronger expanding urban industrial economy.

Thus the unequal clashes of the clearances are best understood as the imposition of agrarian capitalism upon an obsolescent feudalism. At its most extreme the processes of industrialisation seduced the clan chiefs, annexed the hills for sheep production by providing capitalist farmers and subsequently reappraised the old feudal values as a legitimisation of the new industrial capital. At all times the economy was subject to external fluctuations in demand. Its frailty, the lack of any indigenous linkages backwards or forwards, even the capricious dependency on the conspicuous consumption of the deer stalker, has increased its vulnerability. Rarely were the essentials of modernisation, as outlined by Eisenstadt 1973:21, available. These he lists as, "the development of a high degree of differentiation, of free resources, the development of specialized and diversified types of social organisation, the development of wide non-traditional, national and even super-national group identification."

The problem therefore, was not one of systematic surplus extraction as suggested by dependency theory. Rather the problem was no surplus, because of the limits placed on development by the socio-economic interpretation of the values of the Highlands. As Marx reminds us 1974:638, " No producer, whether industrial or agricultural when considered by himself alone, produces values or commodities. His product becomes a value and a commodity only in the context of definite social interrelations."

3.6. Models of Development.

3.6.1 Growth or development

Most models of development are concerned to explain why an area has developed, rather than the research question, why is it rural? This is not to say that rurality is simply residual, a left-over from development. The earlier sections all showed that rurality was actually a very special development, admittedly a development that had little value adding opportunities, but nonetheless development in the sense of purposeful activity. Conventional models are therefore concerned with growth in its conventional import of industrialisation. Robinson 1990:405 proposes that in our search for appropriate theory we should avoid preconceived dogma, which is a characteristic of rural theory, and develop a clearer focus on the key decision makers. A problem with this, is of course that we need a theory to "find" the key decisions. Notwithstanding this it seems important to also challenge the bland concatenation of growth and industrialisation, especially in this post-necessity society. "Growth" may well be concerned with removing the aftermath of industrialisation. Indeed some commentators, for example Hirsch 1977 and Schumacher 1972, would argue that "growth" actually means less development in the conventional sense.

Recently then growth has had two forms, the traditional GDP orientated and emergent form which is concerned with quality of life. The latter is particularly important for rurality where there are long held assumptions about superior qualities of life, despite convincing physical evidence to the contrary. The Duke of Westminster's 1992 report, for example provides a reasoned account of rural deprivation and its camouflage, whilst Newby's deferential worker 1977 clarifies the nature of relationships. The debate between the often contradictory forms of growth is explored later. It is argued that the social polarisation of these different attitudes has had important rural effects, but this section is only concerned with the conventional development of an area, growth in GDP with accompanying better living standards.

Despite these caveats the question of why one area should develop whilst others don't, has been a productive area for academic research. Too productive for a comprehensive review, instead a brief evaluation of the appropriateness and explanatory value of the theories is proposed, particularly their efficacy describing and explaining the Highland situation. Only the briefest outline of the content of the theories is offered, familiarity is assumed and the purpose is not description but evaluation. Three criterion are used, the theoretical integrity, the general applicability and the specific value in explaining the Highland circumstance.

3.6.2. Towards equality: Models of Equilibrium

The Regional Equilibrium Model propounded by August Losch is briefly described in an earlier section, where it is unfavourably compared to the gravitational model developed in this thesis. In essence it proposes that all development is moving towards an equilibrium state, that rules of perfect competition and economic rationality determine the location of development, and eventually direct it towards a uniform and even distribution of development across the country. So that a spatial equilibrium of an equalised landscape of hexagonal markets and producers ensues from the interplay of the theoretical postulates. (For a fuller discussion see Harvey 1982, Cooke 1983, Smith 1990, or specifically Isard et al 1969 and Losch 1944).

The model can be epistemologically criticised as being overly rationalist, privileging human rationality, i.e. Losch's *a priori* theoretic thoughts, over experiences. Further the aspatial theoretical elegance of General Equilibrium Theory has a very limited application to spatial form. As Cooke 1983:116 suggests it is a theoretical framework without the constraints intrinsic to the operations of economic processes. Indeed Losch's theory is overdeterministic and leads him to a striking theoretical arrogance, "Comparison now has to be drawn no longer to test the theory, but to test the reality! Now it must be determined whether reality is rational." cited in Holland 1976.

Yet even within the rarefied levels of abstraction Losch fails to deal with a conceptual problem of equilibrium trends. It is generally agreed that it is not necessary for a process to actually achieve equilibrium, merely that it works towards that direction. However this singularly fails to account for the essentially changing nature of the equilibrium point. Any alteration within the system, be it an economic, a social or a spatial system produces changes in the equilibrium point. Further we, as theorists have no way of establishing which, at any point is the correct equilibria. How much greater must be the problems of the agents, purported to be seeking this ephemeral point, whose information may be late, wrong and will be incomplete. Accordingly equilibrium theory is a chaotic concept.

On a practical note we may note that social actors rarely conform to rational models. This may go some way to explaining why Losch's model so singularly fails to match reality. What Smith 1990:132 unsympathetically calls the "Cannibalistic tendencies of capitalism"; that restlessness of evolution that creates the dynamic system, despatches any notions of a stagnant equilibrium. Harvey 1982:390 proposes that Losch's landscape is totally inconsistent with the capitalist mode of production. In addition it fails to take account of the range of intervening variables. In Highland terms Losch's conceptual model is particularly unhelpful, it simply fails to confront the empty hills. Moreover if we turn to non-manufacturing growth, financial services, tourism and the like, we would expect this to be uneven, perhaps

even to counter and to complement the industrial areas.

To very briefly consider two equilibrium alternative, but related theories, Alfred Weber's transport costs and Walter Isard's model which attempts to combine Losch and Weber. Alfred Weber, as we might expect of one with such a famous brother, tries to incorporate some measure of the limitations of rationality. His model is based on relative transport costs, but he allows that rationality is only part of human action and subject to, "interface with irrational factors", Cooke 1983:113. Holland 1976:7 again suggests that the analysis was a technique for explaining rational behaviour, not a description of reality. Isard's synthesis attempts to introduce process to Losch's scheme but also fails to capture the complexity of reality.

3.6.3 Imbalance : disequilibrium models

In principle these seem to offer a more valid theory, a closer fit to reality. Gunnar Myrdal's 1957 model of Cumulative Causation offers an explanation of unequal growth. He proposes that initially the unequal distribution of natural endowments produces uneven growth. Industrial development, which is more profitable than agriculture, attracts capital from agricultural areas. In turn the process becomes cumulative, as within the more developed areas the advanced sector trade dominates the agricultural regions. "Spread" effects include increased demand for agricultural products, but "Backwash" drains labour to the advanced regions. So overall, the superior region is on an upward spiral. Perroux's Growth Pole model is broadly similar.

The model is theoretically sound, no end state is envisaged to which all process is envisaged to be working towards. The model allows for the indeterminacy of counter effects, but it is incomplete. It only explains part of the process and fails to account for how the process actually starts. Indeed for the specific purpose of this work, it fails to explain who starts off the process, and the relationships are seen as between areas rather than people in those areas. It therefore provides at best, an incomplete and generalised explanation.

However it highlights two singularly important elements in growth "Innovation" and linkages to produce the multiplier effects. Multipliers are vital to an area's growth and are the product of the local recirculation of money and ideas, innovation. Innovation is the entrepreneurial activity, changes to the factors of production or distribution which increase the value of the good or service produced. This is, of course, why new industries, so called sunrise, are so important. Their very newfangledness means that the potentials to improve, to innovate, are high. By contrast old industries have fewer possibilities for technical innovation, potentials tend to lie with marginals, lowering the costs of the factors. These changes produce much lower profits and correspondingly less sparks of multiplication.

The practical application of these ideas, especially selecting a place as a growth pole is appealing. "Planners", and indeed governments, have little power to create development. The earlier discussion has shown how the key feature, the production of entrepreneurial innovation, is a very human activity. An activity for which the rule-following behaviour of bureaucracy is outstandingly unsuited, despite what Reade 1983:25 colourfully describes as "the triumph of bureaucratic professionalism". The earlier discussion on the significance of human agency in recognising and implementing resources into profit must also be important. Nonetheless the cardinal need of continued economic growth obliges Governments and their agents to attempt, or to be seen to attempt, to produce growth. Habermas 1976, refers to this as the rationality problem, and as part of the over arching and continual legitimation problem of governments.

Thus "top-down" prescriptions such as the Growth Pole, which suggest a practical course of action are appealing. Unfortunately the results of the policy seem poor. Cooke 1983:122 cites the failure in the Mezzaogorni in Italy, and of course the spectacular disaster of the Linwood investment. Also more generally the very limited success of the "Enterprise Zones" as industrial magnets. New Towns did enjoy success, but we must be clear about distinguishing industrial sector growth and regional expansion. In the Highlands the outcomes of the smelter at Invergordon, the pulp mill at Fort William and even the hi-tec reactors at Dounray were equally disappointing. Robinson 1990:404 argues that too much store was placed on particular theories, notably growth pole and central place, only to find them unhelpful for rural improvement.

Analysis of the reasons why the models fail, lies at two levels. First the models are a description of what might occur, they are not deterministic, not setting out the necessary and sufficient causes. Secondly at the empirical level it is easy to confuse growth sectors with growth areas. These may or may not coincide. Growth sectors are those sunrise industries, which probably through the mechanisms of cumulative causation tend to be attracted to particular areas. On the other hand, the Highland examples were "cathedrals in the desert", generating few linkages either backwards or forward from the initial process. Significantly there also seems few opportunities for innovation. At Fort William, for example, the pulp making process was obsolete and uncompetitive, whereas at the smelters success depended on totally artificial subsidy of power costs. In each of these cases Adam Smith's invisible hand was tied behind the government's back.

A related point of regional development is Doreen Massey's point about the development of a region, rather than the development in a region. This is also concerned with linkages, though marxist perspectives seem less

concerned with innovation *per se*, but of the unequal social outcomes of uneven development. The argument is that developments of a region do not bring benefits to that area, they are exploitive. Dounray would fit this description and possibly many tourist developments. However whilst it is task of social science to point out the production of inequality, to do so in such an doctrinaire fashion is unhelpful. There can be no way of deciding whether a development is "of" or "for", all change must include elements of both. So any decision must be an arbitrary one, more concerned with moral values than growth. As Berger et al point out their concern 1974:13, "the need for separation *ad-hoc* between scientific analysis and moral judgements, and we find that most marxist approaches are thus one-sided and often misleading."

3.6.4. Development by demand.

These models give priority to demand led factors, over spatial factors, in promoting growth and establishing the asymmetry of development. They include the Harrod-Domar theory, a sociometric model based on the migration of capital, labour and technical innovation; and the export base theory which propose that a region's income rises as export demand for the locally produced goods creates growth through the multiplier effect. The importance of these theories is perhaps explained less by their theoretical explanatory power and more by the theoretical fit with Keynesian political economy. The models include elements which would support interventionist regional policies so adding to their reformist appeal, the appearance of doing something, as was discussed earlier.

Both the models are theoretically coherent but equally both suffer from the rigidity of the necessary theoretical assumption which are integral to the models. The Harrod-Domar model requires a uniformity across space of labour costs and skills, constant returns to scale and a single good economy coupled with an equal propensity to save. These assumptions are unrealistic and their relaxation violates the model. In Highland terms they are patently absurd. Indeed as Cooke 1983:127 points out, "Since low income and low savings areas tend not to offer good investment opportunities.. capital may not follow an equilibrating path but rather flow in such a way as to intensify the disequilibrium." This is fair comment on the non-mechanistics of investment decisions but Cooke may also be guilty of over rationalising. The very fact that the area has these characteristics could invite investments to exploit them. So the model may well be generally able to describe a possible *ceteris paribus* theoretical situation but this is too restrictive to have local explanatory powers.

The problems encountered in assimilating export base theory to actual practices centre around the rigidity of the model. It does not allow that the successful continued export of a good will generate either the production of

that good locally or the production of a substitute. Further, services now account for the greater part of the economy and these are notoriously difficult to export. On the other hand the model does explain the importance of such Highland productions as whisky, speciality food products and of course that place-bound speciality of tourism. Yet this is all some way from explaining growth, it is simply comparative advantage, or regional specialism. We therefore need to take account of the values locked into these regional exports, in particular the surplus over the cost of production. If we are looking at the production of, say lamb, the export value of undifferentiated lamb sales is simply the current international going rate for such meat. This is necessarily low, simply because the competition is the low cost production of New Zealand. Highland lamb producers are in this case simply price takers, but clearly it is in their interests to distinguish their product as having a higher value, perhaps quality, taste, freshness or simply organic.

The point made here is that there are few Highland products capable of this higher value production. Scotch whisky, a premium product with a great deal of value added at UK retail level, has a minimal local added value. Taxes, excise and VAT are drawn to the central areas, whilst corporate profits are pulled into the urban headquarters for redistribution. Thus very little of the value remains locally, the bulk is gravitated into the centre. This example should not be confused with the "branch plant" sort of analysis. Distilling of malt whisky is not a footloose industry, locationally dependent on the capriciousness of a distant MNC headquarters. It is, however, a local production centre and just as vulnerable to closures if demand falls. The "local" element of value offers little protection against global change.

3.6.5. Inequalities between the core and the periphery.

The final examples to be considered are more sociological in tone, the core-periphery theories, and theories of unequal exchange. Core-periphery models assume a basic inequality between the core, which need not be spatially defined, and the periphery. This imbalance may also be a dependent relationship as in Frank 1979, or based on unequal exchange as in Amin 1978 and Wallerstein 1979. Most of the models are concerned to explain the persistence of differences between the First and the Third World. They successfully describe the situation but may misunderstand the mechanisms which produce the relationships. To generalise, they are based on a marxist theory of labour value. In exchange relations the higher value placed on "core" labour means that value accrues in the core areas.

The problem, at a theoretical level is that the assumptions of labour value are wrong. Value is not simply created by labour alone, but it is created in the enhancement of labour within the context in which this labour is produced. This refers not only to highly skilled technological labour produced in the advanced capitalist sectors. It

also applies to the context of "Crafts". Consider the difference in value produced by a Highland potter and the same skills but invoked by an "untouchable" in some Indian village. The continuation of unequal exchange would require to show the specific mechanism preventing the growth of higher value production outside the core, and this is not satisfactorily explained. Furthermore the theory is overly deterministic as shown by, for example, the experiences of Japan and the Newly Industrialising Countries.

Urry 1981:30 makes a different criticism. He argues that it is illegitimate to talk of spatial interdependence "Only social objects can act" It must therefore be incorrect to talk of one area exploiting another, this is to fetishize the spatial. Hechter's model tries to overcome this problem by claiming an "ethnic enclave", a spatialised phenomena. The specific core-periphery explanation of the Highland situation is proposed by Hechter 1975. His model hinges on "Internal Colonialism", the systematic exploitation of the ethnic Gael. Hechter argues that core groups sought to stabilize existing spatial unevenness by crystalizing the emergent historical social stratifications into a cultural division of labour. The periphery is thus forced into a complementary role by ethnic discrimination and by the state allocators reproducing "backwardness" in the internal colony.

The initial theoretical plausibility of Hechter's model is shattered by empirical observation. There are simply no mechanisms which would fulfil his requirement and force the hypothesised "ethnic complementary" role. Whilst power does indisputably lie within the core its continued legitimation requires the totally opposite effect to Hechter's notion. State agencies actively seek to reduce spatial differences. This is the avowed purpose of every Highland body since the Napier Commission to the Highland and Islands Enterprise. Equally non-regional government and quasi-government organisations fulfil an equalising role. Welfare, taxes, the Health Service all ignore space and regional differences, whilst the EC funds attempt to ameliorate the disadvantages of distance. Furthermore there seems little value in creating such ethnic differences. Whilst places are different, and cultural and local identities enhance these differences they do so by stressing superiority of the local place rather than ethnic inadequacies. Also we must take account of the forced mobility of highly qualified Highland labour, who are often attracted to those very core positions which Hechter claims produces imperialism. It seems hardly logical that they would discriminate against themselves. Indeed the returning migrants and retirees to the Highlands have often held those key positions. Ethnic status in the Highlands is not the watertight compartment that Hechter claims.

3.6.6. Conclusions

The unelaborated models appear to offer little clarification of why the Highlands remain so rural. The assumptions of the models are too strict, in particular the extent to which they idealise rationality and the free mobility of labour and capital. Contrarily they tend to ignore the vast array of counter tendencies which arise in reality to modify unidirectionality. Certainly we can see that growth does produce uneven development, but equally that there are powerful counter tendencies. No mono-causal deterministic theory can encompass all these dynamic inter-relationships so that we must evaluate each on the particular part which it does explain. This may be equally true for the gravitational model proposed. We may only guess at the particular combination of factors which will allow an added value good or service to "Stick" in rurality. It is essential to keep in mind that these models abstract from human action and in doing so endow areas and places with rational human characteristics. This is a dangerous trend, it is people who create, especially economic growth. In particular this is exactly what entrepreneurs do !

3.7 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW OF RURALITY

The Objectives of this Chapter were,

To answer the research question - What is "rural"?

1. By critically exploring and analysing the literature to establish what people mean by rural.
2. To develop an appreciation of how these meanings might affect actions, particularly entrepreneurial activity.

To answer the research question - "Why are the Highlands rural"?

1. By critically examining the physical nature of rural.
2. By considering how rural has been theoretically explained.

THE ARGUMENT SUBSTANTIATED

The central thesis of this chapter was that rurality is much more than either a spatial phenomena or simply the outcome of market forces. Rurality also has a powerful cultural identity which combines with these physical and economic features. Consequently, if we are to understand rural enterprise, we need two models, interpretative paradigms to account for the multiple dimensions of the countryside and to explain these interconnections. The first, gravitation, shows in a teleological, circular and deterministic way, that places are rural because of the low density of population and activity. The second model of the social construction of rurality is not deterministic but interpretative. It combines with the physical circumstances explained by gravitation, to show why places remain rural.

What does rural mean?

The chapter addressed this research questions by unpacking a variety of often disparate elements which seemed to bear on the question. We saw that rurality was an elusive construct with a variety of meanings, which could be dichotomised into the physical and the cultural. It was difficult to define because of the significance of the normative ideology associated with the countryside. The ideographic element, a pervasive and powerful construct, was manifest in the values associated with rurality. Although these were largely intangible nostalgias they were shown to be enduring and affected how people reacted towards the countryside. Thus rural often means a bundle of normative values and is defined by the absence the artifacts of modernity. So although we could demonstrate that it was "different", showing what is was not, it was impossible to fix with empirical certainty. Consequently the answer to the research question had to take into account both facts and meanings.

Why are the Highlands rural?

The spatial dimensions of rurality were explored and found to be a significant factor in shaping the countryside. Two aspects reflecting facts and meanings were identified, isolation and insulation. Isolation was seen as a spatial process and a model, gravitation, was proposed to explain how the spatial dispersal of the countryside set in chain the social process which drained rural areas of important factors of production. This in turn was argued to show how rurality was physically maintained. Insulation, the separateness of rural and urban, reflected meanings which permitted a particular cultural role to be imposed on rurality. A number of models of development were reviewed but were argued to be too deterministic. These models neglected the social aspects of rural meaning which had been identified earlier as formative factors. Consequently there were seen as having only limited value in addressing the research question.

It is therefore argued that the literature review has provided a broad church of evidence that rurality is socially produced. The romance of arcadia permeates the culture of rurality so that the idyll, despite its time worn antiquity, remains a convincing explanation of the operation of the social construct. Although remoteness and the gravitational model describe a snap shot of socio-economic process at any given time, the model is essential circular and cannot fully explain why rurality has failed to develop over time along similar lines to urban areas. However when considered in conjunction with the cultural attributes of rurality a substansive explanation is produced. The power of social actors may be understood to maintain the arcadia. Figure 3 is an attempt to abstract the key elements

which constitute the social construction of rurality. It shows how the normative dimensions have developed into a socio-cultural form. The domains are "signified" as those areas most influenced by each phenomena.

This then is why the Highlands are rural, their remoteness creates a physical environment which deters industrial growth while their cultural importance, as a bastion of pre-industrial ethos, inhibit change. These answers offer the enigmatic setting for progressive focusing of the research. If rurality is such a lean environment how do entrepreneurs operate? However before we can consider this we must first ascertain what we is meant by entrepreneurs. This is the topic of the next chapter.

THE ENTREPRENEUR

4.1. INTRODUCTION

4.2 THE FORM, THE FUNCTION AND THE ENTREPRENEURIAL FABLE

4.2.1. The Fable: Do fairy tales matter?

4.2.2. Elements of the fable

4.2.3. The Function

4.2.4. The Form

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The Objectives of this Chapter are,

1. To establish what entrepreneurship is.
2. To discover how it is conducted and how it can be explained.
- 3 To relate entrepreneurial activity to the rural environment.

4.1 Introduction.

"When someone stands in the library stacks, he is metaphorically surrounded by voices begging to be heard. Every book, every magazine article represents at least one person who is equivalent to the anthropologist's informant or the sociologist's interviewee."

A Strauss 1987

This chapter develops the issues raised in Chapter Three, in particular what do rural entrepreneurs have to do, by addressing the question, "What is it precisely that entrepreneurs do?" This chapter is therefore concerned with the issues raised in the progressive focusing of the research. Consequently it is a critical appraisal and analysis of the literature. The literature, like Strauss's library stacks, is unfortunately a babel of diverse information. Its diversity and range provide a variety of possible answers to the research question, but few of these answers are straightforward or uncomplicated and none can be considered complete. It quickly becomes evident that entrepreneurship is a complex phenomenon and not easily reducible to a neat and elegant explanation. Consequently the scope of this enquiry is necessarily broad to discern the variety of entrepreneurial explanations. Eclectic sources are therefore combed to pick out the variety of different answers emanating from different viewpoints.

In fact the multiple perspectives of entrepreneurship have led to a range of different versions of what entrepreneurship means for different groups. Indeed this convenient and facile utility of entrepreneurial perspectives provides the basis of the first section of this chapter. This is a critical investigation of these multiple perspectives under the rubrics of form, function and fable. The examination leads to some unravelling of the different threads of meaning within the conceptualisations of entrepreneurship. It also demonstrates how these concepts may be employed, often with little regard to accuracy or precision, by different groups in furtherance of their own goals. To complicate matters further different academic disciplines appear to answer elements of the research question in quite distinct and dissimilar ways. As Reynolds 1991 claims, "that no one discipline can provide an adequate understanding of all aspects of entrepreneurship." Meantime the dissimilarities within the breadth of academic interest, which could offer wide horizons of understanding, seems instead, to predicate against some harmonious discipline of entrepreneurship. A further obfuscation of the research question is the divisions of understanding between the different disciplines. Academic disciplines often appear rigidly compartmentalised. As Curran 1986:56 notes, "In practice breaking down the barriers between the human sciences is notoriously difficult." Yet entrepreneurship seems to come within the remit of many disciplines. These disciplines each have their own paradigms of appropriate enquiry, which are often incompatible. So instead of a cumulative agglomeration of entrepreneurial knowledge these rigidities have come to

reflect the limitations of each discipline rather than building a holistic theory. Consequently the latter parts of this chapter confront this problem by critically examining each discipline's contribution to understanding entrepreneurship, and culminates in an attempt to model the entrepreneurial process.

The first part of Chapter Four is therefore concerned with critically exploring the attributes and outcomes popularly and generally associated with enterprise. Later sections, 4.2 to 4.5, critically consider academia's disparate contributions to understanding rural entrepreneurship, concluding that the academic division of labour has resulted in discrete contributions of bounded cross sections of the entrepreneurial phenomenon which are difficult to combine in a purposeful scheme. Section 4.6 digresses from conventional entrepreneurial analyses to demonstrate how entrepreneurial creation may be rooted in the pursuit of dreams. The importance of this section lies in presenting the argument that the shape and purposes of the emergent enterprise may be conditioned by aims which are far removed from economic rationality. The final section is an attempt to develop a model of the entrepreneurship process, one which combines academic developments with the recognition of the malleability of the concept and the variability of entrepreneurial work. This results in the argument that entrepreneurship, *per se*, has no fixed or determined form. Instead it is a product of the milieu, social and economic, from which it is created. In consequence its description must acknowledge this chameleon-like property and its analysis must respond to its protean form. These qualities are therefore claimed to be essential "sensitisers", precursors to the ethnographic investigation.

4.2 The Form, the Function and the Entrepreneurial Fable.

A primary requirement of most academic research is to define the subject being considered. On entering academe we are entreated to always "cover our flanks" with a definition; to fail to do so is academically reckless. It leaves our arguments open to criticisms of imprecision and looseness of thought. Despite this shibboleth, two decades of concentrated endeavour have failed to produce a universally acceptable definition of entrepreneurship. Gartner 1989:47 lists twenty-four disparate definitions, which are characterised by diversity and variety, rather than by unity or agreement. Goss 1991:29 claims that "It would be charitable to describe the approach of researchers to this problem as cavalier. The result is, on one hand, an almost total lack of consistency between definitions, and, on the other hand, an overwhelming reliance on arbitrary one-dimensional concepts." As Baumol 1983:30 succinctly notes, "how can one analyze or teach acts whose nature is not yet known and whose effectiveness relies to a considerable degree on the

difficulty others have in foreseeing them?" The argument developed here is that this is not simply a methodological lapse but is a product of the width, utility and convenience of the concept. It may also reflect the diversity which is the essential nature of entrepreneurship. The breadth and convenient utility of the concept allow it to be used in diverse explanation, justification and rhetoric.

Three elements seem particularly significant in shaping this problem of sweeping conceptualisation, the form, the function and the fables of entrepreneurship. As recognition of the importance of entrepreneurship has increased, its status has been raised to that of a cultural concept, a fable replete with myth, legend and parables. In consequence it is now too broad, too generalised and with too great an ideological loading for straightforward analysis. The popular entrepreneur, to borrow an expression of Eagleton's, has become a text, woven from a whole tissue of different conceptual strands. Hock-Beng Cheach 1990:341 makes the point that the difficulty of establishing a conceptual foundation results from the lack of a clear definition. The argument made here is the converse, that it is the muddiness, and the convenient fuzzy utility of both the concept and the process which combine to preclude a crisp definition.

The first section of this chapter, the fable, critically examines the conceptualisation of entrepreneurship, attempting to deconstruct the cultural loadings. It begins by considering whether the cultural images and ideologies of enterprise actually matter. It then looks at how the myriad parts, of social legitimation; of folk culture; of inspirations and aspiration, combine to produce the popular entrepreneur. The second part is concerned the functions of entrepreneurship, in particular how the hagiographic breadth of the concept may lead to then neglect of the dark side of small business. The "form" of entrepreneurship considers the government aspirations and rhetoric which form the enterprise culture in what Curran and Burrow 1987:180 astutely call, "the remoralisation and recapitalisation of capitalism". The third section considers the theory, or rather the lack of entrepreneurial theory, and makes a case for "entrepreneurology", as a unifying discipline. The final section examines how academic research tries to explain specific elements of entrepreneurship.

4.2.1. The Fable: Do fairy tales matter?

Entrepreneurship has become an overloaded concept. This is demonstrated by the attributed range of normative and emotive values, in particular the populist imagery, which are currently associated with enterprise. Such a construct becomes a heuristic device, a short cut to making sense of the phenomenon. It avoids definition and can be thought of as a mental map of meaning. As such it becomes a quasi-explanation, a formless demonstration, drained

of specificity and *a priori* true. Paradoxically in offering a general explanation, in reality it explains nothing. Yet its imprecision makes disproof difficult, and its analysis caricature. Mitton 1989 recognises both the utility and shortcomings when he claims that entrepreneurship is like obscenity, "nobody agrees what it is, but we all know it when we see it". The concept has therefore become what Nisbet 1970 calls "a unit idea", and we should be alert to the dangers of trying to use such a unit idea analytically. As Barthes 1972:143 notes, "A myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply it purifies them; it makes them innocent, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation, but a statement of fact." He finds that myths lend arbitrary signs which signify the obvious, as unalterable sets of connotations.

The intellectually sterile debate of the 1960's surrounding the concept of "community" provides a salutary lesson in the misuse of unit ideas. Like "entrepreneur", "community" was carried along by the thematic power of the concept. It became fashionable and superficially it seemed to hold answers to social ills, paralleling entrepreneurship's promised panacea for economic ailments. Yet the capaciousness of the concept masks its teleological quality; "community" was used as both definition and demonstration of all that was desirable about society. This is the functional intellectual equivalent of chasing our own tail, and is likely to prove equally rewarding. The danger of such concepts is therefore the conflation of description and explanation. The ideographic trap arises when the concept is diffuse, as Bryman's 1991:11 description has it, "a seductive but irritatingly intangible way of discussion".

The entrepreneur enjoys a rare and heroic status, Cole 1959:103, "men for whom the hazards are an exhilaration". Toffler 1978:140, "the free swinging entrepreneur, unafraid, a folk hero", and quoting Pareto, "adventurous souls, hungry for novelty and not at all alarmed at change". So that for Collins et al 1964:6, "In the American pantheon of heroic types the entrepreneur is the truly successful common man." The romantic stereotype is completed by Kent and Abercrombie's vibrant and vital description, (although somewhat tongue-in-cheek), "entrepreneurs have energy and initiative, independence, boldness, self reliance, a willingness to take risks and accept responsibilities. So that entrepreneurs view the world as full of opportunities to make things happen." All these remarks follow the comments of JB Say, (1767-1832) a practical businessman as well as being generally credited with the initial conceptualisation of the entrepreneur, Bannock et al 1987:366. Binks and Coyne 1983:11 note that Say attributed the historical industrial ascendancy of Britain to, "the wonderful practical skills of her entrepreneurs." Ritchie 1991:19 in his analysis of the "Enterprise Culture" proposes that, "for devotees, it is almost an article of faith, spiritual redeemer and peaceful revolution rolled into one."

Although these fables have little analytic value, owing more to rhetoric than reason, it is essential to register the power of this construct. "Men respond to their environment as they see it, rather than how it is." argues Brown 1988:196. So that whilst we may decide that such fables are no more than the glossing of folklorism we cannot dismiss them as irrelevant. After all for some, to borrow a phrase of Landes 1969, "they clarify and synthesise the inconsiderable confusion of reality". Howard Becker 1970:92 claims such concepts are "folk concepts", and give meaning to our activities. Rosa and Bowes 1990:5 add such " gut reactions, reflect ethnocentric cultural bias". Addelson 1990:136, says that they allow us to co-ordinate activities, in that they conceptualise characteristic activities, typical settings and typical careers and problems.

Eagleton 1991:222 examines ideology in general. He rejects the historical Marxist proposition that ideology is the founding principle of social unity. On the contrary, "it must figure as an organising social force which actively constitutes human subjects at the root of their lived experience and seeks to equip them with forms of value and belief relevant to their specific social tasks and to the general reproduction of the social order." He carefully adds,"But these subjects are always conflictingly, precariously constituted...ideology is not reducible to the question of subjectivity." Earlier he had noted 1991:54,"Ideas and beliefs may spring from underlying desires, but they are also partly constitutive of them."

The point about this is that these hollow concepts impinge on our thinking and understanding of entrepreneurship through the popular conception. As academics we may believe that we can uncouple such myths from our science, but if the subject is culturally defined we cannot just ignore the social construction of the concept on the *a priori* grounds of subjectivism. Rather we must understand the concept, as it is portrayed, and thus be able to strip off the overburden of ideology to mine the nuggets of explanation. As Marx puts it "If the appearances of things coincided with their essence all science would be superfluous".

4.2.2. Elements of the Fable

The Friendly Face of Capitalism.

In deconstructing the fable some separate elements are readily demonstrable. These elements include the appeal of the entrepreneur as the easily understood symbolic capitalist; the attributes of the entrepreneurial folk hero; and the recent state perpetuation and aggrandizement of the fable. The attraction of this entrepreneurial concept is as the friendly face of capitalism; as a manageable conception of the complexities of economics, a palpable

personification of wealth creation. Casson 1982 declares the entrepreneur to be, "a legendary figure who personifies qualities that society believes to be important." Curran 1986:17, however warns, "'Entrepreneur' is a halo word, its attachment to any activity invests it with all the cultural meanings and approval to be found in a society which makes the initiation of economic activity the embodiment of the virtues of success, thrift, hard work and inherent ability." Or as Reynolds 1991:57 summarises, "enhanced economic well being is associated with the entrepreneurial activity."

Accordingly the entrepreneur is portrayed as the benign mechanism bringing better, cheaper products, creating jobs and wealth and making new opportunities to consume. Drucker 1986:27 colourfully portrays the entrepreneurial effort as, "until recognised every plant is a weed and every mineral just another rock" So that as Cole 1959:29 claims, "the entrepreneur constitutes a bridge between society as a whole and the profit orientated institutions". So at this time, accepting that this is both Eurocentric and possibly historically specific imagery, the entrepreneur represents the tractable and knowable torchbearer of capitalism.

4.2.2.2 The Entrepreneur Shows How it is Possible

This "instrumental" conception of the entrepreneur shares its cultural construction with the "nominalist" concept discussed above. Within this concept the entrepreneur joins the ranks of sports heroes and movie stars. Entrepreneurship becomes a creator of wealth, status and prestige; an accessible opportunity to cut through the barriers of class, gender, race and credentialism. Goffee and Scase 1987:8 claim, "historically, entrepreneurship in western countries has enabled those disadvantaged one way or another to achieve material or personal success." So entrepreneurship appears as a liberating philosophy of achievement, in contrast to the limitations of ascribed position and the constraints of class. It is a doctrine which capitalises, quite literally, on individual effort. As Waldinger 1990 shows it can "catapult individuals from low level jobs into small business." Nor is the magic restricted to material rewards, the entrepreneur of the 1990's is the postmodern self having achieved self realisation, freedom and self discovery. The epitome of Marx's 1959:74 "species being". The essential appeal of this element lies in its apparent universal availability, a short cut to success, "I could do that too!". It becomes the celebration of the reassertion of the individual in society, a noble concept. Thus the entrepreneur is conceptualised as the agent of his own changing circumstance.

4.2.3. The Function of Entrepreneurship

Yet if this is the brightside of the popular entrepreneur there is also a dark underside. This is the shadow of the imagery, from which can be wrung whole ideologies of hard work, independence, thrift and a constellation of imputed "Victorian Values". Since Samuel Smiles in 1859, and his Yankee cousin, Alger Hiss evangelised self-help as opportunity, the myth of an open social stratification is maintained. Despite commentators such as Musgrave 1969:72 pointing out that even in the 19th Century most entrepreneurs were middle class by birth, the fable helps legitimise existing social divisions. The portrayal of the successful entrepreneur pushing aside the barriers of privilege actually helps sustain the status quo. Bechhofer and Elliot 1981:189 argue that, "stability, profitability and social control may all be served by the promotion of the small fry." Furthermore the machinations of big capital can shelter behind the homily of what Keats and Vale 1991:6 call "petite bourgeoisie illusion". Both Galbraith 1967 and Curran and Burrows 1986 address this corporate collusion in myth making. Perhaps the most spectacular use of this cloak is in "paper entrepreneurialism". As Reich 1983 notes this merger and takeover mania of the 1980's, incorporating corporate raiding, speculators and debt peddling financiers, more often than not, was about paper profits without troubling with actual production. As Kumar 1978:274 wryly comments, "Hobbes not Marshall, would seem to be a better guide to understanding the modern corporation".

For those who labour under conditions of restraint and alienation the idea of entrepreneurial freedom may act as a safety valve. Eli Chinoy in 1955 described how such a dream made tolerable boring, repetitive assembly work. Smelser 1965:44 explains how, "to focus ambitions on their children and by verbally retaining the illusion of small business ambition". Boissevain 1980:21 summarises these aspirations as, "qualities of life, the reduction in scale provides satisfaction". Bechhofer and Elliot 1981:196, suggest an alternative contribution, "the hope is that one day all this hard work will be for themselves."

Thus tolerance of today is at least partly dependent on the entrepreneurial promise of tomorrow. It is striking that such an ideology was found by Gerry and Birbreck 1981:147 amongst the poorest street people of Colombia. The authors argue convincingly that the tenet of individualism avoids the external attribution of blame for their appalling conditions. Even the growth of "the conscious development of being exploited," is averted. If one's economic situation can be remedied by one's own efforts, "the corollary is that only oneself can be blamed for adversity." Hence the promise of individualism, which is a central prop of the popular concept of entrepreneurship, is Janus headed. Remarkably this imagery extends to suggest that the control of one's destiny can merge with the fatalism of the

cruellest poverty. Yet, as evidence of its scope, it can also ameliorate the monotony of the assembly line. As Bechhoffer and Elliot 1974:479 trenchantly summarise this aspect of entrepreneurship, "Theirs', it seems is, a freedom to establish an extraordinary form of self exploitation"

Delving deeper into this dark side of enterprise, it is possible to demonstrate how major entrepreneurially created disadvantages can also be swept into the ideological abyss. There is, for example, indicative evidence that risk is being channelled down to the small scale entrepreneurial level of business. Couched in terms of flexible specialisation, or economies of scope, the burdens and risks of innovation, finance and flexibility are moved downstream by big capital. Piore and Sabel 1984, Lash and Urry 1987 provide vivid examples of this risk transfer. Goss 1991:16 claims that small business may be functionally necessary for the continued profitability of large enterprises, because as independent units they afford a degree of flexibility. Schutt and Whittington 1984:17 argue that fragmentation and decentralization are attempts to off-load responsibility for risk-taking and employment on to small firms. Rainne 1984:150 shows how Marks and Spencer, a successful large retailer, have used a form of vertical integration strategy which allows them control over a large number of "independent" firms. Lloyd 1984, referring to this process as fragmentation, shows that Marks and Spencers have over 800 subcontractors. Bennetton go even further, according to Murray 1985, not only fragmenting suppliers, but franchising retail outlets. This spreads the risks and produces faster responses in volatile fashion markets. As Cannon 1991:21 notes, "much of the cost of failure falls on the individual who, in this way, saves society from meeting these expenses." Felstead 1991:84 makes a similar deduction," The level of independence enjoyed by franchisees is fragile... while the risks associated with small business formation might be reduced, the risks associated with reliance on a third party are significantly enhanced." The individualism of entrepreneurship provides a vehicle for risk minimisation.

The risks of innovation and entrepreneurship are worth some theoretical exploration. Innovation involves risk because all the parameters of the change cannot be predicted. The entrepreneur is uniquely able to operate in such an uncertain environment. In particular, short chains of command lend flexibility and speed to decisions and adaptations, whilst personal identification and investment demand commitment and sustained effort. At a general level the heuristic abilities of entrepreneurs allows them to be recognisable as masters of bounded rationality; especially where the opportunity costs of obtaining total information are high, or indeed are unavailable. This ability to function efficiently in unpredictable conditions seems therefore to be an important function of entrepreneurship.

Despite the importance of this role such "entrepreneurship" may employed as a device to circumvent the high

costs and problems associated with employing labour and complying with expensive regulations. As Scase and Goffee 1980:16 (quoted in Goss 1991:13) suggest, "in a nutshell small business strategy offers a solution to one of the major problems confronting industry as diagnosed by employers, managers and politicians: that is the management of labour." Judkins et al 1985 describe how Rank Xerox avoided the high costs of replacement labour, running at nearly three times basic wage costs, by "networking". This could be interpreted as passing down costs, alerting us again to the heterogeneity of "enterprise". Scase and Goffee 1982 draw attention to the very different prospects and conditions for the "self employed", those perhaps new or operating on the margins of entrepreneurship in comparison to established small business. As self employed at the very bottom of the hierarchy, they may enjoy neither the rights and security of an employing organisation nor the material benefits accruing from business ownership. Boyle 1994 provides an example of "reluctant" self-employment in Northern Ireland. He describes the vertical de-integration of a dairy company which forced the delivery milkmen to become self-employed.

The self employed building tradesmen, who represent 18% of all self employed in the UK., Scase and Goffee 1982, may, for example, encounter the problems of obtaining work, carrying it out competitively, and finally of getting paid. In each of these situations the "entrepreneur" has little "autonomy", instead acts as a buffer, absorbing risk for larger organisations. Furthermore this risk may be carried personally, or even shared by the family. This is in stark contrast to employment in big business or government service where personal risk is minimised and mutualised.

Franchising offers further examples of how risk is distributed. Ironically banks and finance houses promote franchising on the basis of a reduced entrepreneurial risk. They may fail to point out that the franchiser usually personally guarantees the loans, the labour and the luck! As Vesper 1980:201 confirms, "the biggest profits in the franchise industry have not been made by those who bought the franchises, but those who sold them". Knight 1984:5 found that franchisers invested twice as much capital as independents. Vesper noted that they believed their investment more profitable and less risky.

Management Buy-Outs, where enterprise is backed into ailing businesses to rekindle entrepreneurial fire, redistribute risk downwards. These may also represent a capital escape for big business, as they recoup sour investment by unbundling it and repackaging it into retail sized portions, often these are just about manageable at an individual's level. The high profile success stories of management buy outs may conceal many sleepless nights where the entrepreneur's lifetime asset accumulations are pledged, acting as hostages to continued super-efforts.

Even in terms of "opportunity", entrepreneurship may be a survival mechanism rather than an aspiration. See

for example Vesper 1990. Paradoxically such cases may be cited as morality tales, "hard working enterprising examples". It is interesting to consider small scale tourist operations. For example, Bed and Breakfast or guest houses where the proprietors carry out the historic functions of the servant class, but are able to maintain their dignity and even generate status within the concept of entrepreneurship. Bechhofer et al 1974 provide another example by illustrating the long and arduous hours which may have to be worked to compensate for the low hourly earning rate in small business.

Ethnic enterprise, in particular, is often cited as an example of entrepreneurial achievement. Rarely, however is all the self exploitation which is essential to the enterprise's viability described. This seems particularly relevant as ethnic families may take up the discarded roles of earlier migrants. Sarre 1989:149 describes how the percentage of Indian self employed in the UK rose from 6.5% in 1971 to 18% in 1982 ; by which time East African Asians had 23% in self employment. Even percentages of East African Asian women, at 14%, were equal to white male numbers in self employment. In spite of this growth it should be noted how so many such enterprises are little more than substitutes for low status household, "women's" work. Such business roles must be expected to produce poor returns; they are quite distinct from the capital intensive, technological substitutions, of the self-service economy. For example, everyday cooking and bulk shopping are replaced by the cheap and convenient small ethnic enterprise. The "niche" of ethnic restaurants or corner shop retailing may well be carved out on low returns to labour, and consequently depend on long hours to secure the precarious foothold in the niche.

Brown 1985 noted that two thirds of Asians in business, were self employed in catering and distribution. In such situations where there are low barriers to entry and competition from unpaid labour, costs must be constantly contained. Gershuny and Miles 1983 show how such "service industries" have neither the glamour or growth often associated with the term. Accordingly low profitability is built into the structure of such business; so long hours are required to produce an adequate income level. Both Patel 1988 and Aldrich et al 1984 found evidence of these poor returns. Even more convincing was Ward's 1985 finding that when jobs were plentiful there was little new business development. Relevantly, Ward 1987:91 shows that the promotion of ethnic enterprise, from the point of view of community relations, is more acceptable than direct redistribution of income. This too illustrates how the fable is used and reinforced. As Noam Chomsky said the one third of Third World immigrants "shine the shoes" of the two-thirds, and in many cases the form of ownership is irrelevant.

In reviewing the popular imagery of the entrepreneur the restrictions of the limitations of entrepreneurial

sovereignty and autonomy have been discussed. As Curran 1986:17 puts it "Entrepreneurship is a halo word,...this glamorous label is attached to what often turns out on close inspection to be very prosaic activities indeed." Whilst entrepreneurship may be a ladder to success for some, the entrepreneurial fable can also be a token for the maintenance of the status quo of privilege and profit. The alternative economic implications of entrepreneurship have also been considered. One response of Big Business to pressures on margins has been to pass down risk. So, if we are to accept Hornaday's 1990:248 suggestion that entrepreneurs should be termed "warriors", we must insist that they are very much the footsoldiers of capital, with all the disadvantages that such a rank carries. Thus the popular concept, the entrepreneurship fable, can wear either a white hat or a black one, it is a potent mix of morality tale and a human interest tale. *Pace* Marx, men may make business in conditions not of their choosing.

4.2.4. The Form of Entrepreneurship

It is regrettable that "Political Economy" has become a euphemism for a marxist interpretation. Had it retained its broader original meaning, as Adam Smith might have intended, it would have been a useful descriptor of this section. Political Economy captures the interdependence of the state and economy. Especially how the different forms of political ideology promote particular ideas and concepts as central determinants of the economy. In this instance the discussion evolves around how entrepreneurship has become established in the iconography of the right, lending strength to the notional "entrepreneurship" and "wealth creation" of home ownership; the froth of privatisation and share ownership to provide an ideological top dressing to political action. So that owning "a piece of the action" - as a pseudo-entrepreneur - provides a motivation to maintain the system. Halal 1986 provides an account of the "new capitalism" of the political economy, which according to Harvey 1989:174 identifies Schumpertian entrepreneurial innovation as the driving force within this post-industrial paradigm.

In recent times the government has encouraged entrepreneurial activity. In the UK the post 1979 governments have enthusiastically embraced the concept of individualism as a pragmatic solution to what they argued was the failure of collectivism. If entrepreneurship is economics on a human scale, the friendly face of capitalism, the manageable form of the concept, its promotion logically follows. Curran 1986:17 refers to the owner-manager of small business as, "economic man personified." After all, "Entrepreneurs are" according to Scase and Goffee 1982:12, "custodians of core capitalist values". Thus as Goss 1991:10 explains, "the "new" Hayekians reassert the supremacy of the entrepreneur over the planner."

This is in contrast to the economic ideology of the early post war period which was concerned with bigness. Curran 1986:45 suggests that small was seen as a remnant of an early stage of development. In Britain the flush of success of war time collectivist planning, in agricultural production, in Keynesian economics, in fordist forms of manufacturing and consumption all fostered an ideology favouring "corporate bigness". Even Schumpeter 1947, the "father" of entrepreneurial theory began talking of collective forms of innovation. Nonetheless Burns and Stalker in 1961 concluded that innovation was not suited to state organisation. Despite this, Smelser 1965, was claiming that "super firms" main determinant was not competition but the attitudes of government. This seems to reassert the perceived importance of government actions, almost in spite of the prevailing economic rationality. In terms of the individual the economic hero of the 1960's was "corporation man" Curran 1986:17.

However the economic problems of the 1970's demanded a reassessment of the potential of smaller business. Stanworth and Curran 1973:4 noted a, "challenge to the assumption that the entrepreneurial phase of development is past." In particular the apparent lack of innovation, and what Barrow 1987:22, called the competitive challenge to large monopolistic producers. In the UK the Bolton Report 1971 had shown low numbers of self employed and poor start up rates in key sectors, especially relative to Japan and Germany. Scase and Goffee 1987, add that large firms were too capital intensive for job creation and that major problems of industrial relations had arisen. In contrast, small firms often "shared" their perspectives with their employees.

Lack of innovation was however the major concern. Solow 1957 had found that, in the US, investment, *per se*, could only account for 10% of production increases (1909-1949). Sundbro 1991:161 argues convincingly that innovation theory had moved on from simple technological determinism, the province of Big Capital. Certainly Faberberg 1988:434 showed that determinant technology could only explain 17-28% of national growth rates in a series of countries. Furthermore an Italian survey by Archibugi 1989 found that only 16% of "innovative" firms had organised research and development. The evidence indicated that some major innovative factor, seemingly lacking in Big Capital was required. Growth was not reducible to the mechanistic effects of size or even investment. Enterprise and innovation require innovators and entrepreneurs. Harvey 1989:157 argues, "All this has put a premium on 'smart' and innovative entrepreneurship". As Johannisson 1987:142 notes, "If entrepreneurs are essentially innovators, it is clear that their energies and talents cannot be planned by corporatist institutional processes". Collins et al 1964:16 had argued that, "economic development may be limited by the relative shortage of this critical factor". This shortage was rediscovered in the post 1979 Enterprise Culture.

Cannon 1991 summarises the "entrepreneurial economy" attractions as:

1. Importance of key individuals roles
2. Failure to support enterprise leads to negative consequences
3. More jobs from small enterprises.
4. Small firms have lower barriers to change, better information flows and organic structure.

The pragmatism of politics demands a quick visible fix. Cannon 1991:149 suggests that "enterprise" provided the government with, "a quick publicly demonstrable, transaction based reaction, not a strategic response". The sort of thing that Landes 1969:537 meant by, "expressions of faith wrapped up as a prediction". Enterprise culture offered a nostrum to the perceived problems. It also provides a cheaper alternative to dependency culture and, of course, is nicely tuned to the political ideology of the right. Strangely, confirming the capacity of the enterprise concept, it also appeals to the radical left, for example, Schumacher 1972:246, who can see routes of self achievement and sustainability in small scale enterprise. Klandt 1987:27 provides an interesting German analysis of this leftist recognition of small scale benefits. Yet as Goss 1991:11 claims "The Enterprise Culture's affection for small business is rooted as much in the latter's intangible qualities as in precise measures of its economic effectiveness".

Politically, Bechhofer and Elliot 1985:197, claim "the petty bourgeois are increasingly seen as a source of new jobs and playing an important part in economic change and innovation". This borne out in the UK by Birley 1987, and more controversially in the US by Birch 1979. The point emphasised is the way that ideology created the reality of the enterprise culture. As Belasco 1980:142 suggests it is, "an ideological impulse raised to the level of a basic working premiss". This in turn reinforced the heroic status of the entrepreneur, sometimes to quite astounding lengths, as this press release by the Manpower Services Council, 1987, indicates. Enterprise in Higher Education, "A student should have experience of the real economy and become a person who has belief in his own destiny, welcomes change and is not frightened of the unknown, sets out to influence events, has powers of persuasion, is of good health, robust with energy and willing to work beyond that which is specified, is competitive, is moderated by concern for others and is rigorous in self- evaluation", quoted in Morris 1991. Unfortunately no information is available on the success of promoting such enterprising students!

Crawshaw 1991:104 notes similar "mythologising" in France. A private business school, ESSEC offered the following in an advertisement, "The school will provide... the opportunity to acquire and develop the necessary technical knowledge and human qualities in a culture in which competence, distinctiveness, risk taking and

commitment are essential ingredients to success..La Passion D'Entreprede" Clearly then enterprise and entrepreneurs are ascribed a major revitalising role in the political economy. The Stakhanovite exhortation to entreprende is based on a very flimsy premiss, which is balanced on unproven assumptions.

4.2.5. The Theoretical Entrepreneur

This section is concerned with the role of entrepreneurial theory. It explores the nature of such theorising, arguing that the lack of formal theory and a solid philosophical base creates problems of fragmented and uncoordinated research. The earlier discussion of the ideological loading of the entrepreneurship concept has been at the levels of man-in-the-street populist conception, practitioner justification and the political ideology of entrepreneurial promotion. Confusingly "ideology" itself has become a value laden term. Eagleton 1991, presaging the entrepreneurial discussion, argues that this is because of the variety of meanings compressed into the term. He notes, however that like halitosis, ideology is something the other guy has! Particularly germane to this examination, he usefully distinguishes two broad strands of the traditional use of ideology. The first, that of Hegal, Marx and Lukacs, is preoccupied with ideas of true or false cognition; ideology as illusion; distortion and mystification. The second strand, which is the one explored earlier, is less epistemological than sociological and is concerned with the function of ideas in society. Accepting Eagleton's point 1991:14 that whilst ruling ideologies may actually shape the desires and wants of those subjected to them, they must also significantly engage with genuine hopes and needs, reflecting them in their own particular idiom and feeding them back to their subjects in ways which render these ideologies both plausible and attractive." In short successful ideologies must be more than imposed illusions." Or, promisingly, as Popper 1963:130 puts it, "Myths may contain important anticipations of scientific theory". If it can be granted that the earlier discussion does demonstrate that entrepreneurial ideology is indeed successful, the significant question is raised of why this should be so ? How does entrepreneurship actually engage with the ideologies ?

The point to be made is that we do not really know. We do not have a formal theory of entrepreneurship, no science of entreprenology or of the philosophical supports to sustain the success of the ideology. There is of course, a great deal of excellent substansive theory, knowing "how to do it", or "how it is done." So despite Hoy's 1989:5 claim that entrepreneurship has been legitimised as a field of scholarly discourse there remains a lack of a unifying,

integrating theory to explain the relationships and to cement these disparate practical elements of research. There is therefore a serious risk that the implied theories of ideological motivations, that is those discussed earlier, will be raised to the level of basic working premiss, and eased unexamined into hegemony.

The need for theory in entrepreneurship research is well documented. As Bygrave and Hofer 1991:13 put it, "It lacks a substantial theoretical foundation". For example Smith, Gannon and Sapienza 1989:39 quote Hornaday and Churchill's 1987 conclusion of the need for entrepreneurial theory. They also acknowledge Carsuld, Olm and Eddy's 1986 comments on the lack of theory. Gartner 1989 tackles this need comprehensively. He quotes Daft's 1985 insistence that a theory demands explanation of the variables and their relationships. He also commends Kerlinger's 1973 formal definition of a theory. "a theory is a set of interrelated constructs (or concepts), definitions or propositions that present a systematic view of a phenomenon by specifying relations among variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena" Gartner concludes, "Theory gives a research manuscript meaning. Theory is the heart of a manuscript. A manuscript without theory is just number crunching."

It would seem that if substansive research demands a theoretical orientation, *a fiorti*, entrepreneurial research itself should also have the support of formal theory. According to Gilbert Ryle there is a fundamental difference between "knowing how" and "knowing that". In entreprenological terms this means that we have substansive theory, we know "how", but fail to be able to say we know "that", the context, the generality and importantly, the causality of entrepreneurship. Thus even if we can identify the key variables, and this itself is problematic, we are unable to generalise beyond specific instances without a formal theory. Notwithstanding this lack of formal theory entrepreneurship teaching has been readily accepted by the academic community, whose funding is often dependent on popular perceptions. Indeed the growth of entrepreneurial courses has been spectacular. In the UK Brinks and Vale 1991:131 point to "a proliferation of courses and programmes". Whilst in the US Solomon and Fernald 1991:32 note a 428% increase in entrepreneurship courses.

Despite this, little vindication has been proposed for the study and theorising of what is, after all, a most practical of pursuits. The first point is ontological, our claim for superior knowledge. Theoretical knowledge ought to represent the body of considered opinions, forming a community of arguments. Clearly these need not necessarily agree in detail, but will agree the form of entrepreneurial debate. So that when we speak as "entreprenologists" we draw on the authority of that collective accreditation which licences the intellectual authority of our knowledge. Commonsense is not enough, we may be dreaming, deluded or dazzled by ideology and rhetoric.

Ideology as we have seen is powerful, as Cardinal Newman put it, men would die for a cause who would not stir for a conclusion.

The following sections review academic progress made towards understanding entrepreneurship. Since popular concepts of entrepreneurship seem to celebrate the individual in society, it seems appropriate to initially consider what constitutes this entrepreneurial individualism.

4.3. Entrepreneurial Traits and Characteristics.

Since McClelland 1961 first mooted the notion of some special set of psychological characteristics or personality traits which might distinguish the entrepreneur from non-entrepreneurs the pursuit of those "key" features has been a major preoccupation of entrepreneurial research. Despite accumulating evidence of the limited value of these "features" the alchemists' search for that magic ingredient continues. For example, Sandberg and Gatewood 1991:19 point out the personal characteristics of entrepreneurs were the most popular subject at all the Babson Conferences on Entrepreneurship. Similarly Wortman 1986:296 claims that over half the studies he examined were about these same characteristics. He later, 1986:299, claims that this sort of investigation of entrepreneurial behaviour is so overwhelming it almost precludes any other type of research. This "Methodological Individualism", Esler 1991:87 explains is the doctrine that all social phenomena are explicable only in terms individual's propensities, goals and beliefs.

This section explores the literature of psychological traits, finding that identifying specific entrepreneurial traits and causally relating those identified to action is problematic. It then turns to consider the appeal of this type of research.

4.3.1 Are there Entrepreneurial Traits? There is considerable debate within the literature about entrepreneurial traits. Chell et al 1990:29 note, "the contradictory nature of the evidence for traits". Three contentious areas can be identified. First, do entrepreneurial traits exist; secondly, what are they and thirdly do they cause entrepreneurship? McClelland's original 1961 notion was seductive in its parsimony and simplicity. It contains both cause and effect, "n-Ach" is a characteristic of entrepreneurs, it drives them to do better than their peers. Since entrepreneurial behaviour is different and often does seem to involve extra effort this observed difference is held to be the explanation of entrepreneurship.

Since McClelland a number of other entrepreneurial traits have been identified and the concept

developed. For example, Atkinson and Birch 1979; and in McClelland's later work, 1986; *locus of control*, Rotter 1966, Levenson 1973; *risk taking* and its combinations as discussed by Kilby 1971, Brochkhous 1982 and Carlsud et al 1986. Similarly Kets de Vries 1977 *pschodynamic, deviant characteristics*, Schere's 1982 *tolerance of ambiguity* and Drucker's 1985 *innovator*. As Aldrich and Zimmer 1986:4 explain, "Personality based theories of entrepreneurship posit that people's special personal traits make them prone to behaving and succeeding as entrepreneurs". Importantly these traits are seen as inherent personal characteristics, which are often claimed to be fixed, regardless of circumstances. However all of these traits can also share the criticisms of "n-Ach" as univariate explanations.

McClelland begins by reviewing existing explanations and finds them wanting, his discussion 1961:6 on the will to conquer, the joy of creating goes beyond crude economism. As a psychologist he seeks an individual explanation of entrepreneurship. He is interested in finding how cultural explanations such as Weber's Protestant Work Ethic, or economic ones such as Schumpeter finds its way into the individual's activity. His evidence is based on historical data and as Burns and Saul 1967 agree his correlations between achievement stories and economic growth are impressive. However development of the argument to the stage of showing how n-Ach, or for that matter any of the other traits recognised earlier, become individual determinants of entrepreneurship lacks consistency.

This inconsistency can be traced to a number of implicit assumptions about traits. Churchill 1986:355 quoting Hofer identifies, "the spurious causality of implicit hypotheses". According to Gartner 1988 these seem to be: 1) that entrepreneurs are different: 2) that we can ascertain what these differences are. 3) that we can put this information to good use. The evidence from the literature indicates that each of these assumptions is unsound.

A primary problem is the identification of which are the special, the key traits. In addition to the range already discussed Carland, Carland and Hoy 1992 see the combination of personality, innovation, risk taking propensity and "strategic posture" as decisive. Yet Meredith et al 1982 find no less than nineteen traits of which six are core traits, including N-achieve. Gartner 1985:696 claims that studies show that there are more differences amongst entrepreneurs than between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs. In 1988:57 he remarked that "A startling number of traits and characteristics have been attributed to the entrepreneur."

Clearly one of the problems compounding the difficulty is the lack of common definition of entrepreneurship. If different researchers are looking at different phenomena, it is self evident that results will not

agree. However, even when this is taken into account no clear traits appear. Curran 1986 proposes a continuum ranging from entrepreneurship to management. Whilst this solves the immediate predicament, by capturing the varied essences of the ideal types, the generality falls short of distinguishing specific determining features. Brockhaus and Horwitz 1985:42 reinforce this point, "most of the attempts to distinguish between entrepreneurs, small business owners and managers have discovered no significant differentiating features". Low and MacMillan, in their review 1988:148 summarise, "It can be argued that the wide variations amongst entrepreneurs makes any attempt to develop a standard psychological profile is futile." Accordingly there seems little support for an explanatory Entrepreneurial trait since we cannot categorise and specify what differentiates entrepreneurs from non-entrepreneurs.

4.3.2. Can characteristics produce entrepreneurs?

A second problem is one of causality, whether the possession of a characteristic is both a necessary and sufficient condition to entrepreneur. Gartner 1989:33 sees this as a general problem in trait research, but one particularly concerning sample selection. "Without some clear specification of how and why certain measures represent the "definition" of the entrepreneur, a study becomes entirely tautological." The problem of evidence of causality, of tracing the link between the "trait" and outcomes seems to echo the old functionalist debate. Causality needs to show how one set of affairs explains another. It is not enough to merely show association without an explanatory theory, this could be teleological. Specifically referring to McClelland's hypotheses, Burns and Saul 1967 argue that finding achievement motivation in business is not at all surprising, "after all warlike tribes train teach their children to be aggressive." McClelland's attempt to break out of this circularity is to claim that extra effort, a product of n-Ach, drives the entrepreneur into position. However the problem then arises of differentiating between entrepreneurial success or managerial success. In consequence as Stevenson and Sahlman 1989:103 note, the possession of a "trait" is not a useful predictor of business founding.

Stevenson and Sahlman 1989:103 point out that "Character traits are at best modalities and not universalities, since many successful and unsuccessful entrepreneurs do not share the characteristics identified... while many authors have purported to find statistically significant common characteristics of entrepreneurs, the ability to attribute causality to these factors is seriously in doubt." Low and MacMillan 1988:155 acknowledge that early studies were exploratory and more concerned with description than tracing cause. Later studies do not seem to have overcome this problem, no clear link between the possession of

any given entrepreneurial trait and the establishment of a new enterprise has been established.

Another compounding difficulty in the relationship of traits to business formation is the evidence of change over time and the change of contexts. Brockhaus and Horowitz 1982 quote Churchill's study which demonstrated that five of the characteristics important at start-up actually become detrimental at later stages. Furthermore as Chell 1985:47 points out Rotter's 1966 original concept of internal locus of control was as a learnt behavioural response rather than an inherent trait. As Mischel 1968 notes and Gartner 1989 puts it, "studies have not generated a reliable and valid list of characteristics which are "entrepreneurial" across all situations". Carland, Carland and Hoy 1992, in acknowledging this, propose an index of traits, where a high score can be taken as a high propensity to entrepreneur. This reflects their earlier argument that such traits exist on a continuum. Stevenson and Gumpert 1985 had found unsatisfactory the argument that entrepreneurs had "all or none of a trait". Gartner 1989 is also critical of this, "hard line perspective" and goes on to remark that individuals do not appear to demonstrate consistencies in their behaviour over time and in diverse circumstances. As Chell et al 1991:67 incisively summarise "people adopt various positions according to the dictates of the circumstances they find themselves in."

The arguments in the literature reviewed make a strong case for the rejection of the case for seeking out traits, which are an innate and fixed personality features, and which determine whether or not an individual will entrepreneur. After all as Aldrich and Zimmer 1986:5 note that in addition to there being no empirical evidence for entrepreneurial traits, leadership studies after three decades of enquiry, cannot identify leaders out of context. Their point is reinforced by Stogdill's comment in 1948, that the search for leadership characteristics was futile. So as Chell et al 1991:36 insist even personality is a product of social process.

4.3.3. So why then do only some people entrepreneur?

Although there are no readily discernible characteristics which distinguish entrepreneurs from non-entrepreneurs the need to explain why only some people entrepreneur remains. Chell et al 1990:3 suggest that trait theory has been largely replaced by "inter-actionism", which takes into account the situation and social context. Shaver and Scott 1992:25 see behaviour as a function of both the person and the environment. Low and MacMillan 1988 comment on the need to take account of the organisational context, presaging Chell et al's 1990:68 insistence that it was "not possible to understand fully the behaviour in isolation from its business

context". This point had already been made in other disciplines. For example the anthropologist Frankenberg 1967:58 commented, "Focusing on the entrepreneur as an individual outside a social context will only lead, as it has led economists, into blind alleys." Timmons 1989, in a comprehensive approach, which would have met with Frankenberg's approval, notes that the salient entrepreneurial feature is interactive skills. This is strikingly significant, illustrating the interplay of the entrepreneur and his environment, and hinting at some interdependence. Promisingly Gatewood, Kelly and Gartner 1992, point to new approaches which are to concentrate on the cognitive process rather than personality characteristics. Despite this recognition, the problem of, what Chell 1987 describes as the methodological problem, the difficulty of isolating variables remains.

Shaver and Scott 1992 in support of the "personological endeavour" argue that entrepreneurs are different, people who believe innovation to be possible. Bradley Johnston 1990:48 also defends the research of the individual entrepreneur, "Individuals are, after all, the energisers of the entrepreneurial process." The argument seems to be an overly simplified tautology. It implies that because entrepreneurs are significant economically, they must have specific identifiable characteristics which cause them to entrepreneur. Trait research, without due regard to the environment surrounding enterprise, has not, and indeed cannot, answer the fundamental questions about entrepreneurship. The evidence seems to profoundly contradict Bradley's 1990:50 conclusion, "the lack of definitive research results regarding the link between achievement motivation and entrepreneurship is more likely a result of flawed research methodology than the absence of a positive relationship". Stanworth et al 1989:13 quote Curran 1986, who seems to have captured the flavour of such persistence, "further substantial advances in our knowledge represent a triumph of hope over experience."

As Gartner 1990:27 agrees pointing out that "individuals who believe that entrepreneurship requires special qualities will probably do research that explores these beliefs." Vesper 1980, enlarges on this point arguing that psychology surveys focus upon correlations of averages and norms. But, he claims, entrepreneurs are individuals; so for any one of them these psychological findings may have no significance whatsoever. The point is also made by Bygrave 1990 who adds that individualism is precisely the differences from the norms which seem to characterise entrepreneurship. So the search for norms and averages is potentially self-defeating, the outliers of the normal distributions are rarely statistically significant, despite their key entrepreneurial role. Notwithstanding this, the attraction of research, which is relatively routinized and can produce asymmetric and tangible results, is understandably considerable.

4.3.4 Summary

Trait research has offered a variety of "entrepreneurial" characteristics, none of which seem indispensable to the entrepreneur, but rather appear to be environmentally contingent. The discovery of a law or a universal relationship between psychological features and entrepreneurship seems increasingly unlikely. At best, the literature suggests there may be a "individual's potential to entrepreneur" but the keys to unlock this potential remain obscure. Meantime the recognition of such traits within an individual remain, at best, diffuse probabilist indicators. Further progress in characteristic research must follow Carsrud and Johnston's 1989:28 proposal of, "a path analytical model viewing the effects of personality and motivational variables as they would be mediated by various organisational and situational factors."

In summary the following points about entrepreneurial traits can be drawn from the literature:-

- * Although entrepreneurs appear different, research has failed to find unique key characteristics which exclusively distinguish entrepreneurs.
- * In any case those traits, identified as significant, may change within individuals over either a life cycle or even as a business matures or circumstances change.
- * No satisfactory link of causality has been established between any trait and a propensity to entrepreneur.
- * There is growing evidence of the importance of the interactions between the individual and the environment.
- * Entrepreneurs do not appear to have innate entrepreneurial characteristics, so explanations of entrepreneurship must look beyond the individual.

In conclusion the situation has not changed since Curran's 1986:3 comment, "Despite an enormous research input, an understanding of what makes the small business owner -and especially the successful small business owner- psychologically unique remains elusive."

4.4 Economics and the Entrepreneur

4.4.1 Economics as a System

Where traits research is concerned to pick out idiosyncratic characteristics of the individual, economic theory is concerned to explain the system as a functioning whole. In consequence this "dismal science" offers little explanation of entrepreneurial actions. It treats entrepreneurial activity as a standardised outcome of rationality, explicable as an internal function of the economic system. Yet it is precisely those elements which distinguish entrepreneurs from others, a point central to the research question, which are excluded from most economic analysis. As Kirzner 1983:282 puts it, "The seething market activity that we associate with energetic, bold and innovative decisions has been, in an important sense precisely the element of the market from which it is necessary for economic analysis to abstract." With the notable exception of Schumpeter's analysis, entrepreneurial activity is taken as given.

4.4.2 No room in neoclassics.

Kirchhoff takes up this difficulty of neoclassic theory's ignoring the entrepreneur. He describes neoclassic theory 1991:95 as, "A macrotheory of markets based on assumptions about firms and consumer behaviour and the nature of markets." His concern is the practical implausibility of the application of general equilibrium theory, (GET), the pivot of neoclassicism. First he criticises the assumptions necessary for the concepts of perfect markets, or efficient markets where all traders are seen to have free access to perfect information and knowledge. Secondly, the returns to scale concept, where economies of scale arguments determine the growth of oligarchic organisations, and finally he questions the assumptions of perfect rationality. Following Welsh 1970, Kirchhoff is able to challenge successfully all of these elements of GET.

Kirchhoff's critique is well supported in the literature. Barrow 1987:22 sweepingly remarks, "the classic economists, Keynesian and Friedmanists, consign entrepreneurship to the etherial realm of external forces, along with weather, war etc., thus 70% of economic text books ignore entrepreneurs." Collins Moore and Unwella's classic text 1964:17 concurs, "theoretical economists cast the entrepreneur as a rational man who makes optimal choices in an environment of very limited and highly specified dimensions." Drucker 1985:17 suggests that economists externalise the entrepreneur, "For economists, entrepreneurship is a meta event, something which profoundly influences and shapes the economy without being part of it." He concludes "Modern economic theory be it Keynesian, Monetarist or supply side cannot handle the entrepreneur, he is always external."

In support of neoclassicism Von Mises 1976,1978 argues that economic theory is not an empirical theory.

It is therefore *a priori* true and not to be confirmed by looking at how things are. He compares economics to mathematics, pointing out that we do not expect a mathematician to gather data on table tops, pizzas, balls etc.. Von Mises argument is only reasonable if we confine our discussion to the abstract meta economic theory, but it is *ipso facto* unconvincing at any sort of applied level. As Cole 1959:4 claims, "The economist is uneasy if he cannot imprison his variables in *ceteris paribus*."

Walsh 1970 supports the microeconomic view, that markets are not perfect, rationality assumptions are false and that firms do not act as theory predicts. These challenges do open up a space in a modified GET theory for entrepreneurs, for example, Schumpeter's innovation. Kirchhoff calls this "Evolutionary Economics" and he argues that empirical research is accumulating evidence for this type of Schumpertian economics. Kirchhoff concludes that the persistence of GET is based on its logical rigor and its capacity for mathematical modelling. "GET is both mathematical and policy rich". This applies particularly at government level with the implications for such macrotheory as Keynesianism.

Kirzner 1983:281 says of such economic theorists, "They hardly recognise the importance of a clear and satisfactory analytical identification of pure entrepreneurial activity". Cole 1959:29 suggests that we examine the history of economic thought to find why the entrepreneur has been squeezed out of economic theory. Burns and Saul 1967 make a similar point, that economic theorists, "snatch from the enormous mass of facts called reality a few simple easily manageable key points, and consign the rest to the limbo of *ceteris paribus*". In essence then neoclassic economics simplifies the complexity by excluding the entrepreneurial imponderables from the analysis. As Hirsch et al 1990:40 comments, "the elegance of the models, especially their parsimony is prized".

4.4.3. Enigmatic evidence

The idea that the entrepreneurs activities are no more than a mechanical outcome of some logical imperative lies uneasily with the empirical evidence. As Rosen 1983:301 notes, "the exploits of Ford, Whitney, and countless others have been carefully documented as significantly altering the course of economic progress." Furthermore the contemporary exploits of the Sugars and the Sinclairs seem to attempt the manipulation of the system rather than to be passive economic vassals. Slaven and Checkland 1990 document the remarkable nature of some Scottish Entrepreneurs and their comments also cast doubt on the "mechanistic entrepreneur". As Rosen argues the problem is plainly one of theory, not of fact. Casson 1982:376 proposes, "surely we should be seeking to offer an analytical framework for the interpretation of varied historical experiences, rather than trying to formulate a narrow

historical perspective to which all historical experiences were alleged to conform." Swedeberg et al 1990:77 quotes Robert Merton's concern for such "*post-factum* interpretations" whose alarming feature is their consistency with a given set of observations. To generalise from this point we should be aware that economic theory is an 19th Century phenomenon and shares the concerns of that period for exhaustive explanations. Furthermore it is founded on the Walrasian theory of general equilibrium, which is a systematic conception of the circuits of exchange. Wilbur and Jameson 1983:32 claims that economics seeks "universally applicable hypotheses which transcend institutional systematic and historic variation". As such it is complete, but its reductionism has no room for the entrepreneur. The neoclassic model has all its determinants endogenously defined.

This theoretical integrity has, as Kirchhoff noted earlier, little empirical grounding. The significance of this empirical deficit for this entrepreneurial research lies in Cole's point. Cole 1959:19 comments that while economic conditions may define the problem for the entrepreneur, they do not decide it. Even the marxist economist Jean Robinson in 1942 made the point, "It is fanciful to assume that entrepreneurs are, or ever were committed to the goal of profit maximisation." Thus neoclassic economic theory is a closed paradigm. It models, elegantly it must be conceded, an abstracted sub-system rigidly constrained and isolated from entrepreneurial reality.

Kuttner 1985:78 reports a study by Wassily Leontief, the Nobel Prizewinning economist. This study reviewed articles published in the "American Economic Review" between 1977 and 1981. He found that 54% of the articles used mathematical models without data, and that only one half of 1% were empirical analysis of original data generated by the authors. In later issues of the Journal he found exactly one piece of empirical research and it was about the utility maximisation of pigeons !

4.4.4. Dues ex machina or an accessory ?

A consequence of the tight theoretical integrity and unity of neoclassic theory, is that any explanation of entrepreneurship must be bolted-on, an accessory rather than part of economic theory. Demsetz 1983:273 goes so far as to claim that even the Schumpertian model is a "*deus ex machina* of economic change". This is in spite of Schumpeter's 1934 insistence on the centrality of the entrepreneur. Other "additions" include Knight's point that entrepreneurs deal with uncertainty and subsequently the risk of failure is greater, so that "monopoly" profit is simply a return for uncertainty. Whilst this provides a justification for entrepreneurial profit, it offers little prediction. Schultz 1975, according to Kirchhoff 1991:103, claims that entrepreneurs recognise disequilibrium in the market. The significant point about these analyses are that they are concerned to accommodate the entrepreneur and his atypical

activities within the theoretical system, rather than granting the special explanatory status that the evidence indicates.

Kirzner 1979 explains the neglect of the entrepreneur as a consequence of the system of economics where production is seen as an automatic process. That is a process which has no need for active decision making about ambiguous alternatives. Demsetz 1983 claims that classic and neoclassic economists were simply not interested in economic development. He offers as explanation 1983:275, "An appreciation of how the co-ordination problem of a decentralised economy is resolved would have been delayed if attention had been diverted to the problem of economic change". He further argues that problems of change, in contexts such as imperfect information, are addressable without analytic appeal to entrepreneurs.

4.4.5 Non-linearity and other inconveniences

Bygrave and Hoffer 1991 and 1992, note the non-logical aspects of entrepreneurship. They point out that such behaviour is non-algorithmic and therefore not amenable to the modelling of neoclassic theory, which ignores the problem of human volition. Kirchhoff 1991:105 agrees and also points out, after Boulder 1981, that Schumpeter's theory is Darwinian and therefore not suited to Newtonian mathematics. Casson argues that neoclassic theory is inherently static, and is usually rendered dynamic by simply introducing *ad-hoc* assumptions. Zukin and DiMaggio 1990, make a telling point about rationality in economic behaviour when they ask why economists leave tips in restaurants they only visit once.

The problem of the neoclassic assumption of rationality is not one that can simply be ignored in entrepreneurial enquiry. Indeed, Etzioni, quoted in Anderson et al 1989:27 insists that the problem is the use of rational choice as an explainer. Lavioi 1991:36 insightfully remarks that "profits are not a matter of objective observations of quantities, but a matter of perspectival interpretation, a discerning of the intersubjective meaning of a qualitative situation. Profits are not measured, they are "read".

It seems likely that what is rational for a large firm may not necessarily be also rational for a small business. For example Cannon 1991 discusses "comfort levels", the stage of growth of an enterprise at which an entrepreneur is content and does not seek further growth. Furthermore, if the business was large enough to support decision making professionals, this decision to relax would indeed be irrational. Their task, professional duty and best interests would normally be to continue to maximise profits. The area of individual behavioursim of entrepreneurs is one which does not fit the economic model of rationality.

Given such criticisms on the unrealistic assumptions which are necessary for neo-classic economic theory

to work, we must also consider the consequences of these assumptions. Kirchoff 1991 for example, is concerned that if the system itself is seen to be wealth creating, rather than the very specific function of the entrepreneur, serious misdirection of resources may result. An example of such a viewpoint can be detected in Marx's analysis, and seen in practice in the old USSR, where central planning within the collectivist system produced, "Macro level order and micro level chaos". Further implications include the assumption of an infinite supply of entrepreneurship. This is, of course, quite contrary to the empirical evidence. As Bendix 1956:10 points out successful industrial leadership has been presented as an individual achievement. There are few examples of co-operative wealth creation.

These criticisms are directed to the specific lack of entrepreneurship explanation in economic literature. As such they do not take account of the wealth of generalised economic explanation described within the models and concepts. Significantly economic theory describes a system of simplified and idealised interactions. It could therefore, be seen as providing a descriptive framework, within which entrepreneurs work. Economic theory does not attempt to analyze why rationality and maximisation are deemed to occur, this is beyond the remit of the theory. Instead a system is described which evens out the imperfections that are characteristic of economic progress. In fact such a model lacks the important dynamic elements of reality, it hides the range and rich variety of options and range of routes which confronted the entrepreneur, and this is the very stuff of entrepreneurship.

Schumpeter 1989:146 expresses concern for Walrasian static analysis, "this was wrong, there was a source of energy within the economic system which would itself disrupt any equilibrium". This was of course Schumpeter's oxymoron, the "Creative Destructor", the entrepreneur. Manning 1976:16 argues about the system, "its dynamism derives from the spontaneity of the independent mind and the liberated will". This animation is surely a far cry from the passive reactions of the neoclassic economic respondent. Swedeberg 1991:190 makes the point, "If mainstream economics is ever going to break out of its current isolation.... it will probably be done by economists who have some knowledge of what is happening in the other social sciences". Schumpeter 1908:45 describes economics equilibrium man, "gleichgewichtsmensch". "What a miserable figure he is...he has no ambitions, no entrepreneurial spirit, in brief he is without force and life".

Schultz, the Nobel Laureate and pioneer of human capital theory, briefly mentioned earlier, criticises the economic literature on entrepreneurship on four grounds, 1975:832, which will serve as a summary of this section. First that it is limited to businessmen; secondly that it does not take into account the differences in allocative abilities of entrepreneurs; thirdly that the supply of entrepreneurs is not treated as a scarce resource and finally,

entrepreneurship is neglected whenever general equilibrium theory considerations dominate economic enquiry. Entrepreneurship for Shultz is the ability to deal with disequilibria.

In conclusion the review has shown that whilst neoclassic economic theory is logically consistent, its necessary assumptions about economic behaviour are too rigid and not supported by statistical, historical or observational evidence. As Von Mises 1949:249 comments, "The system is not peopled with living men making choices and liable to error; it is a world of soulless unthinking automons; it is not a human society, it is an ant hill." These points are not trivial, the relaxation of assumptions spoils the integrity of the model and its application in entrepreneurial enquiry. In consequence the economic model offers a poor explanation for the unique behaviour which characterises entrepreneurship.

Wayne Long 1983 identifies three recurring themes in attempts to define entrepreneurship; it involves uncertainty and risk; complementary managerial competence and creative opportunism. Hebert and Link, from an economic perspective, provide the following taxonomy of entrepreneurial classifications. This illustrates the diversity of roles which the literature has identified as the entrepreneurial function. It also demonstrates how the emphasis on different elements of the entrepreneurial functions has varied over history. This suggests that the key issues of economic enterprise understanding have also evolved as conceptualisations of business and its forms have changed. Nonetheless economic explanations provide little help in addressing the research objectives.

4.4.6 A Taxonomy of Entrepreneurs

An entrepreneur is:-

1. The person who assumes the risk associated with uncertainty

(Cantillon, Thunen, Mangoldt, Mills, Hawley, Knight, Mises, Cole, Shackle)

2. The person who supplies financial capital

(Smith, Turgot, Bohm-Bawerk, Edgeworth, Pigou, Mises)

3. An innovator

(Bentham, Baudeau, Thunen, Schmoller, Sombart, Weber, Schumpeter)

4. A decision maker

(Cantillon, Menger, Marshall, Weiser, Amasa Walker, Francis Walker, Keynes, Mises, Shackle, Cole, Schultz)

5. An industrial leader

(Say, Saint-Simon, A Walker, F Walker, Marshall, Weiser, Weber and Schumpeter)

6. A manager and superintendent

(Say, Mills, Marshall Menger)

7. An organiser and coordinator

(Say, Walras, Weiser, Schmoller, Sombart, Weber, Clark, Davenport, Schumpeter, Coase)

8. Owner of the enterprise

(Quensay, Weiser, Pigou, Hawley)

9. An employer of factors of production

(A Walker, F Walker, Weiser, Keynes)

10. A contractor

(Bentham)

11. An arbitrageur

(Cantillon, Walras, Kirzner)

12. An allocator of resources amongst alternative uses

(Cantillon, Kirzner Schultz)

This taxonomy is based on Hebert and Link 1988:152

4.5. SOCIOLOGY

" Sociology was - and continues to be - both a reaction to and a part of the social and cultural changes in which it was involved"

Tony Watson 1987:5

4.5.1. Why Sociology ?

The review of entrepreneurial literature has thus far shown that psychological theories, whilst offering some promise of explanation at individual level, fail to account for the range and the diversity of entrepreneurial traits. Indications are that the environment, those conditions which are outside psychology may help shape potential entrepreneurial propensities. The explanatory power of the neoclassic model in the economic literature is also limited, as it is forced to make assumptions which are a contradiction of observed entrepreneurial behaviour. Curran 1991:xiv sees the problem for economists, who are rooted in rationality, as coping with culture and individual action. Economic rationality is no substitute for the richer and more subtle notions of culture as used in sociology and anthropology.

Accordingly if our understanding of entrepreneurship is to be advanced explanatory models must not treat as exogenous the cultures, those values and social forms which structure individual economic decisions. As Hirsch et al 1990:4 explain "preferences and actions are influenced by the ways people come to understand and value - through socialization and enculturation - different aspects of their world." They go on to suggest that action can be understood by looking at institutions, structures, social norms and cultural values. They add that concepts such as "rationality", discussed earlier as a contentious linchpin of neoclassicism is itself a major subject for research. Economics is thus only one aspect of social exchange. As Sahlins 1967:3 notes, "a material transaction is usually a momentary episode in a continuous social relationship." Marx too, makes a similar point, but rather more grandly, "Capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons, established by the instrumentality of things."

Thus entrepreneurship cannot be understood in isolation from the wider aspects of society. The converse of this is also true, and sociology stands accused of the neglect of the entrepreneur. Marsland 1988:219, in his attack on this lapse of academic sociology indignantly claims, "At the centre of successful capitalist democracies is the entrepreneur. Sociologists neglect or demean the entrepreneur's role unpardonably: imagine a study of the church which made no mention at all of the priest, except occasionally to condemn him root and branch." So a balance between society and the individual needs to be maintained in this examination. As Anderson et al 1989:30 explain, "Utility maximisation is a condensate of economic, moral, political, psychological and culture." The essence of the task seems therefore to unpack these elements and place them in the context of wider society. This is the remit

of sociology, which seeks out patterns, and questions taken for granted assumptions. As Aldrich and Zimmer 1982:6 remark, entrepreneurship is embedded in a social context, channelled and facilitated, or constrained and inhibited by people's position in a social network. Entrepreneurship is therefore a social process and one where the Hegalian point about studying the process, rather than as snapshots is relevant. One could, after all spend a great deal of time studying a caterpillar without having any inkling of butterflies.

4.5.2. Social Economics

Entrepreneurs are individuals, and entrepreneurship is a series of very individual acts. Consequently it may appear superficially illogical to argue that we need to study society to understand individuals. Yet it is only by considering the social roles of entrepreneurship that a full understanding can be reached. Arguably the most eminent entrepreneurial theorist, Joseph Schumpeter, developed the notion of "creative destruction" which has such salience for the production and reproduction of society. Schumpeter was concerned to fit economic theory into a sociological explanation. As Swedeberg 1991:3 puts it, "Schumpeter made the Weberian notion of *Socialokonomik* his own." Importantly Schumpeter distinguished between the rationality of the observer and the object of study. He claimed that all too often economists assume that economic actors behave in a consciously rational manner. From a sociological point of view Schumpeter's main contribution to entrepreneurial theory was his refusal to accept economics as something separate or separable from society.

A common sociological tendency is either to focus on macro structures and events, or alternatively to remain at the level of the individual and his interactions. Marxism is an example of the former whilst symbolic interaction epitomises the latter. Few theories purposefully set out to develop the relationships between these distinct levels of analysis, of structure and of agency. Yet it may be that the interstices of these levels hold some entrepreneurial answers. C. Wright Mills, according to Eldridge 1983:103, is concerned about this relationship, "The private experiences of difficulties.. is something that takes place with its own reality. But to explain how this occurs we have to embark on an institutional analysis." This is the connection between the drives of the individual entrepreneur and the structures for entrepreneurship. Accordingly the most promising theories are those which embed the actor in the structure of society.

4.5.3 Grand Theory

One theory which claims comprehensiveness across the reaches of structure and agency, is Parson's Systems

Theory. Reynolds 1991:50 in a review article, appears to approve of Parson and Smelters' 1956 attempt to fit the entrepreneur into their functionalist system theory. Reynold explains that "AGIL" represents, "Adaptive, Goal Attainment, Integration and Latent." These elements are thought to be necessary functions of any social phenomena. Specifically, entrepreneurship acts as an arbiter between subsystems to maintain equilibrium; it integrates the economic subsystem whilst the latent function is to represent mobility and flexibility. Craib 1989 describes Parson's theory as like a filing system with each series of new folders is internally divided into A,G,I and L without much obvious purpose. C. Wright Mills 1959 is less sympathetic, dismissing the theory as meaningless abstractions, a "Grand Theory".

Cauthorne 1989:29 takes a more positive view of Parson's contribution to entrepreneurship. He argues that the notion of integration, where the entrepreneurial function, or action, is an "integrative subsystem" is useful. He describes Parson's analysis as conforming to Schumpeter's model, where new combinations of the factors of production are evolved. In Parson's own difficult terminology, 1983:37 "deficits at the boundary of the economy and larger society become opportunities". Thus Parsons sees entrepreneurship as a specific mechanism of economic adjustment.

Since the idea of a socio-economic system which includes entrepreneurship, in the light of earlier comments aught be promising, it is worthwhile considering why Parson's ideas appear to fail. Systems theory, after all, held sway in the US for a considerable period. Indeed it is reported anecdotally by American sociologists of the 1960's that Parson's theory was "sociology". Parsons sees society as having a Durkhemian *sui generis* existence. He proposes that society has certain characteristics of its own, separate from and additional to, the sum of the parts of those making up society, a supra-individual entity. The needs of society, supra-individual needs, are satisfied through AGIL. The problem is that such a claim is teleological, if not tautological. The "needs" identified relate to the abstract construction of society. Individuals have needs, but to relate these to a conceptual construction is an ecological fallacy. Furthermore as McCrone et al 1989:13 note Gouldner's 1970 robust challenge to this view of "needs"; needs may simply demonstrate social and collective interests. The old Davis - Moore debate on the inherent teleology of functionalism is relevant here. Bendix and Lipset 1966 provide an effective discussion on the problem. However, even if it is semantically conceded that some "group needs" may exist, for say, group cohesion, the functionalism remains teleological. This is because there is simply no way of knowing that entrepreneurship, or any other social phenomenon, is the best, or indeed the only way of providing this service. Furthermore even if a greater concession is granted, and functional maintenance is allowed conjecturally, there could be no escape from such a system. There

is no mechanism which can change the system. Accordingly this is a curious theoretical explanation of enterprise.

This is a crucial point, striking at the heart of systems theory, the assumption of equilibrium. As Alvin Gouldner 1970:214 says of Parsons, "He has given us only the most primitive analysis of a system, allowing matters to rest very largely with the affirmation that it has the unexamined attributes of interdependence and self maintenance, or equilibrium." In the economics discussion it was noted that Knight argued that entrepreneurs target areas of disequilibrium. Here Parsons specifically portrays them as maintenance engineers who merely lubricate the social and economic systems to maintain harmony. This passive maintenance of the *status quo* differs significantly from the observable behaviour of the entrepreneur, and indeed for the competition and struggles which form any realistic assessment of society. Peet 1991:172 notes that Giddens 1981, Hindness and Hirst 1977 and Booth 1985 all find the fundamental flaw of functionalism, whether Marxist or Parsonian, to be the claim of teleological explanation. Functionalism,"reifies certain social institutions, placing them by metatheoretical fiat beyond human control".

This illustrates the common feature of any theoretical system. If a phenomena is described within a system it is described in terms of its interdependence in that system. This tends to emphasise the system role, but neglects any independent aspects of that phenomena. Accordingly in economic system the entrepreneur was at best a device to maintain homeostasis, and in Parson's social system barely has even have that importance. So although a system theory ought to have explanatory powers, able to relate the individual entrepreneurial effort to society in general, the distortions necessary to portray a "system" excise the idiosyncratic and unsystematic entrepreneur. Mills, who was once described by Edward Shills, as a rough tongued brawler in recognition of his stance against the Parsonian orthodoxy of his time, denigrated systems theory as, "Romantic Pluralism". It certainly offers little enlightenment on entrepreneurship.

4.5.4. Class Structure

The relationship between class analysis and entrepreneurship is complex. Although, according to Newby et al 1981:39, Marx in both the Communist Manifesto and the 18th Brumaire, argues that the petit bourgeoisie are only prevented from becoming proletariat because of property ownership this seems a simplification. Nor is neo-marxist, Poulantzas 1973:243, credible when he claims entrepreneurs are only a supporting class. This seems to confirm Curran and Burrow's point 1987:182 that "because social reality no longer conforms to this model...marxism has to impart essentially ad hoc additions to its theories which operate in an unsynthesised way with the original theory and which only come into operation when the original theory fails." Bechoffer and Elliot 1981:183 are convincing when they

point out that entrepreneurs are different, and that from these differences, "flow the stream of experiences which reflect the material and social lives and the political sentiments of that stratum that sits uneasily between the major classes of capitalist society." Scase and Goffee 1982:10 also note that, "the entrepreneurial middle class consist of several diverse groupings which, nevertheless, share a common feature: the ownership of capital assets." Later 1982:11 they feel able to claim, "Thus empirically, the entrepreneurial middle class is a mixed bag, so are conceptually problematic."

They go on to propose that there are three views of this class. First, that they are removed and separate from the two social classes: secondly that they are part of the post -industrial society or the service economy: finally that they are a legacy of earlier or pre-industrial society. The first of these points, that the petit bourgeoisie do not fit the standard class profiles seems accurate, but this is hardly an explanation of entrepreneurial behaviour. Furthermore the reason for the lack of "conceptual fit" lies within the rigidity of sociological categories rather than in entrepreneurial practice. The second view that the entrepreneur is merely part of the service economy appears mistaken. The service economy, if such an economy can be separated out, was preceded by a robust manufacturing economy driven and initiated by entrepreneurs. It may be correct to say that entrepreneurs service the economy in the assumption of risk and innovation but this an entirely different issue. The final point that they are a vestigial remnant of previous forms of social organisation is transparently wrong. Indeed, as Scase and Goffee acknowledge, the continuity of entrepreneurship and its recent vogue, are themselves concerns of sociological interest.

This "uneasiness" and the "conceptual problematic" complement the notion of marginality within a class structure. Whatmore et al 1991:16 even argue that the farmer, who could be claimed to be the proto-typical petty commodity producer is marginal capitalism. Bechhoffer and Elliot 1981:184 consider that small business was once thought to be outmoded, that the stratum would disappear, that it was politically impotent and economically trivial. Yet this "rump of primitive capitalism" has proven remarkably resilient. They suggest that this may be because it is a "defensible form" of social organisation. Bechhoffer et al 1974 summarise this, "the petit bourgeoisie stratum is the repository of many of the traditional values upon which the capitalist social order was built. The shopkeepers passionate individualism and the moral evaluation of work emerge clearly enough... Moreover, their belief that by hard work and wit you can succeed is crucial to the conception of ours as an open society." Thus at best, class analysis shows the marginality of the entrepreneur; at worst, the contradictory class position may confirm the possibility of class mobility.

Sociological class analysis appears to have little to offer as explanation of entrepreneurship, except to remind us that entrepreneurs are difficult to categorise socially. Curran and Burrows 1987:182 point out that, "the fact that the petit bourgeoisie are so often analyzed as an afterthought, following the "main" classes in modern society, is itself a major reason why ad hoc concepts abound." Sociology is often concerned to note what is common to a group, and to consider how and if, those characteristics held in common have effects. The essential problem is that entrepreneurs do not display characteristic social features and remain in Bechhoffer and Elliot's words, the uneasy stratum. In consequence class analysis is unlikely to provide entrepreneurial explanation.

4.5.5. Social Structures of Opportunity.

There are analytic difficulties in attributing the effects of social structure to the stimulation of enterprise. These centre on the measurement and direction of structural stimulation, encouragement and support. Nonetheless the evidence appears to favour the significance of local structures as a factor of entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurial geographer Mason 1991:99 concludes from his research that traditional factors of location, finance, property, labour and markets play a minor part in the geography of new firm formation. He claims however, 1991:100, that "social factors are crucial." Geertz 1973:49, takes an extreme position "men without cultures are unworkable monstrosities". Gibb and Ritchie 1981:193 go so far as to claim, "entrepreneurship can be wholly understood in terms of the different types of situations encountered, and the social groups to which they relate".

Morgan and Sayer 1985:386, for example, attribute the limited potential for indigenously based regional development in South Wales on the "overwhelmingly proletarian" social structure and the absence of an "indigenous business class". A similar argument about class structure's effects has been made for the West Highlands. Caird and Moiseley 1961 and Forsythe's 1980 Orcadian analysis both hold the lack of an "independent" class as responsible for the lack of innovation. The local heritage of mutuality and undifferentiated individuals, coupled with the multiplex relationships of small communities, inhibits outstanding local individuals.

The Terza Italia provides a illustration of a social structure which is conducive to entrepreneurship. Bamford 1987:12 finds that over 50% of the working population of the area are declared self-employed. She attributes this, in part, to legislative convenience, but also to the local structures. A "neo-localism", peculiarly Italian, has three identifiable sociological factors. First, there is a complex network of family systems; secondly there are traditional forms of work organisation and finally the persistence of local communities. 1987:22 "Industrial districts grow almost by imitation with the work force developing skills and specialities as a result of 'learning by doing'". This confirms Curran and

Burrows point, 1987:164, that "social processes associated with entrepreneurial activity are shaped significantly by different national contexts."

The amenability of cultures to foster enterprise also varies over time. Gutman 1977 notes that, even in the USA, during Teddy Roosevelt's trust busting, there was a general suspicion of all business activity. Hobbs 1990 argues that pre 1979 in the UK enterprise had base associations, and became a term of abuse rather than adoration. Curran 1986:17 notes that the Bolton Report 1971:24, commented, "As to the social standing of the independent businessman, it is our impression that it may be lower than it has ever been." Binks and Vale 1991:9 note that Cantillon, who coined, and burdened us with, the term entrepreneur wrote his definitive essay in an attempt to respectabilize entrepreneurship. Smout 1986:4 shows that the cultural respectability of entrepreneurship was a continuing problem. Writing in 1849, the Revd. Blaikie of Pilrig Free Church, Edinburgh, sought to justify economic individualism in a lecture, "Working people are sometimes apt to envy capitalists and to speak very bitterly against them, as if they sinfully monopolised the comforts of life. But in what way have capitalists obtained their capital? Very generally by the plan now described. Industry, patience, self-denial, abstinence from expensive habits and indulgences, delay in entering the matrimonial state, and other such means, have enabled them to accumulate capital which has grown by degrees to gigantic dimensions. We know of several cases in point. The way is open for others to go and do likewise."

Although, as was discussed earlier the "enterprise culture" was a major movement of the 1980's, the connections between rhetoric and action are difficult to trace. As Curran and Blackburn 1991:4 note, "The usual implied causality between culture and economic structure is, in fact, difficult to establish in any rigorous fashion." This intractable difficulty is illustrated by Berger 1991:2, who argues that the Industrial Revolution was an economic effect rather than a cause of social change. She concludes 1991:15 that culture and economy are "twin-born", the one being a reflection of the other.

Social culture may either hinder or encourage enterprise. As Cole 1959:45 points out that, "most entrepreneurs, like all other social actors, tend to act and react in terms of the social frame in which they are raised and in which they live." The archetypal example is, of course, Weber's 1930 careful analysis of Calvinism and its effect on business. Even Parsons and Smelser 1956, according to Berger 1991:21, argue that role expectations, values and norms of a social climate legitimize entrepreneurship. Other examples include Belasco's anthropological study of the Yaruba, 1980:168. He points out how traditions of late marriage and an "assured" family plot, have allowed young Yaruba men to travel and trade entrepreneurially. Indeed Belasco goes on to argue 1980:176 that

entrepreneurship, "is more to do with individual's access to opportunity than any class related entrepreneurial capacity." He notes 1980:181 the surge of entrepreneurship in post-war USA amongst wartime trained technicians of various trades as evidence of an appropriate culture for fostering enterprise. Nonetheless Berger 1991:21 points out that, "entrepreneurship is demonstrated by historical research to have emerged even in the absence of legitimacy."

Keeble and Wever 1986:7, point out the importance of local role models as evidence of structural importance. Mason and Harrison, in the same volume, remark that local small firms may provide entrepreneurial training. This may be taken as producing a local entrepreneurial culture as well as the more obvious entrepreneurial apprenticeship. Illeris 1986, for example, notes that the importance of small firms in rural Denmark is related to the continued significance of the self employment life style mode amongst farmers, artisans and fishermen because these provide role models.

It is important to observe that whilst a local culture may have local effects, populations are not static. Thus any local cultural effects are open to modification by migration. Furthermore social ground rules may be hegemonic, but they are not immutable. Indeed, if social rules act against the interests of an individual or group they may be circumvented. Untouchables may become Bhuddist or the impoverished may turn to crime. It makes sense to reject such rules and to adopt others which are more instrumentally benign.

Lavoi 1991:35 suggests that for the social sciences, culture is an "aggregative classification" for grouping individuals, and not a substantive theoretical notion in its own right. He notes 1991:36 that "entrepreneurship necessarily takes place in culture, it is utterly shaped by culture, and it fundamentally consists in interpreting and influencing culture. Consequently the social scientist can understand it only if he is willing to immerse himself in the cultural context in which the entrepreneurial process occurs." In the specific terms of this research this highlights the importance of the "rural" context, which, as was argued in Chapter Three, is a specific social context. In particular, to borrow from Weber's model of the Protestant work ethic where work was shown to be "sacrilized", rural work, especially that with appropriate ecological or socially correct overtones, may also be highly culturally significant.

Martin 1989:5 proposes a model of the relationship of the individual and culture. The individual can be seen as within a series of enclosures, rather like a Russian doll. In the centre is the culture of the individual; this is enclosed by the culture of the organisation, which in turn is surrounded by the culture of society. This is helpful in showing that no one "culture" dominates or determines and perhaps suggests elements which may shape an entrepreneur's perspectives. It suffers however, from being rather too generalised. This criticism, of lack of specificity,

can be applied to the rural "gemeinschaft" culture discussed earlier. It describes an idealised rural culture, which if it did exist could have the potential to discourage individualistic enterprise. However its existence, in any tangible form, is moot, and therefore requires careful demonstration as causal before inclusion in definitive analysis.

4.5.6. Social Marginality

Lenski 1954 provides a broad conception of status inconsistency, which explains how individuals may, for example, occupy a high social status along one social stratification which is ill-matched to their occupational status. He proposes four status dimensions, income, occupational prestige, education and ethnicity. So if an individual perceives inconsistency between dimensions they will attempt to crystallize their status by altering their position or by promoting radical social change to alter the system of stratification. Stanworth and Curran 1986:86 suggest a theoretical entrepreneurial role of marginality, which takes account of the individual's attributes and their position in society. They propose that an individual's perception of an incongruity between attributes such as physical characteristics, intellectual make up and social behaviour patterns, and the individual's role, may combine to produce a high level of social marginalisation. Curran and Burrows 1987:165 consider that this structural marginality, with factors such as racism, sexism and credentialism, acts as a process of exclusionary closure. It renders people "outsiders" and creates entrepreneurial feeder groups.

Barth 1963 provides a classic example of entrepreneurial marginality. His anthropological study of Northern Norway shows how local, but non-indigenous, entrepreneurs occupy a marginal social position. He explains how they capitalise on their business positions to consolidate their status and circumstances. Interestingly, they achieve this by optimising on their marginality, their intermediate position, by opening up channels of conversion between the spheres of the strictly Lappish community and the wider society. It seems significant that they do so by utilising channels of conversion, lobbying, votes etc., which are often outside the cash nexus. Paradoxically, these entrepreneurial interventions also improved the ethnic assimilation of the Lapps. Barth notes 1963:16 "acculturation moves towards the assimilation of Norwegian culture and society under conditions of poverty and relative isolation." The entrepreneurs acted as mediators, forming new links between the Lappish periphery and the Norwegian core.

Hobbs 1991 provides a diverting analysis of detectives and criminals in London's East end, "doing the business". These "marginals" use 1991:114 entrepreneurship as an "effective and enduring device that propels and legitimises action." Furthermore, "the presentation of oneself as an entrepreneur remains crucial to full sub-cultural membership." So even CID detectives and habitual criminals borrow from the rhetoric of enterprise a cloak of

ideological and symbolic entrepreneurship which "justifies" their marginal social position. Paradoxically it substantiates the position of criminals within the social structure, whilst also establishing the individualism of the detectives within the uniformed and bureaucratic structure of the police force.

Bechhoffer and Elliot 1981 incorporate marginality in their discussion of the "uneasy stratum". They, 1981:ix, describe and account for the motivation of shopkeepers as, "marginal members of the middle class.. whose unpleasant working conditions are redeemed by independence." Marginality, the incongruity of social position, may be expected to have a role in enterprise, but again the specific outcomes and the direction of cause are difficult to establish. Marginality provides a useful description of a given circumstance, and a potential propensity to entreprende, but falls short of providing a full and sufficient predictive framework.

4.5.7. Entrepreneurial Growth

Boissevain 1980:21 suggests reasons for increases in entrepreneurship. First is the growing awareness that environmental pollution has furnished niches for entrepreneurs to provide natural products for the stomach, the body and the mind. Secondly that the increase in size and power of firms has reduced the relative autonomy of the manager. Consequently many dissatisfied managers strike out on their own. He also suggests that the growing realisation that the quality of life is adversely affected by the disappearance of small shops and local services. Finally he offers the convincing idea that a reduction in scale provides satisfaction and therefore, "many have stepped out and down". Curran 1991:xii fits this into the wider perspective of post-fordism, "the change from 'corporation man' and his alter ego, 'mass consumer'." Thus there is a shift towards the resurgence of small scale economic activity and idiosyncratic consumption, away from massification of consumption to express individuality.

Goffee and Scase 1982:15 add the persuading reason of technological change, in particular the "chip" and cheap software which can facilitate small scale but sophisticated operations. As a consequence of these two contemporary factors, increasing technological enablement and the postulated heightening of environmental dissatisfaction, it may be anticipated that the attraction and possibilities of rural entrepreneurship will also increase. The attractions of rurality have been fully described in Chapter Three and nicely satisfy the lifestyle requirements of those who wish to, "step out and down".

4.5.8. Rationality

We have already noted that Schumpeter had challenged the assumption that rationality is limited to the strictures of economic rationality. Newby et al 1981:39, in considering the role of the small farmer in contemporary

class structure, observed that an emergent theme was that the small farmer's rationality could not be easily understood in purely utilitarian terms. They found that these farmers had a set of values and beliefs which were moulded by the local social structure. Thus rationality should be seen as inconstant, varied and contingent on the context.

This may be contrasted with traditional economists' rationality, which is described by Greenfield et al 1979:4 as "more interested in the institutional processes and arrangements that produced and sustained states of equilibrium in the "market" than they were in the dynamics that changed that equilibrium". Mommson 1989:38 argues that capitalism is based on formal rationality, enforced by market competition. This is essentially Weber's point, of the need for increasing rationality within our progressively complex society. Thus we could expect that there would be an immanent tendency within capitalism to work towards the ossification of business and consequently social structures. Given the convincing power of this argument, the unfolding picture is one of increasing rigidity in social and economic structure, Weber's "iron cage".

Nonetheless, the conclusion reached in section 4.4. was there had to be alternative economic rationalities. If we are to understand economic change we should recognise that there are rationalities which extend beyond profit maximisation and impinge into social arrangements. Adam Smith made this very point when he explained why rich men chose to buy baubles and trappings, which had little obvious value for the less well-off. Veblen's point about conspicuous consumption is also relevant. This argument could be developed to show that there may be further alternative rationalities, more attuned to social conditions. Rationalities which value quality of life, or of environment are nowadays more likely to intrude into the social structure.

Rationality is not a fixed form of explanation and different, even opposing rationalities may logically co-exist. The determining factor of rationality is the world view held by the proponent of each rationality. Weber 1930:48 calls these, "concrete genetic sets of relations". Weber takes care to point out the rationality of modern capitalism 1930:51 is a particular ethos, "It is not mere business astuteness." James *et al* 1987:6 discuss this point in a modern context. Their theme is that "plural rationalities" of attitudes towards nature is explained since, "each view is perfectly rational given his or her conviction of how the world is." They illustrate their argument by showing that the opposing perspectives on nature, deep green with "nature ephemeral and catastrophe imminent to laissez-faire with nature benign and a natural equilibrium", are based on very different propositions. Consequently the different rationalities 1987:14, "bestow credibility, legitimize and strengthen their own position and preferred policies." Parsons in the end notes of his translation of Weber 1930:193, makes the same point, "A thing is never irrational in itself, but only from a

particular rational point of view. For the unbeliever every religious way of life is irrational, for the hedonist every ascetic standard, no matter whether, measured with respect to its particular basic values, that opposing asceticism is a rationalisation". Parsons concludes, "If this essay makes any contribution at all, may it be to bring out the complexity of the only superficially simple complexity of the concept of the rational." So as Weber noted 1930:26, "what is rational from one point of view may well be irrational from another." James *et al* conclude that no rationality is "right", but merely appropriate for the task in hand. From their discussion it is possible to see the limitations of a narrow economic rationality as explanator of entrepreneurial actions.

4.6. The Metaphysical Entrepreneur

"I would suggest that successful entrepreneurship is an art form as much as, or perhaps more than, it is an economic activity, and as such it is as difficult as any other artistic activity to explain in terms of original method or environmental influence" Livesay 1982:13

It may seem incongruous to attempt to integrate dreams and entrepreneurs, particularly since previous sections have emphasised the entrepreneur and action. Yet this action may include the translation of dreams into reality. Dreams and fantasies may provide a fertile seed bed of possibilities, so part of the entrepreneurial role may well be this conversion into reality. Clearly exploring dreams has methodological problems, in particular, the demonstration of cause and effect. However this difficulty does not remove the need to consider how dreams may shape entrepreneurship. The awareness that dreams or fantasy may have an effect on economic activity, may be a necessary "sensitivity" in the sense required of grounded theory.

It has already been demonstrated that entrepreneurship need not follow conventional "rational" lines. Even the rationality of Max Weber's Calvinistic entrepreneur was founded on the metaphysical calling. Indeed the authority of Weber's "charismatic leader" transcends cold reason in the leaps of logic required of such leadership. Schumpeter's "creative destructor" requires the replacement of a current reality with an imagined future. Keynes 1936:161, whose theories were borrowed to support state-led economic growth, recognised "animal spirits". He claimed that investment decisions were not grounded in reason, but are irrational and subject to irrational forces. Investment decisions, "can only be taken as a result of *animal spirits* ... and not as the outcome of a weighed average of quantitative benefits multiplied by quantitative probabilities." He argues 1936:162 that, "we must have regard, therefore, to the nerves and *hysteria* and even the digestions and reactions to the weather of those whose spontaneous activity it largely depends." (my emphasis) Both Kirzner 1979 and Shackle 1979 argue that the entrepreneurial role is one of perception. As Shackle puts it the entrepreneur creates opportunity from his imagination, 1979:26 "the creation of his own thought".

There are two facets to this metaphysical fabrication, of creating a concrete form from dreams. The first is inwardly directed to the entrepreneur and is about ambitions and aspirations and how entrepreneurship becomes the method of self-realization of these dreams. It is argued that these dreams may have material implications for the way the business is operated. The second aspect is outwardly directed and concerned with social and economic change. In this aspect entrepreneurship may provide substance for the dreams of others. Here the entrepreneur may recognise

potential for change and provide the vehicle for producing these changes.

In practise the two aspects are inevitably intertwined. Entrepreneurship is a social process within which in realising the aspirations of others the entrepreneur hopes to realise his own ambitions. Adam Smith referred to this process when he discussed how the tokens of the rich became the basis for general wealth. Veblen 1925, Hirsch 1977, Bourdieu 1977 and Bocoock 1993 provide wider contemporary analytic reviews of the process of differentiating consumption.

Within socio-economic change dreams and intangibles appear to be increasingly important. Ward 1991:182 comments on the number of elements impinging on economic development but "chief amongst them are the notions of fragmenting of ideas and lifestyles and the elevation of the symbol over substance in the everyday nexus between material consumption and its associated meanings." Bocoock 1993:50 argues that these images, "the important point is that consumption has taken off into an almost ethereal, or hyperreal, symbolic level." Swedeberg 1991:159 recalls that the entrepreneur is always creative, so that entrepreneurship may be an appropriate method for the provision of these lifestyle images. It is undoubtedly one which is particularly relevant to the theoretical orientation of this study, structure and agency in the reproduction of society.

4.6.1 Post Material Production

It is persuasively argued by, amongst others, Toffler 1991, that we live in turbulent times. The arguments and theories of these changes vary considerably but all conjecture a discontinuity from the past; post-industrial, Bell 1973; post-structural Bourdieu 1977, Miller 1987 and Baudrillard 1988; post-fordist, neo-fordist or flexible specialisation, Piore and Sabel 1974; the end of organised capital, Lash and Urry 1987; late capitalism Mandel 1975; all these have the flavour of a *fin de siecle*. The broadest of these conceptualisations is postmodernism. It would be inappropriate to become entangled in the debates about postmodernism. Harvey 1989:x for example, refers to the, "mine-field of conflicting ideas". Later he comments, "No one exactly agrees what is exactly meant by the term." McCrone 1992:3 describes it in contrast to modernity, which he claims "is associated with industrialism and organised capitalism...post modernity focused on consumerism and 'disorganised' capital." "Modernity", was founded on rationality and rational behaviour in its narrowest sense. McCrone's descriptions sparkle with phrases such as, "the multiplication of contacts and constant flow of messages." Arguably our postmodern world is increasingly shaped and shaken by the production of images.

As a society we have become so accustomed to symbolism that there is confusion over what is real.

People queue to experience the ersatz world of Walt Disney, or to look at the plaster shop fronts of Coronation street. The epitome of this disarrangement was in "Kuoni Magazine", an advertising brochure sent out to tantalize the sated with images of exotic places to visit. This visiting "experience" is shown by Urry 1992 to be quintessentially postmodern. The advertisement for the Seychelles proposes, "visitors dipping their toes in the warm waters of the Indian Ocean and relishing their role as actors in the "Bounty Bar" commercials." It is difficult to establish what was the reality offered, whether the hedonism lay in the tropics or in the role playing of a television advertisement. This example confirms the imploded images of postmodernity, and the confusion of the signifier and the signified.

The entrepreneurial role may give substance to these images, it can recognise and make concrete the fast moving ideas of postmodernism. Baudrillard 1988:24 argues that consumption is no longer limited to material process, it is an idealist process, that it is ideas which are consumed, not objects. The comments made earlier on the flexibility of small business show how reactive small business can be to change. A similar point was illustrated in Chapter Three by the rural estate agent who claimed that he did not sell houses, he sold dreams. The spirit of postmodernism is fragmented, fast moving change and entrepreneurship is closely connected to change. Eagleton's 1987 description of the, "laid-back pluralism of the post-modern," gives an indication of the range of entrepreneurial opportunities to commodify these images, to realise the dreams of others. It also indicates the potential range of entrepreneurial forms.

So dreams may excite possibilities for enterprise and entrepreneurial potentials. The unbounded limits of the imagination are creative. Significantly they have little downside, and are therefore convenient and beneficent precursors to enterprise. The postulated sequence must, however remain speculative. There is no satisfactory way of ascertaining how or which, dream or image influences entrepreneurship. Nonetheless, within a research paradigm which espouses *verstehen* as an analytic tool, it would be imprudent to ignore such possible metaphysical configurations of enterprise. In particular, within the fertile images of rurality described in Chapter Three, the results of these images may be particularly significant. Dreams may be the antidote to Weber's "disenchantment of the world". They are the entrepreneurial antithesis of Marx's "all that is solid melts into air." Dreams, which are synthesised from that same air, may give substance to the nebulous image. They allow, pace Marx, a man to be a fisherman in the morning, a carpenter in the afternoon and a literary critic in the evening. Dreams may be inspirations. The ability to visualise the form of these ideas, and to give them a reality is explored below.

4.6.2. Dreaming and Deeds

The argument of this section is that dreams may be a precursor to enterprise. Since fantasy is not based on economic rationality the unfolding enterprise may also be rooted in grounds other than conventional rationality. The entrepreneurial dream may, for instance, originate in concerns for quality of life, or of self determination, aspects which are distanced from the cash nexus. Accordingly fantasies may shape the purpose and objectives of the new business. The enterprise may be a means to achieving a fantasised end.

Dreams are a raw material of enterprise, very often what has to be created entrepreneurially presents a formidable task, yet the freedom of fantasy allows gratifying impressions to develop in comfort and safety. Dreaming permits a freedom to roam over possibilities and potentials without cost. Importantly it allows the first heady fruits of success to be savoured in a risk free environment. Moreover, because the end results can be envisaged as a stream of benefits, which may play down difficulties, dreams can provide a major impetus to realise these fancies. The surreal world of dreams is irrational, illogical and one without limit, where everything is possible.

Johnston 1990:40 refers to McClelland 1961, pointing out that he claimed that the analysis of fantasy is the best way to assess motives. Johnston then suggests, "It is the fantasies of the person, his thoughts and associations which give us his 'real inner concerns'." So dreams and entrepreneurial motivations are clearly linked. Gilder 1984:132 adds that, "the most fertile margins of the economy are always in people's minds, thoughts and projects yet unborn to business." Schumpeter 1934 talks of leaps of perception, whilst the lateral thinking of De Bono depends on imaginative, illogical conceptual shifts. Johannisson 1990:23, rather more prosaically, refers to Weick 1984 and Lessman 1984, noting how an entrepreneur's bias for action means that the environment is enacted by way of experiential learning, but guided by a vision.

Dreams flow into ideas, ideas into images and the dreamer may be able to translate these images to realities. Even Albert Einstein is reported, *The Daily Mail* 21.3.94, to have first dreamt the Theory of Relativity. It is the nature of entrepreneurial work, action, to convert images into realities. Of course, not all dreams become concrete, but as a seedbed of possibilities they are inimitable. Nonetheless this construction may help explain the hopeless impracticability of some new ventures, as well as accounting for the foresight of the successful.

Stanworth and Curran 1973 provide confirmation of this entrepreneurial construct. They model the progression and development as, from fantasy to fulfilment, and are able to demonstrate how this process may affect the shape of the emergent firm. They argue 1973:101, "a goal ranges from "fantasy" to "aspirations", to "satisfaction".

They show how these goals vary with the age of the firm and may be represented as the latent form; the emergent form; and the manifest form of the "goal". Furthermore, "goals have a curvilinear relation to its basis on the basis continuum," 1973:102. In other words, in its latent-fantasy identity the goal has little impact on current role performance, but as the goal becomes emergent and its basis inspirational, the goals impact increases until it becomes a major determinant of the role performance. Significantly they add, 1973:104 "many of the goals based on the latent artisan latent social identity are inconsistent with profit maximisation." Again we are confronted with the powerful argument for a variety of rationalities, which are in turn, inspired by different goals or objectives.

The aspect of inspiration and objectives was exemplified, not in the literature but in discussion with Ursulla Kraus-Harper, who is researching small scale business opportunities and practices amongst women in West Africa. She described how their very restricted aspirations are bounded by their poverty, their lack of opportunities and how these immediacies shape their outlook. She said, "They have no dreams." She meant that these women are so overwhelmed by day-to-day imperatives, that entrepreneurial advancement was beyond their imagination. So even dreams need some social and economic footing. In the west however, dreams provide a visualisation of the structures of opportunity.

4.6.3 Entrepreneurship as an Economic Art Form

Another theoretical incongruity which arises in these conjectures on the metaphysics is the similarity in the creative activities of the artist and the entrepreneur. To borrow Baudelaire's 1981:435 formulation, the artist is someone who can concentrate his vision on ordinary subjects, understand their fleeting qualities, and yet extract from the passing moment. Or as Harvey quotes Bradbury and McFarlane 1976:27, "it is the one art that responds to the scenario of our chaos." Harvey again, 1989:22 "The struggle to produce a work of art, a once and for all creation that could find a unique place in the market, had to be an individual effort forged under competitive circumstances." Each of these comments could be describing entrepreneurship rather than art. This seems to reflect Sexton's 1985 concerns in, "The Art and Science of Entrepreneurship". Nisbet 1976:95, in his explanation of sociology as an art form, claims that "painters and sculptors were engaged in endless effort to capture flux, motion and energy." He calls this the principle of *vix genatrix*, a notion of motion and constant continuous development. Yet this description aptly describes the entrepreneurial process.

Koestler 1980:364 draws attention to the links between conceptualisation and creation. He provides some evidence of the range of creative forms. "In 1945 Jaques Hadamard's famous enquiry amongst American

mathematicians produced the striking conclusion that nearly all of them tackled their problems neither in verbal terms or algebraic symbols, but relied on visual imagery of a vague and hazy nature." He continues, quoting Carlyle "the infinite is made to blend with the finite, to stand visible, as it were attainable here." This latter expression seems to capture the essence of enterprise, although Koestler's remarks are directed to art.

Nisbet 1976:111 discusses rationality, "the imposition of end-means criteria not only upon thought but upon art, science ...it implies the exclusion from thought or act of all that is purely traditional, charismatic or ritualistic." He is clearly dissatisfied with this "scientism", he derides it, as science with the spirit of discovery and creation left out. Kepler is reported, "the roads by which men arrive at their insights into celestial matters seems to me to be almost as worthy of wonder as those matters themselves." He concludes 1976:76 that "We live in a world of ideas." So entrepreneurial creation appears to share a great deal with artistic production and might be thought of as an economic art form.

Figure 4, Entrepreneurial Explanations and Accounts, is an attempt to categorize the varied phenomena associated with enterprise. Despite the heterogeneity, diversity and chaos of the entrepreneurial notion it shows how these can be related to socio-economic assumptions. The key problematics of these assumptions are then identified to provide a theoretical underpinning for the discriminating collection of field data.

ENTREPRENEURIAL EXPLANATION and ACCOUNTS

PHENOMENA	ELEMENTS	CONSTRUCT EVALUATION	EMPHASIS	KEY ISSUES & PROBLEMATICS
<u>ENTREPRENEURIAL CULTURE</u>				
Philosophy of Achievement Friendly face of Capitalism Personification of Economic man Custodians of core capitalist values	Cultural fable Formless demonstration Political expediency Populist perception <i>(utility of the construct)</i>	Ideology of wealth creation	normative representation	naturalistic fallacy, entrepreneurial exceptionalism
<u>ECONOMIC</u>				
Innovation Risk Assumption Instrumentality Economic leadership Coping with uncertainty Coordination functions	Economics as a social sub-system Small business as prototypical form <i>(instrumental role of the entrepreneur)</i>	Theories of value creation	economic rationality	multiple rationality entrepreneur is contingent
<u>SOCIAL</u>				
Open society Social Mobility Integration System Maintenance Legitimation	the individual in the socio-economic context Opportunity structure <i>(social process)</i>	Justification of value extraction	social structure	social variability entrepreneur is "chameleon" and relational
<u>SELF</u>				
Self realisation Aspiration Independence Autonomy Individualism	Motivations Achievements <i>(idiosyncrasies of the self)</i>	self satisfaction as purposeful	individualism	idiosyncratic objectives and action

ENTREPRENEURIAL EXPLANATION

FIGURE 4

4.7 Conclusions: The protean entrepreneur

The purpose of this section is to consolidate the information which has been gained from the critical examination of the literature. It is argued that we can best understand entrepreneurship by comparing it to a cake, or rather to cakes. Cakes, like entrepreneurship come in a variety of forms. Types of cake range from simple oatcakes to elaborate gateaux which may contain a mixture of different ingredients. Furthermore they can be prepared in a diverse variety of different methods, yet nominally they are all cakes. The literature indicates that this is also the case with entrepreneurship. What we call entrepreneurship has a variety of forms; it too can be constituted from a number of ingredients and can be made "baked" in a number of different ways. The value of this comparison is the recognition that the nominalist category masks the variety of idiographic meanings and constructions of entrepreneurship. So that it has come to be an idiom which confuses rather than clarifies.

This nominalism is demonstrated by the problems of definition. Yet the ambiguity is convenient. We saw that in populist and the New Right political terms "entrepreneurship" is a malleable concept which adeptly fuses with the shift from a Keynesian macro approach to the fragmented individualistic "enterprise culture". "Entrepreneurship" as a concept, may therefore be politically contingent. This contingency however, has little specific effect on enterprise *per se*. This is manifested by the persistence of individual enterprise over an enormous variety of political situations. The review also revealed the intrinsic power of vague conceptualisations, not simply as rhetoric exhortations, but as a constitutive force which reflects the social order. The circularity of the fable meant that little progress was made towards establishing a delimiting definition of entrepreneurship. The range of attributes and qualities associated with enterprise, and in consequence, the working definitions of entrepreneurship, are themselves a product of the goals, circumstance and interests of who is doing the defining. Thus to return to the confectionary metaphor, what we call a cake or "entrepreneurship" was shown to be contingent on the definer. As Kirchhoff 1991:64 noted the acceptance of a definition first requires a unifying theory and this is lacking.

Yet this "contingency" runs deeper as is illustrated by attempting to develop a list of essential ingredients, which seems to be the focus of the academic disciplines. As Kirby 1971:3 points out the importance given to the entrepreneur is "strongly conditioned by the particular scholar's field." Reynolds 1991:67 suggested that this may be because, "no one discipline or conceptual scheme can provide an adequate understanding of all aspects of entrepreneurship." Yet by focusing on separate aspects the inter-dynamics of the entrepreneurial process is neglected. The cake is the sum of the ingredients cooked together rather than simply the sweetness of the sugar. It is this

combination which provides the "magnificent dynamic", Frankenberg 1967:82, *pace* Schumpeter 1934, which shows that the entrepreneurial function is central to change, but changes the system, as well as changes within the system. The dynamics of change are an essential feature of capitalism, without change there can be no growth. Thus the cake is a product the ingredients, but the final results are contingent upon the skills of the baker and the equipment as well as the raw ingredients. Consequently it is the whole process of baking, or enterprising, which creates the cake.

The academic disciplines have focused on different parts of this process. Psychological models gave convincing accounts of the special skills of baking, for example locus of control and n-ach. But these take insufficient account of the conditions required for the use of these skills. The possession of "traits" may be an entrepreneurial condition, rather than a specifiable set of precursors. Economic theories described the mixing process very well. Economic analysis, which although it considers process, was also shown have a very specific and limited level; process within the economic system. This results in a high internal level of theoretical integrity, but at the cost of treating the vitalizing individual elements of the entrepreneur as exogenous to the system. The construction of the elegant solutions of economic theory eliminates the many dimensions of human and entrepreneurial agency. However, the historic behaviour of entrepreneurs was not systematic and is not amenable to "systematic" analysis. As Ronen 1983:30 puts it, "The entrepreneurial function eludes analysis, it itself is non-standard and cannot be standardised." Or Von Mises 1949:253 " the outcome of action is always uncertain, action is always speculation." Economic theory can be stretched to include the entrepreneur. Kirzner 1982:273, for example, in relating growth and the entrepreneur, considers that the entrepreneurial function to be, "to notice what others have overlooked". This might suggest a very marginal role for the "economic entrepreneur", merely tidying up the fringes of economic change. As Kirzner insists, entrepreneurship is about making brand new markets, pushing out the circuits of exchange. He notes 1985:22 that entrepreneurial alertness, which he considers a key entrepreneurial characteristic, is not a scarce resource like any other. Consequently it cannot be treated as a maximising problem. "It is not an ingredient to be deployed in decision making: it is rather something in which the decision itself is embedded." So the entrepreneurial "cake" is more than the ingredients and the results cannot be accurately predicted from the process of mixing these ingredients. The literature showed that economic action was contingent upon circumstances outwith the economic model. the variety of potentially configurative rationalities are themselves contingent upon the entrepreneurial environment.

This indicates that we have to relate the "baking" to the kitchen, the social milieu in which enterprise is created. So that sociology seems to offer the most effective form of analysing entrepreneurship. Stewart 1991:75, for

examples notes that " entrepreneurship is a social and cultural process". Bhaskar 1984:22 captures this process by describing how society provides raw material, human beings, (entrepreneurs) act on it, and societies (businesses) come out at the other end. (my addition in brackets) He adds that the outcome of social agents actions and its effects demonstrates that there is no simple relationship. Treating society as "raw" entrepreneurial material shows how it can be "cooked" by prevailing cultures. Sociology is able to show the entrepreneurial role as an agency of change within a social structure. "By considering meanings, ideas and the interpretations of human beings," Watson 1987:10. Importantly it makes few claims of direct causation, or even of a predictable causal chain. Sociology recognises the contingency of changing circumstances.

The review found that the convincing examples of sociological explanation of entrepreneurship had the common thread of change. As Scott 1976:2 suggests "Entrepreneurial activity, far from being solely a feature of western industrial society, may in fact be a generalised social role which, whilst varying in detail according to the particular cultural environment, is a universal mechanism for the transfer and application of new ideas." Barth 1963, as a specific example, described a process of socio-economic change by explaining the entrepreneur's role in the adaptation of change to local circumstances. Specifically he showed how entrepreneurs drew value from different spheres, thus emphasising the connectivity between a local culture, economics and the entrepreneur. In contrast, Weber's 1930 analysis showed how the macro levels of society, via economics, were modified by entrepreneurial individuals. Importantly the rational, and the values inspired and generated entrepreneurially at an individual level, extended beyond a simple economic rational. Despite the gross economic implications for capitalist structure, the impacts of enterprise were produced from the interdependence of beliefs and actions.

What is common to the sociological analyses is change, although the directions of causation are seen to be variable. Furthermore, contingency, the adaptability of entrepreneurship to deal with changing circumstances, is a theme which runs through all the academic analysis. As Barth 1963:6 puts it, it is not persons or roles but "aspects of a role". In Barth's example entrepreneurship is a mode of exchange. There can be no rule following because there can be no rules in such contingency. Bartlett 1988:32 expresses the relationship of change and the entrepreneur, "The entrepreneur tries to anticipate change, ideally he should be its author." Or as Drucker 1985:25 confidently states, " This defines entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur. The entrepreneur always searches for change, responds to it, and exploits it as an opportunity." The subject area of entrepreneurship is therefore clearly change.

However the contingent forms of entrepreneurship make it difficult to define or detail in any specific and

exclusive way. Prediction, in consequence, is impossible. Entrepreneurship is fluid and flows to the cracks and interstices of change in society. Entrepreneurship is therefore a process, the transition from "a" to "b", but it is a fluid transition, one where "a" itself is highly contingent and circumstantially dependent. Indeed the process may even induce change within the individual, a metamorphosis producing the entrepreneur from latent ability. Thus entrepreneurship is shot through with change; changing individuals; created from changing circumstances and producing entrepreneurially wrought change. Consequently it is unsurprising that definition has proved elusive. Entrepreneurship is, pace Marx, in the last instance economically determined, but is however, a social production. Entrepreneurship is therefore seen to be contingent on an overlapping series of circumstances and, importantly, the interaction of these circumstantial factors. These include the individual's propensity to entrepreneur; the local economic situation, since at root, continuing enterprises depend on economic viability; and the social milieu in which the enterprise is embedded.

4.7.1 Entrepreneurial Work: The chameleon

This section is concerned to show the range of work which can be considered entrepreneurial, as Vesper 1980 remarks, the varieties of ways of working at entrepreneurship, is enormous. It is argued that this diversity and flexibility is a fundamental characteristic of enterprise. It is the ability to blend into the prevailing conditions and yet to produce value from them, this recognises and demonstrates that these different situations merge into entrepreneurship. Logically it follows that if entrepreneurship takes the shape of its environment, enterprise will be difficult to identify as something different and separate from these surroundings. Stanworth and Curran 1973:13, comment on the variety of small business and this problem of identification. "Research into small business may not be attractive because the great diversity, individualism and number of small businesses means that valid findings with wide application are not easy to come by." Thus it is argued that the definitional problems of entrepreneurship are exacerbated by this chameleon like quality.

Enterprise is induced from local factors. What Marsden et al 1993:130 refer to as "the sociology of translation", to describe the process of how key actors draw on strategic and local resources. Consequently, as a process, it is not separable from its environment. We simply cannot isolate entrepreneurship because it is a product of change, it is part of the reproduction of society. So entrepreneurship itself, may be transitory and fleeting. The resulting "enterprise", figure 4.7.1, is the reproduction of society and has a more permanent, and more readily analyzable, form.

These local factors determine the nature of what is entrepreneurial work. As Cannon 1991:5 explains "The variety of situations in which enterprise can emerge is reflected in the different ways in which it can be manifested." Entrepreneurship has a infinity of forms, which are contingent on the particular mix of prevailing factors. In consequence the entrepreneurial form is composed of these same features. Bechhofer and Elliot 1981:187 summarise neatly, "the petit bourgeoisie are like a chameleon, taking its colour from its environment". We might add that, just as we cannot define the "colour" of entrepreneurship, its shape is equally impossible to predict. The different forms are also protean, moulded by the interacting variety of "ingredients".

Furthermore the range of entrepreneurial work, the diversity of tasks which are seen to be entrepreneurial, inhibits any easy exclusive categorisation. Entrepreneurship has been shown to be a process, rather than an event, which involves change. Change, which is not only the basis for entrepreneurship, but change which affects the entrepreneurial activity. Consequently the argument developed is that this definitional failure is not a methodological lapse, but is instead a product of the essential nature of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship is demonstrated to be an highly variable economic process which is formed and contingent upon the individual within his social circumstances.

Consequently a case is argued that any worthwhile study of rural entrepreneurship must take into account the broadest accounts of what comprises entrepreneurship. It must also attempt to recognise how and why they entrepreneur, since cause and effect interpenetrate within the entrepreneurial process. Furthermore as Hebert and Link 1988 argue the realization of entrepreneurial behaviour changes the conditions which encouraged it in the first place. Finally it must acknowledge the myriad forms of enterprise, and attempt to relate these different kinds of enterprise to the social milieu from which they have developed. Consequently the entrepreneur is "protean", taking its shape from the environment and is a synthesis of change.

4.7.2 The Protean Entrepreneur: a model

The review has shown why the concept of entrepreneurship is problematic. It can be based on fudgy emotive impressions, unintegrated research and an elusive entity which produce serious ontological and methodological problems in simply answering the research question, of what it is that rural entrepreneurs do. The theoretical orientation of structure and agency has provided a background which illustrates the integration of entrepreneurial agency and structure in the reproduction of society. However it has also illustrated the complexity of the concept. Entrepreneurship has been shown to be contingent on a variety of factors which influence the operation of the process. Furthermore, this realm of contingency has raised the question of entrepreneurial exceptionalism. This is the point that

entrepreneurship is inherently fluid and therefore cannot be predictable. This fluidity is related to the very nature of entrepreneurship. The thesis is therefore that entrepreneurship is protean, changing its shape to suit the particular environment.

Notwithstanding the latitudes discussed above, it is still essential to develop a cognitive basis for the field research. It requires to be one which takes account of this postulated protean quality but, nonetheless contains the essences, the lowest common denominators, of the entrepreneurial process. The range and diversity of entrepreneurial activity is immense. The sheer variety of enterprise defies categorisation; businesses come in all shapes and sizes, and are run by a whole gamut of personalities whose motivations are so much wider than the determinism of profit maximisation. In short, the assortment inhibits a simple, useful, functional analysis. However it is clear that entrepreneurs somehow create value and that they do this in any number of ways. As Mitton 1989:18 comments, "the complete entrepreneur's mission is to orchestrate change in order to create value." The practise of entrepreneurship involves change, logically this change and the value created are linked.

It seems then that entrepreneurs introduce change to an existing value, thereby promoting a new higher value. This difference is between an existing use value and the new higher exchange value. For example in manufacturing, entrepreneurial "value" is created by implementing innovation. Inventions only gain this value when they are put to use. Entrepreneurial change is the new organisation of the factors of production around the innovation. Innovations are made to merge with the existing. This innovation need not be limited to technology, although the introduction of such technology is a common form. It can include organisational change, new methods or simply new marketing. We can even see an example of the implementation of "negative" technology in a number of "craft" manufacturing industries; where technology, machine manufacture is removed and the product gains value as "hand crafted". Again the value is created from the shift from existing use value to the new higher valuation.

Marketing provides an example of a specialism which focuses on change and value creation. Although it is only a slice of the successful entrepreneurial process, it is typical of the directions of entrepreneurial activity. An advertiser tells you how his product is better, often by image creation, rather than merely demonstrating a technical superiority. Foreign trips become pilgrimages to the sun, environmentalists whale spotting becomes an opportunity to communicate with nature and marvel at the natural order. This is not to scoff at the advertising "emperor's new clothes". These are new realities and are valued as such; new values have been created. Change is again introduced, or imposed, to create this new higher value.

On detailed examination this link between the degrees of change and value becomes evident. The amount of entrepreneurial value created may be proportionate to the degree of novelty introduced. Thus the manager of an organisation may not be at all entrepreneurial, he may only respond to external changes. Failure to respond at all to change, means, of course, business failure. We can discern some sort of scale with unchanging management at one end and bold new enterprise at the other. The entrepreneur actively introduces change, this is what they do, and so create value for themselves and fortuitously, for the economic system. Change alone is, of course, insufficient. It must be change towards the new value, which in turn, must be of a higher order.

This notion of use and market value might be usefully considered within a marxist system. Importantly only use value is recognised, market value is considered an aberration. Yet the great problem in a marxist system is ossification, the lack of incentive to change; it is essentially endogenously static. Change could only be imposed from the top. Johannisson 1987 found a similar situation in "Corporist Sweden" By contrast the entrepreneurially energised capitalist system is a restless one, with change begetting change. Yet it the essence of a new market value which drives the system.

The model depicted in figure 4.7.2 attempts to encompass these features in the entrepreneurial process. Entrepreneurship is seen to be a fabrication which becomes an action form. It is created from an entrepreneurial propensity, moulded by the social environment and ultimately determined by the current economics of viability. However each section of the model is interdependent. Thus the individual's propensity to entreprende is created from a variety of factors. These include family circumstances, life history and so on, which all have indirect effects in how an individual may perceive his social environ. Economic or social circumstances may then produce a trigger which propels this individual into business. Equally, however, these same social circumstances may also configure the entrepreneurial individual.

The other dimension incorporated in the model is time. Time is important because it represents a flow within which the entrepreneurial process develops. Importantly it also represents a field for change, since environments change over time. The entrepreneurial process operates within this field of external changes. In time these external changes become fused into the emergent entrepreneurial process as causal factors. Thus the model demonstrates how entrepreneurship is the amalgam of a diverse range of features developed within the context of a changing world.

Figure 4 is an attempt to consolidate various dimensions of entrepreneurship. It describes the particular phenomena and illustrates the elements contained within these dimensions. It shows how these constucts are used,

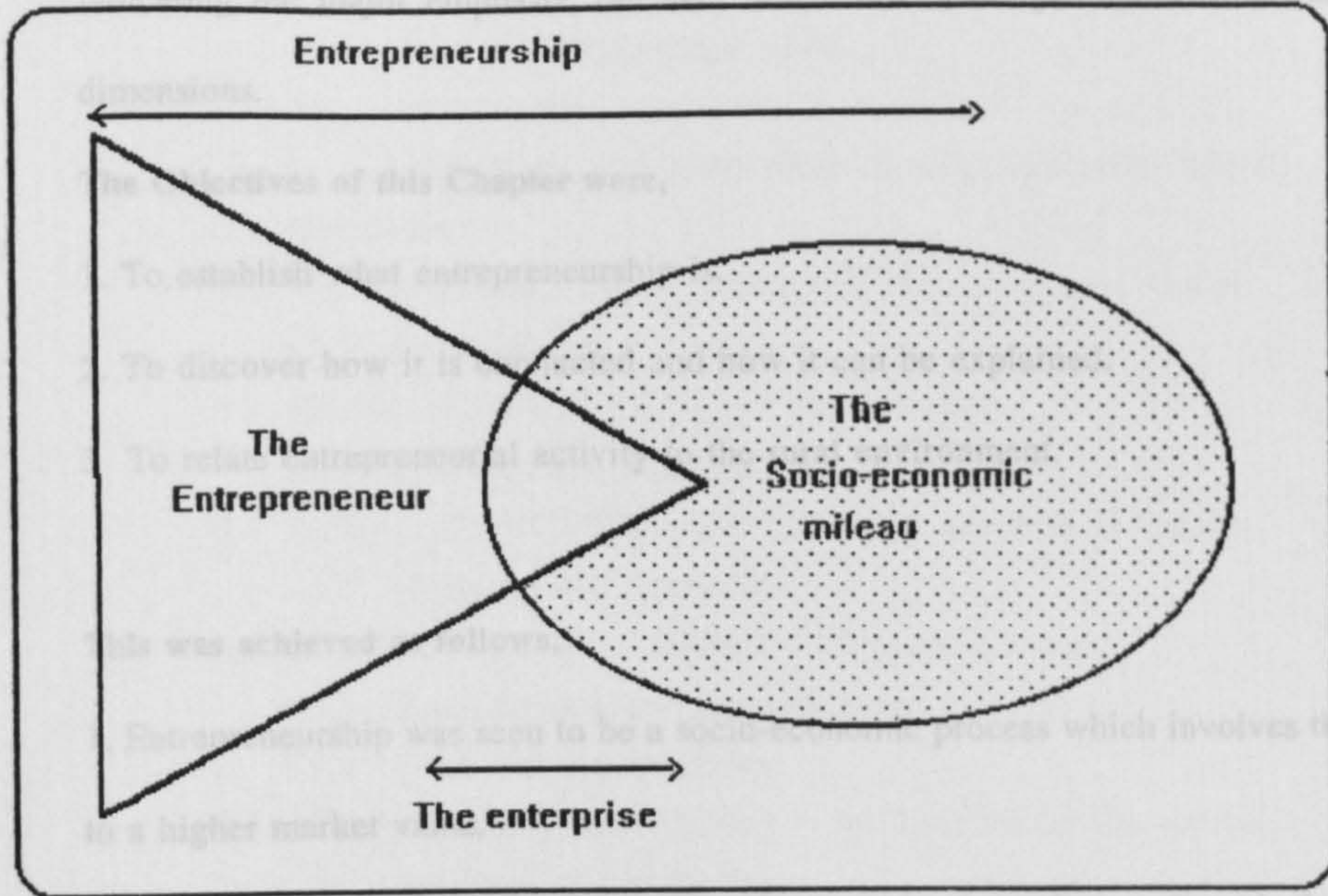


Figure 471 The Relationship of the Entrepreneur, the enterprise and Entrepreneurship.

←-----TIME and CHANGE----->

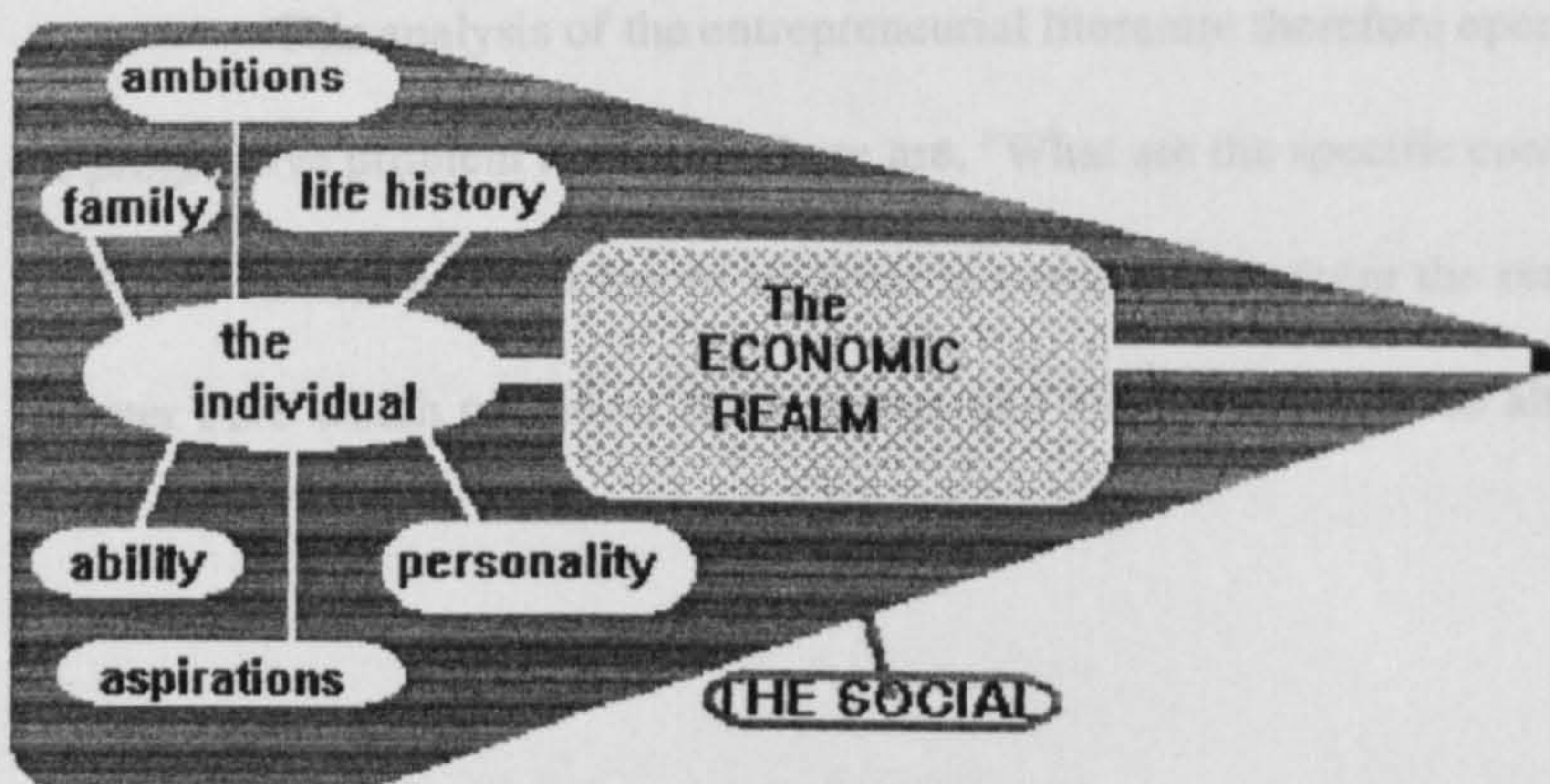


figure 4.7.2 THE ENTREPRENEURIAL PROCESS
showing how the PROTEAN ENTREPRENEUR is created

indicating the major emphasis, but also demonstrates the problems which are associated with the use of these dimensions.

The Objectives of this Chapter were,

1. To establish what entrepreneurship is.
2. To discover how it is conducted and how it can be explained.
- 3 To relate entrepreneurial activity to the rural environment.

This was achieved as follows,

1. Entrepreneurship was seen to be a socio-economic process which involves the change from an existing use value to a higher market value.
2. This process, working at entrepreneurship, has a variety of unpredictable forms. The process has been explained and accounted for in different ways by different academic disciplines. It has been argued that these different explanations are a reflection of the "protean" nature of the process, since enterprise is manifest in different forms and from a variety of ingredients. The fundamental of entrepreneurship, the necessary and sufficient conditions, are the value changes described above.
3. To relate the process to the rural environment we must establish if, and the different ways that entrepreneurs use "rurality" as a resource. Specifically how value is formed and how it is changed into a higher use value.

This analysis of the entrepreneurial literature therefore opens the next round of researchable questions in the progressive problem focusing. These are, "What are the specific conditions of rurality which allow entrepreneurs to extract value; and what has to be done to extract value from the rural context?" This is the deepening focus for Chapter Five which considers rural change and how values may be altered within these changes.

CHAPTER FIVE
TOWARDS THE RECONCILIATION OF SPACE,
TIME, PLACE AND RURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP.

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 RURAL STRUCTURE - Space and The Gravitation Model
 - 5.2.1 Evidence and Examples
- 5.3 RURAL STRUCTURE - Place and Locality
 - 5.3.1 Evidence and Examples
- 5.4 RURAL STRUCTURE - The Social Construction of Rurality
 - 5.4.1 Evidence and Examples
- 5.5 STRUCTURE AND AGENCY - Time and Change
 - 5.5.1 Rural Change and Restructuring
 - 5.5.2 Evidence and Examples
- 5.6 STRUCTURE AND AGENCY - Re-Creation for Recreation
 - 5.6.1 Evidence and Examples
- 5.7 AGENCY - The Commodification of the Countryside
 - 5.7.1 Evidence and Examples
- 5.8 STRUCTURE AND AGENCY - The Changing Rural Environment
 - 5.8.1 New Opportunities
 - 5.8.2 Implications for Entrepreneurial Supply
- 5.9 AGENCY - The Protean Entrepreneur
 - 5.9.1 Example
 - 5.9.2 Problems of Culture and Action
- 5.10 THEORETICAL SYNTHESIS
 - 5.10.1 Example
 - 5.10.2 Conclusions

The objectives of this chapter are,

1. To relate the findings from the entrepreneurial literature to the rural literature.
2. To anticipate how and if, change has created entrepreneurial opportunity.
3. To provide "sensitizing" themes to direct the field data collection.

One consequence of this sparse situation may be that the form of rural businesses will reflect these limitations. Businesses may be expected to be small, constrained by the limited markets; remain small with limited expansion and growth; whilst the limited returns to scale will inhibit profitability. They may also be anticipated to have a strong local focus because the costs of overcoming space will preclude profitable operation outside the local area.

5.2.1 Rural Structure - Evidence and Examples

By drawing the literature, some general confirmation of these predictions can be found. For example, Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) 1993:7,8 describing the vitality of business in the Highlands, the growth of and expansion of industry, report that the area is under-represented in national terms in the major growth areas. Significantly this is in spite of the importance of tourism within the region. In 1987, only 17.9% of employees in the Highlands and Islands were in sectors defined as "growing". This compares with a Scottish figure of 19.1% and a UK figure of 22%.

Mackay Consultants provide some regional comparisons on Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In a table, 1993:8, of local district outputs (n 56), for 1992, the Scottish cities ranked significantly higher than the rural areas. Glasgow had a GDP of £7,479.5 million, in contrast to Argyll and Bute's 363.3 million. All the more rural areas are ranked at the lower end of the scale. In terms of GDP per worker, they found that Argyll and Bute ranked 53rd, with an output of 17,043 which compares to the Scottish average of 22,071. Only Skye, Badenoch and Strathspey, and Sutherland, which are extremely rural areas were ranked lower. These statistics may be seen to confirm the arguments made about a lack of higher order, or at least higher value, functions in rural areas.

Whilst there are no specific data for the Argyll area on the effects of distance there is some recent English data which indirectly addresses similar questions. Keeble et al 1992:xi provide "the first-ever national scale investigation of manufacturing and service enterprises in rural England," which they note identifies and analyses success factors in rural business. The application of their findings to rural Scotland may, however, be seriously limited by the methodological constraints inherent in their study. For example, the use of matched urban-rural pairs precluded businesses which were specifically rural. Thus tourism, agriculture and forestry were excluded from the research. However these are not only important specifically rural sectors, but they are business forms which overcome distance, or for whom space and distance are less relevant. An anonymous critic, writing in *The International Small Business Journal* 1993, comments that the response bias of their poor response rate (10%), coupled with the unrepresentativeness of the sample of business types within, as typical of all UK businesses, seriously detracts from the value of the findings.

Furthermore Keeble et al's definition of "remote rural", may be considerably less remote and rural than a Scottish definition. This may help to explain the contradictory findings in job growth and market orientation. For example, in Argyll a sixty mile radius of operation would be considered "local" and a reasonable distance to travel to service

customers. Curran and Storey 1993:2 note that there are very few places in England which are not within an hours drive of a town with a population of 50,000 people. In the Keeble et al 1993 study terms what is conceived in Argyll as "local", would be categorized as a "national" market.

This raises the general question of rural definitional problems when comparing studies. Urry 1984:55 points out that cities have been bypassed by various circuits of capital, thus suggesting the re-evaluation of rurality as greenfield industrial sights. This industrialization of the countryside is confirmed by Keeble et al 1983, Fothergill and Gudgin, 1982 Hodge and Monk 1987. But it is important to note that their "countryside" is on the urban periphery. It is emphatically not the deep countryside of the West Highlands.

Nonetheless the value of Keeble et al's 1993 large sample size gives considerable weight to their descriptive findings. These include, that most rural businesses are small, over 40% of the sample employ 10 or less, and 78% less than 50. However they did find that rural firms were growing rapidly, with remote firms creating on average, 4.05 new jobs, accessible rural 2.98 in contrast to an urban loss of 1.65 during the period 1988 to 1991. This does appear to contradict the gravitation hypotheses. Although, since we have no data on the types of jobs created these may be possibly low value jobs which take advantage of lower rural costs. This may, to some extent, be corroborated by Fothergill and Gudgin's 1982 findings of the "urban push", of constrained location theory, especially for manufacturing jobs. They also found that rural firms did not have a local focus, but the sectors investigated, coupled with the locational definition, may account for this variation from the gravitational hypotheses. Nonetheless, if this study is generalisable to rural Argyll, in spite of the reservations discussed, it does seem to refute the proposed model. This research must therefore remain alert to the fact that rural businesses operate within a national economy, rural features may affect their operations but not determine them.

5.3. Rural Structure - Place and Locality

It was argued that places are unique, but not only in the particular combination of topographic features which characterise place; physical environmental determinism is limited, and altered by economic and social action. More important is the historical outcome of these actions, since this creates a basis for future activities, Cooke 1989. Places were argued to be encapsulated history so that the permanence of place imparts a fixity to process, an inertia of structure which is resistant to change.

One consequence of place is obviously the inherited physical infrastructure discussed above. Another repercussion is that places acquire an identity of attributes which may condition attitudes towards these places. The particular effects on aspiring rural entrepreneurs is discussed later, but we must also take account of the more generalised process. Locality also conditions the actions of macro agents. The pervasive influence of state bodies may also reflect

the significance attached to locational attributes. Places may be seen as appropriate or inappropriate locations for particular activities. Authorities such as Local Authority Planning Departments, The Highlands and Islands Enterprise and Scottish National Heritage may encourage, or even prohibit specific activities, depending on which they deem as appropriate for that place. Thus the perceived attributes of place may configure development.

Bryson 1990:71, summarises the counter position neatly, "the view that people who live in the Highlands are as entitled as the rest of us to try to improve their incomes and standard of life." However he adds, "The concept and achievements of economic growth and efficiency, from which modern standards of living have developed, are considered inappropriate for the present and future use of land."

5.3.1 Rural Structure - Evidence and Examples

Although the statutory planning authorities cannot, themselves, create development, they do respond to this notion of appropriate rural activities in their appointed role as rural gatekeepers. Mormont 1991:35, claims the agents who design and implement local planning thereby "Manipulate the definitions of legitimate Rurality". These agents he claims are above average cultural and professional aptitude, and are thus "attuned to middle-class desiderata". This is to be understood to mean the needs and the wishes of this middle class. He further argues that this opinion forming group are a body of specialists performing the role of intermediaries with society as a whole. They, he claims, "are the vectors of a new set of meanings of rurality".

As an example of this cultural designation and its effect on structure, in 1993 a planning application to Argyll and Bute District Council for permission to operate a small scale chicken processing plant was refused. This was in the face of the high unemployment rate of the area, and in spite of the prior existence of an intensive chicken rearing plant on the site. It was also counter to the economic logic of adding value to the chicken production. The reason given was these activities would be inappropriate to the scenic area.

The Highlands and Islands Enterprise, a grant awarding body, and therefore influential on new or expanding businesses, make their position clear. 1993:4 "HIE will place emphasis on policies and programmes designed to improve awareness, appreciation and enjoyment of the environment." HIE 1991:2 "we appreciate that development has got to be appropriate both in type and in location." As an example of their attitudes, crofting, regardless of its economic residual nature, archaic land use and the low returns to labour, is proposed as a model for European part-time farming, HIE 1991:6. HIE 1993:3 state that their organisation was established, "to help the people and communities achieve their full potential...in a manner compatible with the unique way of life and environment of the Highlands and Islands." Accordingly what comprises, in their opinion, "compatible" activities must reflect their notions of the appropriate use of places.

Sinclair 1989:130, who is concerned about the power and restricting influence of the new class of country-dwellers, the "squirearchy", provides a telling English illustration. He notes the comments of the Department of the Environment, "Nowadays the range of industries that can be successfully located in rural areas is expanding rapidly. There are attractions to the firms themselves in a clean and healthy environment, and there are obvious benefits to the local economy and employment." Sinclair then examines the list of suggested industries which he finds to be "short and depressing", not the stuff of "economic booms": light industry, tourism, craft workshops and recreation.

Scottish National Heritage, (SNH) which incorporates the old Countryside Commission and the Nature Conservancy Council, has the specific task of maintaining the unique features of place. The nature conservancy division follows a pseudo-scientific rationale of natural preservation, seemingly authorised by what Weber 1964:328 calls social authority on the basis of hallowed and accepted wisdom. This preservation is justified within an ethos of protection, because of the irreplaceability of natural organisms, couched in what Moore 1987:xviii calls "objective reasoning". However the designation of places, such as Sites of Special Scientific Interest, National Scenic Areas, Environmentally Sensitive Areas or the current debate over Scottish National Parks, demonstrate the power to retain the properties of place. A recent local incident within a Nature Reserve at Tayness in Argyll, illustrates the concept of appropriateness of place. The reserve, which had been carefully managed privately before the takeover by the SNH, had a number of mature and handsome beech trees. Officers of the SNH outraged locals by felling them. SNH stated that these were not native trees, and therefore inappropriate for a natural landscape. The SNH objective was not simply the preservation of place, but a synthetic recreation. So the argument that place, or images of place do configure development has substantial supporting evidence.

The Countryside Commission in their magazine, "Scotland's Countryside" April 1989, suggest that if the Lord Lyon had endowed the Commission with a coat of arms its motto could have been "*Pro Bono Rus Et Publico*",(caring for the needs of the of both countryside and people). Yet their vision of these needs is a very specific one, again reflecting the appropriate use of rural places. Examples of their objections to "inappropriate" development abound but one important example, the development of Lurcher's Gully in the Cairngorms for ski-ing demonstrates the attitudes towards the preservation of place. The Highland Regional Council had, in 1988, proposed the development of this barren area to offer additional facilities to the often congested downhill ski slopes on Cairngorm. Ski-ing appears to be a fairly non-invasive land use, but encourages tourist spending in near-by towns. Yet the Countryside Commission decided to recommend against the development on the basis of;

- 1) the visual impact, which they claimed would intrude on the wildness of the massif,
- 2) the effect on other recreations since the quality of the environment was central to the NCC interest and

3) the impact on wild land, Countryside Commission 1989.

The essence of their argument may therefore be interpreted, that such "wild" places must be preserved, again an example of the "appropriate" use of place configuring development.

Incongruously we must also recognise that the insularity of remote places may also impart specific economic advantage. The unique history of place can create conditions which are economically "appropriate" for a particular form of development. This "uneven development" in rural places can mean that the previous lack of industrial development ensures the availability of a pool of "green" and willing workers. Campbeltown may represent such a situation, it is by any definition remote. Situated at the bottom of the Kintyre Peninsula, it is two hours drive from Lochgilphead, and four hours from Glasgow. Yet it has two large manufacturing industries, which together employ more than two hundred people. KV Wooster is a company which makes detailed plastic scale models of aeroplanes. The manufacture of these models require painstaking and meticulous attention to detail. Nonetheless the market for these models is by any standard world-wide, as many are sold by airlines as souvenirs. The owner of the firm reports that he was attracted to the area by the availability of conscientious labour, in contrast to the problems he had experienced in his previous urban location.

The other large manufacturer is Jaeger, a prestigious company manufacturing high quality clothing who located a branch factory in Campbeltown. Whilst there is no confirmed information available to explain their locational choice, the availability of a large pool of "green" labour seems significant. Both companies train local labour to their requirements and seem to have little difficulty with recruitment. Campbeltown's former industrial structure included such declining or defunct industries as agriculture, fishing, a US Airforce base and low quality coal mining. The diminished employment demand from these industries, coupled with the isolation, made available a large locally captive potential labour force, with low female participation levels. Thus the results of previous rounds of investment have created a unique place which shapes opportunities.

The unique characteristics of place may therefore be seen to influence entrepreneurial activity, which they may attract or repel. Unfortunately they do so unpredictably, the locational decision process is ultimately subjective and seems to depend upon an individual interpretation of place. The next section develops this aspect by considering how the cultural interpretation of rural places may affect entrepreneurial behaviour.

5.4. Rural Structure - The Social Construction of Rurality

Chapter Three demonstrated the pervasiveness, even in contemporary culture, of the rural idyll. From the romantics, through advertising to television soap drama, rurality is benignly portrayed. It is associated with myths of folk society, old organic orders, nature and the natural order. Whilst there can be little doubt of the pervasion and depth of this arcadia, it is considerably more difficult to measure the impact that this has on action. An associated problem was the elusive flexibility which is part of the social construction of the bucolic conception. This prevented any firm definition of rurality, so that it seems that the capricious images of rurality are defined by the user. Thus they vary across class or social groups, as Blunden and Curry 1987,1988 show, and they also seem to vary with the residence of the holder. A study by the Scottish Office on attitudes towards the environment, 1991:38,39, showed rural residents to be much more in favour of rural development than those in urban areas. English residents, as an example, were four and a half times more likely to see countryside development as a problem, 1991:66. In general terms 1991:57, "satisfaction with the environment increases the further north people live." These may simply be a pragmatic responses, general environmental concern may be tempered by the practicality of employment opportunity, and of course, industrial pollution is less likely and less obvious in rural areas.

The variations do, however, highlight the unevenness of the take-up of rural ideas. Ideology is never applied holistically but in a desultory, diverse and fragmented manner. Shoard 1980, 1987, for example, provides an extreme normative view of the social construct; her ideal countryside is an unchanging area, a pleasure ground where urbanites may renew their inner natural selves. But even this polemic ideology is shot through with inconsistencies. In a manner reminiscent of Wordsworth's disapproval of the new railways permitting more people to visit the Lake District, The Council for the Protection of Rural England in 1988 criticised Bradford City Council for its success in attracting visitors to Ilkley Moor. The CPRE demanded that visitors be kept off the moor until it regained " a state appropriate to a piece of heritage" Sinclair 1991:152. We may contrast these attitudes to those of groups such as the National Farmers Union, for whom the countryside is a workplace, albeit one which requires their stewardship.

Pepper 1984, whose seminal work explored the philosophical roots of a variety of types of environmental concerns, was still unable to explain the shapes of contemporary ideologies. In contrast Yearley 1991 shows the links between affluence and selective green consumerism. In particular he demonstrates the propagation of attitudes, associating "natural" products to "higher" forms of consumption. For example 1991:2,4 he recalls Vauxhall Motors advertised a cabriolet model as "lid free", this linked the notions of environmental improvement, and enjoyment, with a markedly more expensive model of motor car. Environmental concern and its rural implications are morally charged issues, not amenable to scientific determination, but remain metaphysically and ideologically informed.

It is always difficult to make specific links between ideas and events but Abercrombie 1991:172 provides some general support. He argues that there is a general shift in power from the producer to the consumer, "The shift from producer to consumer means that the capacity to determine the form, nature and quality of goods and services has moved from the former to the latter." As Chapter Three discussed the countryside does appear to be an area for consumption. Lash and Urry 1987:195 provide a specific direction of this shift suggesting that the "new service class has been partly responsible for generating new social movements not directly related to the structures of relations of production". Marsden et al 1993:31, and Long & Van der Ploeg 1989 note the tensions created in this type of change, arguing that those who share the same representations seek to reinforce them, while those who do not may contest them.

5.4.1 Rural Structure - Evidence and Example

The heterogeneity of rural areas suggests that the cultural implications of the desirable designer ruralism of the affluent parts of England, Sinclair 1991:152, may be very different from the pragmatism of the imposed rurality of remote West Scotland, MacLean 1984, Glasser 1981 and Hunter 1978. Thus the quantitative evidence of considerable urban-rural migration, which is often generically explained as quality of life migration, may conceal a variety of motivations. There is no evidence that these migrants, far less natives, share one common rural ideology. Migrants may include in their cultural baggage a rag-bag of unsorted fragmented and conflicting ideas which are unlikely ever to be articulated in an explicit meaningful manner.

What is clear, when we try to strip rural imagery of its rhetoric, is that we are left with a core of rural exceptionalism, an antithesis of anti-urban and anti-industrial sentiment. As WB Yeats wrote, "Whenever men have tried to imagine a perfect life they have imagined a place where men plough and sow and reap, not a place where there are great wheels turning and great chimneys vomiting smoke," quoted by Cooper 1990:39. Rurality is thus portrayed as an agreeable residual of some "natural" society. As, for example, Laslett 1965 or Hewinson 1987 scathingly expound. Nonetheless, implicit within this conception is the notion of superior or higher values within rurality, or even in associations with rurality. This higher aesthetic value is more relevant, more accessible, and more actively pursued by the affluent. This is established by Bourdieu 1986, Thomson 1979, Urry 1984,1985,1990, 1993 and Thrift 1989. Patently rurality is symbolic, but such symbols are increasingly valued, Lash and Urry 1994, Harvey 1989. Old places, rural places, as discussed above, are venerated and increasingly valuable. So we might, as a surrogate measure of the impact of the social construction of rurality, take note of the use of these values. This was described earlier as the commodification of rurality, and usefully encapsulates a sphere of rural entrepreneurial activity.

An example which typifies this process may be found in Fife, in Eastern rural Scotland. Balgonie castle was a semi-derelict, but ancient edifice with no evident modern use. It was too large and inconvenient to use as home,

too decrepit to use as an imposing venue and insufficiently interesting to have value for historians. It was purchased by an English couple and their son, who made one section habitable and tidied up the fallen masonry of the rest. They now run a successful business renting out the castle for weddings and other events. Traditional, and all that is implied by tradition, add value as couples borrow from the "heritage" to enhance their own occasion. Even the lack of electricity in the old crypt is turned to advantage, flickering candlelight lends atmosphere to the proceedings. Although a cynic might detract from this as mere theatre, the purchase of pseudo pomp and circumstance, weddings as *rites de passages* are ceremony. But in effect the use of such "tradition" is little different from hiring a special bridal car.

It is nonetheless, an example of the social construction, one where the created value flows as enhanced prestige to the wedding party, and one where the status of the owners is considerably enhanced as owners and providers of such commodified history. Thus we may argue that the social construction is not just a passive form, but one which actively moulds actions and outcomes. Rural cultural ideology interpellates unevenly, its results are behaviourist rather than deterministic and it is itself, the outcome of social process and change. This provides a useful introduction to the next section which considers rural time, change and agency.

5.5. Structure and Agency - Time and Change

Rural time, as was discussed in Chapter three, is often portrayed as different, natural and pre-industrial. Personal time was shown to be relational, not absolute. Accordingly the prevailing images of rural time within the social construct, could be conceptualised as a capital asset rather than a currency to be spent within the divisions of work and leisure. Yet ironically the post modern use of rural time is profoundly post industrial. Post necessity affluence permits many time for the indulgence of rural experiences, the aesthetic appreciation of landscape and all that is summarised in the pursuit of "a rural quality of life".

It can therefore be argued that the post modern phenomena of space-time compression, so eloquently discussed by Harvey 1989 and Giddens 1984 and so vividly described by Toffler 1980, may have very uneven effects in rurality. On one hand it makes rurality much more accessible, but selectively, rather than in the homogeneity of McLuhan's global village. On the other hand, in the contemporary fleeting economy of signs, it may serve to place a fixity, to fossilize and fetishize rurality in "appropriate" frames.

Given these complexities this section explores the effects of time, the changes that time has brought about in the countryside which are relevant for rural business. In particular it examines the tensions which have developed between the social construction and those changes which challenge the idyll. The specific directions and types of change need to be anticipated to give direction to the enquiry and to act as "sensitizers". This section therefore identifies, and to critically anticipate, some of the possibilities which are recognised from the literature within this matrix of change.

The first section therefore deals with rural change and considers analytic categories of restructuring. These include the change in the functional use of the countryside, specifically the shift from an area of production to one which is consumed directly. The second section is about entrepreneurial change, that is change which entrepreneurs may produce. It considers the "commodification of the countryside", this provides a useful frame to examine and articulate the entrepreneurial role in these changes within rurality. In the tensions produced as new orders confront the traditional and established, the entrepreneurial role in the integration of these changes provides a particularly interesting analytic point.

5.5.1 Structure and Agency - Rural Change and Restructuring

Two aspects of rural restructuring are prominent in the literature. First the socio-cultural aspects discussed earlier, and secondly the practical problems associated with agriculture. This combination has created an

unstable situation in rurality. Established agricultural land use is now under considerable economic pressure, whilst the traditional ethos of agricultural stewardship is critically challenged within the new evaluations of rurality. The literature resonates with the re-assessment of rurality and its associated values. The application of these evaluations, through the ethos of conservationism, environmentalism and green politics are producing important outcomes within rurality. The shift in emphasis of rural space is seen as change from a zone of material production to one where cultural and non-material production and consumption are primary.

The importance of agricultural production as the *raison d'être* of rurality may be expected to continue to diminish. The problems of the magnitude of the cost of the Common Agricultural Policy support, especially for marginal and less fertile areas, remain unsolved. Agricultural surpluses from within the "first world", because of the protectionism which surrounds farming, will continue to threaten the viability of marginal UK agricultural production. Longer term, the economic rationalisation of agriculture within the old "second world" may produce an even greater competitive threat as the real potential of these areas is realised under private enterprise. It also seems unlikely that the "third world", in spite of its growing needs, will be able to afford to seriously affect the balance of agricultural demand. In short, the viability of upland agriculture in the foreseeable future is under pressure.

The problems of agricultural over-production in the UK are attributable to post-war government policies to encourage production by subsidies and price support, coupled with considerable technological research and development, Blunden and Curry 1987. One partial solution seems to be offered, which reconciles the traditional ideology of agricultural rural stewardship with over production, by giving priority to non-intensive agricultural land use. Consequently government schemes have proliferated: set aside, farm woodlands and designated areas where old fashioned non-industrial farming methods are actively encouraged. However, despite the good intentions of these schemes they are only, at best, partial solutions. They fail to address the main issues, they remain peripheral and secondary to the mainstream of economic agricultural direction. Furthermore the use of government funds which encourage inactivity has met with public disapproval. Crumley for example, writing in the "Glasgow Herald" 20.1.92:11, talks of the "obscene compensation awarded to a Glen Lochay farmer for not planting phantom spruces".

Another solution, which does seem to have popular approval is organic farming, since it seems to address both the question of reduced outputs, through lower productivity, and stewardship through the eschewing of artificial aids, which are commonly seen as pollutants. However, the argument made here is that because of physical, social and economic constraints the diffusion of organic farming will be severely limited in the Highlands. Modern

farming methods are dependent on a close interdependence between the new breeds of high yielding cultivars and intensive chemical fertilisation, weed and disease controls, Penny 1987:x. Organic farming requires the replacement of this chemical regime by intensive cultivation. This system may become economically viable in naturally fertile areas, as for example the successful farm of Rushall in Wiltshire, Wookey 1987. However the change to "natural" methods seems to require considerable capital to support these greener perspectives.

In less fertile areas, such as the Highlands, farming is already extensive, where chemical application is already economically limited. For example the suckler herds of breeding cattle and black face sheep ranges, typical of the area, are already low input systems. Yet without the assistance of specialised chemical inputs, for example, concentrated vitamin supplements, chemical fly and pest control, the viability of the already stretched upland farmer would be seriously challenged. As an alternative to the industrial organic farming methods of the fertile south, a few small scale labour intensive, "back to the earth" units have emerged, attracted by the relatively low cost of land and easier availability. These however, are very different from the whimsy of the self sufficiency portrayed in television programmes such as the "Good Life". The poor returns to labour require that green satisfaction substitutes for conventional commercial logic, for example in the spirituality of Findhorn in North East Scotland. Nevertheless the attractions of this combination of rigours and the reward are limited to the highly committed, so the system is unlikely to become widespread.

Furthermore market demand for organic production, despite the rhetoric, is limited to a small niche market who are prepared to pay a premium price and tolerate the blemishes which are often associated with organic produce. Wm Low, the Dundee based grocery chain, for example, no longer sell organic produce. They claim that the costs of stocking such produce is not justified by the low turnover. Nonetheless small wholefood shops, which specialise in this niche, do survive by catering exclusively for this restricted market.

Indeed a study of these shops in Argyll, provides a useful framework to consider the actual outcomes of "green" philosophies in rural Argyll. The shops have become a focus of and an exchange point for "alternative" attitudes and environmental concern. The shop window displays are obscured by hand written notices offering organic gardening, herbal therapies and a bizarre range of "New Age" productions or experiences. They are in effect, displays of the alternative possibilities open to those who follow a green philosophy but are unable, or unwilling to determinedly engage in organic farming or the rigors of self-sufficiency. This group appear to be a more widespread local form of "greens" than the committed organic self-sustaining organic farmers. They tend to gravitate

towards certain locations, enclaves of loosely formed mutual support, sharing a broad world view which eschews commercialism. The people are characterised by earnest expressions, the hirsute males by their badges of long hair and beards, and the females by Laura Ashley skirts and hip length hair. Their attitudes seem to be informed by the 1960's hippy movements, transcendental philosophies, soft left politics and an other-worldly ineffectual concern about the environment. Because this group is so typified by passive under-achievement; the tokenism of the "alternative" services offered in the shop windows is to augment state income rather than an attempt to change the world; their lack of dynamism is unlikely to create material change in rurality. They do borrow from the social construction of rurality, especially the assumption that rural life is morally superior to city life and hence an appropriate location for their relaxed life-style, but their marginality and non-participation makes them unlikely agents of change.

The simple solution to over-production, the reduction or elimination of state farming support, raises serious questions about rural dereliction. In fact, despite the general trend towards increased production, the marginal conditions of the Highlands have already created a reduction in outputs since 1970, Houston 1990:67. He also notes that farming incomes have "certainly fallen in real terms", and are matched by the fall in the employed farm labour force, which is now half its 1960 level. Thus it seems likely that any further restraints would erode the already delicate viability of Highland farming.

The inter-war years, when depressed farming was largely left to market forces, saw the abandonment and decay of buildings, fences and general rural dereliction in the less prosperous areas, Blunden and Curry 1988. This situation would be intolerable today because of conflicts with contemporary rural imagery. Farmers, in spite of challenges to modern agricultural practises, remain the ultimate and indispensable custodians of the rural landscapes. As we saw rural protectionism, whether state or quasi-state, is fragmented and necessarily limited to special areas. But rural concern is a very generalised phenomenon, as for example discussed by Shoard 1987. The consumption of rurality is a form of collective consumption. Were farming incomes to be eroded to a level where dereliction became manifest, because when incomes fall reinvestment in repairs and renewals usually suffer first, this would be socially unacceptable. It is of course possible that market forces would come into play to make non-economic farming a realistic possibility. One conception would see farm land prices falling to a level where hobby farming might become more important as an alternative to non-profitable commercial farming.

5.5.2 Structure and Agency - Evidence and Examples

Yet even this seemingly innocuous land use proved contentious in a recent local incident which

illustrates the social tensions which surround rural land use. A senior local government official purchased a small acreage to use as a hobby farm. There was no farmhouse with the sub-divided land, and because he wanted easy access to his newly acquired livestock, he applied for planning permission to build a new house on the land. Although planning rules generally exclude such isolated rural development, a relaxation is allowed where there is shown to be an occupational need. He was granted permission on this basis, but the decision created a local furore. Indignant letters to the local press claimed that this was an unfair decision. Complaints centred on his high salary from the public purse, as evidence that he had no need for supplementary income, and consequently no occupational need to have a farm. The grievances totally ignored the recreational aspects of the hobby, and the compatibility of the land use. Resentment eventually quietened and the house was built, but the episode demonstrates some of the problems associated with rural land use change. In particular the privileged position that full-time farming has in the rural cosmology of values.

5.6. Structure and Agency - Re-creation for Recreation

In spite of these problems of transition there can be little doubt that rurality is changing. As Summers et al 1988 suggests rural areas can no longer be seen as agrarian-based but are in varying degrees of transition towards a serviced based economy. Whilst the shift from production to services is typical of all advanced economies, the social construction of rurality appears to be creating a unique Highland situation. One where rather than simply the provision of general services, it is a situation where these services are singularly directed towards the consumption of the countryside itself. It might therefore be described as "re-creation for recreation."

The Highlands, perhaps because of their residual economic role, have always been a pleasure place. The "Balmoralization" of Victorian times lent an aesthetic grandeur to the hills and glens. The glamour of mythical "old ways" encouraged the construction of fairy tale castles as hunting lodges where the rich could indulge their fantasies. Their present use, as up-market country hotels, (for example, Glenborrodale, Inverlochy and Stonefield Castle) is symbolic of one aspect of rural restructuring, the widening popularisation, and availability of rural prestige. These castles, once pleasure palaces restricted to the very rich, they are now available to the privileged public to borrow the prestigious associations of rurality. Indeed the famous Gleneagles Hotel at Auchterarder, a grandly simulated ancient pile, was built specifically to cater for new wealthy train-borne Highland tourists. So this trend is not new, but is a widening gyre. More commonly, of course, the tourist appreciates rurality from much more modest accommodation, but nonetheless the tourist process is the same. Specifically, the enjoyment associated with being in a special place.

This process is most apparent in the promotion of rural tourism. Brochures particularize places, they show the special and unique qualities of the advertised place; scenery, rural calm and rustic fisher folk, all fall victim to the symbolic presentation of tourist places. The efforts of the Tourist Boards can therefore be seen as "branding the merchandise" as typifications worthy of experiencing. Indeed Urry 1990, describes modern tourism as the consumption of such signs. Highland tourism has become a culture industry. Lash and Urry 1994:112 describe post modern production in the culture industries as a flow of aesthetic symbols. They point out that structural conditions of aesthetic reflexivity are symbol flows, cultural capital creation and aesthetically cast expert systems. This is precisely how Highland tourist promotion operates. Places are shown to be significant, their value is authenticated, so that cultural income or value flows to the tourist who can only collect these signs by a personal visit and experience.

5.6.1 Structure and Agency - Evidence and Examples

The enjoyment of these strategic symbols varies, as Bourdieu 1986 demonstrates, across class boundaries. It also varies in physical intensity as the ways of being a tourist mirrors class and affluence distinctions. It may be enjoyed in the enhanced prestige of castles, in folksy bed and breakfasts with real log fires, the barrack-like austerity of bus tour party hotels or even in the naturalism of camping. Each is simply a variation of the Highland experience.

This notion of the promotion of the particularization of place represents a major change in attitudes. Hunter 1990:36 recalls that in the 1960's the uniqueness of the Highlands was considered to be simply a matter of material disadvantage in comparison with the rest of Britain. The strategy was to try to catch up, "assimilationist" as he describes it, or modernisation. Today the position is reversed, the quaintness of Highland characteristics are actively promoted, sponsored and recreated for the tourist gaze.

One example is the modern day promulgation of archaic identities, crofting as discussed earlier and Gaelic promotion. HIE 1993a:24 "there is a close affinity between the native resident and his environment. This is clearly expressed in the Gaelic language where much of its poetry is based on the Gaels love of his natural heritage." Yet in the Gaidhealtachd (the native Gaelic areas) for many years, as Gillies 1990:24 points out, "concerned parents were-weaning their children off the language to prepare them for the schools where teachers hastened the process." Gaelic was seen as a handicap, a primitive and limited means of communication. Now it is actively promoted in the economy of signs.(Literally too, since Strathclyde Regional Council's policy now provides for the bilingual display of all place names in Argyll!) Television broadcasters received twelve million pounds of government money in 1993 to produce Gaelic programmes. Almost every further education venue offers "Basic Gaelic", there is even a College, Sabhal Mor Ostaig, established in Skye which uses Gaelic as the teaching medium for its courses in Business Studies and, of course, Gaelic. The practical wisdom of this promotion is open to question, Gaelic must remain a very limited minority language. For example, four times more people speak and use the Doric, the North East dialect, than speak Gaelic. Nonetheless bodies such as HIE 1993b:57 report that this increased television output, "demonstrated the new stature of the language as a development asset." This in turn raises questions of whether development or under-development best describes the process.

Undoubtedly the "Tourist gaze" described by Urry demands an instant identification of place and culture, but attracts real imported wealth. The servicing of tourists produces local income. The "Herald" 14.7.94

reports that Highland tourism is the single biggest employer and provides 20% of local jobs, and even this figure may conceal the manufacturing of tourist take-aways, whether they be tartan kitsch or more serious wooden tokens of the natural order, local craft manufacture is important in the Highland economy. So although the images may be manufactured, cultivated cultural creations, they are just as real as Coca-Cola.

Thus we may rework Marx's comments in *Capital*:451 to a modern form to describe rural restructure. "a new international division of labour springs up and converts part of the globe into a chiefly agricultural field of production, for supplying the other which remains a chiefly industrial field". By substituting "chiefly cultural field of production" for industrial, we may arrive at the future role for rurality.

5.7. Agency - The Commodification of the Countryside

The process described above is a clearly cultural production, but it is an important direction of rural change. However, to fully understand the implications we need to set it in an economic context. This integration of the social with the economic may be described as the commodification of the countryside.

This cultural production is clearly a higher order of post material needs, one where the entrepreneurial process of building new higher values is relevant. It is a selective form, reflecting both Bourdieu's 1986-"distinction" and Hirsch's 1977 "positional" consumption. It is therefore highly discriminatory and linked to the "scarcity hypothesis" of "Griffin Goods". Most significantly however, it is about consumption of the countryside, rather than the traditional role of production. As Scott and Anderson 1991, 1994, propose the rural entrepreneurial role involves the commodification of the countryside, where economic action makes available for consumption the desirable elements of rurality.

The entrepreneurial process has been argued, in particular by Anderson 1993, to include the construction and realisation of higher market values. However the value changes occurring within rurality provide the opportunity for rural entrepreneurship to make these changes economically accessible through the commodification of the countryside. As Anderson et al 1989:16 explain, "Entrepreneurs by promoting new patterns help bring society and its component units in touch with reality."

The individualism of entrepreneurship is one aspect of a much broader economic process. It can also be argued that institutions and authorities are also involved in the commodification, albeit less directly. The enhanced values of rural associations are utilised to lend legitimacy and credence to their actions. This, in turn, helps perpetuate

and consolidate the social shifts.

5.7.1 Evidence and Examples

Striking evidence of this commodification can be found in the growth of institutions and organisations concerned or involved with aspects of rural protection. Similarly the use of "rural" values by such bodies as Regional Councils, Highlands and Islands Enterprise and of course, the state have also been discussed. A general example of such integration of change, from the literature, is Hewinson's analysis of the heritage industry 1987:125. This "industry" represents the commodification of heritage.

An interesting local example provides some evidence of the pervasion of the ideas of rural values and the appropriate form of extraction. It is unusual because it is a "community" initiative, rather than an individual economic action, and so is argued to represent a broader front. Significantly it involves the attempted social transformation of an obsolete use value to a new "appropriate" market use which commodifies rurality.

Bellanoch village hall is typical of many village halls built by benefactors around the turn of the century. Obviously showing the dilapidation of age and minimal repairs, it requires substantial investment to meet modern structural requirements. Although grant and loan funding can be supplied by the local authorities and HIE, because such halls are seen as village centres, institutional funding usually also requires a financial contribution from the community. Paralleling the physical decay of the building there is also a social obsolescence. As Stephenson 1984:93-95 explains the convenience of television has largely eradicated the need or wish for rural community activities. Characteristically, a local committee was formed to consider solutions for the continuing use of the hall.

A decision was eventually reached that the only long term viable solution was a radical change of use, to convert the premises into a "Heritage Centre". This seems a significant example of the commodification process because the hall is a community asset, and the decision was, setting aside the intrigues of insider-outsider groups in parish politics, locally democratic. It demonstrates by the rural value transformation, the commodification process, the profundity of the rural ethos and pervasion of the commodification process. A non-commercial social group identified rural change and channelled into a quasi-commercial context which reiterates perceived rural values.

A community business, North Knapdale Community Venture Ltd., was formed to develop the project, at a reported cost of £160,000. This would be partly funded by private share sales, at £5 each, but the majority of the financing would be public capital through HIE. Intriguingly British Waterways, owners of the adjacent Crinan Canal which is a tourist attraction, have offered an unusual subsidy for the project. They have agreed to pay

fifty thousand pounds for the use the proposed centre's toilets and showers. Planning permission for the change of use was readily granted and the project now appears to be close to realisation.

Throughout the protracted discussion period, of almost two years, the project has been advocated in community terms, new local jobs, the profits to be reinvested in the centre and a taken-for-granted generalised assumption of public welfare. This seems to have almost precluded criticism of the central *raison d'être* of the project. Setting aside the issue of whether there are any real local benefits from such a venture, valuable theoretical points are demonstrated by the proposal. First that is that the heritage centre is approved as "appropriate" by the community at large. The centre will become a celebration of place, an congruous icon of rurality, which indirectly endorses the value of the inhabitant's residential location. Secondly that this example epitomises the commodification process, the transfer of cultural values to a concrete and tangible form.

As might have been anticipated, there has been some local criticisms. These have centred on the size of the project. A local hotelier, the informal spokesman for the critics is quoted in the Argyllshire Advertiser 22.7.94 "No-one is against it in principle but what they want is a small heritage centre and the village hall done up." "There is fear that the project has become too large." In many ways these comments are typical of all anti-development sentiments, small changes are better than large changes. There has also been some disquiet about the financial viability of the project. Certainly the project, if considered in private capital terms, would not be viable. The estimates of visitor numbers seem optimistic and there appears little concern about the centre's attracting power. There has been little discussion on what and how the "heritage" will be presented. There is an assumption that its presence and title will be sufficient to ensure visitors. This case seems therefore to confirm the theoretical points, particularly that rural cultural "values" are seen as popular and universal and that the commodification of these values is socially correct.

5.8. Structure and Agency - The Changing Rural Environment

This section considers how changes in rurality may effect entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. It argues first that since change is the natural milieu of enterprise these changes may offer new business opportunities. Secondly it discusses how those changes may affect the potential of an increased supply of rural entrepreneurs.

5.8.1 Structure and Agency - New Opportunities

The structural changes discussed earlier should offer new or increased opportunities for business. Yet, given the earlier arguments about the "appropriate" businesses, it must also be acknowledged that these changes are likely to be quite specific rural opportunities. Openings which reflect the cultural importance of the social construction of rurality. Consequently some types of opportunity may expand, whilst others, those inappropriate for rurality may even diminish.

The rural-urban population changes of increasing inward rural migration, noted by Champion et al 1987, may have several different effects. These may be additional to an increased supply of entrepreneurs which is discussed later. First the influx can be expected to widen rural demand for existing services and secondly the new migrants may create new market opportunities. This has been described as the "Brown Hypotheses", as industry follows people, Brown 1972, Keeble 1976, and Ecotec 1990. For example, retirees who move to the countryside may have higher disposable incomes and different tastes than the indigenous local population. However these tastes are likely to reflect the perceived rural amenity values, since it is those amenities which attracted them to live in rurality. Consequently, their attitudes could have counter effects on general development. Any industry which detracted from rural amenity could be anticipated to meet with disapproval.

The examples discussed earlier appear to confirm this direction of development, and the restrictions on the ensuing entrepreneurial opportunity. Nonetheless the general economic shift towards services may allow the viability of increasingly sophisticated service provision, for example in electronic communications. Similarly the postulated shift from mass production may also offer specialised rural niches. This may be echoed in service provisions, particularly in the provision of specialised enjoyment of aspects of the rural experience. However rural space remains an important limiting factor, both in terms of limited local markets and the isolation which curtails intensive tourism.

5.8.2. Structure and Agency - Implications for Entrepreneurial Supply

The increasing attractions of rurality appears to be reflected in increasing urban-rural migration. Yet paradoxically the very features which contribute to the attractiveness of the countryside, space and limited industry mean that few jobs are available. So setting up on one's own account may well be the only available alternative to the limited employment opportunities available. Indeed this situation is likely to be exaggerated for middle class migrants, since management jobs are particularly scarce. As Keeble and Wever 1986:7 note "many recent new firms in rural areas of Northern Europe appear in fact to have been set up by migrants from large cities, and who have

moved to these rural areas because of their more attractive living conditions".

The reasons underlying this migration need to be examined because often the literature may assume that rural migrant attraction can be simply described in such broad terms as "quality of life". Importantly it is argued that the specific nature of rural attraction may configure attitudes towards business as well as shaping the types of rural business. Equally important, however, is the caveat of over-indulgence in speculative extrapolation. For example, Blackburn and Curran's 1993:176-178 comparative analysis of 350 English rural and urban businesses found no differences in attitudes which could not be explained by a pragmatic understanding of market limitations. Significantly for the field work of this research they also argue, 1993:203, following Curran et al 1991:32, that "the exploration of motivations are best analyzed using a qualitative approach".

Two factors are prominent in the literature about rural migration, Quality of Life and economic dislocations. The pursuit of a desirable quality of life may be becoming a significant rural trigger to enterprise. In "stepping down and out" of management for example, the attractions of a rural life style are well documented. Accordingly the images of rurality discussed in depth in Chapter Three may provide a basis for the promotion of the countryside as a suitable venue for new enterprise. As Keeble et al 1992:14 point out unequivocally, "one, if not the major stimulus, (of potential entrepreneurial migration to the countryside) is the perceived environmental attractiveness of England's villages and rural areas as a place to live." They found that between 58 to 66% of new firm founders in rural areas were migrants, in contrast to an urban 35%. Furthermore over 75% of migrant business founders said that the perceived environmental attraction was an important factor in their migration.

Quality of life is rarely explained in detail, but often it is described in opposition to the alienations of a busy urban life. City traffic, pollution, shortage of time, restrictions on personal freedom of action are all commonly used as indicators of a lowering of quality of life. An attractive quality of life is therefore a more "natural" one, less restrictive, blessed with time, autonomy and peace. The earlier comments on Kumar's 1991:4 Utopias are also relevant. He quotes the "Golden Age" from the Hindu Mahabharata, "...men neither bought nor sold; there were no poor and no rich; there was no need to labour". In short these qualities of life duplicate the idealised social constructions of rurality. Empirical, non-cultural definitions of quality of life function by counting physical deprivations, which are tantamount to restrictions on individual freedom to enjoy life. Paradoxically, as Pacione 1984:204 notes that the Highlands rank very poorly in these terms, whilst the table of attributes on page 66 shows the significance of perceptions. Nonetheless the rural quality of life is associated with a personal freedom from

constraints. In particular rural lifestyles are admired for the apparent freedom to operate on one's own "natural" terms.

Industrially, the potential influx of new business to the countryside has been argued to depend on different factors. Fothergill and Gudgin 1982 claim this to be an urban "push" as entrepreneurs are forced out of urban locations because of physical constraints. This argument favours manufacturing industry. However in any case, the potential effect of this observation on the remoter rural locations is likely to be small. If the "pull" of rural amenity and costs is a major factor of relocation, the literature indicates a highly selective locational choice. Restructuring seems to indicate that the relocation will be in rural areas which retain an urban focus, for example the "M4 Corridor" or the shift of clerical operations of financial services to East Anglia, Allen 1988:135. Again the remoter areas are likely to be excluded by the majority of such moves.

Economic dislocations in an individual's life may force decisions to entreprende. Redundancy, business failure or early "retirement" are all typical events which create an opportunity to start afresh. This may act in conjunction with the rural attractions, so that abrupt financial and social changes may compel a reassessment of the individual's situation, including a decision to start a rural enterprise. This type of "event" in an individual's life appears to be contemporarily significant, an outcome of the various forms of capital restructuring discussed earlier. More positively increases in property values throughout the UK have meant that inheritance can create a new independently wealthy elite. This sudden change to affluence may open up a whole new range of alternatives, including a rural move and the decision to open a small country business.

It appears that there are good reasons to anticipate an increased supply of rural entrepreneurs. However, the trigger factors identified may also indicate a rather different "world view" towards business. Quality of life, stepping out and down, seem to suggest a minimisation of responsibilities rather than the vigorous development of a new business. Furthermore establishing a new business demands great, even overwhelming attention. The incongruity between these aspects may indicate that new migrant businesses in the Highlands are likely to be, "small country livings", rather than the vehicles for corporate growth.

5.9. Agency - The Protean Entrepreneur

These structural changes may have variable effects but are nonetheless to be expected to be reflected in each unique "protean" form of rural entrepreneurship. They do not provide deterministic "rules" for the promotion of entrepreneurial activity. Because of the contingency discussed earlier, these are best seen as conditioning, rather than conditions, in turn they produce the entrepreneurial exceptionalism discussed earlier. They are, as Foucault suggests,

quoted in Harvey 1989:7, "polymorphous correlations in place of simple or complex causality" They synthesise what Clower 1973:33 describes as entrepreneurs as a world of men existing in fluid relationships with one another. We may expect entrepreneurship to flow into a shape which can accommodate all the situational variables and yet to reflect the individual entrepreneur.

It was argued that no single definition or theory captured the holistic process of entrepreneurship. In particular, that the focus on individual aspects precluded an appreciation of the malleability and flexibility of enterprise. The notion of the protean entrepreneur was developed to show how the contingent enterprise blends into the environment, to fit the prevailing circumstances. The entrepreneurial process was shown to be a complex socio-economic phenomenon, derived from a fluctuating combination of the individual's perceptions, his social context, the general social environment but eventually shaped by economic circumstances. Furthermore entrepreneurship and small business was demonstrated to be a fluid conception. This ranged from the extreme of the Schumpertian entrepreneur, who modifies and changes the environment, to the restricted concept of small business which satisfies a range of modest personal goals.

The flexibility of entrepreneurial power may forge particular relationships with this new consumption. Entrepreneurship is obviously linked backwards into consumption dictated production, as changing circumstances stimulate enterprise. It also linked forward, not simply as producers of a new marketable rurality, but also as rural entrepreneurship permits entrepreneurs, themselves, to consume the rural environment. Consequently the changes within rurality may become a resource from which value may be drawn in variable ways.

5.9.1 Example

Stanworth and Curran 1973:98-100 provide a sociological example of two entrepreneurial types which they describe as "latent social identities". Although these are ideal types and were developed to illustrate motivation they are equally helpful illustrations of the range and contrasts of values which entrepreneurs derive from their business activities.

1) Artisanal; a focus on intrinsic job satisfaction including

i) personal autonomy and independence in the workplace

ii) being able to choose one's workfellows

iii) satisfaction in the workplace and satisfaction of creating a "good" product.

The authors carefully point out these are not the sole goals and values, but are the ones given central importance.

Thus 1973:98 "whilst income is important, as it must be for anyone who works and has no other source of earnings, it is secondary to the goals listed above."

2) Classic; which is closest to the economic stereotype and has the goal of maximising returns.

Thus 1973:98, "so classic economist were not entirely wrong in their assumptions, they simply failed to realise that their view of the entrepreneurial role has only a limited application."

3) Manager; whose main concern is the recognition of performance as a manager.

They also note that security, 1973:100 "ensuring the entrepreneur's children will benefit from father's ability and hard work", is an important goal. Stanworth and Curran's observations therefore demonstrate the diversity and multiplicity of values which can be derived within enterprise and small business

5.9.2 Agency - Problems of Culture and Action.

In relating culture, at a macro level, to individual's actions there are substantial problems of causality and the determination of specific effects. An example of a successful attempt is Max Weber 1930 who overcomes these problems brilliantly and convincingly in *The Protestant Ethic*, by expounding a causal chain of relations and actions. He plausibly links individual actions to an emergent culture by specifying the process. But for most social science we need to heed Lavoie's 1991:35 warning, "culture is an "aggregative classification" for grouping individuals, not a substantive theoretical notion in its own right... political scientists, sociologists and economists typically depict the social process as a causal mechanism, rather than a means of establishing meaningful human decisions and understanding." So, in this instance of relating the rural idyll to entrepreneurial actions, it is essential to demonstrate how culture actually works. Although we may legitimately allude to general circumstances, increasing environmental awareness, marked urban-rural migration as evidence of increasing rural attraction, to provide evidence of the culture. This however does not necessarily imply cognitive entrepreneurial behaviour and action. Each case requires to be analyzed individually to establish any links.

5.10 Theoretical Synthesis

This final section attempts a synthesis of the literature to answer the research questions raised earlier. The primary question, what is it rural entrepreneurs do, required a secondary question of, why are the Highlands so rural, to tease out any particular rural effects. The available range of the literature proved to be very broad, too general and cumbersome for practical application to the research questions. Consequently from an eclectic

selection two models were developed. "Gravitation" appeared to describe the spatial implications for rural economics. This model however, failed to capture the cultural elements which form an important part of rurality. This social construction of rurality was argued to modify the economic process, creating a specific rural form of under-development. Given the generality of the literature, the eclectic choices, and the latitude and imprecision of the model, some examples were offered to support the arguments. These examples also provided a local focus.

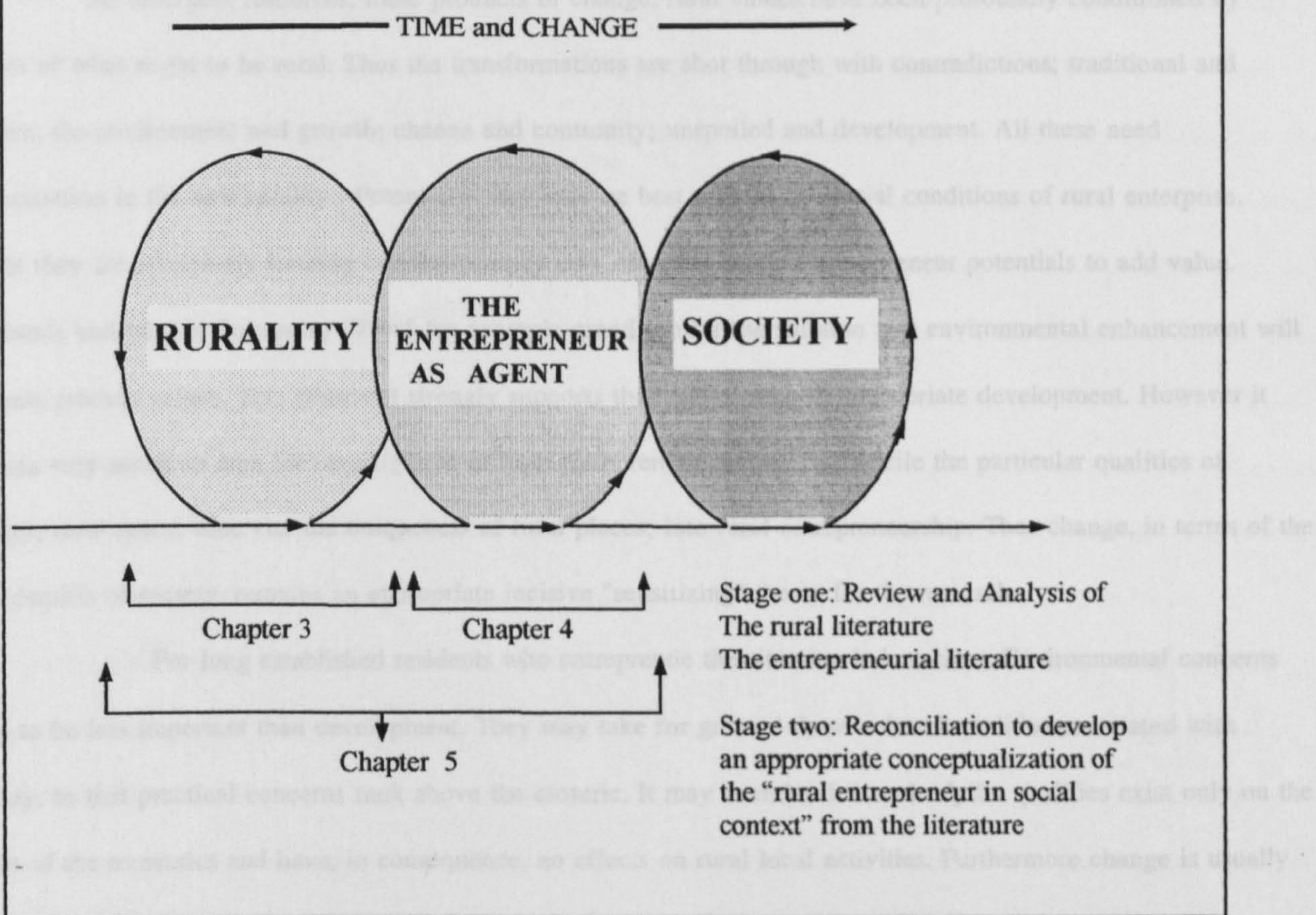
Although this was the action frame for rural enterprise, it was recognised that this frame was in flux. The second model, the protean entrepreneur, which emphasised the flexibility of enterprise to accommodate change and instability, therefore seems to provide an appropriate approach to understanding rural entrepreneurship. The model described the contingency which characterises enterprise, so that little determinacy of outcomes could be predicted. Nonetheless, one certain dynamic was entrepreneurial value extraction from an environment. This extraction process thus provides the basis for this theoretical synthesis. Rurality was shown to be an area of change and the specifics of the entrepreneur, particularly the short decision - action structure and the inherent flexibility, are likely to make them important users and producers of change within that instability.

The specifics of rural enterprise, particularly whether and how enterprise, gives direction to change, must remain the purpose of the analysis of the field work. However, some possibilities seem to be suggested by the integration of the models. First the changes materializing within the current rural instability were seen as opportunities for enterprise, yet the force which create these changes, the affluence of post modern society, also indicate particularized entrepreneurial forms. Thus the entrepreneurial micro efforts may represent one aspect of the reproduction of rural society. This general relationship is depicted in Figure 5.2.

5.10.1 Example

Marsden and Murdoch in an undated draft paper provide an example of entrepreneurial restructuring. They show how the development of small scale industrial units by entrepreneurial farmers, from redundant farm buildings in Aylesbury, is a necessary "agricultural" diversification because of changes in agricultural practices. They argue that this represents a recommodification of rural property rights. Significantly this can be seen as entrepreneurial realignment within the restructuring of the countryside. To borrow their lucid phrase, "The processes of rural development, such as the industrial units cases outlined here, are driven by sets of individual actors attempting to exploit the dynamic structures and contexts which surround them." The farm buildings represented "old" values, the development meant that the resource of an attractive rural location could be consumed within a new productive

Rural Structuration: The Relationships of Rural Structure and Entrepreneurial Agency



The Literature,

Reviewed and analysed for key aspects of explanation and accounts of Rural Small Business to provide "Sensitizers" for the field research.

This progressive focusing, within the literature, on the general question "What do rural entrepreneurs do", produced two themes of explanation :-

1. "Rurality" is a reservoir of "values"
2. The entrepreneurial process within small business is the creation and extraction of values.

Thus these explanations clarify the complexity to generate the specific research question,

"How do Rural Small Businesses create and extract values within the rural environment?"

Figure 5.2

context. This seems a typical form for the rural protean entrepreneur.

5.10.2 Conclusions

As emergent resources, these products of change, rural values have been profoundly conditioned by images of what ought to be rural. Thus the transformations are shot through with contradictions; traditional and modern; the environment and growth; change and continuity; unspoiled and development. All these need reconciliation in the new rurality. Potentially they may be best viewed as special conditions of rural enterprise. Whilst they are effectively limiting conditions, they may offer the protean entrepreneur potentials to add value. Highlands and Islands Enterprise 1993:5 for example grandly offer the solution that environmental enhancement will increase product values. This comment strongly supports their philosophy of appropriate development. However it remains very much an area for investigation of how entrepreneurs actually reconcile the particular qualities of rurality; rural space, time and the uniqueness of rural places; into rural entrepreneurship. Thus change, in terms of the reproduction of society, remains an appropriate incisive "sensitizing" theme for the research.

For long established residents who entreprende the situation is less clear. Environmental concerns seem to be less important than development. They may take for granted those cultural qualities associated with rurality, so that practical concerns rank above the esoteric. It may even be that such idyllic qualities exist only on the minds of the romantics and have, in consequence, no effects on rural local activities. Furthermore change is usually incremental and the gradual effects may have only modest consequences for established enterprise.

Whilst the literature shows that rurality, and rural places, are unique there is little guidance on whether rural entrepreneurs are also different from their urban counterparts. There are strong indications that if a "geimenschaft" environment exists in rurality we should expect the entrepreneurial interactions to be strongly conditioned by that environment. Equally however, the entrepreneur role may be marginal to the environment. For example Barth's 1963 study discussed this situation of marginality. He also usefully demonstrated how values can be transmitted across social and economic spheres.

It was argued that environmentalist and green country lovers may have important effects in wider rurality, but that the Highlands were not to be confused with the middle-class gentrified rurality of more prosperous regions. Indeed the most prominent local group visibly espousing a green philosophy is unlikely to be a centre of entrepreneurial activity. Nonetheless culture remains an important influence of rural action and changes. So that the commodification of rural experiences may provide a rich analytical framework for the research. The remanufacture of

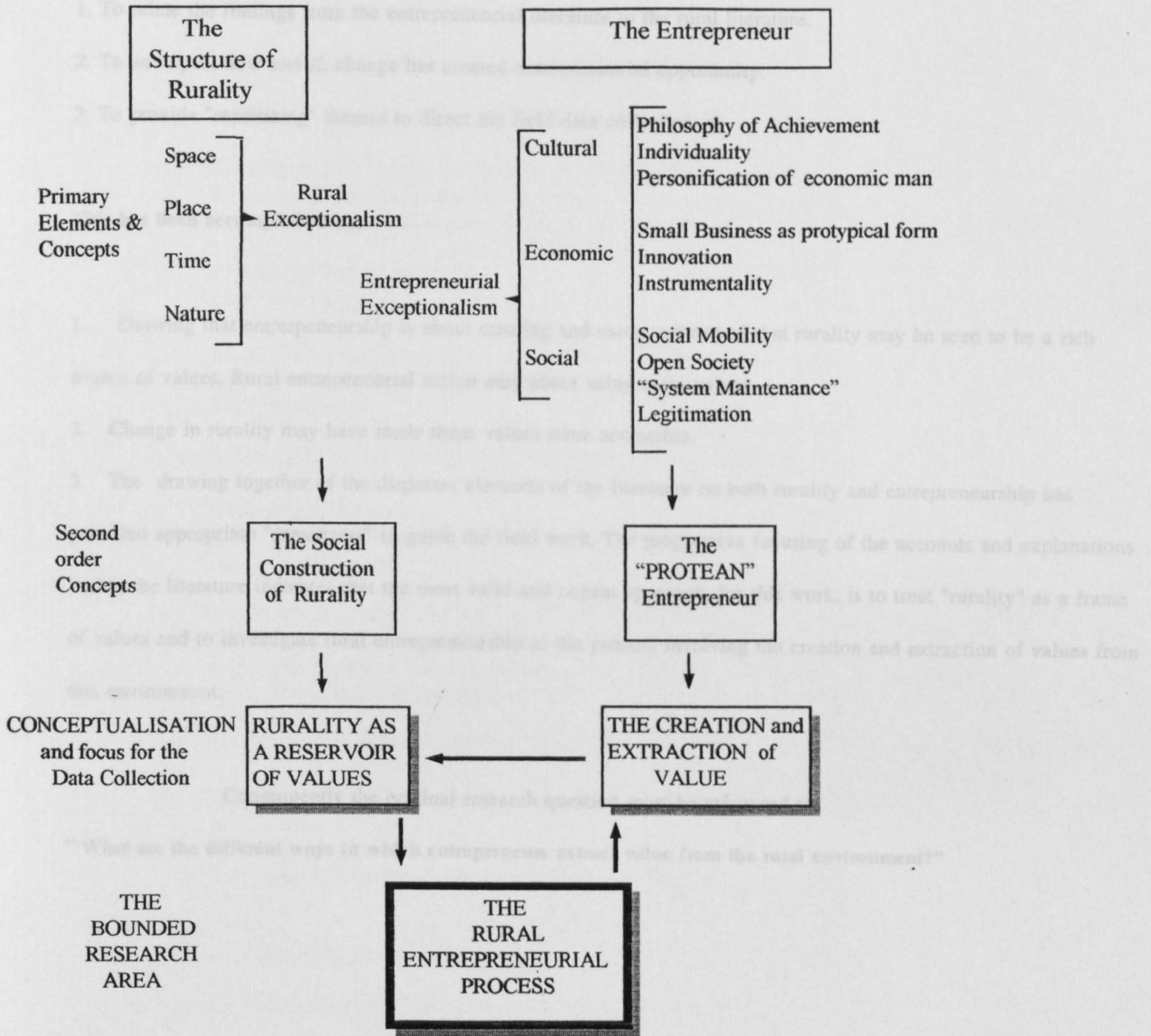
the resources of rurality into a saleable commodity may represent an important dimension of the rural entrepreneur.

On balance the evidence suggests that rural entrepreneurs should be different. The physical structure highlights the lean environment of rural opportunities, as explained in the spatial argument. Accordingly the rural entrepreneurial process must be expected to be unique to these circumstances. The application of culture is much more problematic. However it does seem likely that newcomers who are attracted to the area will place a higher value on these cultural elements. The evidence is that they will seek to maintain the rural qualities which initially attracted them. Yet as we have seen the manifestation of culture is uneven, fluid and indeterministic. At a personal level, and that is of course, the level of enterprise, even the most radical of environmentalists may be prepared to compromise a measure of their ethics if that ensures their continuing presence in a desirable area. Nonetheless the "frame" from which they approach enterprise, if indeed they do, may be anticipated as different from a one of profit maximisation.

Change in rurality may be seen to be about the various new ways of consuming rurality, or of ways of drawing benefits from the elements of the social construction of rurality. As Anderson et al 1989:16 put it, entrepreneurs are able to utilise this sort of shift, "through their exploration and exploitation of the different rates of socio economic change." Thus socio-economic changes produce these tensions in society, which are represented as "potentials". The entrepreneur is able to realise these potentials and drain off value, Anderson 1993. It is therefore likely that these will not be restricted to material consumptions, but will engage with the postulated new forms, the post modern consumption of images and experiences. As Campbell 1987 claims, "modern forms of consumption chief characteristic is the striving for novelty" and we saw the Highlands are portrayed as novel.

Figure 5.3 shows the progressive focussing of the literature research, relating the first order concepts of both rurality and entrepreneurship through the second order to field researchable concepts within the rural entrepreneurial process.

Figure 5.3 The Conceptualization of the Literature to develop “sensitizers” for the field work



The objectives of this chapter were,

1. To relate the findings from the entrepreneurial literature to the rural literature.
2. To anticipate how and if, change has created entrepreneurial opportunity.
3. To provide "sensitizing" themes to direct the field data collection.

This has been accomplished by,

1. Showing that entrepreneurship is about creating and using values and that rurality may be seen to be a rich source of values. Rural entrepreneurial action may about using these values.
2. Change in rurality may have made these values more accessible.
3. The drawing together of the disparate elements of the literature on both rurality and entrepreneurship has provided appropriate "sensitizers" to guide the field work. The progressive focusing of the accounts and explanations within the literature indicates that the most valid and cogent approach, for this work, is to treat "rurality" as a frame of values and to investigate rural entrepreneurship as the process involving the creation and extraction of values from this environment.

Consequently the original research question must be refocused to,

" What are the different ways in which entrepreneurs extract value from the rural environment?"

CHAPTER SIX

METHODOLOGY

- 6.1 THE PHILOSOPHY OF ENTREPRENEURIAL ENQUIRY
- 6.2 THE APPROPRIATE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
- 6.3 THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY
 - 6.3.1. The Research Methods Employed
 - 6.3.2. A Conceptual Diagram of these Methods
- 6.4 THE FIELD RESEARCH
 - 6.4.1. Discussion
 - 6.4.2. The Data
 - 6.4.3. The Operationalization of the Research Objectives
 - 6.4.4 Access to the Research Field
 - 6.4.5 Sampling
- 6.5 DATA COLLECTION AND RECORDING
 - 6.5.1. Participant Observation
 - 6.5.2 Depth Interviews
 - 6.5.3 Informal Interview
 - 6.5.4 Case Studies
- 6.6 THE NATURE OF THE DATA AND ITS QUALITY
 - 6.6.1. The Objectives surrounding the Data
 - 6.6.2 The Forms of Data Produced
 - 6.6.3. The Quality of the Data.
- 6.7 RESERVATIONS AND LIMITATIONS
- 6.8 GENERAL
 - 6.8.1 Pilots
 - 6.8.2 Observations
 - 6.8.3 The Production of Research Data and Results

The Purpose of this chapter is,

1. To consider the methodological issues involved in this study.
2. To demonstrate the most appropriate methodology for this research.
3. To detail, explain and account for the methodologies and research techniques employed.

CHAPTER SIX

METHODOLOGY

"let your discours bee more in Quaerys and doubtings yn peremptory assertions or disputings, it being ye disigne of travellers to learne not teache."

Isaac Newton in H Turnbull ed, "The Correspondence of Isaac Newton 1661-1675."

6.1 The Philosophy of Entrepreneurial Enquiry

This section briefly examines the philosophic underpinning of social research. Its purpose is to consider the intellectual authority of research, in general and in particular. As Hughes 1990:4 questions, "how we know certain things, believe others, and know how we know things to be true or false." These issues are considered to be important for this work because of the apparent significance of such things as meaning, culture and their effects. Initially it considers the limitations of positivism as a philosophy. Secondly it justifies its rejection as the only valid "scientific" method and thirdly argues that even philosophy in social science is subject to the bounding of contextuality. Ruben 1979:102 argues that it makes no sense to ask whether all science and its methodology may be suspect "for there is no Archimedean point lying outside science altogether which would provide any purchase for making such a question intelligible to us".

Given this fundamental epistemological questioning a case is made for an interpretative approach to the research. It is based on the premiss of the uncertainties surrounding concepts as they are popularly interpreted. We cannot be certain of simply stripping away a superficial understanding to find reality beneath. Facts do not speak for themselves. Roy Bhaskar amusingly rejects such empiricism as "Immaculate Perception". The epistemological answer is that "reality" as it is experienced, and is therefore subjective.

It would be possible to avoid these searching questions, they could be ignored, pretending that they do not exist. Or, as economists often insist, that such matters are beyond their remit. Or most commonly, to skirt around by simply not analysing data and remaining at the level of description. None of these is satisfactory. The risk is that such data remains as "stamp collections", perhaps splendid in their own terms

but largely unable to be incorporated into a larger body of knowledge. Alternatively as Murphy 1971:147 points out, "if society followed rational intent, it would be so transparent that sociologists and anthropologists would be out of a job." Furthermore, as Mennell 1982:15 insists a principle task for social science is to check upon common sense. Since analysis involves the ordering and structuring of data to produce knowledge it is essential to consider the assumptions of an ontological model, to check what can count as facts. Without due consideration of these points it might be impossible to see the intellectual framework, the paradigm that informs the research. Consequently the limitations of method and the knowledge produced might be concealed.

The exalted position of positivism in social science owes much to its success in natural science. In the current paradigm of entrepreneurial research, Bygraves 1991 refers to this as "physics envy". The success of the systematic observations, analysis and consequent production of the covering laws by early scientists like Francis Bacon 1620, influenced the pioneering social scientists, such as August Comte. Positivism, in method and philosophy, offered a solution to the weaknesses of metaphysics and theology. Giddens 1986:12 puts it nicely "Both Comte and Marx wrote in the shadow of the triumphs of natural science" and "An end to mystery, and an end to mystification... if nature could be revealed as a secular order, why should man remain a riddle to himself?"

In particular the discovery of universals and covering laws in physics provided a role model of apparent objectivity for all science. Outhwaite 1987:5 defines Comte's 19thC formulation, "Positive knowledge, so called to distinguish it from the theological and metaphysical conceptions of the world from which it emerged, yields a methodologically unified and hierarchical conception of science, based on causal laws of phenomena, derived from observation". This objectivity, the separation of fact from belief, is however, spurious when dealing with human cognition. We have no way of measuring how "facts", conceived as concepts, have altered understanding. Naturalism, the claim that the social world is the same as the natural world is flawed. The natural world does not have choices, options or even opinions. Furthermore as Hughes 1990:19 comments this leads to "underplaying factors, regarded as uniquely human, free will, choice, chance, morality and the like". Yet these are the very factors which may affect rural entrepreneurship.

Greenfield and Stricken 1986 comment on "essentialism" which seeks some transcendent truth, a

notion which underlies much positivistic research. So this may therefore be seen as a form of reductionism, seeking an reification analogue of abstractions. They recognise that this process has the inherent problem of the inability to deal with change. Darwinian methodology, they propose 1986:14, has superior qualities when dealing with entrepreneurship since it can, "recognise existing diversity of behaviour within specific populations, which at its extremes encompasses innovation and novelty. What is called entrepreneurship, from this point of view, is actually one segment of an otherwise seamless variability." This suggests the importance of recognising entrepreneurship in its social context.

As they conclude, "within this paradigm no single dimension of, or aspect of entrepreneurship is emphasised as the essence of entrepreneurship. Instead the approach is multidimensional."

This seems appropriate because concepts and ideologies can shape our understanding. As Adams and Brock 1986:x point out, an ideology can offer certainty, which relieves thinkers of the tedium involved in making difficult decisions. "In Procrustean fashion, ideologies cut facts to fit their ideas rather than ideas to fit the facts". Even Comte 1830, quoted in Mennel 1982:147, rebutted "crude fact gathering". "If on one hand any scientific theory must necessarily be based on observation, it is equally true that on the other hand in order to make an observation our minds require a theory of some sort."

The central theme of positivism is that science is devoted to the pursuit of explanations which take the form of general laws. Thus to "explain" an event is to relate it to a general law. Analysis is reducible to universal generalisation. The principle is rooted in Hume's theory of causation which argues that all we may observe is the "constant conjunction" of events. Outhwaite confirms that problems in applying this philosophy to social science include the difficulties of measurements. More important however, is the logical conclusion that if no covering laws could be discerned there could be no explanation! Clearly then the use of logico-positivism, despite its "scientific appeal" is inappropriate for understanding rural entrepreneurship. Furthermore as Stanworth and Curran 1986:82, discussing business, note, "The assumption that natural and social phenomena belong to the same category of entities for purposes of theorising and explanation is fundamentally flawed".

The converse of the empiricism of logico-positivism is "idealism". Cooke 1983:19 suggests the "neutrality of observation of logico-positivism is shattered since observations are inevitably theory bound, theory laden and theory determined." Consequently ideas should be given explanatory authority. Extreme

idealism, according to Hughes 1990:89 argues that "the so-called material world is simply the resultant of ideas." Cooke however refutes this, noting that by giving priority to ideas over real process it is impossible to avoid a hopeless relativism. This would provide a poor foundation, "well, it all depends," for any structured explanation, even allowing the contingent nature of enterprise.

The solution appears to be in interpretative sociology and philosophy, and draws largely on Giddens 1976 work. He explains that the Geisteswissenschaften tradition has made familiar the "hermeneutic circle", that no description is free from interpretation. He draws together the common threads of three traditions, Schutz on phenomenology, Garfinkel's ethnomethodology and Winch's post-Wittgensteinian philosophy. Verstehen, (interpretative understanding) he claims, should not be treated as a "technique peculiar to the social scientist, but as generic to all social interaction", 1976:52. Knowledge, routinely drawn upon by members of society, is rarely able to be expressed in a prepositional form, and in a manner to which the ideals of positivism are relevant. This comment resonates with the points identified as problematic associated with understanding rurality and entrepreneurship.

Rosen 1991:5 argues a case for ethnographic research techniques in Management Science by claiming, following Berger and Luckmann 1967 and Geertz 1983, "The interpretative social constructionist approach presupposes that members of any social system... enact their particular worlds through social interaction. Reality is a social product, which cannot be understood apart from the intersubjectivist meanings of the social actors involved." This remark also seems strikingly appropriate for this research. Particularly when he reinforces his point with discussion on what Geertz calls , "envehicled meanings" 1980:135, the culture symbols which ambiguously stand for a multiplicity of meanings, evoke emotions and impel men to action. Stanworth and Curran make a similar point specifically directed to the small firm 1976:108, "Constructed social reality is derived from meanings which have a central place in the cultures of many modern societies."

Against the "interpretative form" Giddens argues that power is ignored. Even in a transient conversation, meanings may represent asymmetries of power. This element is particularly important in who shapes the social construction of rurality. For example, Foucault's imagery of space, according to Harvey 1989:236, is as a system of containers of power. So we must be alert to whose ideology, and to any ulterior purposes, which may be served. This seems particularly relevant in considering social class, rurality and

enterprise. For example Bourdieu's "distinction" and Hirsch's notion of "positional goods". Giddens' final point is also germane in that different social rules are based on possibly different interpretations of the "same" idea-systems. His example is Protestant and Catholics in Christianity, but he might just as well have looked at the very different interpretation of rurality between the aspiring and the perspiring classes!

Howard Stevenson of Harvard Business School made some insightful remarks during his opening speech to the Babson Entrepreneurial Conference in Boston June 1994. These may be seen to address the positivism of "physics envy" that Bygraves denigrates. He suggested that :-

change is normal

understanding sequence is critical

reciprocal causality is normal

idiosyncratic phenomenon are important

small "n"(low sample numbers) studies give insight

functional relationships change over time

valid observations may not be replicable

data collection is valuable and requires skill

These remarks seem to endorse the need for an interpretative approach.

Bengt Johannisson 1992 takes a similar approach to support his interpretative research. He proposes that the nature of entrepreneurial research demands a Subjectivist interpretation. The elements of such an approach, according to Burrell and Morgan 1979, are as follows:-

Ontology..... Nominalism, the world is the product of the individual's mind

Epistemology... Anti-positivism, knowledge is soft and personal

Human Nature.. Voluntarism, the individual has free will

Methodology.... Ideographic, search for subjective experience

Johannisson goes on to claim that the subjectivist approach is inductive, its aim is to make the world intelligible. This can only be achieved by the personal involvement of the researcher. Accordingly he insists the only appropriate methodology for entrepreneurship research is subjectivist because entrepreneurs are true creators, in spite of taken-for-granted structures apparently impeding business. Thus such research should look first at reality using qualitative methodology through case study, in-depth interviews and

participant observation.

Accordingly there seems little room for doubt that such methods are the most appropriate for this study. Paraphrasing Cooke 1983:25, "it offers the best epistemological basis for the present (book) study, which is itself concerned to ground theory in material content and to synthesize conjectural processes with deeper structures than those immediately accessible to empirical observation". Or Rosen 1991:8 "Social process is not captured by hypothetical deductions, co-variances and degrees of freedom. Instead understanding social process involves getting inside the world of those generating it."

These comments have considered the epistemological question of what Burrows 1989:47 refers to as, "the domain assumptions of the conceptual procedures by which knowledge of the social may be gained." This, however leaves the ontological question of what can be counted as facts. We can turn to consider the philosophies of explanatory accounts which in the works of Kuhn, Fayerabend and Lakatos force a major reassessment of what we can claim to know and tell.

These philosophers are concerned with how we deal with data. Kuhn and Lakatos use the expression incommensurability, to highlight data which fails to confirm the expected findings. They argue that such data is effectively ignored, so that most research tends to confirm the "paradigm". Thus even the "hard sciences" are subjective in practice. Fayerabend accepts this and makes a demand for a loosening of data collection, "epistemological anarchy". What can we conclude about science? It is a human activity, science does not exist separately, something out there, but is an integrated human activity. We must not therefore grant it a spurious objectivity. The weight and range of evidence summarised by these new philosophies is reasonably conclusive. Of course most of the attention is towards the natural science, but given that this natural science is "harder", more concerned with tangible facts, all that has been said must be even more appropriate for softer social science.

Moreover, and this is a point which cannot be developed here but demands attention, the natural sciences are anchored in the social sciences, thus even the natural science is at best a limited abstraction from the generality of social science. Kuhn, Fayerabend and Lakatos implicitly use the wisdom of social science to explain their philosophy. Schultz 1954 talks approvingly of Dewey's analysis, "all enquiry starts and ends within the social cultural matrix". So all science starts and finishes in the social milieu. Could we not then argue that natural science is really a special subset of science where special rules may apply? This

would account for the undoubted early success of logical positivism. Indeed deduction may be an appropriate method for hard science which is concerned with natural phenomena. Only when we move out into the realm of human activity do we collide with "the poverty of objectivity" and need inductive interpretation to make sense of that same human activity.

This discussion has illustrated the contingent nature of science and knowledge. This is particularly so for conceptual or ideological entities which though intangible remain powerful. Given these caveats, science can only be a rolling programme. Knowledge, in whatever form, can be admitted only temporarily and sceptically. Recognizing it as the current best, but accepted as correct only until it is superseded by a superior form. Knowledge "about", that is understanding of non-material entities, is argued to be more available within an interpretative paradigm. This is because of the subjectivity of meaning and the difficulty in directly relating it to action.

6.2 The Appropriate Research Methodology

" The ethnographer tries to learn the subject's rules for organisational life"

Rosen 1991:2

Tsoukas 1989:551 makes a strong case for the validity of ideographic research explanations. "Idiographic studies, from a realist perspective, are very useful in producing explanatory knowledge... valid because generality is a property of the necessary relations in real structures and not a feature of the empirical domain". This claim should be taken to support the real life explanations of ideographic studies which are soundly based, rather than simply dependent on constant conjunction. The case has been made for the lack of ontological or philosophical support for any truly "finite" or even totally definitive knowledge. Accordingly there is no correct or true definition of the countryside, far less any objective definition of what makes it special. The conclusion reached was that all knowledge must be treated first, sceptically and secondly as the best "available for the moment". This is not to suggest that all knowledge is right or indeed wrong. Rather that the scholar has this point in mind, so that when confronted with apparent contradictions he checks his assumptions as well as his findings. To the epistemological evidence it seems that we may add some empirical findings. Johnstone 1978:26 notes that Garfinkel argues that the "methodological specifics are relaxed on each and every occasion" and furthermore that this is unavoidable. Cicourel is also quoted, "numerical or mathematical properties of so called sociological "hard data" fail to reach the formal requirements of reflexivity, symmetry and transivity which is necessary if they are to be treated as real numbers". No doubt the viewpoints of these ethnomethodologists is somewhat skewed but nonetheless, their point must be noted. In effect the case for what was described as a "rolling programme" seems valid; it seems to capture the reality of research. We do not start *tabula rasa*, instead we build on, or perhaps demolish the existing knowledge. The phrase, therefore seems to savour the essence of advance; a researcher joins the programme, may influence it, and eventually leaves it, but the knowledge, once accepted has its independent existence.

The argument therefore is that in order to establish the relationships of rural entrepreneurship, the

approach must go beyond merely measuring and counting points which people feel or say are important. The magnitude and range of entrepreneurial and rural attitudes are therefore secondary to the understanding of how these attitudes came about and their effects. After all, to predict we must set the problem in its historical context: the present is only a temporal cross-section. Evidence of the importance of historical, pre-industrial conceptions of the countryside have been reviewed. However there remains the predicament of historicism, that by historically explaining events a falsely monotheist and artificial holism is imparted to events. The tunnel vision of hindsight smooths out the irregularities of reality by simply looking at those specific events, out of many, which are deemed important. This problem is compounded when we start to examine attitudes, which never have the finite boundaries of events.

This approach signals the importance of the literature review as the opportunity to establish the background, the context within which current attitudes are forged. In my earlier terminology, it is the station where we may join the research programme. It also means that the literature survey must serve a wider purpose than would normally be the case. Not only must we know the literature as the "sum of the mental activity" - the knowledge of the area we wish to understand. We must also see the literature as helping to form the context we wish to understand.

In essence then the literature can provide information on the context, the how and the why of attitudes towards the countryside; and the explanations of entrepreneurship. The problem becomes deciding what literature is important. Koholo 1992 refers to Romano 1987:35 "The small business literature base displays a bewildering assortment of methods". Koholo justifies this by claiming that such theoretical pluralism is the symptom of any young or developing discipline. The butterfly thesis may suggest that the flutter of a butterfly's wings in Honolulu affects the weather pattern in Bolton. Indeed it may, but not very much. Since the search for understanding rural entrepreneurship starts with seeking trends, patterns and major influences, it may be acceptable to discount that particular butterfly as unimportant. But how do we decide which part of the literature is important? It is unreasonable to suppose that we should know everything. In Aristotle's day such a course might have been feasible but the ever-narrowing range of specialisms of current science are witness to the ever increasing depth of knowledge.

Equally unreasonable, in view of the earlier discussion, would be to only know the narrow perspective of single discipline, never mind the confined fashions of one approach within that discipline.

The solution to the dilemma actually mirrors the research process of attitudes. We select quite arbitrarily what seems important. This heuristic is not happenchance, our intuitions are trained, or at least ought to be, to think conceptually. We abstract from the commonplace to a higher conceptual level, one which has, or is likely to have analytical qualities of explanation. The literature should act as informant. However instead of living subjects we should treat books, and the knowledge therein, as raw data.

The literature is therefore essential, in the search for understanding, which I have insisted is a higher form of knowledge. Understanding demands a sort of simultaneous equation of the present attitudes and the context from which they are formed. These concepts form the background, the context of the social construction of rurality and enterprise. These contexts then become "sensitizing" as Glaser and Strauss's second meaning of the word. We know "about" these areas and bear them in mind, using them if they seem appropriate in the field.

This is of course only a beginning, but some critiques of grounded theory overlook this preparatory element in their evaluation. Importantly for the actual field work it gives some direction. A researcher is "sensitised" so that in interview, we recognise a concept. It may be criticised as wasteful, many of the areas initially indicated as important turn out to be almost useless analytically. Nonetheless this illustrates how grounded theory can be theoretically informed, and how research can be guided by the theoretical sensitivity to beyond the superficial. Stanworth and Curran 1986:91 insist that data-theory interaction ensures a close cohesion between research observations and explanatory theories. There are, of course, restrictions on how we may use this grounded theory. Perhaps the best way of showing these is to trace the evolution of the method from its ancestry of Znaneski's analytic induction. Robinson, in McCall and Simmons, describes Znaneski's 1934 version where it was claimed that, as well as being a research tool, analytic induction could provide causal laws. His method for research was essentially trial and error. The trial is to formulate a general hypothesis which is tested against the phenomena for explanatory power. If it fails to explain, the phenomena can be redefined or the hypothesis modified, the new version is re-tested and the process repeated until a satisfactory outcome is reached, "a universal relationship is established". This relationship however, may be a necessary, but not sufficient condition. Most social contexts are multidimensional and complex. Analytic induction in those circumstances slips into ideal typification. Despite these criticisms it is generally agreed that the method does provide a system for sorting

complicated, even jumbled data, for seeing associations and for categorising, extracting from the concrete case.

For analysis however, we have to move one step up the conceptual ladder to the Constant Comparative method as outlined by Barney Glaser. He overcomes the limitations of analytic induction by seeking out conceptual categories. Where analytic induction effectively "rounds down" data, Constant Comparison "rounds up" producing categories which share a common abstract element. Glaser, perhaps a little tongue in cheek, calls it "theoretical capitalism"! Concepts he argues, don't change even although the facts do. The outcome of this is that Constant Comparison generates plausible hypotheses about general matters, which is, of course, much closer to the requirements of the research questions. Additionally it allows that some of the properties may be causes but may also be conditions, consequences or dimensions. It produces an integrated theory. As Glaser claims 1978:222, the method "forces the analyst to make theoretical sense of categories".

Grounded Theorising as propounded by Glaser and Strauss, 1967 extends the range of the concept formation beyond the empirical abstractions. It avoids the need to "know the field", when this becomes a restriction. However it allows account to be taken of any relevant data. Thus in the social construction of the countryside we cannot expect to know all the factors. If, however we can construct a plausible model based on "grounded" data we can modify or incorporate subsequent discoveries. The key point, after the comparison of incidents, is the integration of categories. Glaser and Strauss 1967:168 refer to "the discovery of underlying uniformities". They seem to suggest that such categories will become self evident and that the categories will "bubble up" from the data. Strauss is realistic when he talks of "generative questions". This is the essential feature of successful inductive analysis, knowing the correct generative questions to ask! It also implies a greater, almost creative role for the researcher. Glaser and Strauss 1967 comments suggest that the "constant comparative method" actually produces the categories but Strauss 1987 emphasises the need for "theoretical memos". These appear to be the link between categories and are the major intellectual input from the researcher. The study of change and the small firm, notes Stanworth and Curran 1973:184, is particularly suited to the data-theory interaction process which characterises grounded theorising. It seems then, that grounded theorising should overcome many of the theoretical difficulties discussed in understanding rural entrepreneurship.

6.3 The Research Design and Methodology

" From a decision rationality point of view the entrepreneurial role may look irrational, However a framework based on action rationality obviously is more appropriate for understanding entrepreneurship." Johannisson 1988:4

Whilst this research is to be directed by the outcomes of the investigation, this is not to propose some formless enquiry. Practical requirements of constraints of time and infinite possibilities preclude such idealism. Furthermore the argument of research as an ongoing programme, justifies a finite, albeit limited, design. One cannot expect to find all the answers but discovering even some of them, justifies the work. Indeed as Dunleavy 1986:69 notes, "only very rarely is the addition of knowledge from a single academic study independently useful". In this search for understanding the sources are eclectic since a major benefit of grounded theory is that we can consider everything as potential data. As Strauss 1987:11 says, "mine your experiences". In this way we can use theory as a steel to sharpen up our understanding of the incoming data. Thus the wider the eclectic net is cast the more potentially fruitful our grounded theory.

6.3.1. The Research Methods Employed

The formal research, under academic supervision, was conducted over a three and a half year period. The majority of this period was spent in the research area with visits to the university made mainly for the library, discussions and the regeneration of academic enthusiasm. Some visits abroad and to other UK areas were made for the stimulation of new ideas and the comparative analysis of emerging material.

Desk Research

The initial desk research consisted mainly of the exploration of the literature. This is detailed above in the literature section. Additionally formal sources, such as government reports and proposals, were used as primary material for charting social changes, and as secondary sources to triangulate findings. Finally a return to the literature for what Eisenhardt 1989:533 calls, "enfolding the literature", a comparison with similar and conflicting literature.

Participant Observation

Prior to pursuing academia seriously the researcher was actively involved in several small businesses for twenty five years, some fifteen of these as a rural entrepreneur. During this period a keen general, but unstructured interest in the activities of others was maintained, usually with the purpose of seeking

entrepreneurial opportunity. In the latter part of this period formal academic interest heightened and the research idea took shape, so that observations were converted to data relevant to the developing ideas.

Depth Interviews

The main body of respondents, 51 in number, were interviewed at least once using in-depth techniques. This involved long unstructured interviews where the respondents were encouraged to relate their ambitions, feelings, anxieties and the values they sought from their businesses. These interviews were conducted in a relaxed atmosphere.

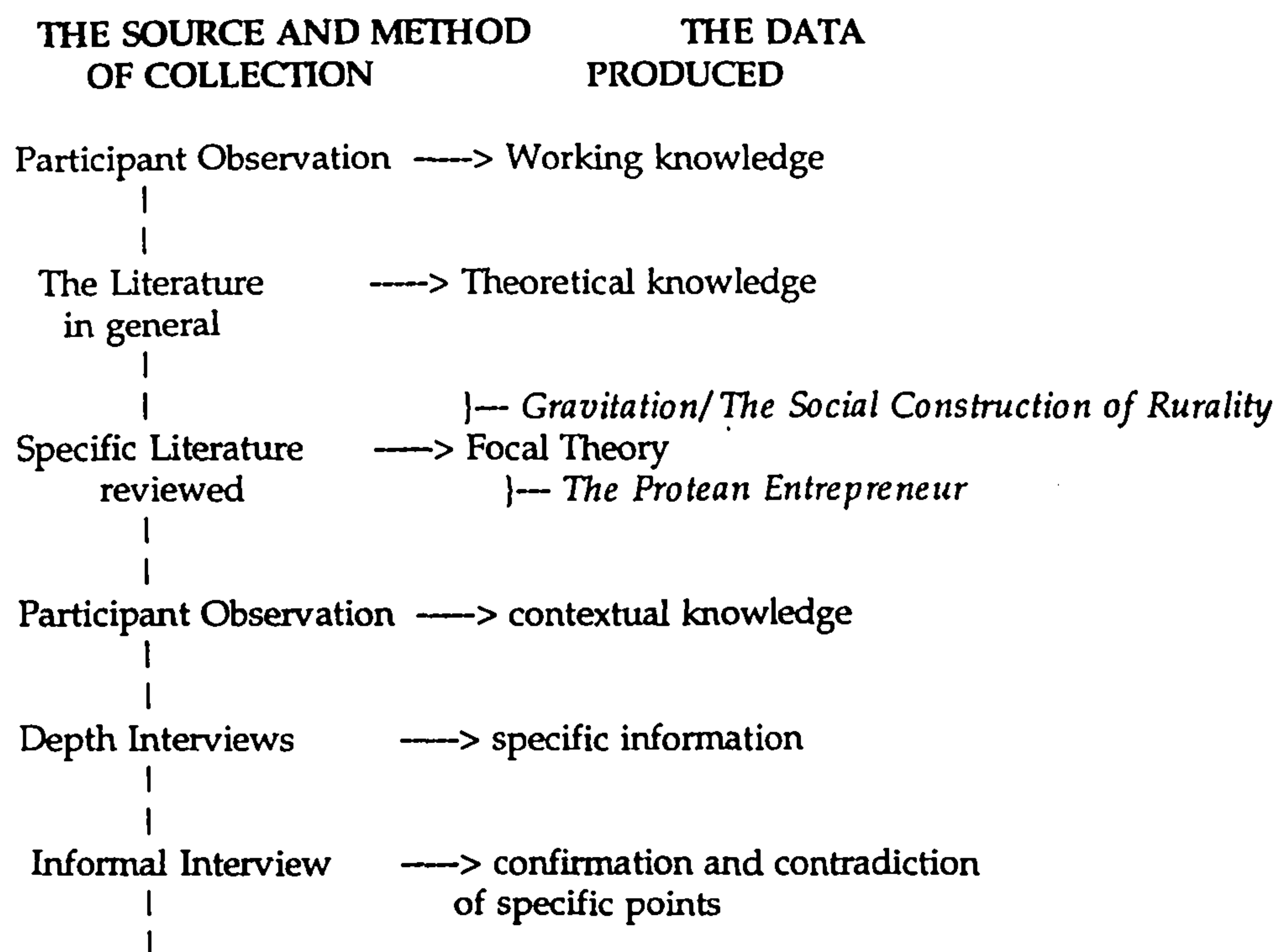
Informal Interviews

Numerous discussions were held within and without the research area. These varied from brief chats of only a couple of minutes to bring the data up to date, to lengthy discussions and questioning in informal circumstances. Most of these were planned but every serendipitous opportunity was fully exploited.

Case Studies

As detailed below three indicative cases were investigated to provide background material to social change in rurality. They were investigated using observation and interview techniques.

6.3.2. A Diagram of The Research Methodology Figure 6



Return to the Literature ----> theoretical confirmation or
| repudiation
|
Case studies ----> background generalisations
of social change

6.4. The Field Research

"But it is of course, not my aim to substitute for a one-sided materialistic, an equally one-sided spiritualist causal interpretation of culture and of history"

Max Weber

1904:192.

6.4.1 Discussion

The earlier discussions indicate the suitability of an ethnographic approach. Paul Atkinson 1979:43 identifies the style as being appropriate for research which is particularly concerned with and characterised by:

- a) The problems of understanding social action
- b) The emphasis on process
- c) The investigation of natural settings
- d) The study of social phenomena in their context (holism)
- e) The assumption that there are always multiple perspectives.

Each of these points has already been highlighted as significant for this research so that the case for an ethnographic methodology is overwhelming. In particular the specific requirement to appreciate rurality's effects on entrepreneurship is anticipated in Strauss's 1987:1 comment, "Qualitative researchers tend to lay considerable emphasis on situational and other structural contexts." Furthermore as Stanworth and Curran's 1986 note that in seeking to interpret the situation the researcher must endeavour to understand what participation means to those involved. The methodology to achieve this difficult goal is explained in some detail with the intent of averting, or reducing the risk of criticism as impressionistic. The techniques of the data collection are explained to show the soundness of the technique. It is argued that the data uncovered would be replicated in a similar study, and the soundness of the methodology is to be substantiated by convincing the reader that the data found was correct.

6.4.2 The data

In the initial stages of the research, even prior to the formulation of the research questions, the data were unspecified and extremely general; a long reflective look at the countryside and rural business people.

Schatzman and Strauss 1973:19 formalise this process as "casing". They identify the objectives of this preliminary appraisal of the research potential as checking the suitability and the feasibility whilst deciding on tactic. The subsequent stages require much more specific data as indicated by the progressive focusing. The ultimate data needed to reflect the entrepreneurs' experiences, attitudes, expectations, understandings, concerns and aspirations towards the countryside and their businesses. Importantly these meanings had to be tempered with their actual practices, what their business was and how it functioned.

To satisfy these different requirements different methods and techniques were used. Essentially participant observation provided the data for "casing" and as a general background to the specifics of the interviews. Thus as well as generating data in its own right, this provided a testing ground for themes emerging from the other techniques. The library research provided the opportunity to develop sensitizing themes, theoretically informed potential ways of understanding the phenomena under observation. Later library work was more concerned with checking for falsification or corroboration of emerging findings. The interview techniques provided progressively more directed and refined data on the actions of the rural entrepreneurs.

6.4.3 The Operationalization of the Research Objectives

The research objectives were operationalized by progressive problem focusing. This involved investigating the original general research area of interest by first exploring the literature. The literature indicated that an appropriate theoretical orientation was Giddens' "structuration" because it recognised the role of structure and agency. This approach produced the initial researchable questions which became the focus of the literature review. These answers derived from this review indicated that the next stage was to develop a narrower focus for the field work with the development of a reformulated research question. Since the literature had shown that rurality was paradoxically a rich cultural environment but a poor physical environment the focused research question became, "what are the different ways that entrepreneurs extract value from rurality?" This question was tackled by collecting data from a number of respondents on how they operated their rural businesses. These data became the basis for the analysis which used grounded theory techniques of analytic induction.

6.4.4 Access to the Research Field

In terms of Gold's 1958 typology of "master roles" in the field, the intermediate position described

as the participant as observer was adopted. This was predetermined by the researcher's previous local working role. Although this provided an easy entry to the field, via the established network there was some concern the change in status from a local entrepreneur to a researcher might have produced potential role conflict (obstructive identification). In fact since steps were taken to minimise detrimental effects, the potential disadvantage of an established position was turned to considerable advantage. This was achieved by emphasising the gamekeeper turned poacher aspects. The research was presented to respondents in such a way that it would make sense to them. In particular, demonstrating that it took empathetic account of their point of view and the legitimacy of their concerns.

The ready made status meant that rapport was easily established on the basis of shared interest, "working knowledge" of small business and local awareness. The transformation of role to researcher was explained by using the ready made perceptions of academic sybaritic lifestyles, " well, its better than working for a living." Furthermore the legends of academic naivety of the real world of small business could be exploited by reference to practical experience. This identity, of entrepreneur turned researcher was therefore superior to simply "passing" as an entrepreneur because of the "legitimacy" derived from the research role. This position also limited the "tall tales" and "stock" answers related, because of this "experienced" status. The inherent paradox was that it was also credible to utilise academic respect. The shift in role was seen as understandable self betterment, regardless of the reality!

The disadvantage of this role was the loss of what Atkinson 1979:62 calls being,"anthropologically strange", the structured naivety of a curious, questioning stranger. Thus there was a risk that over familiarity with the surroundings could lead to common sense observations and a lack of questioning. This potential loss of creative tension was avoided by continued introspection, reflexivity and an awareness of the research role. Notwithstanding these points the role was promoted to respondents as a practical and realistic link between small business and research. This itself encouraged self examination by respondents.

6.4.5 Sampling

Initially the choice of respondents was made on the basis of convenience of access. It was felt that since the direction of the research would be shaped by the emergent data, initially there was no advantage in any other form of selection. Any respondent might produce theoretically interesting data and one with whom an easy rapport was established was more likely to produce information in the first instance. As the

study progressed the sampling became theoretical, different categories were sought in the light of the possible emergent analysis. This was fairly easy at first because of the familiarity with the field. However the samples eventually required to become fairly extreme examples, so that it sometimes became necessary to rely on snowball sampling, asking the respondents if they knew of other possible examples. This was the case in the final stages, when the concepts were becoming theoretically saturated, Glaser & Strauss 1967, so that deviant cases were deliberately sought for testing the emergent theory.

The case studies were selected on the basis that they provided examples of rural social change in action. For the two West Highland cases it was also convenient to attend meetings, and to have easy access to many of the participants. They were structured, purposeful samples as they were extreme cases of rural conflict and change. Furthermore the public meetings provided a unique forum of individuals and groups disseminating their very diverse positions. In turn it also provided a very convenient sampling frame and a focus for informal interviews.

6.5. Data Collection and Recording

"The metaphor that I like is lifting the veils that obscure or hide what is going on. The task of scientific study is to lift the veils that cover the area of group life that one proposes to study. The veils are not lifted by substituting in whatever degree preformed images for first hand knowledge. The veils are lifted by getting close to the area and digging deep into it through careful study" Bulmer 1969:38

6.5.1. Participant Observation,

The first hurdle encountered was not as much recording, but knowing what to record. The "immersion" of participant observation produces an overwhelming quantity of data. It is only with the hindsight of preliminary analysis that it becomes clearer what data is relevant. This meant that in the initial stages of the research reams of miscellaneous notes of "interesting" observations and discussions were generated. Most of these proved irrelevant to the refined research questions.

As the research process developed the value of these observations became clear. They could be used to test the emergent theories against the observed reality. For example, "gravitation", is highly abstract, but it can be compared to observed circumstances and behaviour of farmers. It had been observed that farmers do not operate in a competitive market place. Indeed the co-operation noted at certain times in the farming year, dipping, clipping and Agricultural Shows for instance, runs contrary to expectations of competition.

From this it could be deduced that the competition for farm products was different. Farmers are price takers and are in competition with a social need to keep food prices down rather than being in competition with each other. Gravitation had operated to minimise the value of farm products, thus the co-operation was a necessary strategy to minimise costs.

Similarly the frustration experienced by entrepreneurs at the intransigence and apparent lack of decision taking by Local Authority staff had been noted. However when the behaviour was analysed with "gravitation" in mind the reasons, which were not simply being disobliging and awkward in a petty display of power, became obvious. The hierarchal structure of the bureaucracy drew power in decision making towards the urban centres, limiting and inhibiting the local officer. Even if a local decision could be made it had to be in terms which could be supported and approved at the centre. Thus the scope for local initiatives is very limited.

6.5.2 Depth Interviews

These interviews provided the opportunity to acquire the data to develop, test and analyse the emergent models. They were therefore much more specific in relevant data production, particularly interviews conducted later in the research process. Just as the wider observations field narrowed in the progressive focusing, the later interviews concentrated on the refined topic areas. Initially it was planned to tape record all the interviews but it quickly became clear that the recording inhibited the discussion.

The first few interviews, which were in any case full of interviewing errors such as asking leading questions, or of asking really stupid questions, flowed badly. In later interviews, after the formal discussion when the recorder was switched off, much more interesting, intimate information and opinions was volunteered. It seemed that the recording caused the respondent to engage in impression management; a stiff pose of how they would like to be. They spoke for the benefit of the recorder rather than to me. Consequently, in subsequent interviews only very limited notes were made and the key points written up as soon as possible after the interview. Often this involved driving off to the first available parking place and scribbling in the car. On one occasion I had inadvertently parked within sight of the subject. Embarrassingly he came down to see if my car had broken down and found me writing furiously.

One problem encountered was that some of the themes of interest were rarely voluntarily articulated. Some were taken for granted, the reasons for moving or continuing to live in the country was

one example. Others, such as, "what are your ambitions?" a sustained effort and delicate probing was needed to encourage their reflexivity, and avoid receiving "correct" answers. Conversely the interviews provided a forum for respondents to parade their skills and competencies and what they felt was important to them. This concentration of information is inaccessible by observation techniques.

6.5.3 Formal Interviews

These were often spontaneous, or deliberately made to appear so. The idea was to reduce the "interview" effect generated by the formality of an arranged meeting. Off-the-cuff, unguarded unpremeditated comments were often as enlightening as carefully reflected statements. "How is business?" at a chance meeting, often produced material which did not corroborate with the more formal statements. Probing, "Oh, it's picked up then" showed that such instinctive responses were for a general public consumption and really did not reflect the true situation.

These short interviews were particularly useful for elaborating on some point which arose after the formal interview. They also required some mental agility and imperturbability. One respondent, chosen as an extreme case of status production, bookie, was carefully engaged in conversation. The initial idea was to find whether he saw this occupational status as high or low. His son was introduced to me and this seemed to offer an opening. "Has your son been in the business with you long?" "No", he replied, "only a few weeks." "Has he been getting some experience elsewhere" I asked innocently, thinking of some National Chain of bookmakers. " Yes I suppose he was, he's just out of Saughton, he was in for attempted murder".

6.5.4. Case studies

These were three short indicative cases which were used to confirm and test the general data about rurality. Data was collected within the participant observer role. The first case, the Fintry Hotel and Leisure development proposal consisted of brief visits and informal interviews. The second case, the formal Planning Enquiry about housing development in Kilmartin was an opportunity to listen to formal statements of resident's impressions of place. The final case, the Scottish Heritage's proposal to make Loch Sween a Marine Nature Reserve was the occasion to explore the justifications of this Quango's proposal in their formal proposal. This was usefully contrasted with "heightened" local opinion as expressed at the public meetings.

These cases provided instances of conflict over the direction of rural change, so were able to test

the "reality" of the Social Construction of Rurality. They also illustrated the commodification of the countryside, where the main drift was towards a redefinition of rural places as zones of consumption rather than zones of production. Scottish Heritage's Loch Sween proposals seemed to reflect this position. The "reserve" designation suggested an anticipated public consumption of the Loch as "natural" zone. This ossification was justified as protection of natural heritage. This rationale was passionately repudiated by locals, who saw change, for the benefit of others, being imposed on them. So change in this instance was not a smooth evolving role shift but rather the turbulent manifestation of interests. Thus the observations from the cases could be analysed to determine the shape of the different interests involved in the conflict.

6.6. The Nature of the Data and its Quality

6.6.1 The Objectives Surrounding the Data

The preliminary objective of the data collection was to gather and record error free observations of the entrepreneur's own accounts of their actions and experiences, and to record a less interpretive account of what these actions were. The secondary and ensuing objective was to fit the primary data into categories suggested and derived from the research, categories which would therefore be analytically valuable.

6.6.2 The Forms of the Data Produced

In accordance with these objectives the data recorded fell into two categories. The first, the raw data, matched the primary objective. The second, the structured data, reflected the secondary objective. The raw data consists of:-

1). a list of observations

a) based on the subject's perceptions, tapping their multiple perspectives;

b) based on the researcher's observations, consisting mainly of harder, more objective indicators and measures of lifestyle etc..

This raw data needed to be coded to show what kinds of information it contains. It required a structure which can use the above combination as the basis for legitimate inference to become the structured data, which consequently consists of:-

2). categories derived from the data, which place the subjective understanding into context, and reflect the research goals.

a) definitive concepts developed from the sensitizing concepts, eg local/cosmopolitan and testing the "protean" notions derived from the literature.

b) ethnographic descriptions of the entrepreneurs, narrative accounts of the entrepreneur's perspectives, their social situation and the process of social interaction, i.e. what entrepreneurship means to the respondent.

These provide the basis for analysis and are derived from the exploration of similarities, inconsistencies and the questioning of the natural and obvious to provide tentative multiple hypothetical categories for testing through analytic induction. As Rosen 1991:1 says, "Ethnography is a method for both data collection and

analysis, each is irrevocably mated to the other."

6.6.3. The Quality of the Data

The quality of the data reflects the methodological commitment as discussed above, and this involves some trade off between the naturalism of the research setting and the generalizability of the data produced.

The Validity of the data.

This was considered to be the most important aspect of the data quality, ensuring that the data measures what it purports to record. Problems which were envisaged were the subjectivity of the collected material. First the researcher's own bias, some of which could be what Heidegger called pre-understanding, but could colour the results to produce what is anticipated. Secondly the subjects' concerns about creating the best impression might lead them to elaborate or conceal.

The first of these is impossible to eradicate, it can only be acknowledged. It was however, possible to triangulate the emerging theory in the total field by participant observation, but this might simply consolidate the bias. The return to the literature provides the best opportunity to reveal inconsistencies because these must be explained. The second difficulty was overcome by developing rapport over time, building trust and confidence. This however was developed at the cost of exposing the interviewer's own position. Nonetheless it was considered a satisfactory trade-off in research which seeks out the respondents' own ideas and how they made sense of their world.

The content validity, whether the subject was telling the truth, was a thorny problem. Apart from the obvious difficulty of impression management, there was the underlying problem of different "life worlds". Because of differences people did see different things in a different way. This was not intentional dissembling, or a deliberate attempt to mislead but a social production. The data produced by attempting to measure these differences on a common scales, (lifestyles and presentation of attitudes) was especially valuable.

A further problem encountered was of change over time. Again, apparently without any ulterior motives, people's stories changed. Although the detailed research period was just over two years, some respondent's reasons had altered considerably within that time. This was particularly pronounced in discussions of motivation. Regularly respondents would subtly change their reasons to fit some

contemporary "moral panic" or political rhetoric, or their own changed circumstances. This *post-hoc* rationality remained a problem since it was obvious that many respondents simply tailored their stories to suit, what Mills called the "vocabulary of motives." Even when it was possible to know the story had changed, usually within a later discussion or in group general conversation, there was no way of knowing which was the correct version. This in fact led to the deduction, that entrepreneurs were indeed protean; and that these tactics of post-hoc rationality were a survival device to cope with change, an adjustment of reality.

Control was enhanced by the ability to check, over time, that the respondent actually did what they said they did, to compare the account with the actions. In addition it was often possible to ask an informant about another informant in an indirect fashion. "Oh do you mean like Willy Smith". This gave informants the chance to validate or deny a respondent's information, and sometimes led to filling out the original subjects story with the bits that they did not want to talk about. If, in the course of an interview some prevarication or evasion was noted it was felt that it was better to confront the point as diplomatically as possible rather than ignoring it. This called for tact and delicate manoeuvring. For example, "but you said earlier that you thought that isolation was the biggest problem, now you seem to be suggesting that it may be lack of capital. Could you rate these for me, which is the most important at this moment?" Rapport could be successfully maintained as long as the inconsistency was challenged in such a way as to be seeking clarification rather than dispute.

External validity of the data has been largely "traded-off" for population and ecological validity. It may be that the findings hold good for other similar areas, but the methodology, in particular the sampling technique, limits the confidence which may be placed on external validity. However the technique of grounded theorising, with iterative testing ought to produce *theory* which has high external validity, and be applicable to a number of universes.

The Reliability of the data.

Reliability is taken to refer to the consistency of the results, whether they are able to replicated. This can be difficult in subjective understanding which is derived from the researcher's understanding. However some steps were taken to improve the reliability of the data, so that another researcher in the same unique position would produce similar data. More importantly the data is firmly grounded in the experiences of

the entrepreneurs. Thus the categories which emerge from the data are first level abstractions, they show what is common to the respondents. So even if the subjective understandings were to be interpreted differently the pattern of communalities would remain intact. Bias, at this stage is cancelled out. This is the core of the data and accordingly it is claimed to be reliable.

At the level of data collection the problem of reactive effects, in particular the personal reactivity, the potential impact of the researcher's idiosyncratic behaviour might affect the reliability. In quantitative methods this can be minimised by prior specification of the research process but this could not be applied in this instance which relies on the researcher's subjective understanding. The incomplete resolution of this problem is to clearly set out the methods and assumptions, to provide reflexive accounts. Thereby allowing readers to judge for themselves the reactive effects. In the case of the analysis of the entrepreneurs' attitudes, lifestyles, motivation and innovation scores it was possible to have these scored independently by my partner who knew many of the respondents. Furthermore, since the attitudes etc. were scored on the same scale, albeit on an a potentially idiosyncratic scale where the researcher is his own measuring instrument, the results remain consistent within that scoring system.

On the other hand this research procedure reduces the risk of procedural reactivity, where the research process itself risks draining the data of the respondents' meanings. Bygrave 1991 dubs these researchers the "R" squared purists and questions the ecological validity of their results. Furthermore these "black box models" Lacey 1978:168, correlations of inputs and outputs singularly fail to consider the contents of the black box which is an objective of this research. Consequently there has to be a compromise between these areas and the method chosen seemed to offer a pragmatic and effective solution. Nonetheless the use of scales to measure some of the evolved attributes improved the reliability of the analysis. However, many of the categories once identified became unmistakably recognisable. The local-cosmopolitan dichotomy, for example, could have had precise criteria, but in fact the distinctions were so clear cut as to require no talmudic hair splitting.

6.7 Reservations and Limitations

a) All analytic induction requires that the phenomenon be reinvestigated for negative or non conforming cases. However there is always the problem, the problem of induction, that there is an undiscovered example which does not fit. So despite rigorous attempts to find these cases by looking at extreme cases

this possibility remains.

b) A further point is that some area may have been completely missed. The inductive method requires that all potential explanations are considered and evaluated. Thus some point which could have provided a complete and simple explanation could have eluded the data collection. It is however unlikely that all the other rural entrepreneurs were Martians !

c) The systematic collection of data was conducted in a relatively short time frame. Attitudes and reactions as was indicated by the post-hoc rationality discussed earlier, are likely to be fluid and unlikely to remain fixed over time. Consequently these data must be regarded as a snap shot, the situation at this time.

6.8 General

6.8.1 Pilots

Although the first few interviews were not formally designated as "pilots", they in fact fulfilled this role. As a relatively inexperienced interviewer so many errors and gaffs were made as to made them spectacularly unsuccessful. These took the form of asking banal questions, "Do you like living here?" to which I received appropriate answers, "yes"; asking leading questions which presumed the answer, "Does the relative lack of customer numbers produce problems?" These elementary errors were a result of lack of confidence and lack of really knowing what information I wanted. Surprisingly this did not produce any discernable difficulties on re-interviewing these long suffering guinea pigs.

6.8.2 Observations

A personal note: On reading this formal justification and account of the research, especially the research setting, I am stuck at how cold and logical the ritualistic but approved format has become. This sanitised version conceals the emotions of the research. I wanted to know about rural entrepreneurship, I did not stumble upon an interesting research problem and a convenient site. I wanted to understand what other businessmen felt. As Hirschman 1977 puts it, passions are upgraded by reason whilst reason is lent force and direction by passion. I grew excited as the results began to emerge. I danced home after a splendidly successful interview when the respondent told me all I wanted to know and then made connections that slotted things in place.

Importantly the respondents remained as people, messy, inconveniently inconsistent warm-blooded human beings; they are not entirely reducible to statistics. Yet I grew tired, bored and disheartened with the data processing. The anxieties of the night materialized the certainty that I had missed the point entirely, that to continue was pointless and that it was a waste of time. All these things must inevitably affect the research, although not necessarily detrimentally. For example, the opportunity to concentrate exclusively on the practical and theoretical exploration of one area of personal interest was a realised ambition. It was this aspiration which provided the spur to do just one more interview, one more phone call and to read that one last book, just to be sure. Since surely all researchers must experience some of these frissons and compassionate insights? Yet given the need for alertness to researcher bias in this subjectivist, *verstehen* account and analysis, it seems essential to fill out the picture, to acknowledge these emotions which may have coloured the research.

6.8.3. The production of Research Data and Results

A final reflexive note about the production of data. This chapter provides a tidy account of the research process. Whilst it remains an accurate account, its description benefits greatly from hindsight. At many stages of the research the continuing direction was a great deal less obvious than the description admits, and the structure a great deal more chaotic. This account and the later analysis also circumvent, in the interests of clarity, the many cul-de-sacs and theoretical diversions pursued. Nor was the process of collection as smooth and fluent as is perhaps implied by the formal description. Nonetheless Figure 61 provides a summary of the research process and the methodologies employed.

A Summary of the Research Process and Methodologies

Figure 61

Area of study	Method of Data Collection and processing	Quantity/ period	Type of data and analysis	Relationship to the Research Objectives	Product
Rural Small Business	Participant Observation	several years	Working knowledge	The generation of animating questions	Interest
The Literature	Critical Review	extensive and eclectic	Theoretical knowledge	Definitions and dimensions of rurality and entrepreneurship	a focus for the research and sensitizing themes
Rurality	Participant Observation	3 indicative cases of rural change opportunistically sampled	contextual knowledge	a test of the existence in practice of the social construction	confirmation
Rural entrepreneurs	depth interviews	initially 20 selected for variability	ethnographic-life histories business experiences information on the businesses	Specific information on what they do	raw data as "themes of explanation"
Raw data	inductive analysis	on all the above	preliminary categories	characteristics of the sample	differentiating qualities
Other rural entrepreneurs	depth interview and analysis	25 selected by "snowballing"	constant comparative analysis	testing and refutation of the characteristics	theoretical saturation
The respondents and a new sample	short informal and depth interviews of extreme cases	12 previous 6 new respondents	testing by "falsification"	the reliability of the categories	valid theory
Return to The literature	comparitive analysis	selected for apparent relevance	a check for further evidence	comparability of findings with established literature	confidence and a measure of validity

The Purpose of this chapter was,

1. To consider the methodological issues involved in this study.
2. To demonstrate the most appropriate methodology for this research.
3. To detail, explain and account for the methodologies and research techniques

This was accomplished by,

1. Showing that the research issues were not amenable to an empirical approach and that qualitative techniques would be the most suitable and effective.
2. By arguing that the field data collection should be theoretically informed by the literature, and that these data could be satisfactorily analyzed by inductive techniques.
3. By detailing the procedures followed and noting the strengths and weaknesses of these techniques.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DATA

7.1. INTRODUCTION

7.1.1 The Structure of this chapter

7.1.2 The Data

7.2. THE DATA

7.2.1 The Respondents in the data

7.2.2 The Data Collection Area

7.2.3 Industries and Employment

7.2.4 The People

7.2.5 The Local People and Their Place

7.3 THE EMERGING PROPERTIES OF THE DATA

7.3.1 Segmentation of the Data into Primary Classifications

- Locals and Cosmopolitans

7.4 THE RURAL BUSINESS

7.4.1 Products

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7.4.3 Markets

7.4.4 Entrepreneurial Strategies

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7.5. THE ENTREPRENEURS

7.5.1 Reasons to Entreprende

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7.6. MOTIVATION, ACTION AND OUTCOMES WITHIN THE CONTINUING RURAL BUSINESSES

7.6.1 Motivation and Rationalities

7.6.2 Individual Motivations

7.6.3 General Motivation, "The Manufacture of Importance"

7.6.4 Locals

7.6.5 Marginals

7.6.6 Cosmopolitans

7.6.7 Extreme Cases

The research objectives of the data collection were to gather information on how entrepreneurs create and extract value from the rural environment.

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- Table 7.2 Changes in Vat Registered Companies 1990-1991
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- Figure 7.2 Argyll and Isles Economic Structure
- Figure 7.3 Types of Business Sampled
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7.1.1 The Structure of the Chapter

This chapter begins with a background description of the data, the nature and qualities. This is followed by a broad description of the area, the respondents and their environment. A selection of statistical information about the area is provided to emphasise the remoteness and the rurality of the area. The chapter then moves on to a reflexive account the primary division of the data into the two explanatory categories, locals and cosmopolitans.

This is followed by an examination of properties, in particular the differences, between the two categories. It first considers the rural businesses, by looking at products and markets, and finds that there are significant differences between the groups. The data indicates that differences appear to be related to the way that local and cosmopolitan businesses use rural space to maintain their viability. The variations in entrepreneurial strategy are then conceptualised using constant comparative analysis, so that it is argued that many cosmopolitans commodify aspects of rurality whilst locals use a spatial monopoly. Further sections consider how and if, these differences affect the performance of rural firms. The next section moves on to examine the rural entrepreneurs themselves, to consider their motivations and to relate differences to the primary categories. Throughout the chapter data which appears to be inconsistent with these conceptualisations is sought and carefully considered. This is primarily a testing procedure, to test the content validity and to ensure the best "fit" within constant comparative analysis. Where the data conflicts or appears to disagree with the emergent category or account an explanation is offered.

7.2 The Data

The data collected on the respondents varied in quantity and detail. At its simplest this mirrors the research interest, some respondents were simply more theoretically interesting than others. Academically this is justified by the research process which directs the discriminatory selection of abstracted categories. However the development of these categories required a comprehensive understanding of the general situation which surrounds the rural entrepreneur, as discussed in Chapters Three, Four and Five. In part this was fulfilled by the literature review, so that the literature discussion should be considered as part of the data. Whilst this provided a theoretical background, a pre-understanding, the actual situations experienced by the respondents is the vital concern of the field work and had to be compared to the environments discussed in the literature. So although these data are "primary" it is acknowledged that even the collection of primary data has been "processed" by subjective filtering.

7.2.1 The Respondents in the Sample

The respondents are all involved in small business, although business types vary, few have many employees. Figure 7.1 describes the business characteristics of the sample. Only one firm from the sample has over one hundred staff, they are the largest private employers in the area. The definition of a small business is probably best summarised by Brunaker 1993, who argues that the distinguishing feature of small business is "owner or family management", rather than a firm which employs professional management. The largest firm in the sample has grown, within the research period, beyond this definition. Although it has now evolved a professional management structure the owners maintain intimate control of the business.

The sample is not untypical of business in the area. Figures 7.2 and 7.3, which although they are not strictly comparable, provide some justification for this claim. Nonetheless, no claim is made to the accuracy of the sample as a representation of the whole rural population. A further check on the ecological validity of the data was conducted by obtaining a list of businesses in a similar Highland location, the Cowal area, and conducting a brief comparison by telephone. The purpose of the comparison was to establish if there were any significant differences in business types by calling any business which appeared to be different. This revealed a close similarity to the study data, no substantive differences in business types or operations were found. Keeble et al's 1992 empirical rural study of England also showed a similar breakdown in enterprise size for remote rural areas. These checks support confidence in the validity of the samples, in terms of business size and type and theoretical representation despite the sampling methods employed.

7.2.2 The Data Collection Area

The Highlands and Islands comprise 50% of the land area of Scotland, nearly 17% of Great Britain. The 39,050 square kilometres are one third larger than Belgium, yet the population of 368,000, at 9 people per square kilometre, represents only 0.6% of the UK total. This is in contrast to the UK average density of 233 per kilometre, or the Scottish figure of 65. Space is therefore an important feature of the study.

The data was collected within the West Highlands, in an area broadly bounded by Fort William to the North, Dalmailly to the East and Campbeltown to the South. The study centred on one medium sized town, with approximately 3,000 inhabitants and the surrounding villages and countryside. Using all the indicators of rurality described in Chapter 3, section 3.1, the area may be confidently described as rural. The predominant land use is agriculture and forestry, the farming is extensive, mainly rough hill pasture with stock breeding. Consequently the landscape is open countryside, forest, hills and water. Population density is low, although higher than the area average, at 10 per hectare, it reflects the extensive agriculture and lack

Argyll and Islands Economic Structure

Employment by sector in 1991

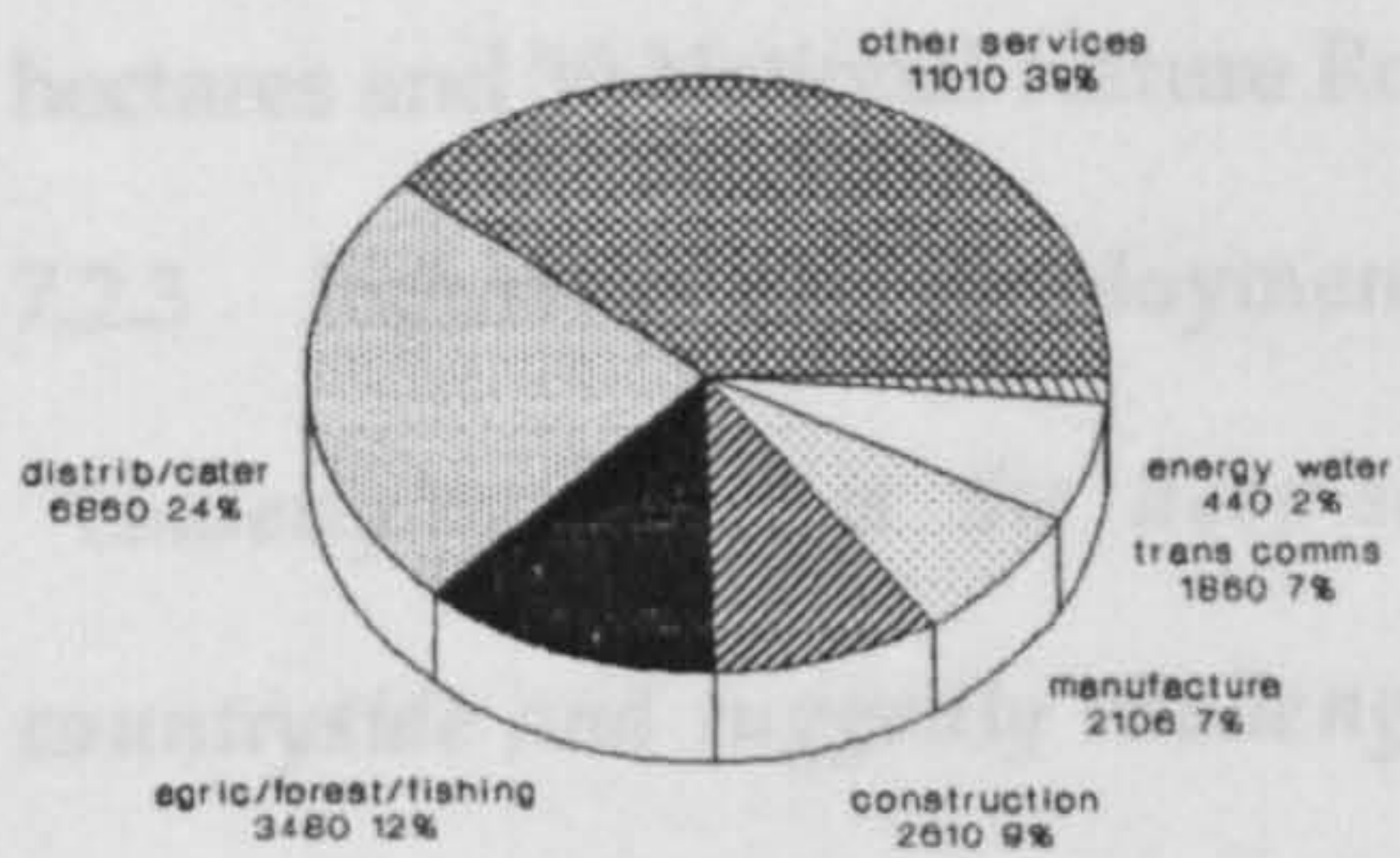


Figure 7.2

Data Description

Types of business sampled

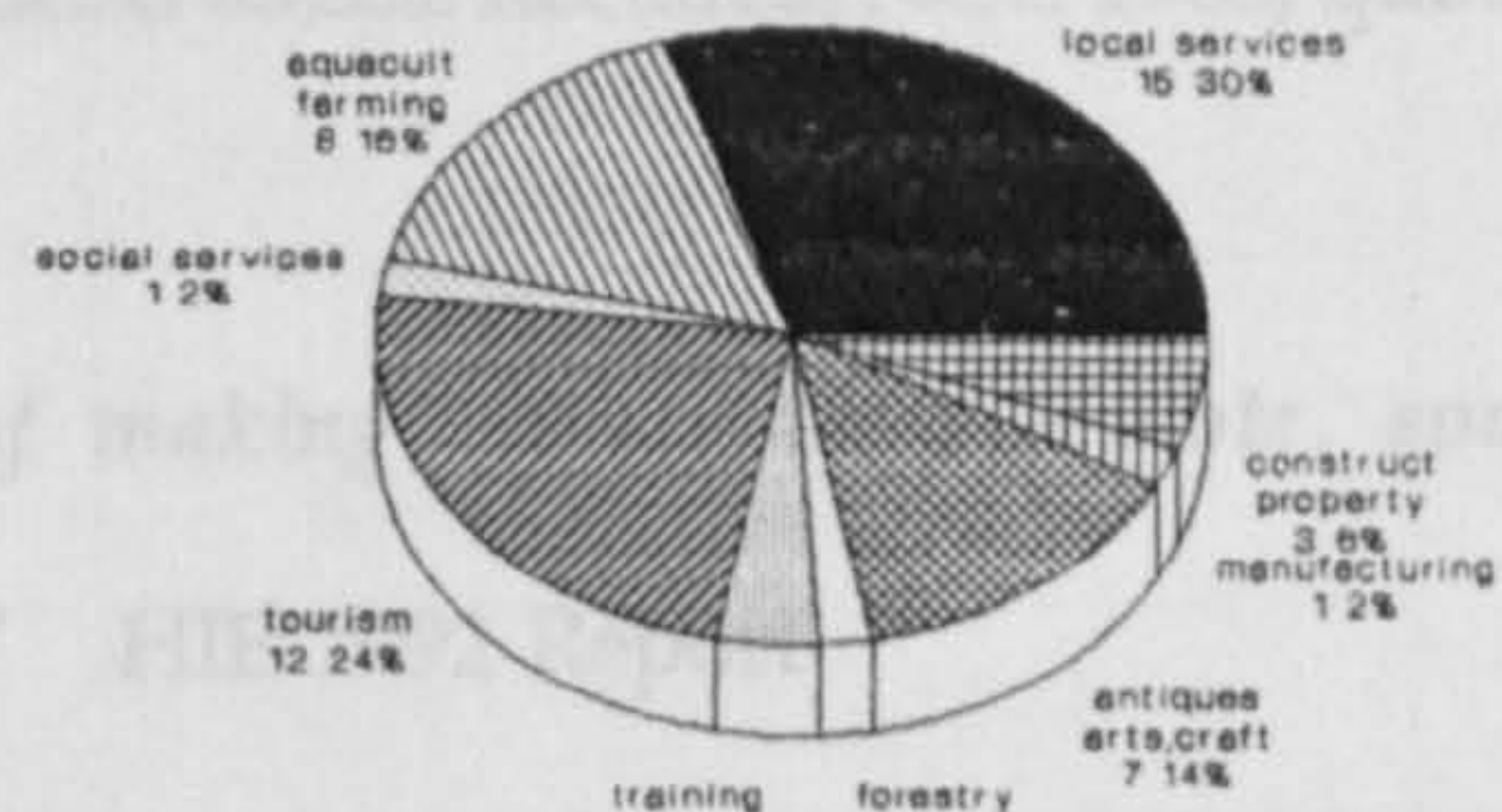


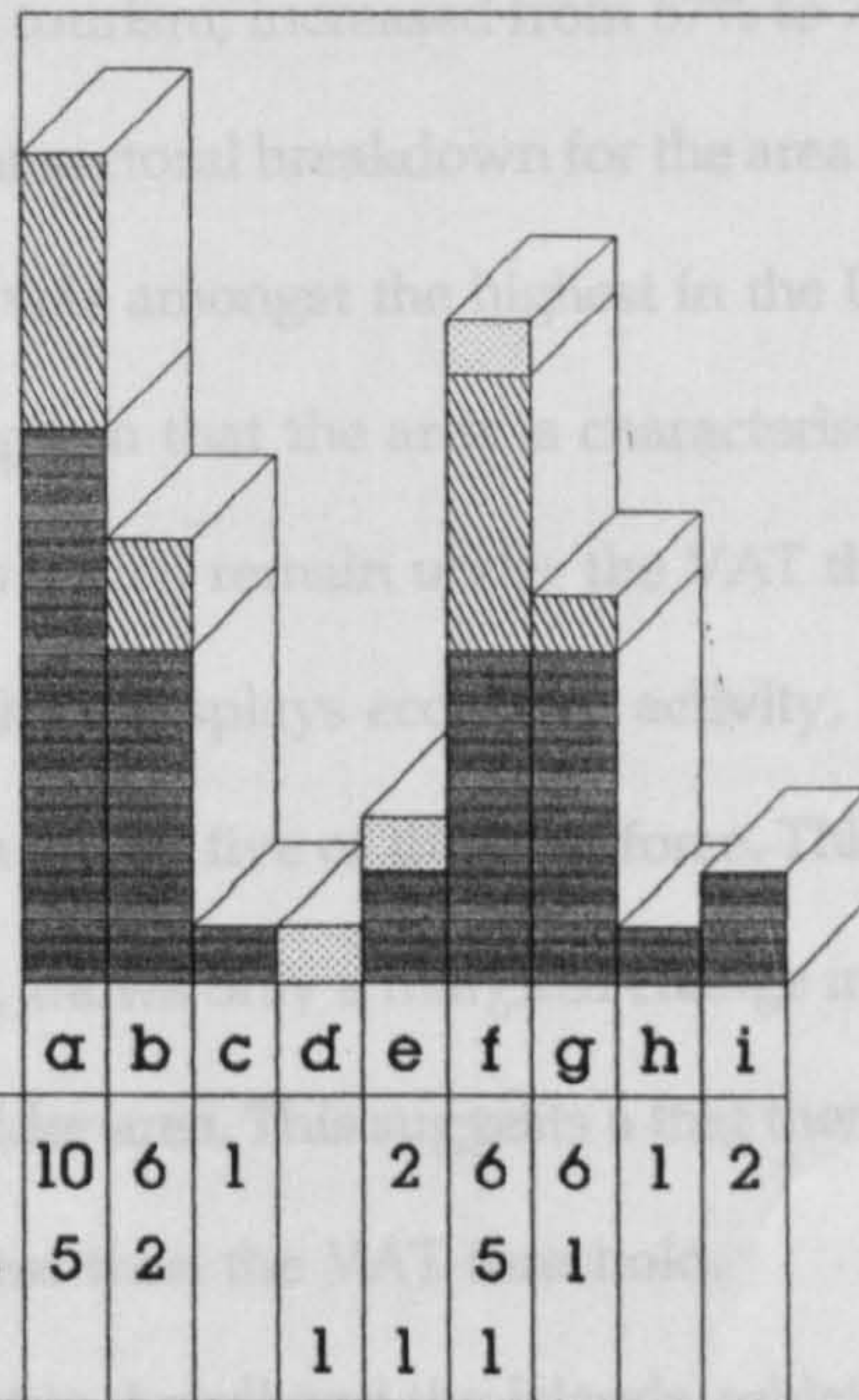
Figure 7.3

Source:HIE Network Information June 1994

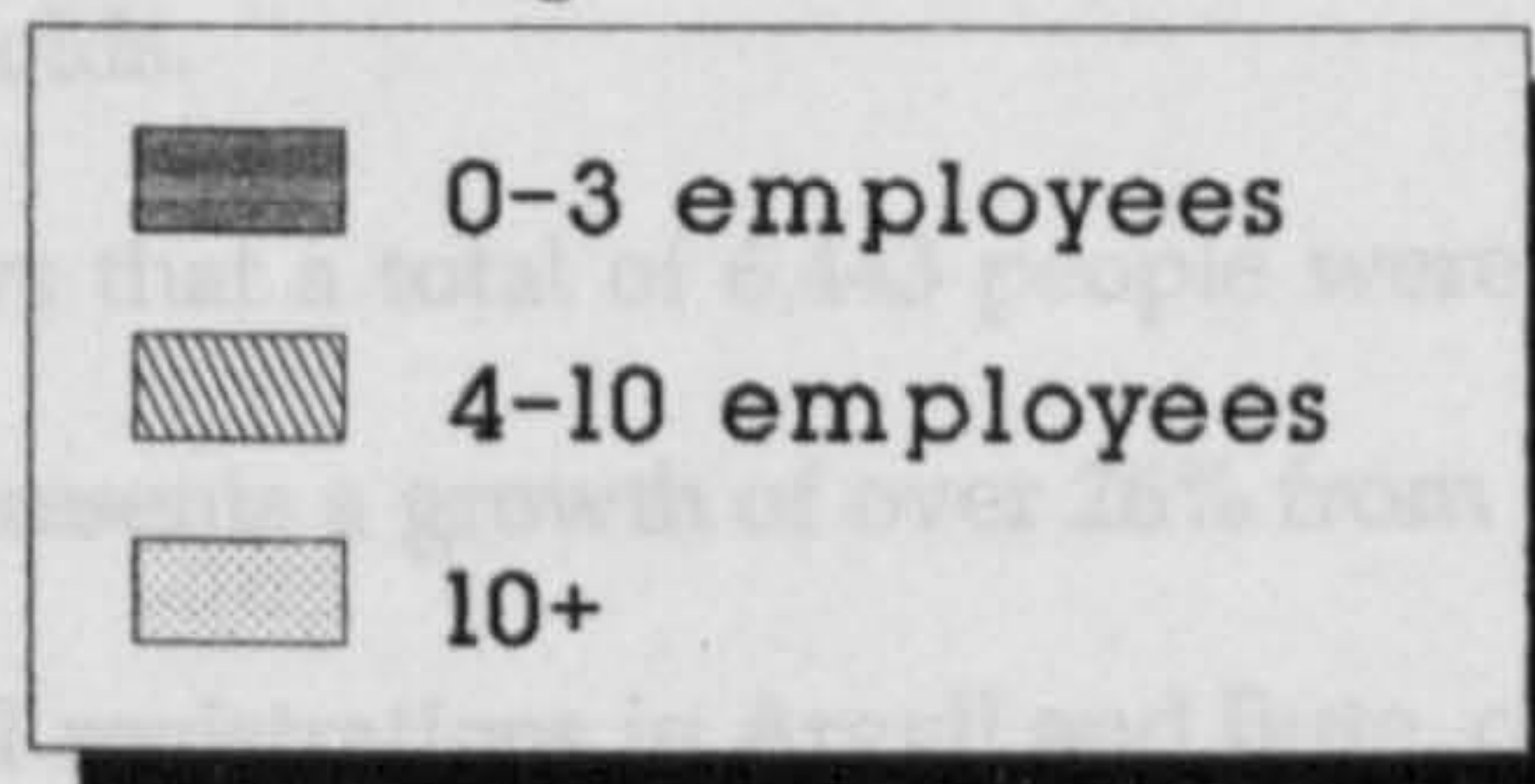
Note: 1st figure is no.sampled, 2nd is %

**Description of the data
The respondents' businesses**

Size by sector



- a: local services
- b: aquaculture and farming
- c: manufacturing
- d: forestry
- e: property/construct
- f: tourism
- g: antiques/art/craft
- h: social services
- i: training



Employee no. range per sector

Figure 7.1 Range and size by employees

of industry. In terms of even Cloke's 1977 continuum the area is unmistakably rural.

Although "rurality" was shown in the literature review to be a broad category, the study area is characterised by the key features identified in the literature to delineate the remoter rural areas. For example, Aydolt 1986, suggests low standards of public and private services, no obvious urban focus, few large industries; Gilg 1985, a lack of metropolitan influences; Keeble 1992, sparse population and relative remoteness from large towns; all these features characterize this rural area. In environmental terms the Highlands and Islands, in 1988, contained 572 Sites of Special Scientific Interest which totalled 515,916 hectares and 39 National Nature Reserves which included 83,532 hectares, NCC 1988, quoted in HIDB 1990.

7.2.3 Industries and Employment.

"Underlying it all is the deep-seated difficulty of making money in a remote, sparsely populated countryside and ruggedly challenging land and sea" HIE 1992 Report

Although agricultural and forestry are conspicuous, tourism is identified by Highlands and Islands Enterprise as the key local industry. Nonetheless, HIE 1993:7,8 report that the area is under-represented in national terms in major growth areas, in spite of the importance of tourism. In 1987, 17.9% of employees in the Highlands and Islands were in sectors defined as "growing". This compares with a Scottish figure of 19.1% and a UK figure of 22%.

Regionally, primary employment declined from 9% in 1981 to 7% of total employment in 1987, whilst services, including tourism, increased from 67% to 73%. Manufacturing remained steady at 13%. Figure 7.2 provides a different sectoral breakdown for the area in 1991. In the 1980's the Highland rate of new business VAT registrations was amongst the highest in the UK. However this may conceal a much higher trend of self employment, given that the area is characterised by small businesses, there may be many additional smaller businesses which remain under the VAT thresholds.

Table 7.1 which displays economic activity, shows that a total of 6,443 people were self employed in 1991, more than one in five of the workforce. This represents a growth of over 26% from 1981. Table 7.2, on the other hand, shows only a marginal change in VAT registrations in Argyll and Bute, compared to the increases in the wider area. This suggests a that there is a trend towards more small, even micro, businesses, with a turnover less than the VAT threshold.

Unemployment in Argyll and the Islands, which has a cyclical seasonal pattern, averaged 9.1% in April 1994, and over half of this number had been unemployed for more than six months, HIE 1994:5. Disposable incomes are some 10% lower than the UK average, this is probably a result of the low GDP per worker, which in Argyll and Bute is 75% of the Scottish Average. Housing tenure also reflects the lower income

¹ ARGYLL and the ISLANDS

Table 7.1 **ECONOMIC ACTIVITY 1991**

	Males	Females	Total
- <i>Employees full time</i>	11,425	6,663	18,088
- <i>Employees part time</i>	578	4,601	5,179
Self Employed- <i>with employees</i>	1,803	706	2,509
<i>without employees</i>	2,961	973	3,934
On a Government training scheme	428	203	631
Economically inactive	7,611	16,202	23,813
- students	873	953	1,826
- permanently sick	1,464	1,111	2,575
- retired	5,083	6,842	11,925
- Other inactive *	191	7,296	7,487

TRENDS 1981 - 1991

1. Self-employment : The number of self employed increased by more than 26 % to over 6,400

2. Full time versus part time employment :
In 1981 only 17.1% worked part time by 1991 this had increased to 22.3%.

* Other inactive: people who chose not to work rather than being un
able to work

The statistics refer to people aged 16 and over.

levels. Mid Argyll and Kintyre has some 31% owner occupation, 49.6% council owned and 10.9% in non-permanent housing. This compares with the HIE area averages of 44.4%, 37.3% and 1.9% respectively. Unsurprisingly given the population density and distances between places, in Argyll and Bute 64% of the households have a car. Whilst this is higher than the comparable Scottish figure of 57.4%, significantly only 13.5% of the households have two or more cars, compared to the national figure of 16.2%, Regional Trends 28 1993:191.

7.2.4 The People

The "Highland Problem", which was a concern of much of the 1960's and 1970's literature appears, empirically, to be solved. The steady population decline experienced until 1971 reversed till 1981, and remained fairly stable (a fall of 0.3%) in the ensuing decade. The Argyll and Islands area had a population of 71,007 in 1991, according to the 1991 Census of Population. As table 7.5 shows, the area now has a high proportion of in-migrants, in 1991 English in-migrants represented 12.2% of the resident population. This is in contrast to the decline in the number of Scots born residents. A further significant point shown in the Census was the decline in the numbers (4%) of the 15-19 age group. This is attributed, by the HIE Economic Network Information 1994 to young school leavers pursuing tertiary education or job seeking. Interestingly some 52.5% of the in-migrants from England and Wales are in the 20-44 age group, indicating that in-migrants may be expected to be economically active rather than retired.

7.2.5 The Local People and Their Place

If you were to arrive as a stranger, the first thing which would strike you is the quiet. There are few cars or even tractors to be heard or seen, even in the towns there is rarely bustle. On a wet winter's evening you might think the town was shut, deserted cars stand a lonely watch. But in the summertime the streets are busier as holiday makers wander, straggling groups studying the fading seed packets in the ironmonger's display or to wonder at the houses offered for sale in the lawyer's office window. Their meanders are punctuated by little clutches of locals earnestly catching up on the day's events. Lunchtime sees the only urgency, as shoppers rush to catch the shops before they close.

You could tell the tourists by their dress, they wear bright new holiday clothes. Local people dress against the weather, anoraks or well-used waxed jackets. Formal dress is saved for best, church, weddings and funerals and then the dated styles stand out against their gnarled hands and reddened necks of outdoor workers. Suits and briefcases usually identify a sales rep, local authority staff or the Vat man. Women dress warmly, fashion plays second to comfort. In the town welly boots mark out the incomers, locals only wear them for work, whilst farmers seem obliged to display cloth caps.

Table 7.2**ARGYLL and BUTE DISTRICT****Changes in VAT Registered Companies**

INDUSTRY	REGISTERED BUSINESSES	NET % CHANGE 1990 - 1991
construction	250	- 4.3
transport	80	-5.9
wholesale	90	-2.8
retail	270	-2.4
finance and related	110	- 0.8
catering	330	+ 1.8
motor trade	70	+ 5.7
other services	170	+ 1.8
TOTAL	2,187	- 0.3

In the period 1990 -1991,

247 companies were withdrawn from the the VAT register

240 companies were added to the VAT register

The industry breakdowns are rounded up or down to the nearest 10 for reasons of confidentiality, but the totals are unrounded.

ARGYLL and the ISLANDS

Table 7.4 RESIDENTS BY AGE 1981 AND 1991

Age group	1981 (% of total)	1991 (% Of total)
0 - 4	6.1	6.1
2 -19	22.7	18.8
20 - 44	31.2	32.9
45 - 64	21.5	23.3
65 - 84	17.2	17.1
85 +	1.3	1.9

Table 7.5 Residents by country of birth 1981 and 1991

	1981 total	1981 %	1991 total	1991 %
Scotland	57,471	83.5	57,558	81 .0
England	6,493	9.4	8,631	12.2
Other UK	755	1.1	653	0.9
Outside UK	4,096	6.0	4,174	5.9

English, with a gentle Highland lilt, is the lingua franca. Gaelic can only be heard on the rarest of occasions, as old islanders chat quietly amongst themselves, and even then, if they think they may be overheard, they change to English to avoid offence. Offence is rarely given, save the drunken bravado of brawling youths on Saturday nights. The code of conduct is usually amiable friendliness, an interest in others, which closely borders nosiness, the gentle disposition and tolerance mark out the West Highlander.

The pub, for many men, provides the social focus, a chance to discuss parochial affairs and work. On Fridays with the confidence of their paypackets, the talk is louder but rarely brash. Younger women use pubs too, though usually the swankier lounge bars, but as an opportunity to see and to be seen. Older women with young children join daytime groups of other mothers, whilst older ladies join the Woman's Rural and sell each other tea and home made cakes at "coffee" mornings.

7.3 The Emerging Properties of the Data

Early in the data collection it became apparent that there were some basic differences discernable amongst the entrepreneurs or business people. The clarification of these features became a priority, because if these were found to be significantly different they might offer an organising framework to structure the data, and hopefully to give some analytical insights into the research question. Eventually this proved to be the case.

7.3.1 Segmentation Of The Data into Primary Classifications

"Locals And Cosmopolitans"

Actually pinpointing the specific differences proved difficult. Although there was a number of clues, they were frequently contradictory. The variations seemed to be a matter of attitudes, different frames of mind about the world and consequently difficult to define. One group seemed more parochial, much more locally focused. I conversationally asked one respondent, whose haulage business involved him in trips to England, how he had got on. Did he get a back load? He replied, *"no way, I don't want to hang around down there. I'm better off back here"*. When pressed to explain why he chose to forego the extra revenue it eventually transpired that he really was only comfortable in his home surroundings. Fred is not a simple-minded rustic, he often deals with large firms as a sub-contractor. He has a reputation for being able to get hold of difficult spare parts, often quicker and cheaper than from specialists, because he has such a comprehensive knowledge of national suppliers. Indeed his familiarity with technical and legal matters concerning road haulage meant that he was the local information point. Yet this seemed to be inconsistent with his apparent insularity.

Gordon seemed to share these attitudes, but he is a more home-spun sort of character. Although he runs the hotel which he inherited from his father, it is a fisherman's hotel, old fashioned and dowdy. He is kept busy about the place and this seems to restrict his interests. When I asked him if he had plans for an exotic holiday in the Bahamas during the off-season he laughed, *"I've got enough to do here to keep me going for the rest of my life, never mind your fancy holidays"*. He added thoughtfully, *"Anyway the world keeps going on without me interfering"* To confuse matters, one of the more sophisticated respondents, Campbell, who has quite widespread local financial interests, used almost the same phrase to indicate his lack of concern. He also commented, *"Although business here isn't easy, it's better than the rat race, you know who you're dealing with."*

Ralph held a very different view. He had moved from the Midlands to take over an ailing marine holiday complex which included a sizable marina. One day I commented to him, how remarkable it was that so many of his yachting customers knew each other through business. He was totally disinterested in who his customers were. I had anticipated that the connections between this group of professionals and senior executives and their shared leisure pursuits might be important for his marketing. He had previously mentioned marketing, but in wide terms, giving me what was tantamount to a lecture on leisure market trends. Certainly he was busy trying to develop the business, but so too was John, whose garage business was expanding rapidly. He was just as taciturn as Ralph, but he knew all about his customers, and in great depth. Once when discussing another respondent's previous business, he corrected me on several personal points about the respondent where I had been misinformed. He took a very close interest in local affairs, whether or not they directly affected his business.

Ralph was complaining about the difficulty he was having in getting a badly damaged wooden boat repaired. I mentioned that I knew a boat builder, he was another respondent, and that he did that kind of work. But he didn't seem bothered about using local networks, *"He'll be like the rest of them, small-time and slow. It will have to go to England"*. This contravened commercial logic, transporting would be inconvenient, expensive and slow, and Peter the boat builder, although not fast, seemed to do very good work.

But this was only one aspect of the contrasts, the second group appeared to be better informed and interested in world affairs, politics and economics. Bob, for example, who is English and ex-navy, runs a small diving school and does some contract work. His wife works part time in her mother's newsagents, so it might have been expected that they would have a limited, and local, view. On the contrary they are both very well informed about environmental matters. Not only do they follow the popular media

presentations but have carefully looked at local issues such as fish farm pollution and present a balanced argument about the benefits and costs. One of Bob's more radical remarks, *"Apart from the publicity, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth do more harm than good. Many of their statements are simply scientifically wrong, and are classics of the half-educated middle class."*, regardless of its accuracy, shows that he has given the matter thought. Fred, on the other hand dismissed environmentalists, *"Bunch of wallies with nothing better to do. A decent days work with me carting dung would let them see what the environment is, it'd soon knock some sense into them"*

So although there were clearly differences and similarities, linking them together into distinct groupings was perverse with contradictions. The more obvious categories, local and incomer, Scots and English, age, education, wealth or income, even consumption, failed on a number of counts.

First of all the locals, if defined by local birth, did not all conform to the parochial description. Calum is an example, he was active in politics and became a Regional councillor. While he ran a local farm, he also spent a lot of time at another farm he owned over 100 miles away. On top of all this, he found time to start an Open University Degree. So that he could not be described as insular. In spite of this, the focus of his activities was profoundly local, his main business interests were in this area and his social circle was "local", literally, since they often met in the pub. Like John, Calum had an extraordinary detailed knowledge of local people. He knew, almost on a daily basis, exactly what people were doing, and had a keen interest in keeping his information up to date. The day prior to an interview, I had stopped the car to talk to a prospective respondent, miles from Calum's farm. The next day Calum asked me, *"Surely you're not wasting your time on that prat, that's not a business he has, its a fairy pastime"*. Some incomers also failed to match the alternative group attitudes. Mabel, who with her husband runs a local shop, is undoubtedly parochial. Although they moved into the area, she now declares, *"I hate to travel, I've only been in Oban twice since we came here and that was too often."* When she had a holiday she camped with her children two miles from home! She doesn't even bother with the news on television. *"It's all too far away for me to be bothered. There is plenty going on here, with the kids and the shop and everything."* Pat moved from Ireland to start up a thriving timber contracting business, but he also has similar views. When I asked him how privatization might affect his business, he replied, *"I'm far too busy worrying about today to worry about tomorrow. In any case they'll still need firms like mine."* The inconsistencies of these cases made me look very closely at their backgrounds to try to find some explanation. Interestingly, both respondents had moved from small remote rural areas so this helped to refine the categories. Thus the category "locals" should include those whose upbringing was essentially rural.

Alan is a local farmer and farmers often have a very restricted world view because of their circumstances. They spend most of their time working on the farm, so they don't meet many people. When they do get out, its often to farm sales or agricultural shows, so that they only meet other farmers. Consequently local farming circles are fairly tight knit communities of shared interests. Alan seemed different. I knew, for example that he spent week-ends away visiting city friends; he drove a rather flashy Japanese 4-wheel drive, where most farmers drive either Land Rovers or Montegos. He took exotic foreign holidays and even his cloth cap was much smarter! Unusually, he had sold off parts of his farm for development. Many farmers see land as sacrosanct, something to be looked after for posterity.

The anomalies began to be explained when I discovered that Alan's wife was not a local. I had noticed that she dressed more fashionably than one might expect a farmer's wife, she also had an important job with the Local Authority where she met many outsiders. She actually confirmed her influence, when I asked if she had enjoyed her most recent holiday. *"Yes, it was super. I only managed to finally persuade Alan when the cheque arrived, so it was one of these last minute bookings, so Alan liked the price."* She had also been an important influence in selling the land, they had obtained a very good price and she said it made only commercial sense. *"It would have taken Alan a hundred years of farming to earn the amount we got, so it gave us the chance to enjoy it while we are young enough."* Alan's city visits were also encouraged by his wife, she liked to shop. It transpired that the city friends had once owned a local farm, but had been offered an excellent job working for the government. So the category of "local", as an indicator of attitudes remains sound. Alan is a "local" but his wife is not.

Although the English respondents shared many similarities, some of the Scots also shared them. So these nationalities were not mutually exclusive categories. Consumption patterns also varied across the groups, as did wealth and incomes and even their life styles. It was finally a chance remark by one of the English respondents about a party to be held that provided the key to the classification. It came out that several of the guests at this party were also respondents. I realised that this social affinity mirrored the grouping of attitudes I had recognised. Checking back I found that although many were incomers, the locals in the group had spent time away from home, in education or work, but had returned. This was the basic difference between my groups, the first group, the locals had little experience beyond this area. The second group had encountered broader, non-rural cultures and this may have coloured their attitudes. Hence the primary division of locals and cosmopolitans.

I tested the validity of the categories against the early sample to check whether this category was legitimate and sufficiently precise to distinguish and operationalise the differences I had detected. Since it

proved satisfactory, the working definitions for the categories became; Cosmopolitan, an incomer to the area, or a locally born individual who has lived away from the area for at least two years, but has returned. A local is a respondent who has not lived away, except for brief periods, and was brought up in the area or in a very similar rural area.

The difference in attitudes is a matter of broad world view, but the differentiating property of non-rural experience provided a frame from which to check for other distinctions in the way that they create or extract value. These terms are, of course, borrowed from Gouldner 1957, who used them to describe particular social roles. As Gouldner noted 1957:285 individuals have a variety of roles and we need conceptual tools to facilitate analysis. These terms thus imply an orientation towards a cultural location, rather than a prescribed function. Gouldner, 1957:290 describes his corporate types as follows,

Cosmopolitans: those low on loyalty to the employing organisation, low on commitment to specialised role skills, and likely to use an outer reference group orientation.

Locals: those high on loyalty to the employing organisation, low on commitment to specialised role skills, and likely to use an inner reference group.

If we substitute "local community" for "employing organisation" these characterizations represent a fair description of the orientation of the two groups of rural entrepreneurs. Lash and Urry 1987:91 capture the essence of "local", "where social relations are based on the local community rather than commodity relations or the state". They also usefully note that multiplex relationships are structured into a local and delimited system, both of which gave some further direction to the data collection.

A return to the literature showed that Stanworth and Curran 1973 and Johannisson 1988b had already used the terms in an entrepreneurial context, one which fitted generally the qualities emerging and identifiable in the data. This therefore suggested avenues of exploration. Johannisson 1988b:90, who was investigating the use of networks, suggests that, "many businessmen want to stay "local" and to operate as craftsmen." This he points out is different from the pursuit of an entrepreneurial career as defined by Stanworth and Curran. So motivation within the local rural environment is indicated to be a potentially useful facet of local-cosmopolitan differences in value extraction.

7.4 The Rural Businesses

This section builds from the primary classifications to determine if there are any differences in the way that locals and cosmopolitans conduct their businesses. It reflects the objective of the research, to establish what it is that rural entrepreneurs do to extract or create value. The starting point of the investigation, which was discussed earlier, is that entrepreneurs appear to earn their profits by extracting value from their environment, normally by moving their product from an existing use value to a new higher exchange value. The focus of this section is therefore, to see if there are different ways of doing this. Value, of course, is not limited to financial profits, the operation of businesses create a variety of values, both for society, and for the individual entrepreneur. These aspects, which the data demonstrated to be very important, are discussed later. This section is limited to trying to discern how they earn a living.

The data illustrates marked differences in the types of business operated by locals and cosmopolitans. These variations could be seen in the types of product, the markets for these products and in terms of the niches from which value was extracted. The first part of this section discusses these differences, whilst the second part considers how this can be conceptualised.

7.4.1 Products

As table 7.6 shows there was a wide range of business activities. However, as the "style of business" column indicates, the actual products can be generalised or abstracted into segments which share many common features. These segments, rather than describing the business in everyday terms, abstract from this level of specifics to describe the form of what they actually do within the business.

An example may clarify this procedure of comparative analysis. Joe runs, with his brother, a small craft workshop which includes a shop, where they sell their production to tourists. They have a wide variety of products, but specialise in attractive wooden items, including such things as miniature Orkney chairs for children, wooden toys and reproduction targes. In an industrial classification they would be "manufacturers", but if we describe what they actually do, we would see that they are actually making and

Respondents	No	Name	L/C	Sex	Current business	Previous business	Form of the business	Market	Needs
	1	Charles	cosmo	m	art tuition, countryside guide	none, employed	cultural	national	tourism
	2	Robert	cosmo	m	local history museum	none, voluntary work	cultural	national	tourism
	3	Alan	local	m	farmer	farmer	conventional production	national	none
	4	Campbell	local	m	failed manufacturing, contractor	farmer	conventional production	local	commercial local need
	5	Ingrid	cosmo	f	riding school	none	experiential	national	tourism
	6	Billy	cosmo	m	publican, bus operator	family business	entertainment/conventional	local	tourism/new local need
	7	Geoff	cosmo	m	hotelier, farmer	farmer	conventional/entertainment	local/nat	none
	8	Fay	cosmo	f	riding school	none	experiential	national	tourism
	9	Jamie	local	m	contractor	lifelong	conventional	local/region	specialist need
	10	Rodger	cosmo	m	land owner, art tuition	builder tourist facilities	experiential	national	cultural tourism
	11	Fred	local	m	haulage contractor	employed as joiner	conventional	local	commercial local need
	12	William	cosmo	m	fish farmer	employed various	new production	national	none
	13	Calum	local	m	farmer, speculative builder	partner in garage etc	conventional production	national	none/local
	14	Cyril	cosmo	m	photographer	farmer	cultural	nat/local	cultural
	15	Joe	cosmo	m	craft manufacture and sales	employed	craft cultural	national	tourism
	16	Jim	cosmo	m	craft manufacture and sales	employed as cabinet maker	craft cultural	national	tourism
	17	Jack	local	m	garage, repairs and car sales	family business	conventional trading	local	retail local need
	18	John	local	m	garage, repairs and car sales	family business	conventional trading	local	mixed local need
	19	Stanley	local	m	contractor	previous family business	conventional servicing	local	commercial local need
	20	Dick	local	m	car repairs	employed as mechanic	conventional servicing	local	retail local need
	21	James	cosmo	m	pharmacy and chemists	employed as pharmacist	unconventional trading	local	advanced local requirement
	22	Gordon	cosmo	m	antique dealer	various self employed	cultural	national	cultural tourist
	23	Irene	cosmo	f	artist	teacher	cultural	national	cultural
	24	Don	cosmo	m	charter boat operator	employed	experiential	national	cultural tourist
	25	Ken	cosmo	m	hotel development	property developer	unconventional trading	national	tourism
	26	Stephen	cosmo	m	holiday accommodation	boat operator	experiential	national	tourist
	27	Donald	local	m	bus hirer	employed various	conventional servicing	local	basic local need
	28	Iain	local	m	hotelier	family business	conventional servicing	local/nat	local need & tourist
	29	Naill	local	m	fish farmer	family business	conventional production	national	none
	30	Graham	cosmo	m	hotelier	steward on liners	cultural/experiential	national	advanced tourism
	31	Gerry	cosmo	m	farmer, journalist, artist	farmer in Holland	conventional/experient.	national	none/globalisation
	32	Terry	cosmo	m	photographer	employed in various jobs	cultural	national	cultural
	33	Kerr	local	m	failed garage proprietor	car parts sales agent	conventional trading	local	basic local need
	34	Ralph	cosmo	m	failed holiday complex	consultant	experiential	national	advanced tourism
	35	George	cosmo	m	hotelier	hotel manager	cultural servicing	national	tourism
	36	Adrian	local	m	plumbing contractor	employed as a plumber	conventional servicing	local	basic local need
	37	Willie	local	m	scrap merchant, car dealer	family business!	conventional recycling	local	basic local need
	38	David	local	m	builder and developer	employed as joiner	conventional production	local	advanced local need
	39	Billy	local	m	small scale part time drug dealer	employed	unconventional trading	local	advanced local need?
	40	Murdoch	local	m	garden machinery sales and repair	employed as engineer	conventional trading	local	basic local need
	41	Ted	cosmo	m	text manufacture and sales	company director	unconventional trading	national	mail order tourism
	42	Sarah	cosmo	f	home for mentally handicapped	social worker	unconventional servicing	national	advanced social needs
	43	Pat	local	m	timber contractor	employed in contracting	conventional servicing	local	commercial local need
	44	Glynis	cosmo	f	guest house	teacher	cultural servicing	national	tourism
	45	Peter	local	m	boatbuilder and repairs	self employed joiner	conventional production	local	local need
	46	Mary	local	f	petrol filling station	employed	conventional trading	local	basic local need
	47	Mabel	local	f	shop owner	hairdresser	conventional trading	local	basic local need
	48	Janet	cosmo	f	publican	housewife	conventional trading	local/nat	adv. local/tourism
	49	Ralph	local	m	digger hire	labourer	conventional servicing	local	commercial local need
	50	Bob	cosmo	m	small diving school, contractor	navy diver	experiential	national	advanced tourism
	51	Alf	local	m	bookie and landlord	unknown	conventional trading	local	basic local needs

selling souvenirs, "tokens of the natural order". None of the products are painted, instead they are all varnished to display the natural beauty of the wood. None of the items have a practical application, all are ornamental, yet in spite of being fairly expensive they sell well. I asked a tourist who had just spent over twenty-five pounds what she liked about them. She replied, *"Its wonderful to see such old fashioned craftsmanship in this day and age, you can't buy nice things like this in the shops, they all come from Hong Kong nowadays."*

So it seems justified to claim that these products were icons of rurality, symbolising old ways and old crafts. It was irrelevant that Joe is English, and had lived in Birmingham. The customer was clearly delighted with her symbols. Significantly the images are supported by the location of his workshop, which is set in an attractive village, complete with an old church and ancient gravestones. It helps that the workshop used to be an old stone byre, which now smells of wood shavings, turpentine and varnish, with racks of hand tools and disordered partly completed items, an antithesis of assembly line production. Joe himself, who has a slow and careful measured way of speaking helps too. His bushy beard and work-worn overalls combine to emphasise his earnestness, as he explains precisely what type of wood this is and even where it came from. He doesn't try to sell these items, he just relates their provenance, touching features almost tenderly. But the customers sagely nod agreement and run their own fingers over the piece. Consequently Joe is selling culture.

If we consider Mary, a local who had a small filling station in the same village, we can see that her business was profoundly different. She sold petrol, oils, newspapers and some groceries. She has now sold the business to retire, but previously the shop was a local information centre. Although her stock was comparatively expensive, petrol was a few pence dearer and the grocery prices made supermarkets look cheap, there were always customers around. The cluttered little wooden shed, which served as shop and office, was often crowded by two, or even three, customers sitting drinking tea. If you happened to drop by during one of these sessions, and Mary knew you, you'd be asked, *"have you time for a cup?"*, and welcomed in. You would also be gently interrogated, *"what are you doing now? what are the boys up to?"*, but this guileless inquisition was kindly meant, simply updating the information bank. It would be rounded off by the return of local information, *"Have you heard about Jimmy Stewart's new job?"*

It would be exaggerating to claim that Mary sold information, this aspect was only peripheral to the sale of petrol. It was differentiated service, but in the same way as we can chose either low priced

groceries at a discount retailer, or prefer the choice and presentation of a more expensive store. Mary's customers also found the shop convenient, the alternative was a ten mile drive, and Mary's helpfulness was legendary. Once I was sent to buy some paper cake cases, my wife was baking something for a local coffee morning and had run out. Mary didn't have any left either but said, "*Just hang on a tic, I think that there is some in the house.*" So the argument is that Mary, and others like her, sell an undifferentiated and standard product, but in a special rural context.

Interestingly, Kerr an incomer who bought the business was, as a stranger, unaware of the local context. He simply ran the business along conventional lines, he stopped buying from local wholesalers, preferring the better prices of city cash and carries. He fell out with several customers, one of whom thought him, "*high minded, and a just wee bit too smart.*" The business failed within two years. Although there may have been a number of reasons to explain this failure it seems significant that the business did not "fit" so well into the local social.

However the purpose of these examples is to convey a justification for the abstracted product classifications which are, first the cultural productions like Joe's, and secondly the conventional products like Mary's.

7.4.2 Local-Cosmopolitan Differences In Product

Table 7.7 is a list of locals and their businesses, and table 7.8 the cosmopolitans. They highlight, with a few exceptions which will be discussed later, that cosmopolitan products are very different from those of locals. Cosmopolitan production is a "rural" product, one which captures some essence of the social construction of rurality. With limited exceptions, the cosmopolitans have each found a way of commodifying rurality, or of making some part of the rural available for sale. In other words their market niche was to convert and exploit the special features associated with the rural idyll.

In contrast the locals, on the whole, dealt in standard products, which were little different from an urban equivalents. Their style of trading may have been somewhat different, reflecting the local markets and social context, as we saw in Mary's case. Nonetheless the products themselves are undifferentiated and consequently must be in competition with all such similar products.

7.4.3 Markets

The tables, 7.7 and 7.8, illustrate the different markets for local and cosmopolitan productions. They show that locals sell to local markets, whilst the cosmopolitans sell to a national market. This is plainly

Table 7.7

Locals

no	name	L/C	sex	current business	style of business	market	niche
3	Alan	local	m	farmer	conventional production	national	none
4	Campbell	local	m	failed manufacturing, contractor	conventional production	local	commercial local need
9	Jamie	local	m	contractor	conventional	local/regio	specialist need
11	Fred	local	m	haulage contractor	conventional	local	commercial local need
13	Calum	local	m	farmer, speculative builder	conventional production	national	none/local
17	Jack	local	m	garage, repairs and car sales	conventional trading	local	retail local need
18	John	local	m	garage, repairs and car sales	conventional trading	local	mixed local need
19	Stanley	local	m	contractor	conventional servicing	local	commercial local need
20	Dick	local	m	car repairs	conventional servicing	local	retail local need
27	Donald	local	m	bus hirer	conventional servicing	local	basic local need
28	Iain	local	m	hotelier	conventional servicing	local/nat	local need & tourist
29	Naill	local	m	fish farmer	conventional production	national	none
33	Kerr	local	m	failed garage proprietor	conventional trading	local	basic local need
36	Adrian	local	m	plumbing contractor	conventional servicing	local	basic local need
37	Willie	local	m	scrap merchant, car dealer	conventional recycling	local	basic local need
38	David	local	m	builder and developer	conventional production	local	advanced local need
39	Billy	local	m	small scale part time drug dealer	unconventional trading	local	advanced local need?
40	Murdoch	local	m	garden machinery sales and repair	conventional trading	local	basic local need
43	Pat	local	m	timber contractor	conventional servicing	local	commercial local need
45	Peter	local	m	boatbuilder and repairs	conventional production	local	local need
46	Mary	local	f	petrol filling station	conventional trading	local	basic local need
47	Mabel	local	f	shop owner	conventional trading	local	basic local need
49	Ralph	local	m	digger hire	conventional servicing	local	commercial local need

Table 7.8

Cosmopolitans

no	name	L/C	sex	current business	style of business	market	niche
48	Janet	cosmo	f	publican	conventional trading	local/nat	adv. local/tourism
7	Geoff	cosmo	m	hotelier, farmer	conventional/caterainment	local/nat	none
31	Gerry	cosmo	m	farmer, journalist, artist	conventional/experient.	national	none/globalisation
15	Joc	cosmo	m	craft manufacture and sales	craft cultural	national	tourism
16	Jim	cosmo	m	craft manufacture and sales	craft cultural	national	tourism
1	Charles	cosmo	m	art tuition, countryside guide	cultural	national	tourism
2	Robert	cosmo	m	local history museum	cultural	national	tourism
14	Cynil	cosmo	m	photographer	cultural	nat/local	cultural
22	Gordon	cosmo	m	antique dealer	cultural	national	cultural tourist
23	Irene	cosmo	f	artist	cultural	national	cultural
32	Terry	cosmo	m	photographer	cultural	national	cultural
35	George	cosmo	m	hotelier	cultural servicing	national	tourism
44	Glynis	cosmo	f	guest house	cultural servicing	national	tourism
30	Graham	cosmo	m	hotelier	cultural/experiential	national	advanced tourism
6	Billy	cosmo	m	publican, bus operator	entertainment/conventional	local	tourism/new local need
5	Ingrid	cosmo	f	riding school	experiential	national	tourism
8	Fay	cosmo	f	riding school	experiential	national	tourism
10	Rodger	cosmo	m	land owner, art tuition	experiential	national	cultural tourism
24	Don	cosmo	m	charter boat operator	experiential	national	cultural tourist
26	Stephen	cosmo	m	holiday accomodation	experiential	national	tourist
50	Bob	cosmo	m	small diving school, contractor	experiential	national	advanced tourism
34	Ralph	cosmo	m	failed holiday complex	experiential	national	advanced tourism
12	William	cosmo	m	fish farmer	new production	national	none
42	Sarah	cosmo	f	home for mentally handicapped	unconventional servicing	national	advanced social needs
21	James	cosmo	m	pharmacy and chemists	unconventional trading	local	advanced local requirement
25	Ken	cosmo	m	hotel development	unconventional trading	national	new local need
41	Ted	cosmo	m	text manufacture and sales	unconventional trading	national	mail order tourism

related to the products, residents do not need tokens or experiences of rurality, they do however, need baked beans and their motor cars repaired. It is possible to dismiss this distinction as trivial, tourists are *ipso facto* not local, and consequently have different requirements. Nonetheless these different markets for cosmopolitan and local trade may indicate a different process of opportunity recognition. Given that the cosmopolitans by definition, had wider experiences, this may have broadened their perceptions to the wider markets, allowing them to recognise what non-locals might value about the countryside.

An example of this contrast, is Don, who has an old steam driven puffer which is typical of the boats which used to ply up and down the West coast carrying supplies. He is English and moved here with his teacher wife in search of a better way of life. What is remarkable about this case is that Don now charges his customers over £300 a week to shovel coal! He has converted the puffer into a sort of pleasure cruiser, where "steam buffs" can spend their holidays steaming around the islands. They are allowed to work the oily machinery, to shovel coal and in every way to caricature Neil Munro's Para Handy. And they seem to love it! Many locals think them mad, to pay good money to work in such filthy surroundings, but repeat bookings are often made years in advance, so the experience must please these customers. Don sends out a regular newsletter which seems to heighten the notion of membership of a special band. He tells old customers about which bits have been repaired, renewed or are looking a bit wobbly. It reads like a medical report on an aging dignitary, but customers reply, asking for more details or even making suggestions. The point about all this is that Don has obviously recognised a special niche, which in spite of its success still puzzles locals.

7.4.4 Entrepreneurial Strategies

Abstracting from these differences, two quite different marketing processes can be traced. It is unlikely that these are conscious intentional strategies by the entrepreneurs, but they are an outcome of the different products and markets. They add up to the *raison d'être* of these rural firms and explain how they achieve the most basic business requirement of being able to sell their product at a price which is higher than their costs. These strategies explain how they extract value from their environment. Both groups use rural space to market their products but in remarkably different ways.

Cosmopolitans

Cosmopolitans commodify rurality, they make available for consumption the qualities which were

described earlier within the social construction of rurality. They do this by building into their production a close association with these tangible and intangible qualities. As we saw in the literature review these notions are often held in great esteem, so that the consumers of these products draw extra values from them. So cosmopolitans produce palpably "rural" products which contain these higher values. In consequence these rurally enhanced products are not in competition with non-rural supplies. Joe's manufacture of rural symbols is a transparent example of the use of rural space. His operation simply would not be viable within an urban industrial estate. But often the infusion of the idyll is much more subtle.

Country house hotels for instance are, as we saw earlier, manifestations of the past. They depend on representing, even recreating, old aristocratic and exclusive images of the privileges of the idyll. Graham runs a luxurious hotel which emphasises the quality of its first class seafood, *"all local produce"*. It has a magnificent position commanding outstanding views, which helps to justify its high-priced tariff. These are the unsubtle pageants of rurality which can only be enjoyed in situ. Graham has additional, if curious, ways of adding to the sensations of rural privilege. His trick is a masterpiece of pseudo-elitism, he treats his customers badly. They do not want for creature comforts, the rooms are luxurious, the food is delicious if pretentious, and the staff are properly deferential. But Graham is uncompromisingly rude to customers, and by being abusive, he creates an atmosphere of privilege, of belonging to an elite club where he is ringmaster. At New Year, for example, when he had a full house, he demanded that guests could only drink champagne. When the first bottle was finished he insisted that they had another. A guest laughingly explained to me, *"I didn't want another, we don't like it that much. But Graham accused me of being a cheap-skate and spoiling his New Year. Mind you I was amazed when I got the bill, the bugger had charged me nearly a hundred quid a bottle for Moet and Chandon, its only thirty even at Inverlochy Castle. When I complained about the steepness, he told me I wouldn't be here if I couldn't afford it. Cheeky blighter offered to let me have it free if I was short."* The hotel deliberately excludes locals, an ex-barman told me, *"The bar prices are so high we never got many, anyhow he worries that they might spoil the image of his place,"* The tactic is actually more artful, to be a member of this group, you have to know the game, to understand what it is you are enjoying. After the fashion of say, more unusual modern art, or even the countryside, appreciating it, is by itself, is a rank of superiority.

Of course even country pubs are often rural pastiches; horse brasses, old wood, open fires and

antique prints all foster the rural environ. They are never as selective as Graham's place, tourists brush shoulders with locals. In Tarbert a tourist explained why he enjoyed the busy smoky bar, which had noisily erupted with fishermen at the end of the fish auction sale, *"It's great, the place is full of atmosphere."*

Although cosmopolitans use the enhanced values of rurality in their products, they do so in different ways and with varying intensity. At the lowest end of the scale of rural associations two brief examples show how this happens. Ted makes tents which he sells by mail order. In fact, he subcontracts all the manufacturing to English firms, but sells the tents from his highland address. Ted's advertisements suggest that if the tent is fit for Highland weather, it's fit for anything. Sarah, who used to be a social worker before she became disenchanted with bureaucracy, runs a private home for mentally handicapped adults in a large old house in a rather remote village. She accounted for the unusual location, *"we needed to get away from the politics of local government and saw this place for sale, it's perfect, so peaceful and calm. So we thought that if it made us feel so good, it ought to work for others."*

Higher up this scale of implemented rurality are Robert and his wife, who are opening a museum. It is planned to display items of local archaeological importance and to "interpret" them. The surrounding area is rich in ancient artifacts which attract some tourists. Robert has been actively encouraged by grant awarding bodies, since the project is seen as a very "appropriate." However it's viability is entirely dependent on sufficient numbers of tourists sharing their enthusiasms for these icons of the past. Their's is a cultural determinism which is not dissimilar to the technological determinism of the inventor of the better mousetrap. They too, expect consumers to beat a path to their door to appreciate rurality.

It seems reasonable therefore to argue that these cosmopolitans, in general, do commodify the countryside. The unique rural qualities incorporated in their production add a specific value which differentiates the production. In consequence their products are somewhat removed from general competition, thus the "inefficiencies" of their operations, hand crafting and remoteness, are actually turned to business advantage. The following table 7 shows in detail the cosmopolitan strategies for the extraction of value.

Locals

Where cosmopolitans use the cultural differentiation of rural space, locals use space quite differently. They passively utilise space and the friction of distance to protect their business from competition. This insulation of isolation means that the viability of their businesses depend on spatial

Table 7 The Cosmopolitan Valorization of Rurality and the Value Production Process

Respondent	Business	Aspect of "Rurality" used	Specific value used	Entrepreneurial Process	Business Values derived	Personal values derived
1 Charles	Art tuition countryside guide	Rural Space	Landscape	commodification of the aesthetic by interpretation	a small country living	prestige as mentor and guide
2 Robert	museum	Rural Time	history / heritage	commodification of heritage by presentation	barely commercial	status as expert and as key holder
48 Janet	Publican	Rural place	quaintness of place	commodified by making available	very commercial	task satisfaction local standing
7 Geoff	Hotelier	Rural space	uniqueness of place	selling the rural experience	marginally viable	status as a local mine host
31 Gerry	Farmer/ journalist	place and space	rural knowledge	marketing of local information	additional income	status as local expert
15 Joe	Craft manufacture	nature	tokens of the natural order	commodification by manufacturing	small living	craft satisfaction creator
14 Cyril	Photographer	rural places	landscapes	making and selling images	small country living	prestige as artist
22 Gordon	Antique dealer and restorer	Tradition/ heritage	time and tradition	selling artefacts of tradition	reasonable living	craft satisfaction expert status
23 Irene	artist	rural places	landscape	commodification of the aesthetic	an excellent living	artistic satisfaction
32 Terry	photographer	rural myth	imagined "rural" value system	convenient rational	barely subsistence	vindication of "failure"

The Cosmopolitan Valorization of Rurality and the Value Production Process

Respondent	Business	Aspect of "Rurality" used	Specific value used	Entrepreneurial Process	Business Values derived	Personal values derived
35 George	Hotelier	rural place	images	provision of place	building a business	family security
44 Glynis	Guest House	rural place	images	provision of place	additional income	independence
30 Graham	Hotelier	unique rural space and place	rural superiority	selling prestige	highly successful	importance
6 Billy	Bus operator	space	friction of distance	new service provision	reliable income	local position
5 Ingrid	Riding stables	nature	natural things	commodified rural experience	a country living	job satisfaction, working horses
8 Fay	Riding stables	nature	nature and landscape	commodified rural experience	a minimal income	job satisfaction in rurality, purpose
10 Rodger	Land owner / art tuition	natural space tradition	prestige of locality and position	commodification	an alternative livelihood	status
24 Don	charter boat operator	rural space tradition	heritage and landscape	commodification	a reasonable and pleasant living	prestige
26 Stephen	holiday accommodation	rural space and place	space and landscape	renting out rurality	a good living	enviable country lifestyle
50 Bob	small diving school	nature	marine nature	selling natural experiences	small country living	status as expert
34 Ralph	holiday complex	rural space	leisure space	renting out the rural	business failed	status enhancement

The Cosmopolitan Valorization of Rurality and the Value Production Process

Respondent	Business	Aspect of "Rurality" used	Specific value used	Entrepreneurial Process	Business Values derived	Personal values derived
12 William	fish farmer	natural environment	natural/ pure adds value	using the rural material	variable income	status as expert and innovator
42 Sarah	Home for handicapped	naturelness and rural time	peace and tranquility	using nature as as sanative therapeutic	country living	opportunity for independence and a rural life
21 James	pharmacist	space	friction of distance	local servicing	substantial business	local status lifestyle
25 Ken	developer	rural images	various	commodified form	capital gains	prestige
41 Ted	tent manufacturer	rural image	rural robustness	symbolic use	very comfortable living	pleasant lifestyle

Summary of the Cosmopolitans

- 11 of the respondents directly commodify rurality
- 10 provide some sort of rural experience, whilst
- 2 use rural images, 1 to help sell his product
 - 1 uses imagined rural values to rationalise commercial "failure"
 - 1 uses a material aspect of rural but only
- 2 provide a rural service which is not conspicuously and intrinsically rural

Table 7.9 DIVISIONS WITHIN

THE DATA

PATTERNS and VARIATIONS	LOCALS	COSMOPOLITANS
divisions of business types	spatial monopoly	rural commodifiers
essential feature of the rural business	space	rurality
principle source of the business's "advantage"	friction of distance	rural "uniqueness"
"novelty" within the business	non-creative	creative
business form	traditional trading	non-traditional trade
business style	modern	post-modern
formation of the business	established	new or recent
principle source of value created	conventional trading	experiential, cultural or aesthetic
market focus	local	national
involvement with other or previous business	frequently	rarely
Theoretical type	"utility" maximisers (of satisfaction)	Kirznerian or Schumpertian (with a personal focus)
marginality	rarely - mainstream	often - marginal to "local" attitudes
Objectives	local recognition	cultural recognition

monopoly. The sparsity of customers in remote rurality severely restricts demand, so that in many instances there is room for only one supplier. Furthermore the cost for outside suppliers to overcome distance reduces competition.

It is significant that almost all the locals cater for a local market. Stanley's contracting business is a good example. He specialises in road re-surfacing so most of his work has to be tendered. He pointed out that every job had to have three prices quoted so he was acutely aware of costs, but he added that he got most of the jobs he tendered for, *"Hardly anyone can beat my prices, I think most of them go over the top with prices, few of the jobs are big enough to justify the hassle of them setting up. Then by the time they add in subsistence costs and travelling they don't have a chance."* He added that supervision was a also big problem. *"Somehow when a squad arrives here they all want to go on the batter, even if they send a foreman he gets stuck in too. it's as if they are on holiday. Don't you remember the yellow lines?"* This was a classic tale of a road lining team who had arrived to replace double yellow lines. They visited the pub at lunch time and the consequences were hilarious. The lines snaked and wove all along the side of the road and were just the thing for a drunk to follow. It took weeks of work to burn off the offending lines, to the delight of all.

Dick's small car repair business is another good example of spatial monopoly. He works alone because he considers that *"too much bother employing staff for the extra return."* When he is very busy and customers become impatient, he works late into the evenings and at week-ends. His is the only garage in the immediate area so he caters conveniently for local needs. *"I think I have a good reputation since most people keep bringing me their cars. My prices are fair too, so its only the ones who buy new cars in the city who don't come here. I even get the ones who fix their own cars because I've got lots of spares, or get them quickly."*

Looking at the business careers of other respondents highlights the precariousness of this spatial dependency. Donald had inherited a small coach hire business from his father. It was a neat business consisting mainly of contracts to transport children back and forth to school. It was also easily run, because of his rural location he was able to cheaply employ mothers on a part time basis, overcoming the problem of peak work loads at two separate times of day. Although the work was subject to biennial tenders the firm had held the contract for many years. However Donald decided to expand, *"I was getting a bit fed up really, and fancied doing a bit more. I knew this other contract was coming up and had a go at it."* The other

contract was similar to his existing work but some fifteen miles away. This extra distance created major problems: the empty running was expensive, but drivers were the main difficulty. The additional distances and time meant that the job was no longer convenient for mothers, so eventually he had to employ nearly full time drivers at a much higher rate. This meant that the business lost money and eventually failed.

Fred, the haulier who was discussed earlier, had had a previous business, much larger than his present one. At that time his interests included trucks, excavator hire, dumpers, mixers, compressors and heavy recovery equipment. His range of equipment had grown steadily to match expanding local needs. He explained, *"When people came in asking for something, I didn't like to let them down. I knew that if couldn't supply it they would go elsewhere and I certainly did not want to see any of those big companies opening up here."* In fact the equipment that he bought was very second hand, and often unreliable. It needed constant maintenance although it was under-used. Fred's attempt to maintain his spatial monopoly created the worst possible business situation. Although the equipment was earning little revenue, since potential hirers were reluctant to rely upon it and the total demand was minimal, he still had to pay some operators, and try to keep it in serviceable condition. Eventually the business closed. Fred now concentrates on heavy haulage, shifting plant and awkward machinery. He does most of the driving himself and really enjoys this work, *" each job is a bit of a challenge for me and I don't have to worry about anybody else".*

These examples seem to clarify how space is employed to protect the viability of the businesses, but also show the restrictions of the rural environment.

7.4.5 Exceptions

The production of viable theory by constant comparative method demands that exceptions are consciously sought out to refine the theory. There were a number of cases which at first did not seem to comply with the emerging theory. The farmers in the sample did not have a local market, but farmers deal with a totally artificial and uncompetitive market, effectively, because of EC price support they sell to the government. They also have little control over fixing the prices for their products. However a detailed consideration of the cases reveals that, after all they may conform to the emerging model.

Three of the farmers, including fish farmers, had supplementary businesses. The first of these, the only cosmopolitan land farmer is a Dutchman who moved here for quality of life reasons, before it became fashionable some twenty five years ago. He delights in recounting a tale about a merchant banker visiting his farm. This banker from London told him how he hoped to retire early and use his "lump sum" to buy

a place like Gerry's. Gerry recited, *"I told him, isn't this a little crazy, you work all your life at a job you say you dislike, just so you can spend a few years here. Look at me, I didn't work for fifty years in your city, I've got it all now."* Despite Gerry's assertions, his farm income is small. He only nets about £8,000 a year, but still lives well with a very comfortable home. However his children were about to enter university and as he put it, *"Nice ways of life won't keep them there."* His farm is extensive with low inputs and low outputs and he was reluctant to change this comfortable system to earn more income. He became the UK farming correspondent for Dutch newspapers. Although unusual, this is a typically cosmopolitan production and market.

The other farming respondents were fish farmers, who don't enjoy much government support. The local, Naill, did sell most of his trout production locally, whilst the cosmopolitan, William sold his fattened salmon stock to a large national consortium. However it is in their supplementary business which is most enlightening. Naill had begun to encounter difficulties with the new EC food processing regulations. He added value to his fish by preparing them for the table, but the hygiene requirements meant that his premises no longer complied with these stringent conditions. To overcome this problem he built new premises to share with other local fish farmers who faced the same predicament. In contrast William was a pioneer of salmon farming, his early selling efforts were directed towards selling salmon parr, baby fish to grow on, to the national Scottish market. As this market became saturated, he turned his innovations to deep sea cages for fattening fish. These overcome many of the environmental problems associated with sheltered water cages.

So although they were ostensibly in the same trade, their approaches were markedly different. William the cosmopolitan seems much innovative, pro-actively seeking new opportunities, whilst Naill's activities were much more reactive, a response rather than an initiative. Not all the data could be accounted for by detailed examination. Billy is a cosmopolitan from Glasgow, whose current business activity is incompatible with the cosmopolitan model. He now runs a small local bus service which caters almost exclusively for locals. Although it is innovative, because it was a new service, and is heavily subsidised by the Regional Authority, equally it depends on spatial monopoly.

His first rural venture was also innovative, he built a new pub in a small village and successfully captured the nascent yachting trade, as well as pleasing locals. He used the profits from this venture to build a very attractive house near the shore. After a few years trading, he sold the pub, at a

handsome profit, and was content to relax and enjoy his gains. However one day, when working in the garden an English couple admired his house and asked him if he had ever considered selling. Billy said he hadn't, but asked them if they would like to see inside, as he was rather proud of his efforts. He admitted, *"it was a strange feeling, I really hadn't thought about selling, well perhaps in a few years, but I kept thinking my God what if they make me a ridiculous offer"*. In fact they did, as he said, *"It really was an offer I couldn't refuse. They had just sold their house in London at a crazy price and wanted mine."* He moved nearer town, his wife bought a dress shop and after a year he set up the bus business. He said he was restless with nothing to do all day.

This case may be an example of transition from a cosmopolitan perspective to a more local one, but it is difficult to find reasons from within the model to explain why this came about. It may also be unique, the remarkable capital gains were unusual, although they do represent the concretation of rural added values. So these unusual circumstances may simply have led to the gentle pursuit of a relaxed way of life. After all, many affluent incomers do purchase such "unit sales" of rural life, by taking over post offices, village stores and the like. In Billy's case he recognised a new rural opportunity which fitted neatly into his requirements. Billy had developed a strong local identity through the pub and his building operations. The bus service, which serviced this local area, gave him the opportunity to maintain this identity in a relaxed and congenial way, because it was so heavily subsidised. In other words Billy had developed local roots.

An alternative explanation is that cosmopolitans may recognise advanced local needs, they bring new ideas for local consumption to the area. Wider perspectives allow them to be harbingers of change. This was certainly the case with James, whose two chemists shops in the area set new standards of service. As well as offering bright modern shops with a wide range of cosmetics and pharmaceutical products he also provides a home delivery service. He explained that he really wanted to live here and saw the first shop as an opportunity to do so. Although there was already a chemist in the town he reckoned that, *"It could stand a bit of a shake"*. He seems to have been correct since he has now opened another rural chemist shop. So cosmopolitans might also be seen as modernisers, bringing up to date services to the area.

7.4.6 Profitability Of The Enterprises

Since profit creation, and maintenance, is a cardinal element of business it was important to investigate the different levels of profit amongst the businesses. This, however proved to be difficult for a

number of reasons. The informant supplied data was heavily contaminated with "researcher" effect which combined with the incomparability of secondary sources. To overcome these problems an alternative solution, of estimating the individual's income, was used. It was found that incomes, and by imputation, profits varied widely across both local and cosmopolitan segments. Furthermore, the intra and extra disparities in the levels of business acumen and efforts expended on the businesses revealed in the data meant that profitability was ineffective as a discriminator.

A primary problem in the collection of this material was my position in the research field. I had taken great efforts to build rapport with the respondents as an "understanding" and informed listener. However this closeness and familiarity had repercussions which would probably had less effect on an outsider. Respondents, particularly locals, were either reluctant to provide hard and accurate information or else they described exaggerated high, or in some instances, low profits. William, for example, is a very enthusiastic fish farmer. His innovative attitudes were discussed earlier, but his outstanding characteristic is his apostolic passion for his current, at that time, project. He described his latest venture, *"It's a fantastic scheme, you really can't go wrong. I must have made a hundred thousand off each big cage"*. However, when I tried to establish his actual results he vacillated, *"Well, last year was our first, we had a few teething problems so the results weren't accurate, but this year is absolutely spot on."* The alternative impression management was to downplay profits. Gordon for example, talked about the difficulties in buying furniture at reasonable prices and then bemoaned the reluctance of customers to pay a decent price. Although these incidents provided helpful data about the informants attitudes, neither represented a reliable account of profitability but were instances of impression management.

Trade credit references, which although easily obtained, were unsatisfactory since they were always couched in broad and vague terms. Detailed bank references required the permission of the respondent and this would have been counter productive. Few of the respondents traded as limited companies, so the comparison of registered accounts was impossible. In any case, the annual Profit and Loss accounts of many small business are often poor reflections of the actual profitability of the enterprise. Since taxation is the main reason for their compilation, adjustment to suit the particular fiscal situation are commonplace. This might have been overcome by access to a time series of detailed annual accounts, including balance sheets, but this information was not available for most of the respondents.

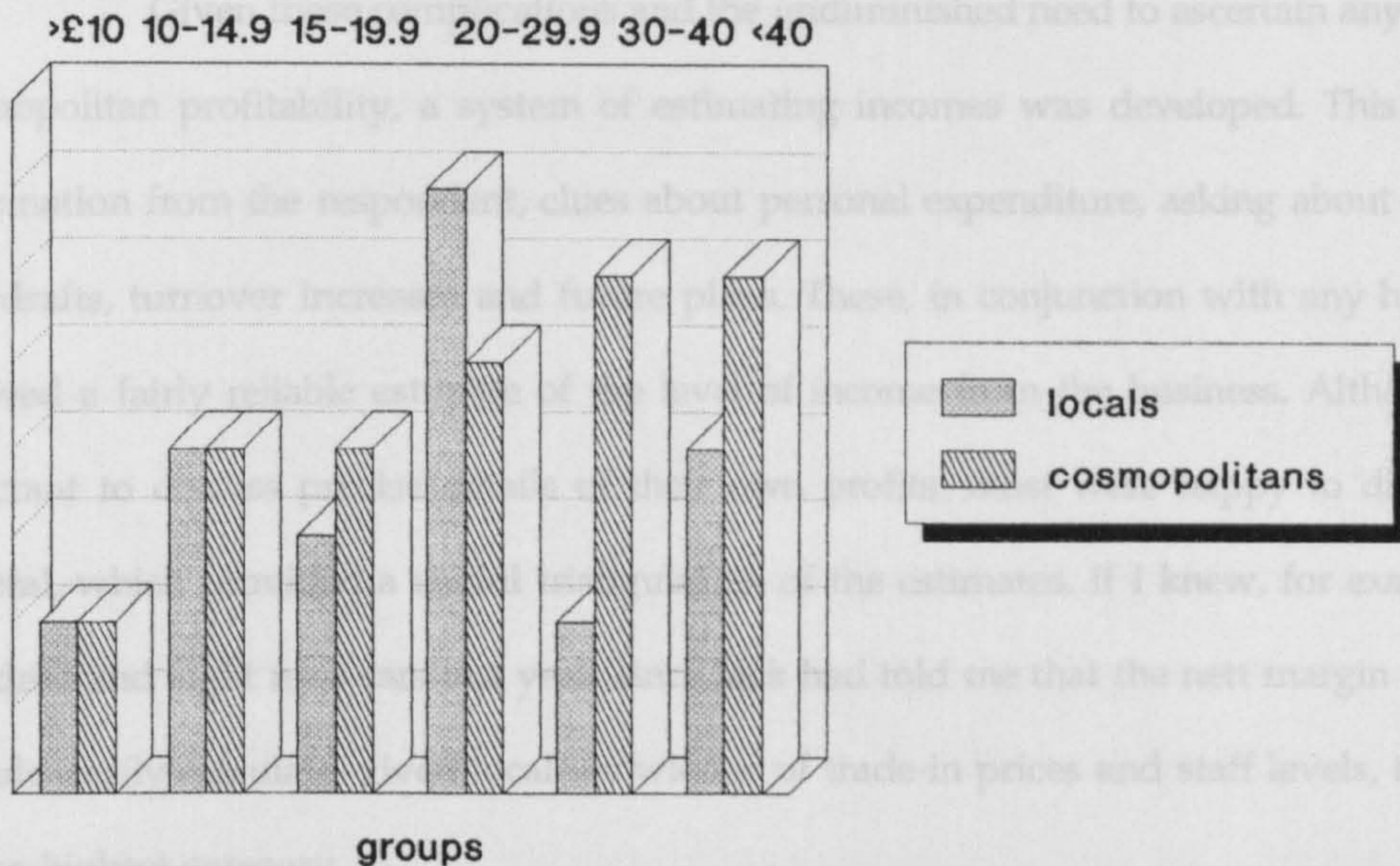
Furthermore the whole notion of profits in small business is ambiguous, since personal and

corporate expenses and purchases are often confused. Rodger, for example, made several "study tours" to appreciate Indian art forms. Jamie's wife complained to me, *"We never have a proper holiday, the only time we go away is when he wants to see a job and we spend an extra day or two"*. The close identity with the owners and their businesses meant that often "business purchases" and "investments" reflected the personal taste and wishes of the respondent, rather than a business need. Several cosmopolitans had purchased expensive computers whose capacity far exceeded any operational needs. William bought a small drive-on truck boat, which although an impressive machine, could not be justified as essential to the business. As we saw earlier, Fred purchased equipment and plant which was inviable in business terms, but satisfied his personal aspirations. So although these various purchases are "defendable" business acquisitions, they represent the business owner's indulgence rather than commercial necessities. These incidents demonstrate the very close relationship between the entrepreneur and their business. However, notwithstanding that these are personal "profits" for the entrepreneur, as value acquired in the course of business, they have a negative effect on more conventional ways of assessing profit.

This personal identification with the business means that accounting procedures, even audited accounts, do not seem to have the importance of large corporate management accounting systems. They are not treated as management tools, but as an annual inconvenience, and the results as history. Jack, whose new car sales business was foundering in the face of price cutting city competitors, *"I just don't have the margins to offer these silly discounts and I've lost a lot of Kilmory (the local authority) trade to their lease scheme."* I had asked Jack to identify the most profitable area of his business, new cars, servicing or forecourt sales, but he had no way of differentiating profit centres. Instead he relied on intuition based on his experiences, *"But I depend on new car sales, old customers don't change their cars as often, they can't afford to, and the new guys don't care about local service they just buy the cheapest, then bring them to me if they go wrong."* Jack was spending a lot of time with his accountant at this stage, but it was crisis management, such as dealing with overdue VAT payments and fending off the tax authorities. His accountant had never offered any strategic advice on how the business might be redirected despite the evidence of years of falling profits.

Adrian's comments when he refused me an interview, are typical, *"I'm sorry but I'm up to my eyes in the books just now, it's weeks of unpaid work."* Later when I saw him I asked how things had gone, *"I was pleasantly surprised, the accountant told me that we had had a good year. But I don't know where*

**Figure 7.4 Income Levels
Estimated in £000's**



- 1. part-time businesses are excluded
- 2. groups are in descending order ...of estimated income

no marked differences in incomes across the range of local and cosmopolitan businesses. However there are significantly more cosmopolitans in the two higher groups which could suggest that their type of business tends to be more profitable. This would confirm the point made earlier, that this business type has greater opportunity to add value to their productions. However, this finding is too general to have any reliable application.

The detail of the data indicated two further aspects of the business operation which seem important to the profitability: the business acumen of the operators and the magnitude of effort applied to the business. However, the diversity of these aspects across the segments showed that these were not directly related to the division of locals and cosmopolitans. Importantly they do illustrate that profitability is a secondary objective for some respondents, subordinated to other aspirations.

Ted, the tent manufacturer, was happy to discuss his profits. He was justifiably proud to have developed a business which produced a good income of £25000 a year, and yet made minimal demands on his time. Indeed, because of the seasonal nature of the business he could spend most of the winter in his Mediterranean home. He was, however, an experienced and astute businessman, before he opted for

all the profits he claims have gone." Pat had an opposite experience, *"Actually I was shocked at the accountant's figures, I was sure it had been a great year, my overdraft is away down, but he said I showed a loss."* Financial monitoring, for many of the respondents, local and cosmopolitan, is often a matter of day to day response to cash flow, annual accounts are merely a remote and historical record.

Given these complications and the undiminished need to ascertain any variations in local and cosmopolitan profitability, a system of estimating incomes was developed. This depended on indirect information from the respondent, clues about personal expenditure, asking about the bank's attitudes to overdrafts, turnover increases and future plans. These, in conjunction with any hard evidence available allowed a fairly reliable estimate of the level of income from the business. Although respondents were reluctant to discuss precise details of their own profits, most were happy to discuss their industry in general, which provided a useful triangulation of the estimates. If I knew, for example, that John sold a hundred and eight new cars last year, since Jack had told me that the nett margin was about ten percent, I could easily calculate, given local knowledge of trade-in prices and staff levels, that John's income was in the highest category.

Figure 7.4 is the result of these estimates. It indicates that, given the error range, that there are no marked differences in incomes across the range of local and cosmopolitan businesses. However there are significantly more cosmopolitans in the two higher groups which could suggest that their type of business tends to be more profitable. This would confirm the point made earlier, that this business type has greater opportunity to add value to their productions. However, this finding is too general to have any reliable application.

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rural life. His choice of business, and the expert management of his business, was the result of considerable experience and planning. Ted, unusually amongst the respondents, had carefully decided what his income level should be. Most respondents had a much more flexible attitude to incomes, they did their best and accepted the outcomes which obviously varied with market conditions. Typically they use bank overdraft facilities to iron out serious fluctuations. Ted however, has an unusual strategy to overcome the unpredictability of trading income. He uses his stock levels as an income buffer. When sales have been good he orders more stock, but not just as replacements, rather as a store of income. In a bad sales year he simply draws on this fund of stock, which he does not replace. This tactic allows him to have a steady and predictable income.

In contrast to the high priority given to income by Ted, Gerry, the farmer, had a low income which resulted from his extensive method of farming. Discussions with Gerry revealed that he considered his relaxed and rural lifestyle more important than achieving a high income. Whilst his farming activities had a very limited potential, his obvious intelligence would have allowed him a more lucrative career. But the combination of achieving what he considered a very satisfying life, with a fairly relaxed work load, reflected a deliberate choice. His farming methods only demands devoted efforts at the short seasonal peak times and the attractive natural surroundings created by these methods provided an environment which he finds intensely aesthetically satisfying. Significantly this was a deliberate choice, reflecting his preference of a trade-off of lifestyle against continued effort, rather than his business ability.

David, a local, had built up a very substantial income, well over £50,000 a year, if pension contributions are included. Yet he worked very hard, including long hours spent visiting and checking sites all over the area. The success of the business, and its longevity must represent acute and perceptive management, although a conversation would give little indication of his ability. Indeed, during a media scandal surrounding high charges made on a government contract, David was depicted on television as incapable of deceitful behaviour, he was simply, *"A boy from the peat bog."*

Terry has a small photography business which makes few demands on his time or efforts. He seems to spend a great deal of his time "planning" and very little time actually working. His relaxed attitude to work combines with his low income in a most unusual ostentatious poverty. He happily explained to me, *"We just scrape by, we're not interested in money. Perhaps we don't have much but we are satisfied."* Undoubtedly they had few trappings of consumerism, he runs an old rickety car and boasts of clothing the

family from the Oxfam shop. He rather smugly added, *"We are vegetarians and grow lots of our own organic food. We don't want a television and have little need to travel."* So although there are good reasons for suspecting that Terry has little business acumen, his lack of income is also a very deliberate choice. His pronouncements reflect that he considers that his life style is worthier and superior to what he describes as, *"money grubbing."*

Contrastingly Willie has a low income, as an itinerant scrap and old car dealer his income generating opportunities are very limited. When he has some stock to sort, or a car to prepare for sale, he does work hard. Equally, however, when trade is quiet he appears happy to relax with an occasional drinking spree, if the pubs are in a tolerant mood. Despite the obvious limitations of his business Willie brags about the money he makes. He delights in dredging from his pocket a great wad of dirty notes, *"no bad for an old tink eh!"*. He is a shrewd opportunist, often knowing whose car has broken down so that he can arrive and offer to, *"take it out their road"*. At every opening he is prepared to offer a bargain, during my visits to his site each time he offered, *"a wee cheap car for the wife, only three hundred with a new MOT."* He even suggested a rusted MOT failure as, *"just the thing for the boys to learn to drive on"*. It is probably more accurate to describe Willie as shrewd, and worldly wise, rather having astute business acumen. His impoverished surroundings of the filthy encampment, littered with old scrap, oily sodden ground, the mangy old dog barking and straining on his chain combine with Willie's problems of near illiteracy and the sour rank odour of his person. So that it is difficult to avoid a grudging admiration for someone who has made something of so little.

The conclusion from the data is that there is little distinction in the profitability of local and cosmopolitan businesses. The observed differences could easily be attributed to the variability of the operating methods of the entrepreneurs, particularly in terms of business ability and the efforts expended by the entrepreneurs on their enterprise.

7.5 The Entrepreneur

The previous sections have considered the businesses of the respondents. It was found that, whilst there was a manifest diversity of businesses, by conceptualising the way in which value was extracted to sustain the business, there were patterns in this value extraction which were closely related to the dichotomy of locals and cosmopolitans. This section turns to consider the entrepreneurs themselves, as individuals as well as entrepreneurs. The rich data in this section also demonstrates that there are an extraordinarily wide variety of people engaged in rural business, but that certain aspects of their attitudes to their business can also be linked to the classification of local and cosmopolitan.

In particular the notion of the "Protean Entrepreneur", discussed in Chapter Four, sections 4.7.4 and 4.7.5 are well founded in the data. The implications of this will be discussed and analysed in the next chapter, but at the descriptive level the "Chameleon" quality of rural enterprise is clearly illustrated. The early sections of this chapter established the variety of ways of working the entrepreneurial environment, that locals used a spatial monopoly to sustain their businesses whilst cosmopolitans were seen to commodify the countryside. This illustrated the entrepreneurial ability to blend into the environment, yet to extract value from the prevailing conditions. This rural environment had been shown, particularly in Chapter Three, to be a unique manifestation of sets of values but the data previously examined only explored one facet, the business process, of this extraction of value. The ensuing section therefore turns to consider other aspects, how values other than commercial utility can be extracted from the rural environ.

The data suggests that two aspects of the interaction of rural values and the enterprising individual are significant, not least because these topics were repeatedly raised and volunteered by the respondents. These aspects also appear to be theoretically significant because they encompass the range of individual values related to the uniqueness of rurality and go some way to explaining the micro-sociology of rural entrepreneurship. In particular the data demonstrates how individual values, conceived within the rural environment, shape business actions. The categories of local and cosmopolitan remain useful discriminators to analyse these actions but fail to provide a complete explanation. The complexity of the individual motivations involved and invoked in rural entrepreneurship precludes any deterministic evidence of necessary and sufficient conditions. Furthermore the situational variables, the uniqueness of particular circumstances, precluded the determination of cause and effect.

The two aspects which are considered in detail, to illustrate these points are first, the individual's inducements to entreprende in rurality and secondly the motivations within the continuing rural business. Both features are intricately intertwined with notions of rationality, of how the entrepreneurs perceive and use business to extract personal values from the local environment.

7.5.1 Reasons to Entrepente

Academic convention suggests, as was explored in Chapter Four, that there may be two main areas which induce entrepreneurs to set up a business of their own. The individual reasons, crudely definable as psychological, are portrayed as the need to succeed, whilst a more general economic reason or rational is to make profits. At a very broad and superficial level the data confirms these reasons, however the detail of the data suggests that the looseness of this characterisation may, when confronted with comprehensive information, be actually misleading. The notion of "success" which is illustrated by the informant's data is seen to be a very personal interpretation, bound up in individual value judgements, and not reducible or explainable within any standardised or conventional measure.

Whilst it is an obvious minimum condition of any enterprise that it achieves a profit, this too is the minimum criterion of business success, Yet the variety of the respondent's interpretations of profit and success shows that even this minimum is a fluid base line. As we shall see the respondent's important reasons to entreprende were often only indirectly related to the success of the business when measured in conventional terms of profit levels and growth. Often the business, rather than being an end in itself, was little more than a facilitator to achieve quite different measures of success and profit. Although these measures were idiosyncratic and based on the personal constructions of the entrepreneurs, for the cosmopolitans in particular, they can be seen to conform to a broad value system which draws heavily on ascribed rural qualities. The examples also illustrate the protean nature of small business, of how its form can be shaped and moulded by idiosyncratic pressures.

Cosmopolitans

The striking point about the cosmopolitan's reasons for starting a rural business was that the anticipated conventional responses of profitability outlined earlier were rarely volunteered. Respondents produced a range of reasons which had very little to do with business, but were all related to "the social construction" of rurality discussed earlier. Each had envisaged a stream of benefits which would accrue from the location, or the satisfaction engendered in the business, rather than from the purely economic aspects. Many also

expressed a profound anti-urban sentiment, so that the "vocabulary of motives" was a combination of urban push and rural pull factors. Surprisingly few, prior to moving, had any specific experience of living in the countryside, but drew heavily on the ideology of the rural idyll to validate their decisions.

Whilst the responses to this area of enquiry were rarely explicit, probing allowed some broad categories to be discerned. These were not exclusive categories, most responses were a combination of reasons but those described below appeared to be the primary reasons. Whilst these reasons could be seen as what is often described as "quality of life", the data indicates that this concept is itself labyrinthine, and involves a range of personal judgements. Consequently understanding the motivations requires that the standard response must be unpacked. Nonetheless these reasons can be analysed under two main headings, personal and spatial.

Personal Reasons

This category of justification had two central themes. One which centred around the individual's personal identity and a second which focused on aesthetic reasons. Those in the former category seemed to be very concerned about self-realisation, implying that living in the countryside was somehow more real and natural than city life. The inference was that the rural environment would create conditions where some intangible inner self could be found. Janet, for example, explained how she and her husband had become disillusioned with their life in the South East of England. She couldn't pinpoint any specific aspect but suggested that their separate business lives seemed to be rather pointless, despite reasonably successful careers. She talked about how they saw their future as a purposeless continuation of the present and that retirement was the only event to which they might look forward. *"It wasn't frustration and we were always busy, more a growing discontent."* She and her husband bought a rather run down hotel, but unfortunately a few months later her husband died. She continued with the business and by hard work and a careful anticipation of customer, especially tourist, needs built up a thriving and successful trade. Significantly she became an important local village figure, well known and respected for her business acumen. She also commented, *"I don't know if I would have coped in England, I'm sure that it was easier here."* Importantly she now seems very satisfied with her rural role.

Charles comments were rather different, but closely related to this aspect of a search for identity. He acts as a local countryside guide and gives art lessons, whilst his wife does bed and breakfast to eke out a rather frugal living. He claims that he moved to *"simply find himself"*. This sort of comment

was echoed by many of the respondents. Even William, the enthusiastic fish farmer, asserted that he could only be himself by living here.

Terry has a photography business, working mainly on contact work which provides him with a very precarious and marginal living. He might be best described as "spiritually orientated", in part because he is so critical of orthodox society. He is an active evangelical and refuses to send his children to school because he claims school teaches the wrong values. Yet he appears to be rather out of touch with the harsher aspects of reality in his pursuit of these esoteric and lofty spiritual ambitions. His son figured recently in the press as, "the youngest ever to attempt to cross the Atlantic single handed." The father declared to the press, *"it will be a wonderful opportunity for him to find out about himself"*. When I pressed him to explain exactly what he meant by this he defended his encouragement of this risky adventure by informing me that he trusted God to look after his son. The main purpose of the trip was so that the lad *"could be alone with himself"*, free from any contaminating influences. The crossing attempt seems to have fizzled out in Cornwall after the lad found various sensible reasons for docking at several landfalls en route. However Terry's declared reason for moving from the North of England was a paler reflection of this idea of being distanced from society. He declared that the isolations of rurality *"gave one a chance to be ones real self"*.

None of the respondents who used this type of rational actually identified why rurality offered a "real" identity. Instead they alluded to the "reality" of rural life and values in the most general and unspecific way. The underlying implication was that city life imposed a false and superficial identity which intervened between their real identity.

On a slightly different aspect of identity some respondents produced almost Wirthian reasons for a move to rurality, claiming that cities had become so complex that they produced anonymity. They had therefore moved, as Gordon said because, *"We didn't feel at home in the city. Here when you walk down the main street you know most of the people."* The obvious corollary is that most of these people also know him. Thus the relative smallness of the rural communities seemed to offer an opportunity for the respondents to establish themselves as individuals. Although this appears reasonable and valid, it does raise questions of how aware respondents were of this situation before they actually moved, Consequently there is some dubiety as to whether this may be an example of *post-hoc* rationality to present a justification for the rural move. Further questions about what people actually mean by the local community are also

significant. Perhaps the more obvious multiplex aspects of local identity were summarised by Billy the bus operator, who is now well established in the local community. He spoke about, *"being comfortable with local people, you can't have false airs or graces when they know all about you."*

The final aspect of identity suggested by the data referred not only to the respondents personal identity as people, but to their identity as craftsmen. Some respondents had felt that the representation of what they did would be enhanced by a rural environment. Typical of this was Joe, mentioned earlier, who felt his wooden products, and by extension his craftsmanship, were greater in a rural environment. Similarly Fay, who runs a riding school, felt that she only realised her full potential in rurality. *"it is the proper place for me to teach people about horses."* There also appears to be another aspect to this craft identity which is even more directed towards creating a firm and concrete image of themselves as craftspeople, an identity which they present ready-made to others. Bob, the diving school instructor said he was *"pleased that people knew him as a skilled diver"*. *"People have odd ideas about navy divers, here they know me as a careful and concerned person."* Jim, the craft maker, made similar remarks but stressed how important it was for him to be known as someone who actually makes "things".

These rationals were a strange melange of disenchantments with urban life which was described as false, transient and superficial. Whilst no concrete example which lead to this disillusionment was ever given, each respondent spoke in general terms which could have been readily analysed within Harvey's notions of the conditions of post modernity, or even of Marx's concept of the human spirit. Their criticisms could equally be attributed to Lash and Urry's ideas of space and signs. What we can say, is that the comments reflect the anxieties and uncertainties of post-modernity. Don, the puffer owner, in a reflexive moment talked about, *"Being swept in the tide of events, overwhelmed by things over which I had no control and forced to react to them."* Ironically their rural move, in search of a true, more natural identity, often helped to recreate a new rural economy of space and sign. They could be described in Weber's notions of the inevitability of capitalism to have traded the "iron cage" for a self made rustic model.

Spatial Reasons

The group, who emphasised personal reasons for starting a rural business can be characterised by the attraction of rurality in complementing the self; they felt that rurality offered qualities which variously permitted them to develop themselves as individuals. They can be contrasted to the group who emphasised the spatial aspects of rurality as motivation. They were attracted to the aesthetic and physical

rural properties rather than cultural attributes. Cyril, the photographer discussed earlier put it simply, *"This is a beautiful place to live out my life."* Joe, who makes crafts goods, said that, *"It was a logical move, I had always enjoyed visiting the countryside, I like the greenness, the open spaces and the freedoms. I could do without the "benefits" of the city easily, so it really was the only intelligent thing to do."* Irene, who paints for a living, referred to the magnificence of the scenery as stimulation and as material, but also noted the practical benefits of a rural gallery. *"Customers have much more time to look at paintings when they are in the countryside, they are also attuned to the scenery. So I think it contributes to my success here and even when I exhibit elsewhere. Anyway its much cheaper, I couldn't maintain a permanent exhibition anywhere in the city."* Sarah, who runs a home for the mentally handicapped, and as cited earlier, explained how she become disenchanted with social work in the city. *"The bureaucracy seemed to strangle any good we were doing, and the city itself seemed to cause half the problems."* She argued that if a visit to the countryside to enjoy the peace and beauty made her and her husband feel so much better it ought to affect others the same way. *"There is so much space and greenness."* They decided to jettison their careers as social workers to buy a suitable rural haven. They eventually found a handsome large old lochside stone house which they have now converted to a home for three or four disturbed and handicapped adults.

The question of availability of suitable premises appeared to also be an important factor in locational decision. Respondents often talked about how they had looked around for years to find a place which matched both their rural ambitions and their budgets. They had firm ideas of the type of location they wanted but the actual decision of the specific place was determined by discovering somewhere suitable, often by chance. In many instances detailed plans for the business were created after the premises had been acquired. Robert, who has ambitious plans to open an archaeological heritage centre, told me that he and his wife had felt it imperative to first find a suitable place then to decide how to use it. They had succeeded in purchasing a rather expensive old manse but the conversion of their dream to reality is proving slow and difficult. They have the active encouragement of the local enterprise company, who clearly see their idea as appropriate for the location. However the realisation appears to be becoming increasingly expensive as the plans develop. In addition to the considerable purchase cost they now find that they have to raise an additional one hundred and seventy thousand pounds. Currently they are attempting to do so by a the unusual method of a sponsored "midge bite". They have widely distributed professionally prepared leaflets and entry forms. These invite people to pay a pound to guess how many

midge bites Robert will receive when he sits out, almost naked, for an evening in a notoriously "midgy" spot!

Not all the cosmopolitan location and planning decisions were as nebulous and "ambitious" as this example. Nonetheless the conversion of dreams to reality did all seem to be opportunity driven. Two of the respondents provided examples which were more readily recognisable as business opportunities rather than ethereal. Interestingly both involved the revival of failed businesses, providing further instances of the "protean" by showing how new values can be extracted from even a failed environment. Coincidentally the opportunities were failed hotels which had lain empty for some time.

George and his wife had lived in the area for some time. His wife had been brought up in the area where her father had once owned a hotel. George was working as a hotel manager when they heard about the offer for sale of the failed hotel. In spite of difficulties raising capital, since the banks were very reluctant to lend on hotel property, they succeeded in buying the hotel at a bargain price. When asked about the considerable risk George explained, *"I knew I could make it work. We know the area and its potential and we understand the trade. We don't have silly ideas about introducing the locals to nouvelle cuisine. This was just the opportunity that we had been waiting for, to build a secure future for the family."*

Ken had also lived in the local area for some time and had developed several ventures, including the restoration of an old house and the conversion of the local cinema to a small pool hall before the opportunity arose, as he put it, *"for the big one."* This was a large and once prestigious hotel which had fallen into severe decay. The previous eccentric owner had even kept goats in some of the bedrooms. Like George, Ken was able to purchase the defunct business cheaply because of the intimidating state of the property. He described how he had watched some other prospective purchasers, from the south of England, inspecting the property. *"You could actually see their faces crumble as they walked around. I think they had must have built up a rosy picture, maybe they remembered it from before."* Ken was able to use his contacts and experience to refurbish the property and to successfully run it as a hotel before selling it on.

Although this was a viable and sound business investment for Ken the notion of a local identity, as a respected hotelier, does seem to have been part of his decision process. As an Asian expelled from East Africa, he was in a marginal social position. The identity as a local hotelier is a ready made status, where his position is continuously and positively declared in the course of day to day business. This had obviously appealed to him, as his comment indicated, *"It's a bit better than running the local take-away"*

isn't it?"

So for many of the cosmopolitans the paramount attractions of rurality were not business reasons. Indeed business for most respondents was ancillary to some inner personal quest and was related to some dissatisfaction with their urban life and their identity. Even those who gave a "practical" response, in which they related the actual business to the area, drew heavily upon the idyll as a justification for the business. They suggested that the "rural" would in some way add value to their business. Accordingly it seems reasonable to argue that the primary value which they sought from their rural enterprise was not conventional profit but that they drew value from their interpretation of the rural environment. It is of course important to note that most of these respondents were "self-selected", in as much as they chose to move or to return to the rural area to set up a business. Nonetheless it remains significant that none of this group volunteered any financial motivation in their decision to move to the countryside.

Interestingly the respondents who had lived in the countryside for some time placed less emphasis on the "rural" qualities. Their start-up decisions were also closely linked to local knowledge, their initial planning was more precise and although opportunistic, took account of their particular business strengths. Although their ventures were risky, with a high capital investment in businesses which had previously failed, both enterprises proved to be viable and profitable in conventional terms. Furthermore these were local opportunities, specific to the area, representing an opportunity to use local spatial potentials in combination with their own perceived talents and abilities. Their decision to entrepreneur was based on the desire to build a substantial business in the area, rather than simply to earn a living in rurality.

Locals

The decisional behaviour and actions of these cosmopolitan "exceptions" resembled that of many of the local respondents. Similarly, they offered few "environmental" reasons for starting their business. This was not because they were unconscious of the "qualities" of rural life. Indeed, many locals referred to these as reasons for wanting to continue to live in the countryside. For the locals however, the appeal of the "rural" was social rather than environmental. They took pleasure from being part of small rural society so that moving away was unattractive. Typically they felt a close affinity to the local area and would have been reluctant to leave. In many cases entrepreneurship offered a means of earning a satisfying living in their rural place.

A repeated theme in the reasons to entrepreneur was the lack of viable alternatives, either in

terms of job opportunities or even of alternative businesses. So starting a business, self employment, or taking over the family business was a solution to the limited local rural opportunities. As in the cases of the cosmopolitans, the business represented a means of achieving particular goals. These aims were however rather different for the locals; they were more specific and more closely related to the business itself. The anticipated values, security, autonomy and job satisfaction would be generated within the business operation. This contrasted with the cosmopolitan aspirations which were vague and bracketed with "rurality". Although ambition was important for the locals, again it was never expressed in straightforward income or wealth accumulation terms. Owning and running a business was important but none of the sample had plans to build a business empire, their goals were modest. Even the respondent who had built a very substantial enterprise described it as almost happening by accident.

The local sample was rather different from the cosmopolitan in that some locals had taken over the established family firm. Nevertheless the reasons given by those respondents to continue in the business, as well as those starting a new enterprise, were significantly different from the cosmopolitan explanations, even when analysed under the same categories. Their decisions to entreprende had evolved from the local circumstances rather than being a fundamental change in their life. In general the decisions were a pragmatic reflection of the combination of the restrictions of the local area and the aspirations of the entrepreneurs. Again these reasons illustrate the protean aspects of entrepreneurship, showing how individuals fit entrepreneurially into an environment, using it as a vehicle to attain a variety of values.

Identity

In contrast to the cosmopolitans the locals never expressed any existential search for a real identity. They were however prepared to use entrepreneurship, rather than rural location, as a means of building or enhancing their local identity. The prospect of business ownership imparted a status enhancement which provided a good reason to entreprende. Dick explained how he had felt restricted in his previous jobs as a motor mechanic. *"There was never any real chance of promotion. I could have been a foreman but that seemed to about taking on all the responsibility, but the boss still got the benefits. So I thought why shouldn't I do for myself ?"* Dick's wife may also have had an important influence on the decision. She is very involved in local voluntary associations, such as the Young Wives Club and the Mothers and Toddlers group, which appear to have a pronounced hierarchal social order. She quickly drew my attention to Dick's middle-class family background and seemed to feel that being a mechanic was

inappropriate for this background. Although she is not involved with the business she used expressions such as, *"his own business"*, *"Dick gets on well with his customers"*. All of which indicated her satisfaction with being a business owner's wife.

A similar aspect of local identity construction is illustrated by Adrian and his decision to start a plumbing business. Again the need to reconcile a low status job with an incongruous family background appears to be a crucial factor in deciding to use business ownership, in contrast to employment, as a way of harmonizing this discontinuity. Originating in a working class family, his father was a Pole who had settled after the war, he left school at sixteen and as he explained, *"I just accepted the first job that was on offer."* Perhaps indicative of his aspirations, he married the local doctor's only daughter. Although Adrian couched his reasons to start a business in conventional terms, *"I wanted to make something of myself"*, his underlying reasons were obviously related to the uneasiness he felt about his mundane job. His remarks seem to confirm this, *"The guys at work would make snide remarks about my wife's father, asking if I was going to tea on Sunday, that sort of thing. I didn't mind at first but it eventually got to be a drag."* So although Adrian could be described as generally ambitious, it is reasonable to argue that status discontinuity provided the trigger to entrepreneur.

This construction or development of identity through small business was not limited to status enhancement. A remarkable feature of local entrepreneurship was its facility as a process to integrate the individual and his environment. This was illustrated by an unusual respondent who was an obvious exception for the need for ascribed status, since already enjoyed the recognisable status of an aristocratic title. Although Ralph is the son of a Viscount, and entitled to be addressed as "The Honourable", he worked as a building site labourer, clearly another example of status discontinuity. Oddly enough didn't mind working on building sites, and was never subjected to the kind of ragging that Adrian experienced. *"I suppose everybody knows about my background, but nobody ever mentions it. It's not important here."* What he did experience however, was a growing sense of loss of his autonomy. *"I used to do jobbing around the farms, field drains and fencing, but I found that I prefer drainage work. You feel that you are getting somewhere."* He worked for a large contractor for a number of years and during this period learned to operate a JCB digger. *"I really enjoyed that, so when I found that I was being given other work I decided to buy my own machine and start up a contracting business."* This example again illustrates how entrepreneurship is used as a means of achieving particular but diverse ends. These contrasting examples

of identity and local roles may also illustrate the difference between established and ascribed status, and identity and the aspirations of achieved status and identity in the rural social environment.

Entrepreneurship, in the case of those who took over an established business, was also an important aspect of their identity. Significantly, more than half of this group said that they had never really consciously decided to start, or to continue a business. In these cases it had been an overriding assumption that they would take over the already established family firm. In fact few had seriously considered any alternatives to these presumptions, but were nonetheless content with the arrangements. Jamie said, *"I never thought that I would't take over, it was always taken for granted that I would. Mind you, I always planned to make changes, this business is quite different from my father's."* His description of his childhood experience suggests a form of enculturation into business ownership. *"When you have grown up with the business all around you, I suppose that you actually grow up in the business. Everything centres around it, time off just wasn't on if we were busy and holidays were unheard of. Even as a small child we were acutely aware of being in business, it was always the main topic of conversation. We always knew if it had been a good day or a bad day by Dad's face. If I asked for a bike or something I would be told that the business needs came first, 'tho sometimes when things went well we would get special treats."* *"I remember when I was almost seventeen dad said I would have to get my licence so that I could drive the van; all that sort of thing. The business was the family, we were all part of it. I would probably have felt a traitor to the family if I had done something else, but I never gave it a thought."* This comment illustrates how those who grew up within the business took their anticipated identity as business operators for granted.

Spatial

There is the self-evident difference between the locals, who simply chose to remain in rurality against the explicit action of the cosmopolitans who moved into or back to the locality. Nonetheless the locals placed a high value on their local social place. As we saw from the examples above many locals sought to use entrepreneurship as a means of consolidating their local position. The major difference in attitude revolved around opportunity perceptions; the cosmopolitans saw rurality as a structure of opportunity where the locals saw it as a series of restrictions. In both cases however, entrepreneurship was the vehicle used for the transformation of the local environment to accommodate individual requirements.

The value placed by the locals on their social environment is illustrated by the local inertia.

None of the locals had considered starting a business in an urban area which would have compelled them to live away from their home area. This was in spite of the recognition that business opportunities might have been better in more heavily populated areas. Jamie, for example, whom it may be recalled had done a considerable amount of successful work outside his home area, summed this up, "*I would be probably be better off in Edinburgh, I am sure I could get plenty of good contracts but I want to live here, its a nice place to come home to.*"

This notion of "home" appeared to be an important issue. Frequently locals would describe their local networks of family and friends, but not only as business contacts. They used expressions which confirmed their sense of belonging, often in terms of intimate local knowledge. The sense of knowing other people, of being aware of their background was important to them. As well as being a resource, a data bank of sources of information and help, it seemed to reduce uncertainties. Alan, a local farmer, had a minimal amount of local business. Yet he stressed how much he enjoyed meeting other local farmers when he attended markets in other areas. "*We always get together, not always the same crowd mind you. The crack is usually about what's been happening, who's doing what. It's funny really, you go away to learn what's happening at home.*" This strong sense of the local appears to provide a common purpose, a shared perspective, which in turn provides a sense of security.

In business terms the obvious benefits were a knowledge of creditworthiness, of the willingness or otherwise to pay promptly, and of reliability. Local knowledge provided a framework of information about how best to deal with one another. It equipped the respondents with reliable degrees of trust or in some instances distrust. One informal respondent, a local lawyer, pointed out how beneficial this local knowledge was, "*Country lawyers are very different from city firms. When somebody calls in to ask me to make an offer for a property I usually know who he is. If I don't know him, one of my partners will. I can use this knowledge to offer appropriate advice. Often I know the property and even the people selling, so a great deal of time and effort can be saved.*" The disadvantages of this situation, which he did not remark upon, were illustrated by Jack's comments about local bankers. "I decided a long time ago not to use the local bank after I overheard a girl who worked in the bank talking about somebody's account."

Those respondents who had started a new business often presented a mixture of reasons for their decision which were related to the local situation, particularly the lack of opportunities. These often centred on a need for autonomy linked to a growing vexation with the mismatch of their perceptions of

their talents, abilities and aspirations with local job opportunities. Fred, the haulier, had originally been uninterested in autonomy. He had started his working life as an apprentice joiner because that was the only craft available at that time, but really always wanted to be involved with lorries and plant. The original plant and haulage partnership start-up was the only way he could realise his ambition. *"Everybody locally knew that I was really a joiner, even although I knew more about machinery than most of the local fitters. So I had no chance of getting a proper job in the plant line. Going in with the others was a heaven sent chance to do what I always wanted."* However as the business developed he became increasingly aware of his lack of power and autonomy. He explained that as the business grew he had lots of arguments with his sleeping partners. *"They always seemed to want to do one thing and although I run the business they didn't seem to listen. So when the plant firm folded I was really quite pleased because it gave me the chance to be my own boss."*

Murdoch's case seems to also illustrate the problem of frustrated ambition and aspiration which results from the limitations of rural employment. Starting a new business appeared to offer a solution to the problem. Again the notion of the protean is demonstrated in these cases, as the entrepreneurs have adjusted and adapted themselves to fit into a value creating niche. Murdoch runs a garden machinery sales and repair business which now employs three others. He had been an agricultural engineer working for a large company but had become gradually dissatisfied with the poor pay. *"The snag was that there was only one other firm in the area that I could have worked for, and they weren't any better."* He had always done "homers", repairs for friends and neighbours in his spare time. *"I eventually found that I was earning more at the weekend than during the week, so I was fairly confident that I could earn a living for myself. I was worried about the agricultural side, it needed a lot of stock, for spares and so on. So I decided to try to specialise in small stuff, lawnmowers and the like. People seemed prepared to pay more and quicker for these than bigger farm stuff. I was very lucky because the forestry was just starting to employ men as contracting cutters, so they all came to me to buy their chainsaws."*

In general terms the need for autonomy, or control appeared to be an important reason for locals to start a business. Even so, it was a reaction to the limitations of local circumstances, rather than an active and purposeful search for autonomy per se. Entrepreneurship was a pragmatic solution to frustrated ambitions, but rarely were these ambitions formed or expressed in materialist terms. More often the concerns were about position and identity in the local community so that entrepreneurship was the means,

rather than the end, to accomplish these goals.

7.5.2 Summary of the Data

1) For both groups the reasons to start, or continue, a business were shown to be related to a number of factors. The cosmopolitan reasons centred on a wish for self fulfilment, whilst the locals saw entrepreneurship as a pragmatic solution to local restrictions. The material benefits of wealth creation or income was not a pre-eminent reason. Only rarely was the business itself a primary reason. Instead the business, for both groups was a facilitator, a means of achieving diverse goals.

2) The decision to begin was profoundly influenced by circumstances. Thus the decision was highly contingent on the respondents interpretation of these circumstances. For the cosmopolitans rural exceptionalism was a major factor; whilst for the locals the local society was significant. Nonetheless no universal "trigger" to entrepreneurship could be identified. Individual motivation appears to be circumstantial and individually contingent, and therefore remains indeterminate and unspecifiable.

3) There appears to be no predictable relationship between motivation to entrepreneurship and conventionally measured success. Even opportunity perception and evaluation was an individual production, although it appears to be linked to broad cultural perceptions and "world views".

Table 7.9 is an attempt to consolidate these findings and to illustrate the key differences between the locals and the cosmopolitans.

7.6 Motivation, Action and Outcomes within the Continuing Rural Businesses

This section is about the continuing entrepreneurial process. It describes the motivations, the actions and the outcomes of the process of the rural entrepreneurship studied. It demonstrates the types of value extracted from the rural businesses, emphasising the low priority assigned to commerciality by the entrepreneurs. Instead the behaviour and actions of the entrepreneurs was directed towards satisfying a range of objectives, which although linked to, and developed within entrepreneurship, were secondary to the pursuit of profit. This satisficing behaviour reflected a range of rationalities, which in turn was based on individual nests of values. Once again the notion of protean entrepreneurship is illustrated by the diversity of goals and the routes and entrepreneurial methods used to achieve these goals.

The section begins by exploring the individual motivations of the entrepreneurs, the values which they derive from their businesses and which encourage them to continue in business. The second section, which considers the data more broadly, identifies that a major purpose in the pursuit of the entrepreneurial

Table 7.9 DIVISIONS WITHIN THE DATA

PATTERNS and VARIATIONS	LOCALS	COSMOPOLITANS
divisions of business types	spatial monopoly	rural commodifiers
essential feature of the rural business	space	rurality
principle source of the business's "advantage"	friction of distance	rural "uniqueness"
"novelty" within the business	non-creative	creative
business form	traditional trading	non-traditional trade
business style	modern	post-modern
formation of the business	established	new or recent
principle source of value created	conventional trading	experiential, cultural or aesthetic
market focus	local	national
involvement with other or previous business	frequently	rarely
Theoretical type	"utility" maximisers (of satisfaction)	Kirznerian or Schumpertian (with a personal focus)
marginality	rarely - mainstream	often - marginal to "local" attitudes
Objectives	local recognition	cultural recognition

This table demonstrates a selection of differences between the groups

career is the generation of status. However the actions to achieve this vary considerably but are seen to be broadly related to the categorizations of local and cosmopolitans, a consequence of the different attitudes of the groups. It is followed by three cases which are extreme examples which illustrate the very different personal value systems which initiate action.

7.6.1 Motivation and Rationalities

Motivation is defined by Locke and Latham 1990 as "Those tension causing factors within the individual, which energise, direct and sustain behaviour." The respondents produced a variety of explanations to justify their continuing entrepreneurial efforts. Some of these reflected the triggers which initiated the start up; for example, many of the cosmopolitans continued to speak about self fulfilment whilst the locals generalised in terms of independence. However the distinctions between the groups were less pronounced than in the explanation of the decision to initiate their businesses. As in the earlier investigation respondents identified a range of complex and complicated and inter-related motivations, some of which could be dismissed as merely "proper", respectable responses from a vocabulary of motives. For example, joking that nobody would employ them, or that nobody could pay them enough. Or typically as Don put it, *"I am just trying to earn a living"*. The less overt reasons, which were more convincing, were related to a achieving personal aspirations and objectives. However a penetrating investigation of underlying and undeclared motives indicated that esteem, inwardly directed as satisfaction, or outwardly as prestige, was a universal feature, and common to all the respondents.

These motivations were rarely expressed in a pure form, reasons were often couched in general terms with respondents apportioning importance to different elements. Consequently these motivations are best considered as nested hierarchies of values, which are closely intertwined. However in a reductionalist analysis, to identify the single most common factor of motivation, the ultimate entrepreneurial stimulation was generated within social relationships rather than a commercial one.

7.6.2 Individual Motivations

A remarkable feature was the variability of the objectives which respondents derived from their businesses; from those seeking security to those seeking thrills and excitement. The following examples merely illustrate this spectrum, since the variety seems to exclude any useful categorization. Except, of course, to demonstrate the protean nature and flexibility of entrepreneurship.

Security

George, whom it may be recalled took over a failed hotel, provided an example of the search for security. He explained that working as an employee in the hotel business he never felt entirely secure in his job. *"I have known owners to suddenly decide to sell up, in one case the guy just got fed up, but often its some marriage trouble and booze is always a problem. As a worker there is nothing you can do, even if you have been doing a great job."* He went on to outline his hopes. *"With our own place we know what we are doing, we decide for ourselves. Usually it means more work, say doing High Teas, but you feel you are building something substantial, something which you can rely on."* He was particularly concerned about his children's future, quoting media reports on the lack of jobs for youngsters. *"With the hotel we know that we will be able to offer them a future, so it's worthwhile putting all our efforts into this place just now because we know that they will benefit."*

George's venture was fairly risky, because the hotel had been closed he had no established trade to rely on. Furthermore he had borrowed heavily to purchase the property and also faced some potentially high expenses in repairs to the building. This meant that he had to quickly establish turnover and profitability to support the business. When I drew his attention to the paradox, to engage on a high risk venture to ensure security, he replied, *"I don't see it as risky, I know this place will do well, its just a matter of pulling it all together."* He added that, *"It is an investment is our time and effort but its for ourselves and the family isn't it ?"* So in George's interpretation this venture reduced uncertainty, especially of events outwith his direct control. This was seen to provided security in both the short term and the long term for his children.

Thrills and Excitement.

An singularly opposite motivation, the pursuit of thrills, was provided by several local respondents. They spoke about the pleasure they take from business, revelling in the decision taking, the fast, snappy choices, the responsibility and autonomy and most of all the utter thrill which surrounds a decision. One respondent, an urban entrepreneur, explained why he had renounced a "good" teaching profession to take up the risks and the dubious status of a second hand car dealer. Citing his case is justified by the explicitness of his comments since his remarks embody and epitomise the sentiments expressed by the rural businessmen. *"It wasn't the money, though I don't deny that its a lovely feeling to have a great week. Anyway I suppose there are probably more bad weeks than good. No, the real reason is I enjoy doing it. Not all car dealers are rascals you know. But you get a big kick out of putting a good deal together, its you,*

not anybody else, or some big organisation at your back. Its just you, you and your skill that's made it happen, or not. If it does come together it's fantastic. You are ten feet tall, and your feet don't even have to touch the ground. Even thinking about it afterwards fills you with a warm glow. I suppose its pride really.

There is no way I got those sort of satisfactions teaching. You are a number, past which endless snotty nosed kids pass. You get no thanks, even if you do get the occasional good kid, you are nothing, the system works just as well whether your there or not. No, there is no comparison, its chalk and cheese. Even if you get it wrong, if I've bought a squib from a dealer and I lose a packet selling it at an auction I don't really feel bad for long. You just shrug it off and look for the next deal. It's got to be better." It seems important to note that this is not simply the thrill associated with gambling, unless it is seen as betting on oneself. The pleasure results from the act of winning rather than the prize. This motivation to entreprende is the need to grasp a challenge and to tackle it on ones own terms. This motivation is superficially close to McClelland's "N-achieve", but in fact runs deeper. McClelland's ideal type would be concerned to show achievement, achievement is the end purpose, but for these respondents satisfaction lay in the game itself.

Independence.

Almost all the respondents made some allusion to the sense of independence which is characterised in small business. Most saw it as a benefit, though the less experienced, for example Robert who plans a museum, expressed some disquiet about the totality of responsibility. One respondent interviewed had not started a business because he felt that this independence was, *"just too big a step"*. His profile appeared very similar to many of the cosmopolitans; he had some capital; some managerial experience gained as a naval officer and an urge to settle in rurality. In fact he spent over a year working locally as an unpaid volunteer whilst waiting for a job to turn up. The job did turn up, running a local tele-cottage and providing computer training. When I pointed out that he was in charge, rarely saw a boss and seemed to make almost all the management decisions, in short doing all the "independent" things that he might have done as a small businessman, and had even "invested" a years income, he disagreed. He argued that he did not have the final responsibility, and did not want it, this was what he felt was *"just too big a step"*.

Those who had a successful business running did not share these anxieties. They saw this independence as a major advantage. Stephen, who has holiday accommodation, said *"I can't imagine having*

a boss again. It would be terrible having somebody telling me what to do. I had it before, being told how I should do a job which I could do with my eyes shut." Pat, the timber contractor, *"I know I work long hours but its for ourselves, nobody forces us, except maybe the taxman!"* Glynis who now runs a guest house summed up this rather well. I had asked her how she felt about cleaning toilets after strangers. She looked at me indignantly and obviously surprised at the question, *"But it's our own business."*

Satisfaction

Several respondents mentioned the satisfaction which they received from running their businesses. The data indicates however that there were two different types of satisfaction, first those who enjoyed the actual job, the work in hand. This form of satisfaction was particularly true of the craftsmen. The other form of satisfaction was derived from the pleasure entailed in successfully running the enterprise, the enjoyment of the managerial role.

The job satisfaction aspects were most clearly demonstrated by the craft manufacturers, who took pride in their production. In these cases the satisfaction resulted from the actual manufacturing process, the making of things. Both Joe and Jim expressed the pleasure they took in the completion of a creation. As Joe put it, *"Its all my own work, made with my own hands. If I hadn't made it, it wouldn't exist."* Jim pointed out that he probably spent too long making the piece because of this, *"but in the long run its worth it, you get a great sense of fulfilment from a job well done."*

Physical skills and manual dexterity appear to be a component of this satisfaction, as is a personal affinity to the material being shaped by those skills. It was therefore interesting to note that Fay, who runs a stable, used very similar expressions to describe why she enjoyed working with horses. *"Even if you have been schooling horses as long as I have, you still get a thrill watching the one you've trained jumping well."*

Ted, the tent manufacturer, provided an example of managerial satisfaction, he patently enjoyed running his business. In discussion he frequently referred to his business management systems and techniques, not boasting about them, but obviously very pleased with them. He was always acutely aware of the state of business, able to quote sales figures, advertising returns and other key indicators without reference to documentation. As was discussed earlier he had developed an unusual stocking system which ensured a steady income. He was particularly proud of the operation of the business which allowed him to spend the winter months in the Mediterranean. Although he routinely quoted profits, the distinct

impression was that these were more important as measures of the efficiency of his business than as personal income. Ted's background was in big business as a senior executive, so this may have influenced his attitudes.

Gerry the farmer was another example of this type of satisfaction, but from a different aspect. His farm was run on a very extensive basis, low inputs with low outputs. This system, although beginning to become more acceptable in the current agricultural climate, was unusual and rather disapproved of by more conventional farmers. Unlike Ted's business Gerry's farm produced a very low income but like Ted, he still took great pleasure from the operation of the business system. Although his conversations tended to be in macro-economic terms, world markets and international food trade, he was always pleased to explain how his system fitted into the wider scheme. Again his was an unusual background, a well-off family, an international outlook which was reflected in his broad range of interests and experiences.

Willie the tinker, a scrap merchant and car dealer, could hardly be described as international. But he too was also eager to discuss his business system. In essence it involved buying cheaply and having minimal overheads but Willie was always keen to talk about "business". He habitually used expressions like "*maximising turnover*", "*gross profit margins*" and even on one occasion, "*customer satisfaction*". Since the substance of the enterprise was non-systematic, in effect opportunistic, these expressions were merely rhetorics of respectability, attempts to legitimate a equivocal business. Nonetheless they are indicative of the pride and satisfaction he derived from running the operation.

7.6.3 General Motivation "The Manufacture of Importance"

The data indicates that a universal factor of continuing entrepreneurial motivation, lending purpose and direction to the business, and common to all the respondents, was the use of entrepreneurship to create or maintain social position. This took a number of forms which were related to the respondent's own value systems. It also reflected the group or social values which the respondents regarded as important. The locals, for example, were concerned about a very local, even parochial position, and took their notion of status from within their local peer group. In contrast the cosmopolitans had a much wider sense of prestige which drew on much broader concepts of distinction, but often related to the cultural capital and prestige associated with rurality. Although the degree of intensity by which this status creation was pursued varied, the "manufacture of importance" was clearly a significant factor in directing the operation of the various businesses.

The data shows that the pursuit and production of prestige varied from latent to manifest ambition and from overt to obscured activity. For some respondents this was the key issue which shaped their business, where for others it remained important, but was less influential. This was true of both locals and cosmopolitans, although there was a considerable difference in the "spheres" from which they drew status.

The following sections demonstrate the difference between the groups by examining typical and extreme examples from within each category. A contrasting typology of these extreme cases is developed, for the cosmopolitans, "The Triumphant Failures" and for the locals "The Tragic Failures". This typology and the examples cited from the data make clear the very different perspectives of the two groups, but importantly the examples disclose how significant local prestige was for some locals.

7.6.4 Locals

There are three examples from the data which clearly illustrate the importance of local position and status. The first two show how this is generated within the business. The third example, where the respondent's business does not carry a high status, shows how the business is used to further other more prestigious activities. The next section considers some extremely marginal businessmen, a small time drug dealer, a bookie and "slum" landlord and Willie the tinker, to show how, despite the "dubiety" of their business, local prestige and standing remains an important factor. Importantly the data demonstrates the significance of particular local circles, peer groups, within which the entrepreneurs sought to establish their importance. Finally the details surrounding the "Tragic Failures" are examined as evidence of the importance of local "face".

This first example seems to provide confirmation of the importance of local status and how its pursuit shapes the business activity. Jamie is a very personable character, easy going and affable. He socialises a lot and is involved in various local social groups and activities. He is even well known for his piping skills. He is a skilled conversationalist, eager to listen to others. This talent is used to great advantage in the cultivation of a wide range of friendships. His social circle is mainly local, including other local businessmen, but extends to outside business connections. He is always willing to chat and can often be seen engrossed in conversation.

The inherited business had concentrated on local jobbing work, it was established by Jamie's grandfather, and had a good reputation for quality. But local work is limited in scope, often confined to house painting, and Jamie was keen to develop the business. Through his network, Jamie was given a

contract to redecorate a fire damaged country house. Because of the intelligent application of his traditional skills,(he was even able to provide some original 19th Century stencils from the workshop stock), the ambitious contract was successfully completed. This success inspired him to actively seek out similar prestigious work.

It is evident that Jamie is now prepared to allocate his major efforts towards this type of work, even to the detriment of the basic jobbing work. His accountant despairs of the way this work overwhelms Jamie's attentions. The extended and prolonged pre-contract meetings combine with his total commitment to the job, once secured. Less interesting enquiries for local work lie unpriced, small jobs are left uncompleted and even overdue accounts are forgotten until the big job is completed. Jamie argues that this prestigious work is better business. He points out that the number of man hours involved mean lots of overtime for the men on work which they enjoy. In addition these contracts now represent a large part of his turnover, and as his reputation spreads more work will be offered. This is true, he has even travelled to work in London on a high quality job. However, many of these jobs are now highly competitive. The revival of popularity of traditional decor, with techniques as scrumbelling and rag-rolling has induced many firms to offer this service. Jamie's costs have the built-in disadvantage of distance which is borne out by the variability in the net profits from these jobs. Infrequently a contract does produce exceptional profit but more generally the net results are little better than that of jobbing work. Nor has the total business expanded, Jamie finds it difficult to find more "good" tradesmen, so he still retains his original workforce.

A detailed examination of Jamie's motives explains why he continues to seek this type of work in the face of commercial logic. He simply enjoys the prestige which is associated with exceptionally high quality work. This goes beyond the exercise of traditional skills, but is caught up in the importance of prestige. Whilst he sees these developments as improving the business left to him by his father and grandfather, the vital element is the promotion of his local status. Papering Mrs. Smith's lounge does little for local eminence. In contrast the association with prestigious organisations and household names positively enhances status. Puzzlingly, Jamie seems to have little need to be concerned with status. He is a well known and liked local figure.

The reason lies in the approval and status within his local peer group of businessmen. The local circle is tightly parochial, so that although being in business, is itself, status generative, this is only to outsiders, non business people. Those within the circle are more likely to deglamorise entrepreneurship, as

conversations turn on problems of VAT, taxmen, impatient bank managers, demanding customers and slow payers. So business details, short of the unusual or spectacular, are unlikely to impress. Jamie's high status jobs, working in expensive and exotic locations, do impress and generate attention. It is therefore argued that Jamie's motivation is the production of importance within this local circle, to demonstrate that he can move and operate successfully in grander areas. It is unclear whether this does enhance his status. It evidently makes an impact, his peers comment, "*Jamie? Oh he's off living it up again, he spends more time in swanky hotels than the Duchess of York*".

Jamie's wife has a quality gift shop in town which tends to confirm this analysis. The premises were purchased as an investment in a particularly good year, but the choice of business seems significant. The goods offered are superior quality and in contrast to the conventional and popular tourist baubles. Despite her sparkling personality, she does not enjoy serving in the shop. Accordingly she confines her activities to the selection and purchase of the stock and employs a full time shop assistant. This clearly reduces the profitability of the shop, so that in poor years the returns are marginal. However the type of shop is undoubtedly locally prestigious, far more so than a more profitable business which only sold tartan tourist tat to bus parties. Again it can be seen that profit maximisation is not a primary motive, but rather is subsumed within an entrepreneurial structure which is designed to maximise local prestige.

The production of Highland prestige is intriguing, particularly within local cliques. It is a personal attribute or quality and is not purely materially generated. It is about behaviour, conforming to specific norms, rather than income. First meetings produce questions about who you are, rather than what you are. Income or wealth alone, is not sufficient to produce status. It must be augmented, or replaced by appropriate behaviour. Indeed conspicuous consumption may well produce negative effects. Comments noted about one pair of newcomers who ostentatiously displayed their affluence included, "*more money than sense*", "*a bit flashy*", and most telling, "*they seem to be out to impress*." Consumption is best kept low key. One respondent was discussing her recent cruise with obvious pleasure, she recounted the luxuries of the food, the staff and had clearly thoroughly enjoyed the entire experience. But each description was interjected by a justification, "*we had saved for years, we had been left a little money by my old aunt, and I'm sure she would have approved, I think she would have probably gone herself if she had had the chance*." Yet in this case the respondent could easily have afforded to cruise every year, consumption needs to be muted.

This is a contrast to other cultures. In London, which is possibly another unique situation, the behaviour of a young city securities dealer was observed and seen to be totally different from rural conduct. This individual fitted the stereotype of the new service class "yuppie". Despite an enormous income, over £100,000, including bonuses, in a good year, and augmented by a company Porche, he had a regular personal overdraft of £50,000 and a massive mortgage. The outstanding point was his behaviour in a city wine bar. He celebrated a good day by buying everyone in the bar champagne! One may draw comparisons with the anthropological concept of Potlach, the public sharing out of wealth, this particular ostentatious consumption was undoubtedly motivated by status promotion. Within his group this performance was commonplace, so that there was a competitive display of flamboyant extravagance.

Jamies's behaviour, and that of his rural peers, is an antithesis of this flamboyance. He does not buy new cars, ostensibly arguing that it would only deteriorate. However a more plausible reason is the requirement, within the group, not to be seen to show off. This would be seen as in the worst possible taste. It risks being seen as wasteful, profligate or unsound, all of which are disapproved of. These notions of consumption are related to a work ethic. One where work is central, but not of over-riding importance. For example, in town during the day, Jamie always wears overalls, even when he is not physically working. He turns up late for social occasions and appointments, apologetically pleading pressure of work. So the outward show of "hard-working" complements the moderated and low-key displays of wealth in the generation of local status. It may be argued that this process is one which helps reproduce an aspect of rurality. It seems to be about key local figures re-creating a superficially classless society. The analysis demonstrates that this is not a rural community of interdependent mutuality, nor one of inherently produced egalitarianism. In spite of the image of evident equality created by second hand cars and working overalls, it is a competitive society.

The second case examines the actions of a garage proprietor. His actions, in particular the expansion of his business, seem to be concerned about maintaining a local position of importance rather than following business logic. John, like the previous respondent also inherited an established business. He quickly acquired a new car franchise for a "secondary" marque which, at that time was relatively unusual, and consequently probably easier to obtain. The original business had not sold new cars but John explained that he felt it was important to "establish" the business with new cars. Selling new cars has much more social cachet than repairs or petrol sales, and this was clearly important for John and his wife. It made good

business sense too, because he was soon able to acquire the only other garage in the town. This control of the local market placed John in a local position of some importance, providing status and a degree of local power.

John is not an impressive character, either by appearance, behaviour or demeanour. He is slightly hunched, dresses poorly, though not always in the ubiquitous Highland overalls, and has a gruff unpleasant manner. He sells the cars himself, explaining that customers like to deal with the owner, but he also added that he liked to fix the trade-in prices himself. He is not well liked locally, he has even fallen out with many of his relatives. Nonetheless his success is remarkable. This success does not seem to be generated by his intellect, which appears as limited, this is not the commonplace West Highland slow measured response. He has however a very able staff, both technical and financial. The assumption must be, in face of the evidence, that despite his obvious limitations he is an excellent manager. The franchise sold sixty new cars in August 1993, a high number for such a small town.

In attempting to triangulate this data on local status, other informants, not in business but who knew John, were indirectly asked their opinions. Two informants separately confirmed the "multiplex" relationships of a small town. When asked why this type of car was so popular, they responded by identifying John's business, *"There isn't much choice really, unless you dare to go to Glasgow"*. But when pressed to explain his continued success, despite his general unpopularity, they explained the social pressures. If a local resident purchased a new car, anywhere other than John's garage, John would cut them in the street, pointedly ignoring them. This childish behaviour was reckoned to actually bully customers into remaining loyal.

John is not an important figure on any local committees, although his father had been, so his influence is mainly limited to business interactions. These, as was noted earlier, are hardly profound. The veiled threat of refusing car maintenance could be important, but cannot be a crucial social factor. Instead the conclusion appears to be that small town residents are aware of the ramifications of multiplex relationships. In their concern to maintain local harmony they accept John's behaviour and continue to use his business.

John had used the second garage he had purchased to obtain another agency which further cemented his local position. However a new dealer moved into the area to challenge his local monopoly. Interestingly John's reaction was to open a new branch in a neighbouring town. His total turnover did not benefit greatly,

but as John put it, *"Its a presence, they might go elsewhere if I wasn't there."* Although these actions could be explained as commercial logic, market share maintenance and protection. John's own comments show that it was a sense of pique which provoked his latest expansion, *"Everybody used to come to me for their cars, but now its just business, so I joined in."* When I commented on the new competitor, asking if it had affected business John's reply ignored the competitive aspects, *"Not really, I've opened a new branch."* It seemed that he took this new competitor as a personal slur, and his reaction was to retort by opening another, probably uneconomic, branch. His status, at least his interpretation of that status, was fortified by the apparent expansion. So like the first respondent, John's actions follow a pattern of "one-up-manship", which serves in their opinion to heighten their status within the local business circle.

The "manufacture of importance" was a difficult area to get the respondents to discuss, most of the data is implied, or referred to obliquely, rather than stated. During the interviews I asked John about his ambitions, Did he intend to keep expanding, to open other branches? He replied, *"Only if necessary to maintain my position"*. John meant to refer to his business position but when added to his response when I suggested opening in the city, as an obvious expansion, he was adamantly negative. *"Nobody knows me there, anyway I have the biggest and best agency in Argyll already."* Argyll is of course a very small pool so it seemed important to remain a "big fish" there.

There is also supporting social evidence of the priority John and his wife place on local position. They rarely attend the local functions, but they do always appear at grander occasions such as the Highland Ball. There they sit with other locals but their conversation revolves around John's business, but not in the normal forms of exchange between businessmen, discussion about the general ups and downs, problems with bad payers and so on. Instead both John and his wife try to impress. They make it clear to strangers that they are members of this small town elite. John's wife even introduced herself as Mrs Simpson of Simpsons Garage.

Comments have been made elsewhere on the powerful undercurrents of social rivalry within small town society elite. Businessmen have to establish their rank within this group through their business. By contrast the few professionals, doctors and the like, have an instant occupational status. Teachers until the infamous strike also enjoyed this professional rank, but now have joined the "lumpen bourgeoisie" who now all work for the Regional Council. Within the ranking system of this elite conspicuous consumption is frowned upon. Somehow grade and position must be achieved by indirect means. It is externally ascribed,

earned by merit rather than materialistically. This may be a residue from Calvinism, since it is certainly typical in the West Highlands.

It is also in contrast to urban areas where rank takes a less personal face. People may be grouped by occupation or the spatial segregation of addresses. So that status is imputed, even attributed to these trappings of the social order. This contrast is not some fanciful nostalgic interpretation of a man's worth as against what he is worth, rather it is an analysis of how social importance in parochial rural areas is generated. It is related to the multiplex relationships common in rurality. So that the development of prestige is highly personal production because people are known foremost as individuals. In secular urban society identity appears to be achieved on a much more fragmentary basis. However it is also likely that within any given established community, for example a community of business, say amongst a group of accountants, internal ranking might be based on a similar fashion to that observed in rurality.

The third respondent in this group was rather different from the others in his pursuit of local prestige. The others sought status within and by their business activities, for Jamie this was "better" business and for John, "bigger" business. Stanley however, runs what is a low status business, road surfacing. This work is traditionally associated with itinerants, either Irish labourers or "tarry tinks", travellers who move around the country tarmacking farm roads. Stanley's business is substantial, he employs around six people, but is mainly based on subcontracting for large firms or the local authority. Nonetheless it not seen as a prestigious occupation. Stanley's father originally had a large quarry, but this went bust and Stanley became a manager. His own business developed from this job, subcontracting for the large firm, then enlarged to do his own account work. Perhaps because of his origins, Stanley is at pains to present a prestigious image. Since this cannot be done within the business, because of its low status, he does so by cultivating status outside. He is a member of Rotary, runs a Range Rover, his daughter has horses and attends shows all over the country. His children attended private boarding school. Most telling was his purchase for a price well above the market value of an old, and rather grand house. This property was well known locally, it had belonged to an old wealthy family, so that ownership immediately conferred prestige.

None of these actions directly affect or improve Stanley's business, they are all personal trappings of business success. However it is the use of the successful business operation which comfortably provides these material symbols. It seems that these are used to compensate for any potential status shortcoming in the actual business. There is evidence that these ploys are counter productive, one interviewee referred to

him as, "*a stuck up bastard*", whilst another called him, "*pretentious.*"

It is interesting to note that these three respondent's wives all had their own business. In each case the businesses were independent of the main business and probably only produce a small income. In each case however they do produce a separate status income, drawing on a slightly different area from the husband's. As was discussed earlier Jamie's wife has a high quality fancy goods shop; John's wife has self catering cottages. When asked about them she commented, "*Yes they are expensive, but the nicest people really prefer quality.*" Stanley's wife has a high class ladies clothes shop, which again reflects social prestige and ensures association with the affluent. In contrast none of the cosmopolitan's wives had businesses, although some did work with the husband within the business. Arguably this seems to bear out the different spheres of value used by the different groups. There would be little status enhancement for local's wives to work in the main businesses, rather the reverse, they might be considered as simply an economy, wage saving. However by having their own relatively prestigious business local status was enriched.

7.6.5 Marginals

This group were all involved in low status work. However the way they saw the operation and benefits of their business seems to provide strong evidence of the use of entrepreneurship to generate "local" status.

Alf's main business is bookmaking but he supplements this with scrap metal dealing. Both these activities have generated considerable capital, with which he has purchased a number of run down properties which he lets by the room to "benefit" tenants. Few of Alf's clients are "respectable", his betting shop is in a run down part of the town but close to a housing estate. It lacks even the glamour of the chain bookmakers but is characterised by worn lino, odd chairs and it badly needs painting. The customers match the surroundings and on "bru" day, when benefits are paid, the place becomes a centre for the area's social misfits. Alf has a great deal of power in this situation, whether to admit these seedy characters and to allow them to hang around or to be chased away. This position is heightened in his role as landlord, many of his tenants are undesirable and would have difficulty finding other accommodation. Some have drink problems and many seem unconcerned about personal hygiene. Consequently they are beholden to Alf for providing even these miserable rooms and subject to his interpretation of discipline. Even although the Social Security pays their rent, there is always an administrative delay between finding a room and the rent payment. There is also a "catch 22" situation whereby they do not get benefit until they have an address.

Even in the scrap merchanting Alf has great power. Most scrap offered for sale is to some extent illegal; it may have stolen or it may be a perk from a building job. The licence to operate as a scrap merchant requires that a record is kept of all transactions. In consequence there is room for a great deal of discretion in most transactions, especially in a small town where it would be relatively easy to trace material. So again Alf has considerable power. Within the grey areas in which he operates, his business makes him a man of significant influence over others and consequent status. Interestingly like some of the other peripheral businessmen he too was eager to be seen as a serious businessman. He enthusiastically explained the operation of his business, the fixing of odds and laying off bets, the problems with authorities who did not appreciate the difficulties of running a business. How non-ferrous scrap prices fluctuate and why he has to read the financial newspapers to know the best time to sell. The interviews were constantly interrupted with inquiries and requests for instructions, this gave a splendid opportunity to see how much Alf enjoyed his status and authority. Even allowing for considerable impression management this gratification shone. The fascinating analytical points of interest about this case was the way that real status was generated within a dubious business situation in the grey margins of society.

Willie, the tinker, has already been discussed. Like Alf, he too was anxious to create an image of legitimate business. However from the perspective of this analysis of prestige generation, the significant point was how Willy differentiated himself from other tinkers and other scrappies. He insisted that he should be described as either a merchant or a dealer. It was clearly important for him to be known as better than other itinerants, because he felt that his car and van selling activities put him a cut above his peers. Again seems to be an example of the business being used as a status generating activity.

Billy's case is rather different. He is a part time drug dealer, supplying mainly young people with marijuana and occasionally LSD or Ecstasy. This is of course illegal, and another local dealer is presently serving a prison sentence. So Billy's reasons for taking such risks appear important. He is not a flamboyant character, he is quiet and very ordinary looking, very far from the image one might expect. Profits are not important. In fact the profit margins, considering the risks, are very low. There is a complex chain of suppliers; at the top these dealers trade in fairly large quantities, about a kilo of marijuana at a time. But before the drugs reach Billy there is a string of smaller wholesalers who deal in progressively smaller quantities but each taking a margin. The net result is that Billy retails a packet, about 9 grams, for £30. His net profit is only £5, less than 17%! He has accumulated some capital because he has been trading for some

years. However this sum, estimated to be about £5,000, actually presents a problem because he is afraid to spend this, or even to bank it, in case it drew attention to his activities. Billy explained that he enjoyed the thrill of dealing. He has a very boring day job and the illegal dealing provides him with excitement. However his most significant comment was, *"I like being The Man."* Being known as the supplier has given him a local status which would be unavailable from his legitimate activities. Like Alf, he has developed considerable prestige within his particular circle through his business activities.

7.6.6 Cosmopolitans

The "manufacture of importance" for the cosmopolitans did not have a local base. They seemed less concerned with local opinion, but instead drew on a wider range of value systems from which to develop their sense of importance. The two examples describe contrasting value systems; the first entrepreneur, Rodger, draws heavily on cultural capital, in particular art and aesthetics. The second, Don, uses tradition, both use these "rural" qualities within their businesses to develop status for themselves.

The first respondent provides an example of the attempted use of entrepreneurship to develop a new social role of importance, but one underpinned by a basic requirement to generate income. Rodger inherited a large estate, consisting of several farms and a large country house. The estate is, however entailed, which restricts Rodger's freedom to dispose of it as he might wish. He is a stocky man who speaks with a public school accent. Extremely self assured, his ego enjoys a massive reputation. He has long grey hair and wears paint splattered clothes, so that he could easily be mistaken for a busy, successful artist. One has the impression that all this is carefully contrived. Conversations with Rodger tend to be one sided, he uses them as a platform for his opinions. His artistic demeanour is used to advantage to promote a cultural superiority. "Art" is used as a badge of merit, which demonstrates a higher, if intangible value system. One which is only available and recognisable to the cognoscenti, those within a privileged circle.

The argument developed in the analysis of this respondent is that because of his ego, he has tried to maintain a social position using these cultural values to increase his own importance. As ringmaster in various cultural circuses his standing is appreciably enhanced. Rodger's traditional role of "laird", or local landowner, is of diminishing importance. In part because of the reduction of farming in general and consequently loss of employing status, but more significantly the wider cultural and social changes which impinge on this traditional status. In Rodger's case his dislike of farming activities has made impossible the role of gentleman farmer. The consequence is that he lets the farms, as opposed to operating them, which

means that a much smaller income is produced. One which does not sustain his aspirations. Rodger has therefore chosen to entreprende to increase his income and restate his status. He uses the values of cultural capital as a conduit to importance.

In this pursuit he has initiated a remarkable number and variety of local businesses. They have included speculative house building, a boat repair yard and moorings, a hotel, holiday chalets, a craft shop, a small petrol station and the use of his country house in a variety of innovative ways. With the exception of the hotel and his own house, these promising ventures have all withered. This can probably be explained by the lack of sustained attention after the initial enthusiasm. These promising and innovative ideas required continued attention to detail to thrive, but Rodger seems to lose interest quickly, even leaving projects unfinished. The businesses faltered, and were sold off to be revived by newcomers to the area. In each case the revived businesses now flourish.

These entrepreneurial roles appear closely related to the promotion of prestige. The cultivated image of the "arty laird" was centrally incorporated into the ventures. In the hotel operation he capitalised, to great advantage, on this image. The other ventures reflected his local power in the ability to commodify the countryside, he owned large tracts of scenic land to which he attempted to add value. The boatyard for example, had only a limited number of very attractive moorings, which he licensed to suitable boat owners. He sold house building plots, which are in short supply, selectively and often to "house guests", who shared his artistic perspectives. This was to the distress of the planning authorities, since often he had failed to even apply for permission before selling. Invariably he retained the right to approve the design of the houses, with very mixed success, and he also insisted on the right of pre-emption. This gave him the prerogative of first right to purchase any property as well as considerable power and influence over the actual housebuilding.

His ventures employed "artistic" incomers whom he had encouraged to move to the area. He rented numerous caravan sites to selected incomers by circumventing planning rules. He created "crofts", which are historically permitted to have up to two caravans. These, hippies, as they are referred to by locals, formed an "artistic colony", easily recognised by their cotton dirndl dresses with wellingtons, their serious demeanour blinking behind their granny glasses and their unkempt hair. The men are invariable bearded, often with shoulder length hair in a pony tail. In practice they seem more concerned with discussions of new age philosophies than in artistic production.

Nonetheless, this group provided a convenient and biddable workforce who were, not only in sympathy with Rodger's attitudes, but beholden. His exclusive use of such staff, whilst tolerant of his foibles, did little for the effective running of the ventures. One is forced to consider that more professional management, within a sounder structure, might have ensured the successful implementation of these bright ideas.

Despite, or perhaps even because of, Rodger's rather idiosyncratic management style the hotel survived. One particularly colourful feature was that the "head waiter" did not wear shoes. Nonetheless the food was good if eccentric, the decor unusual and often clean. The menus were adventurous and used local sea food imaginatively before its present vogue. Perhaps most importantly, he cultivated the ambience of a bohemian country house. For example, he would announce that dinner, that evening, would be served in his home rather than in the hotel and would invite a local celebrity. He had lots of bright and unusual ideas. He organised new year wild goat hunts on one of his islands and created a Seafood Festival. Whilst, more mundanely, the bar's generous hours gained a lot of local custom.

Rodger's greatest mistake was, or is, his remarkable confidence in his own abilities. Undaunted by several near disasters, he was approached by a multi-national group who wanted to develop a major leisure site on his estate. The area is undoubtedly beautiful, with extensive sea coasts and nearby islands. The plans included a large hotel, a golf course and water sports and the use of famous names, such as Sean Connery the actor and Palmer the golfer, were associated with the development. Since the plans were contentious, representing a major development of a rural area, obtaining planning approval was protracted and expensive. Consultants from as far afield as the USA were summoned to make a case for the development. Public relations experts from London produced expensive, albeit attractive colour brochures. Eventually conditional approval was obtained, but raising finance for the venture proved impossible. The multinational group, who transpired to be men of straw, faded away and Rodger was left to honour the expenses, which amounted to almost £100,000. He sold the hotel to pay his creditors. With hindsight, it is easy to place the blame for this debacle on financial recklessness. At the time, however, it must have been easy to be caught up the status enhancing glamour. The confidence of exotic experts coupled with the reflected prestige of very public appearances alongside these "celebrated" experts must have produced a heady mix. This glamour might have impaired the acumen of less prudent men than Rodger.

Rodger's original role might thus be seen as an unsustainable anachronism, and his ventures

were an attempt to modify his assets to fit contemporary circumstances. His entrepreneurial efforts centred on finding a new and vital role for himself; one which increased his status. Today Rodger concentrates on the use of his house as a venue for mainly artistic events where he holds centre stage. He runs house parties for affluent budding artists, marketed as "Creative Space," with his hirsute entourage acting out the part of faithful bohemian retainers. He has not lost his impeccable sense of occasion, since he now rents a flat within the house, to a dowager duchess. Her own artistic leanings must lend ceremony, and value to these events.

Don, the second case, provides an example of the extraction of value from tradition. Don's business role creates a position of importance for him because rather like the last respondent, his entrepreneurial role is one of gatekeeper, making available for those interested an opportunity to be associated with tradition. In Don's case, which was discussed earlier, the particular "tradition" is old machinery, specifically an old steam driven puffer. Puffers are small stubby coasters which used to ply the West Coast hauling coal and other essentials to the remoter parts of the Highlands and Islands. A similar vessel provided the theme for Neil Munro's famous *Para Handy*, so although they are the antitheses of glamour, their connection to the remote and scenic areas is established. Don has converted this very basic and workaday vessel into a pleasure craft, on which he takes enthusiastic working tourists for week long cruises around these beautiful areas. By retaining the original steam driven machinery he attracts "steam buffs" who are pleased to pay to be allowed to shovel coal.

The attraction for these customers appears to be the chance to work with old machinery in a congenial environment. Regular customers return each year to role play in these macho surroundings. Although Don has cleverly improved the living conditions, so that these sailors can enjoy hot baths, and they drink claret with dinner rather than Eldorado! Nonetheless there are important cultural values which are harvested in this operation, nostalgia for the old machinery, old, simpler ways of life and the hands-on working of the equipment which are all made available in a pleasant situation. The significant point for this analysis is how owning the "means of production" of these values reflects prestige and status on Don. His customers express envy at his life-style. One said, *"It would be heaven to have Don's life"*. Watching and listening to Don talking to his customers confirms how much he enjoys this status, he positively glows as he tells enthusiasts about the puffer. Although the evidence of this manufacture of importance is powerful, this prestige is confined to the limited group of aficionados.

7.6.8 Extreme Cases: The Triumphant Failure and The Devastation of the Defeated

Two extreme but contrasting models of the outcomes of entrepreneurship are cited in this section to demonstrate the significance of status generation within the respondents businesses. Importantly they highlight the very different rationalities involved in the personal evaluation of business success. This illustrates the degree of contingency in entrepreneurial rationals, how they are adapted to fit the individual's perspective. The first, the triumphant failure, shows how prestige is related to the very individual assessment of values. This respondent would be judged by most conventional measures to be a business failure. Yet, through his espousal of an alternative value system, he sees his business as a laudable accomplishment. Within the restrictions of those who might share his uncommon views, and the unwavering certainty of his own doctrines he accrues great kudos. The other examples applied a much more conventional yardstick of business operation and success. When, by their own criterion of success, their entrepreneurial efforts had failed, the consequential loss of prestige drove them to the ultimate personal sanction, suicide.

The Triumphant Failure

This respondent illustrates the promotion of a counter culture. The case shows how the espousal of an alternative, or different value system, can turn conventional evaluations of success or failure on their head. Terry is a professional photographer, which is a typical "crafty" enterprise where performance is open to interpretation, effectively a value judgement, and therefore cannot be entirely objectively evaluated. No matter how unsuccessful a craftsman is, they can always appeal to some alternative higher order of aesthetic evaluation to justify their achievements. Equally this rational can be applied to business achievements so that success is also claimed to be measured on an entirely different type of scale. In this case the respondent vilified commerciality as, *"mere money makers"* and selected the values of independence and freedom, which we have seen is often an important ingredient of entrepreneurship, to substantiate and justify his own cultural and lifestyle aspirations.

Traces of this pattern, of eschewing conventional business values were detected in some other rural cosmopolitan enterprises. This case however, is a much more extreme example. It may draw strength and endorsement from Schumacher's notion of "Bhuddist Economics", economics where people matter. Because the respondent claims that business is only a means to achieving personal ends this business is entirely

orientated towards the continuation and justification of the respondent's unusual lifestyle. It has little commercial logic and appears to be inviable by most measures.

Terry's business produced a tiny income, although he was reluctant to be precise, he did boast that he had beaten the system because he paid no income tax. His income was tax free because it was below the thresholds of the tax allowances. This income is produced from occasional contract photography and the sale of photographs. He does not claim any State benefits, declaring that they are a *"poisoned chalice"* but there are some indications that some inherited capital might prevent a claim. This would also explain how he managed to establish and sustain his unorthodox venture. Prior to the photographic enterprise, the family ventures had included weaving and basket making, but he told me that they could no longer obtain proper materials, so now he concentrated on photography. When asked about his marketing and sales, to understand why he should be satisfied with such a limited and erratic income he declared that he didn't need to demean himself by *"selling"*. His contract work came from his personal network as he put it, *"friends, really"* but he made no efforts to acquire other contracts. When asked if he had considered having a gallery to promote his picture sales his response was that visitors, *"would be an intrusion."* Terry was obviously content to simply accept what might turn up, perhaps in anticipation of the eventual recognition of his talent. Terry claims that his is a superior value system, conventional evaluations or lifestyles are faulted, a false consciousness brought about by capitalist conspiracy. In effect, he is right and all the rest are wrong. If his pictures fail to sell it is the public who do not recognise their value, rather than the fault of the pictures. Importantly this is more than rationalising failure, it is a purposeful process.

Terry and his family's lifestyle is one of ostentatious poverty. His poverty is by intent, his way, he claims, of evading the system and it is not by default. He is poor and perversely proud of it. The family dresses in clothes from charity shops, *"It's a terrible waste of our resources for people to throw away stuff just because it's out of fashion."* His old car is similarly explained, *"Its the car makers who make people change their cars, just to make profits, why should I be fooled into making them rich."* He has no television, *"We are to busy doing things to need canned entertainment. Television is just a tool for making you buy things you don't need."* They don't take holidays, *"Holidays are just a sop, its the system which makes people work to earn enough to rest for a couple of weeks. Anyway people come here for holidays, and we've already here."*

By continually referring to this convenient substitute value system, Terry's conventional failure to

provide a reasonable profit becomes a triumph. It can be understood as an attempt to generate status or at the very least, of avoiding stigma. His aversion to sales, and his competency to earn barely a living is justified by the trumpeted claim that he, and only he, sees life as it really is. It is, he claims, better by far to have *"time to enjoy the richness of life than to spend one's life chasing richness"*. This emphasises that the apparent "failure", the conspicuous and ostentatious poverty, is by choice, it is not a chance outcome. Further, by taking every opportunity to preach, to demonstrate his anti-materialism, he is actually ridiculing conventional values and aggrandizing his alternatives. Such proponents cannot afford to be tolerant of alternatives, for to admit any ambiguity in their life view would seriously detract from their own virtues. Acceptance of any alternative argument would risk washing away the entire philosophy which underpins their reality. This explanation seems to account for his fervent evangelism. Although this anti-materialism is a strange component of entrepreneurship, it does illustrate the versatility of enterprise, importantly it also shows the variability in entrepreneurial methods of status generation.

The Devastation of Defeat

The following two examples are extreme contrasts to the above case. In each case the loss of personal dignity and prestige which was associated with the failure of the respondent's business resulted in suicide. Both were locals and well known in the area. They differed in type, the first, Campbell was a popular and well liked figure. The second, Calum was equally well known, but his erratic nature seemed to discourage close friendships. Both were established businessmen, having taken over family concerns which they had attempted to develop. It is argued that the significance that they had placed on local prestige, generated through their businesses, created the situation where business failure meant that they could no longer continue.

Campbell inherited a large farm, but he was not really interested in farming as a career. However, as well as the farming interests he was left a substantial inheritance. So because he did not care to farm seriously, he allowed the farm to become rough sheep pasture. This required the minimum of his attention but enabled him to retain his "farmer" or landowner status. He occasionally sold plots of ground for house building, but not on a commercial basis. Instead he chose to sell to people he liked or whom he felt deserved the opportunity. His great joy was machinery, even within the farm workshop he owned expensive and complicated lathes and grinding equipment. He was highly skilled and was able to manufacture and repair difficult and complex components. He was particularly pleased to describe how

people brought him parts which "experts" had said were unrepairable, and how he was able to mend them.

He cut a confident and powerful figure locally. He was well known for his generosity and kindness, a willingness to help whenever he could. On one reported occasion he was on his way to a formal dinner when he was intercepted by a telephone call from a digger driver whose machine had become bogged down in soft peat and was in danger of disappearing completely. Without changing, Campbell drove a winch out to the hill and spent fifteen hours in appalling conditions recovering the digger. Two points are illustrated by this story. One, his wish to be helpful, and the saviour in a precarious situation. When asked whether this incident was true, he confirmed it was, adding "It's good to be able to help out in a situation like that." The second point illustrated was his impulsive nature. He was a very spontaneous character. For example, during a serious evening drinking session he jumped up, declaring, "*I'm off to look at the broken rockdrill,*" and drove, drunk, to a site five miles away and make the repair. Despite his impetuous nature, which was coupled with an excessive fondness of drink, he sat on the boards of several local voluntary organisations, where his empathetic understanding and judgement was appreciated. Whilst these local positions were probably a result of ascribed status, a reflection of traditional landowning authority, Campbell's warmth and enthusiasm modified this to a personal attribute of popularity.

As an engineer, Campbell capitalised on his skills. His ventures all clustered around this consuming interest. His involvement seemed to centre on the "task", the skill element in the enterprises. He chose to make things, engineering parts, cars and roads. These "things" were not mundane, on the contrary they were spectacular. The sports car was extraordinary, his roads were remarkable and the blasting was a spectacle on a grand scale. Even his engineering work was grounded on unusually difficult operations. This appears to signify why he choose these particular ventures. Primarily he enjoyed the employment of his skills in challenging projects. The farm, for example, held little interest possibly because the work involved was too routine, unchallenging and repetitive. There are many other farmers in the area, who farm well. So apart from the dull monotony of day-to-day farm work, it held little promise of challenge.

His first venture outside the farm was closely linked to this mechanical interest and ability. He set up a business as a specialist welder and metal fabricator. Like many of the other respondents, entrepreneurship was a route to legitimise a personal interest. He used and expanded the original workshop until it was probably the best equipped in Argyll. The business, however lacked direction and detail management. It had little clear purpose or planning and very poor financial management. Tales abound of

his producing intricate parts at totally uncompetitive prices, whilst basic repairs lay unattended. He was always eager to please, nothing was too much trouble, and often payment was ignored or even forgotten. The business was not a commercial success and he seemed to eventually become bored or jaded with it. He eventually sold the most sophisticated plant, on a profit sharing basis, to two English newcomers to the area. They set up a workshop in town and seemed to be busy for about a year. They too, unfortunately, lacked management, marketing and financial skills, as well as having a relaxed attitude to progressing work. Consequently they went bust and the total investment was lost.

Towards the end of his engineering enterprise Campbell started a plant hire and contracting company. This too was undoubtedly linked to his love of machinery. It gave him the opportunity to purchase and use large compressors and diggers. The hire side was difficult, many firms coming into the area had their own large plant, consequently he turned his attention to contracting. His comments, on being asked why he made this decision were illuminating, clearly indicating his "craft" orientation. *"I knew that if they could do it, I could do it better. They don't come here for the weather, so I might as well make the profit."* In fact this business did very well indeed.

Changes in the tax regime made private forestry plantations viable, especially for long term investments such as pension funds. So that there was a massive new local demand for civil engineering contractors to carry out hill drainage and to make new forestry roads. Campbell was particularly good at this sort of work. He became an expert blaster which paid large dividends, because as well as removing obstructive rock, his blasting produced excellent road making stone. Consequently he was often called in to advise on other difficult projects. In addition to the opportunity to use these skills, the working environment was ideal for Campbell's temperament. New forestry is a large scale operation, a typical contract might involve constructing five miles of new road over rugged hill terrain. The detail of how this is achieved is left very much with the contractor to decide as the job develops. There are, of course, basic requirements that the road must be able to support heavy trucks, but the exact position, the route and the specifications are, in practice, often the expert contractor's responsibility. Furthermore, there was little bureaucratic interference from the statutory authorities; no planning permission was needed, and sites are usually very remote.

This autonomy, the unfettered facility to get on with a job he enjoyed, fitted Campbell's working style. As well as this working convenience, the financial management of the operations were also very

straightforward and required little proactive management. Contracts are usually arranged on the basis of an agreed cost per completed metre, so only the most general administration is required. Furthermore, few city based firms are prepared to tender on this basis, because of the risk of misreading the terrain. Urban civil engineering works are generally priced on a much more complex, but flexible basis. Campbell therefore, had the enormous advantage of local knowledge which ensured continuity of work at profitable rates. Actual payment was also straightforward, pension funds are generally good payers and there was rarely disputes or delays over sums due. Unfortunately the tax advantages for forestry changed drastically, largely as a result of the environmental lobby's outcry over "unsympathetic" monocultural blanket planting. New forestry contracts ceased and more general work became fiercely competitive. The competition and complexity did not suit Campbell, so this business simply withered away.

Campbell's benign nature spilt over into his business activities. His civil engineering business had been sufficiently profitable to support his benevolence, without strong management controls. His generous treatment of his workers was a local legend but he also made several other "investments" in other firms. These took the form of capital loans to new business, or simply a loan to help out during difficult periods. These, like the sale of his engineering business were "social", rather than commercial investments. Whilst he gained the gratitude of the recipients he received a poor financial return. In one case the recipient of Campbell's considerable generosity skipped the country, whilst in another the business quickly folded.

The most spectacular of Campbell's ventures, was the design and construction of a new type of sports car. This was a joint venture with a partner, who had been a successful racing driver and mechanic. The new partnership offered the partners the fullest opportunity to practice their advanced engineering skills, and to produce a very high profile result.

The car was a startling performer capable of extraordinary speeds and road holding. It was essentially a racing car, down-rated for road use. It utilised various components from large manufacturers, the engine was BMW, the suspension Ford and so on. Whilst the car was technically superb, it suffered from a very poor finish. The sleek body was fibreglass and the interior was very basic and unappealing for such an expensive motor car.

Although they had no formal business plan, they intended to sell one car a month. The selling price was to be equivalent to the price of a Jaguar XJS. With hindsight, it was clear that they expected the car to sell on its technical merits alone. It was impressive, and had aroused a great deal of interest from technical

types. But, as is typical of "better mouse-trappers", they had given little consideration to demand, other than on technical excellence. For example, no market research was conducted, so that when the motoring press reviewed the prototype it was roundly condemned as a very expensive "kit car".

The design and type approval for the car became extended, and expensive. The development costs far exceeded their optimistic guesses and the firm acquired an overdraft, which was personally guaranteed by Campbell, of over £90,000. Sales did not materialise as expected. They only sold two prototypes, and these were sold at less than cost. Tantalising enquiries from the Middle East failed to become orders. They retained an agent in London to sell the car, but on commercially poor terms, and even he failed to produce orders. This brave venture eventually petered out and the company was liquidated, leaving Campbell with the overdraft guarantee.

Campbell's personal finances were now in a disastrous condition. He had lost substantial sums in the various businesses, his inheritance was dissipated and he appeared to be close to personal bankruptcy. Probably because of these losses and the perception of personal failure Campbell shot himself. He was a heavy drinker and the combination of the losses coupled with the loss of face, in the depth of a drinking bout, was intolerable. Ironically he was, almost universally, liked as a person. He was a "soft touch", but admired for his generosity rather than derided for his gullibility.

The second example, which also illustrates the personal significance which an entrepreneur may attach to business failure was rather different from the first. Local importance for this entrepreneur was not a matter of personal popularity, but was gained through the presentation of continuing business success. This respondent appeared to feel that he earned local reputation, status and prestige through his business skills. Unlike the earlier respondent he was not a popular local figure, his moodiness and bad temper were coupled with a business reputation for slow and difficult payment. So that, in conjunction with his relaxed business ethics, locally he was not always seen favourably.

He was well known for his impetuous and impulsive behaviour and his appalling temper. When matters went wrong he would fly into extraordinary rages. Verified stories of these furies include the following examples. Once when his sheep dog was being disobedient he became enraged, dashed into the house for his shotgun and shot the poor dog dead. He immediately fell into a fit of remorse and regret. Another tale relates to his tractor, which broke down during the hectic period of harvesting, again he lost control and in his rage he was seen to bite the back tyre!

He also drank to excess. This may have been a reflection of his personality problems, but it exacerbated his impulsive behaviour. He was once a local councillor. In local terms this is a fairly important local position, carrying considerable prestige. However he was forced to resign after a drunken debauch involving a film crew who were filming a historic battle scene early one morning. Apparently, well into his cups, the respondent mistook this for the "real" thing and joined in the affray. He created havoc and succeeded in injuring a bystander before being arrested. Another, but unverifiable, incident occurred when his farmhouse mysteriously burnt down one evening, when his wife was away. He had been on a drinking session where he had complained of cash flow problems. This was the second time he had this misfortune, his previous farm had also been severely damaged by fire. Spontaneous combustion seemed to mark both his personality and his businesses.

Yet in spite of these aspects he struck one as a affable and sociable character. He was intelligent and witty. He completed several Open University undergraduate courses in addition to his very busy business life. His conversations were wide-ranging and well informed and he was always, even when drunk, polite to women. In consequence the initial impressions he provided were always favourable, and without a hint of the darker side of his nature. These social impressions were compatible with the image of a successful businessman, not a rustic farmer, but as an astute cosmopolitan who happened to farm. A reflective analysis of this impression management suggests that these were cultivated actions, calculated to impress the recipient. It is notable that during every interview, whether formal or a very informal chance meeting, the conversation always turned to his latest, usually grandiose, scheme.

Nonetheless his business activities were impressive. He developed a successful farming business, starting very modestly with a small farm but eventually owning one of the best, most fertile farms in the area. He did not restrict his activities to traditional farming practice but included innovative enterprises; indoor calf rearing including growing much of his own feed; growing and selling locally feed barley; growing and selling potatoes wholesale and retail at the farm gate to cash customers; growing and wholesaling turnips which he delivered to the fruit market. He was the first farmer locally to take advantage of one of the farm woodland schemes, whereby he was paid to grow hardwood trees on very marginal areas of land. He also acquired another farm, in the Central belt where he fattened calves, but this farm had a also great potential for residential development. He must therefore be described as an innovative farmer, particularly in respect of his marketing ploys to add value to his own production. It should be also

noted that he worked extremely hard long hours. During the busy seasons of seeding and harvesting, his machinery, often driven by himself, could be seen working late at night and very early in the mornings.

His other businesses, outside agriculture, included financially backing a new local car dealership, which folded rather mysteriously with large debts. He also managed to obtain planning permission to build two new houses on his own land. Planning permission to build new homes in rural area, outside of towns is very difficult to obtain, despite the high value placed on such homes. There is a development policy which prohibits this "isolated" development, except in cases of proven occupational need. It is likely, therefore, that he was able to use his intimate knowledge of the system, and his familiarity with the officials, to obtain this permission. One house was originally to replace the burnt farmhouse, but in a much more attractive situation remote from the farm buildings. The other house was also some distance from the farm and it too was in an particularly attractive spot. Such properties, because of scarcity, command a high market price. Yet this venture foundered when he appeared to run out of cash to complete the construction work. He had always had a very poor credit record, to the extent that, the normally very lax, local suppliers would only supply him on a cash basis. It is significant, and indicative of his character, that he built the houses simultaneously. More prudent, but less impressive management, would have recommended a more cautious approach of building and selling one at a time. It is also noteworthy that during discussion about the stalled construction Calum denied that there was any problem. He would not even consider the possibility of selling these assets. Despite clearly being pressed by creditors he would not discuss any sort of solution to the problem. He dismissed any notion of selling any of the partly built properties, of trying to sell parts of the golf course proposal, or even discussing some sort of partnership. Conversely he would emphatically change the subject, to begin to outline some other scheme which he was considering.

Calum's most impressive venture was to obtain planning permission for a golf course, a hotel and a time share development on an area of his farm. Although the permission was sound, he was unable to finance or even sell the deal despite efforts to market the idea. Had this idea come to fruition, he would have made a considerable sum of money. In other areas, similar sites with planning for such a development, have sold for sums in excess of a quarter of a million pounds. Meantime the real value of his farming assets had diminished because of the economic situation. Eventually he came under considerable pressure from the bank to produce some viable plan for repayment of the loans which had financed his ventures. The foundering of these much boasted plans must have been a considerable blow to his ego. During a prolonged

drinking binge he drove to a local beauty spot, which he owned, and shot himself.

The obvious conjecture was that he simply would not admit any sort of personal failure. Because of the importance he appeared to place on appearances, such business failure might be seen as a personal shortcoming, rather than simply a misplaced confidence in himself and the current property market. Having set himself up as a local success, the price of failure was too high for him to bear.

It is therefore argued that local status, acquired and sustained by their business activities, is a significant function of the local's businesses. For the cosmopolitans status and prestige are generated from a much broader value system which is intricately connected to the values ascribed to rurality itself.

The Objectives of this chapter were

The research objectives of the data collection are to gather information on how entrepreneurs create and extract value from the rural environment.

How this was achieved

It was found that entrepreneurs had a variety of ways of creating and extracting value. Significantly the social setting of the entrepreneurs were important. It was found that entrepreneurs from a local background utilised the limitations of space and the rural environ. Contrastingly those with a more cosmopolitan background used the revalorization of rurality to create marketable values. Enterprises were seen to be deeply embedded in the social milieu. Furthermore the values produced within the businesses were not limited to commercial gains. A range of personal values were produced by the business activity. In many cases these personal values were a primary objective which directed or influences the operation of the business.

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The objectives of this chapter are to analyse the data obtained in both the field work and the literature review to arrive at a conclusion about the nature and conditions of rural enterprise.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

"For instant stress relief try some aromatherapy."

"Take a deep breath. Your head fills with the scent of roses and lilac. There is a warbling birdsong. In the distance there is a babbling brook. Gone are the fumes of the city. Forgotten are the work deadlines. Silenced is the clatter and roar of urban life. You're at one with yourself and the world. At least you could be, with just a little help from the National Trust."

Advertisement by the National Trust in The Sunday Times Culture supplement 23 July 1995

8.1 Introduction

In many ways the data from the literature and from the field work has confirmed the complexity and variability of rural small business. The literature demonstrated that rurality held a variety of symbolic meanings which were only indirectly related to its physical form. Similarly entrepreneurship could be understood in a variety of ways, each of which also seemed to emphasise the subjective interpretation and meaning rather than a definitive objectification of the phenomenon. The field work reiterated this diversity as the protean nature of rural entrepreneurship was confirmed by the heterogeneity of the businesses studied. Nonetheless within this complexity a number of patterns and orders were noted. Consequently this section aims to analyse these patterns, to establish similarities and differences and to ascertain any relationships within the patterns.

The chapter begins by reviewing the findings which emerged within the data collection process. Although these findings represent the complexity of the field of rural entrepreneurship as a whole, the constant comparative methodology elicited patterns of order and similarities, especially within the dichotomous categories of locals and cosmopolitans. The analysis of these similarities therefore provides the final focus of this research in which a model of rural entrepreneurship is offered which synthesises the features and characteristics shared by all the respondents. Evidence from the data is reviewed to support this model. This is followed by a comparison of the differences between the groups which is then related to the different perspectives and meanings of rurality, which are

argued to form the context of rural business. From this comparison deductions are made about the different roles, strategies and functions of rural small business. The chapter therefore considers both the micro aspects of rural entrepreneurship as it is produced and effected by the entrepreneur as well as the macro roles and productions of rural enterprise.

The conclusions which can be drawn from this analysis form the next section of the chapter. These lead to a discussion on the implications of the findings. These implications draw attention to related interesting areas and to areas insufficiently examined in this work which leads to some suggestions for further research. Finally an evaluation of the contribution of the study is made.

8.1.1 Analysis

Rurality

The issues addressed in this section are what does rural mean and what is the rural context for entrepreneurship. By doing so it seeks to establish the conditions of rural enterprise. The central thesis of Chapter 3 was that rurality is much more than either a spatial phenomena or simply the outcome of market forces. Rurality also has a powerful cultural identity which combines with these physical and economic features. Consequently, to understand rurality two separate models, or interpretative paradigms were developed from the literature to account for the two dimensions of the countryside, the rural and rurality. The first, gravitation, explained spatial process in a circular and deterministic way, that places are rural because of the low density of population and activity. The second model of the social construction of rurality is not deterministic but interpretative. It stresses that the cultural ideology of rurality shapes normative expectations of rurality. These disparate models were synthesised within the context of rural change so that it was argued that rurality could be conceived as a container of values which combine with the spatial process.

The physical rural was shown to be the countryside, space permeated with a dispersed population. Like the cultural rurality, its primary recognisable characteristic is its difference from the urban. The rural means open space interrupted by limited development. This is not to say that it is undeveloped, man's progress has shaped the countryside, but by the extensive use of land rather than the concentrated urban land use. Consequently we may describe the rural as chiefly dominated by the extensive land use of primary industries, such as agriculture and forestry; and characterised by the absence of more advanced forms of industrial development. Rural places may, therefore be more or less rural, according to the density of primary development. Gravitation theory builds on this spatial

dispersion. It models the generalised spatial process of isolation and insulation, which in conjunction with the lack of advanced industrial activity, shows that market density inhibits higher order functions in the rural. The model is flawed by the narrow circularity of its process, its endogenous explanation leaves no room for externally driven change. Furthermore spatial process can only be a partial explanation, it is human action which reacts with distance to produce development.

The gravitational model proposed that the sparse population spread over space would predicate against the emergence of high added value businesses; that businesses would be small and serve local markets and that the limitations of returns to scale would inhibit growth. The methodology and sampling procedure of the study prevents a definitive finding. However, statistical evidence appeared to support the gravitation theory. The research area, despite tourism, is considerably under-represented in "growth" industries, rural people are poorer than those in urban areas. There are no large scale industries and the economies of scope offered by the "wired countryside", at least in the case considered, merely produced electronic outworkers. Within the limitations of the methodology, the businesses of the sample were small and unlikely to grow and this can be attributed to several factors broadly in accordance with the model. Market size, distance and concentration appeared to be an important restriction which applied to those serving local, national and tourist markets.

The limitations of local markets, most evident within the "local" group, were experienced as a constricting factor. Many respondents, although generally satisfied with their market share, felt that their business could not grow because of a lack of new customers. The garage proprietors were a good example of the restrictions of these limited markets. The local market was saturated leaving little room for expansion. The corollary of this was that they had effectively a spatial monopoly, since potential competition was discouraged by the limited market. This situation, effectively a pragmatic trade-off between the pressure of competition and the limitations of a restricted market, seemed to satisfy the respondents.

The cosmopolitans tended to service a wider non-local market, but they too were restricted by their location. Many of this group were dependent on sales to tourists, this meant that in spatial terms their location was fixed whilst their customers were mobile. Although they had, through marketing, the possibility of influencing customer numbers they were ultimately dependent on the total volume of visitors to the area, which meant that the efficacy was limited. Factors outwith their control therefore had spatial effects which inhibited growth. The size of this group's businesses could also have been restricted by the availability of skilled labour. However the discussions with these

entrepreneurs indicated that this was only an notional restriction. The respondents' underlying reasons were the satisfaction they derived from using their own craft skills, and employing labour would reduce this enjoyment. Joe's comments typified this situation, *"I suppose I don't really trust someone else to do the work. If I have done it myself I know it."* This sort of remark emphasises that the small scale of operation was voluntary and deliberate, and probably reflects the "craft" orientation.

The businesses of the respondents who served an external market also appeared to be inhibited by their location. The evidence for this is largely conjectural, nonetheless the friction of distance did seem to reduce possibilities of growth in two ways. First the lack of contact and secondly the lack of central business functions. Joe for example, wholesaled some of his production at craft fairs. This was only a small part of his turnover and not very profitable. He had experienced some payment difficulties but the sales arose during the quieter off-season. When asked why he did not attend more exhibitions he explained that the cost and inconvenience was prohibitive. In fact his principal reason for attending was to meet others, to find out what was happening in the trade. The exhibitions were therefore primarily a means of overcoming remoteness. Interestingly Joe also attributed slow payments to distance, he thought that his customers felt that he was too far away to press for payment.

Terry the photographer's business is an extreme example of small business. Terry of course had no inclination to actively pursue markets, but nonetheless his "work load" originated from central places. The co-ordinating functions of publishers are inevitably in cities so that it seems reasonable to speculate that distance from these functions reduced possible opportunities. However once again the primary configuring factor was the entrepreneur's attitude.

The business of David the builder seems to contradict the model. This business grew rapidly and is now a major employer in the area; it is manifestly "local", using local space and local labour. It adds "local" value and significantly the business also fixes investments in local rural space. Although spatial monopoly accounts for the basic establishment of the business, because although large by local standards, the housing market is not large enough to attract national house builders, this fails to explain the rapid growth. David described how the business just seemed to grow as more and more opportunities presented themselves. The market expanded with a growing demand for new houses, attributable to the expansion of the Local Authority and increasing in-migration. So the growth of this business can be explained by change, but changes in the social structure rather than purely spatial factors.

However the evidence of Norfrost, a large and successful freezer manufacturer located in

the remote North of Scotland, cannot be explained in this way. It is remotely located, far from its national markets and far from the central functional headquarters which provide the business. The conclusion must therefore be, in the light of previous explanations of entrepreneurial motivation, that this unusual case is the result of the efforts of the entrepreneur to overcome constraints.

These examples highlight the weakness of the gravitational model, it describes a spatial process over time, but at any one time social and economic changes and entrepreneurial effort may intrude to modify the general process. Social changes are localised pockets in space and time, indicative of the unevenness of the process, because change itself is uneven. Importantly the data also demonstrated the ability of entrepreneurs to modify and adapt circumstances. So the value of the model is partially redeemed as an account of general process. However the working out, the detailed unfolding of the general process needs to be explained at the level of the entrepreneur.

This is why the "social construction" of rurality provides a more comprehensive explanation. It relates this physical separateness of the rural to human action. The construct of rurality melds the physical separation of the countryside into a cultural artefact. Rurality is an antithesis of the urban, it is endowed with a pantheon of virtues; it is seen as a reservoir of time-worn nature, a bastion of moral order bulwarked against modernity. It fetishisation is a aesthetic product of modernity, so that the capsulated values associated with rurality have varied over time. Yet the imprecision and ambiguity of rural reification has lent endurance and stability to this hagiographic countryside. The persistence of the idyll, from Ancient Arcadia, the Romantics and even the Balmoralism of the Highlands all signify an alternative to the angst generated in the urban milieu. This is why the symbolic countryside retains such significance in post modernity, in what Lash and Urry call "the economy of signs". In post modernity such signs are given significance over substance, and affluence, particularly middle class affluence, permits and promotes the pursuit this symbolism. Rurality is a rich pastiche of bucolic image and metaphysic meaning.

The case studies provided some useful evidence to support this theoretical analysis which argues a case for rurality being a "symbolic other", a reservoir of figurative values. The community led scheme to convert a redundant village hall to a Heritage Centre was a classic example of how the rural is venerated. A rural place of no historic significance was to be made a showpiece of the rural. Although there was "community" dissent about the operation of the centre, there was harmony over the worthiness of such a celebration of rurality. The class conflict of the meanings of rurality were highlighted in the Fintry case. Here where arcadia was challenged by a large hotel development, the

council house residents saw the change very differently from their middle class neighbours. One group saw local rural work, whilst the others saw unwelcome change to their rurality. The Loch Sween Maritime Nature Reserve proposal was more complex. Clearly Scottish Natural Heritage wanted to preserve the "natural", and spent a great deal of money to demonstrate the uniqueness of this rural place. The locals were concerned that this preservation would lead to sterilization, where the promulgation of place myth would shut out local livelihoods. These examples clearly illustrate the normative perspectives of the social construction of rurality.

The rural gatekeepers, the planning authority, the grant awarding bodies and Scottish Natural Heritage all seemed to venerate the arcadian values of the social construct. Consequently their actions are directed towards the perpetuation of rurality, which is better explained by the social model. The action by the planning authorities, whose remit is the "common good", is readily understandable. Similarly the quasi-scientific logic of preservation of the SNH is logical. However the Highlands and Islands Enterprise, whose remit is development, seem to have made a headlong dash into thoroughly post modern symbolic rural values. The promotion of such schemes as Heritage Centres, Fish Farm Centre and "Wild" Scotland are clearly hallmarked as simulacra of "rurality".

In addition to the authoritative evidence of the literature and the confirmatory comments above we may also refer to the experiences of the entrepreneurs interviewed to support the argument that rurality exists and is experienced as a reservoir of values. We should note that the cosmopolitan group chose to move to rurality. Whilst this indicates the attractions of rural places it is significant that, in the first instance, they had no specific place in mind. It was *rurality*, in its most general and abstract sense, which was the enticement rather than a particular place. The cluster of rural values, which form the social construct, was the inducement to move. Place did become important later, but after they were established.

The evidence for these two complementary dimensions of the rural is convincing. The physical combines with the cultural to produce a distinct set of conditions. Social, cultural and economic change, which may be described as post-modern, if not post industrial, have colluded to enrich, fortify and embellish the social construction. These then are the conditions of rurality, the context for rural small business. Rural entrepreneurs do operate in a lean economic environment, but paradoxically in a rich cultural environment. The next section considers how entrepreneurs use this environment in their businesses.

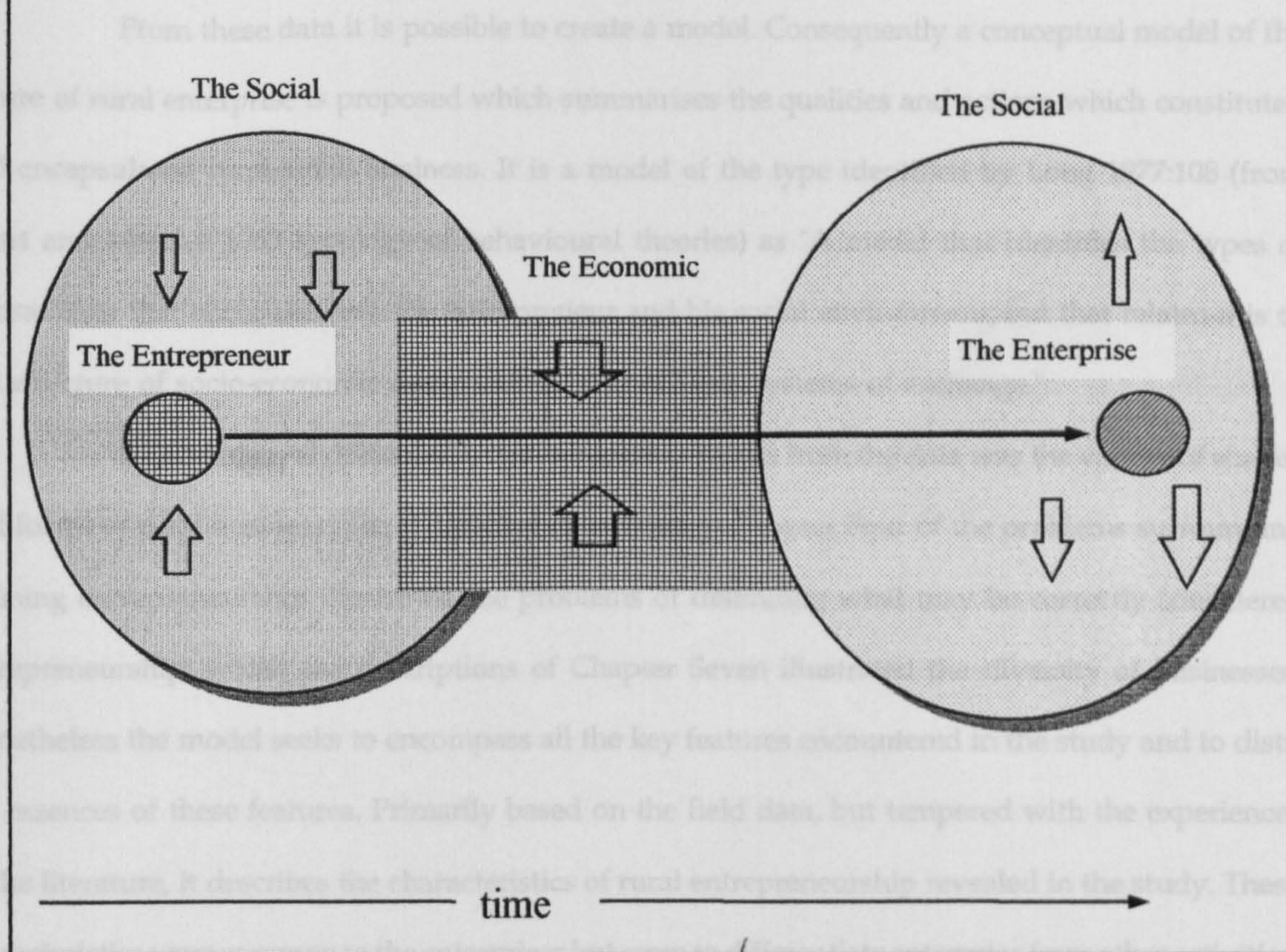
Entrepreneurship

In Chapter Four it was argued that the lack of definition of entrepreneurship was a result of the variety of ways of being an entrepreneur. Although the different academic disciplines shed light on aspects, none could fully account for the phenomena. Sociological explanation, which placed entrepreneurship as an economic act within a social context, was found to be convincing. Entrepreneurship was seen to be a fluid social process which operates within an economic form, but was contingent on the environment within which it was formed. This point was developed to argue that entrepreneurship was "protean", that its form was necessarily moulded by this environment. This variability and variety of the protean entrepreneur was argued to be the root cause of its definitional elusivity. Nonetheless it was argued that it was possible to define the basic entrepreneurial activity. This was argued to be the creation and extraction of value from the environment.

The field data illustrated the heterogeneity of enterprise and it also confirmed that the activity of entrepreneurs was the extraction of value from the environment. Importantly the preliminary analysis of the data showed that within this diversity there were two groups who shared common features. These clusters of similarities within the dichotomised sample appeared to be related to the origins of the entrepreneurs. The locals tended to service local markets, although the method of delivery was socially embedded. Their products were undifferentiated so that business strategies depended on a spatial monopoly. This monopoly was the basis for the extraction of commercial value. However a significant finding was the low priority placed on direct economic benefit from the businesses. The key motivation was the extraction of personal values, values which were produced within the operation of the businesses. These varied from entrepreneur to entrepreneur but the primary motivation was the production of a local identity. Their business efforts were directed to the production of local recognition. This meant that local place was important to them, indicating the significance of the local rural social in shaping business.

The cosmopolitan group also shared common features but these were different from the locals. Their orientation was not parochial or insular but more expansive. Their products were sold nationally, and significantly these products clearly reflected the valorization of values associated with rurality. Their business strategies were to commodify these rural values. Like the locals they drew a range of personal values from their businesses and also gave the economic a low priority. Unlike the locals the sense of identity they sought was broader; their references were cultural and existential. Whilst rural business for this group emphasised the rural, their businesses reflected the values associated with rurality so that identity was also generated from this context, as status was generated

Influences and Outcomes of the Entrepreneurial Process Figure 8.1



This figure is intended to demonstrate how the social influences the action of the entrepreneur.

Reading from the left,

1. The entrepreneur is created from within the social context .
2. What counts as entrepreneurship is a social construct.
3. Entrepreneurship is a process over time.
4. The economic conditions the shape of enterprise, and ultimately determines the parameters of the process.
5. The enterprise produces outcomes, changes, within the social milieu.

Thus,

1. Rural small businesses are individualistic and idiosyncratic because of the different interpretations of the social context, the different skills and assets, and the different experiences which are combined to create an enterprise.
2. In the long run economic viability is essential, but profit maximisation is not a significant motivator.
3. The relationship between the individual entrepreneur and society appears to be the key variable in shaping the protean entrepreneur.

by their association with the rural.

From these data it is possible to create a model. Consequently a conceptual model of the nature of rural enterprise is proposed which summarises the qualities and actions which constituted and encapsulated rural small business. It is a model of the type identified by Long 1977:108 (from Cyert and March's 1963 typology of behavioural theories) as "A model that identifies the types of transactions that occur between the entrepreneur and his social environment, but that relates this to the structure of socio-economic opportunities and existing systems of exchange."

A fundamental difficulty in developing this model from the data was the variety of shapes and forms of rural business. The theoretical discussion in Chapter Four of the problems surrounding defining entrepreneurship illustrated the problems of delimiting what may be correctly considered entrepreneurship, whilst the descriptions of Chapter Seven illustrated the diversity of businesses. Nonetheless the model seeks to encompass all the key features encountered in the study and to distil the essences of these features. Primarily based on the field data, but tempered with the experiences of the literature, it describes the characteristics of rural entrepreneurship revealed in the study. These characteristics were common to the enterprises but seem to differentiate enterprise from other activities.

8.2.1 The Model Of The Nature Of Rural Enterprise

The Model

Rural enterprise is a socio-economic phenomena which arises from deliberate independent action intended to create or modify a situation to one of enhanced potential value. It is a purposeful attempt by individuals to extract or realise value from an environment which is comprised of the socio-economic milieu in which the entrepreneur operates. It involves the ownership and active use of financial assets, personal skills and abilities in the furtherance of this goal. Consequently the diversity of forms of rural entrepreneurship reflect the fact that it is context contingent, as entrepreneurs draw a variety of values; economic, social, or personal, from their environment. It can be characterised as overtly economic individual action within a socio-cultural and economic context. Thus successful entrepreneurship is ultimately economically determined but the process is driven by cultural and individual interpretations of value realisation. Rural enterprise is therefore a profoundly individual and fluid production process which reflects the initiative of the individual and their understanding and interpretations of their society.

8.2.2 The Evidence to Support The Model

This section reviews the data to demonstrate how the model was developed. The construction of the model involved an incremental synthesis of those universal elements discovered in the data. These elements were tested and refined by the constant comparative method described in Chapter Six; as the analysis identified relevant areas of interest these were compared with other samples to evolve the analytical best fit. These elements were then recombined to compile the conceptual model. The evidence of this review is necessarily selective, space alone precludes exhaustive detail of the rich data. Consequently the evidence offered represents extractions from the complex reality. The argument supporting the model is presented by deconstructing into the component elements and offering examples as evidence to support the findings. Although this evidence is fragmented into the different aspects, the model is claimed to generalise the nature of rural entrepreneurship, (as far as can be ascertained by the methodology). Ultimately the reader must convince themselves of the accuracy and precision of these findings by comparison with their own knowledge and experiences. Indeed, this is seen to be an essential part of the continuing research process.

8.2.3 Rural entrepreneurship is a socio-economic phenomena

The rural enterprises were seen to be a combination of social and economic factors which interacted to produce rural entrepreneurship. Consequently the phenomena was not reducible to, or explicable by, purely the social or the economic situation of the entrepreneurs. Although enterprise revolved around monetary exchange each respondent's actions were firmly embedded in their social milieu, so that the social shaped the economic and *vice versa*. At a general level the differences between the locals and the cosmopolitans reflected the different social milieu which formed the social context of their entrepreneurial work. The different approaches to business, characterised by the clusters of similarities within the two groups, of markets, products and entrepreneurial strategies were explicable by their different experiences of society and what they considered to be significant and important. Furthermore the objectives incorporated within their businesses also reflected the different interpretations of their social worlds. Locals were largely concerned about their recognition within a local society whilst the cosmopolitans orientation was a broad reflection of wider cultural values.

At a particular level the data showed how the social shaped the enterprises. If we consider as an example Mary, who ran the local petrol station and shop, we can see how her social context shaped her business. She used the specific dynamics of close interpersonal relationships to maintain business; her encouragement of the establishment of her place as a local information exchange fostered the "local" social context. In turn this "social" offset the economic disadvantage of high prices. This is not to imply devious or morally dubious behaviour, quite the reverse. Mary's place was a very pleasant place to purchase petrol, which reflected Mary's agreeable personality. The key point is that this was a very particular, even unique social context which modified the economic process. If we consider the couple who took over Mary's business when she retired, it may be recalled that they chose to run the business on a more commercial, less personal basis. Their enterprise failed. Obviously we cannot be entirely certain that this change in social context was the sole reason for failure, but given that the only other apparent differences, improved stock levels etc., should have implied a better business in economic terms, the evidence indicates the importance of the particular social context in this instance.

From a different perspective Graham's ostentatious hotel business also demonstrates the interplay of the social and the economic. Commercial logic would indicate that rudeness and over-charging would discourage trade. Indeed in the last decade many large companies have made great efforts to improve their courtesy, so that, "Good Morning, How may I help you?" is now a typical greeting. Yet in Graham's business, discourtesy, at least by Graham, is a marketing tool which appears to be successful. Again the very unique social context modifies crude commercial rationality. The opulent ambience of the hotel is promoted as a very selective club, but only "insiders" are privileged to recognise their membership through their wilfully incorrect treatment by Graham. This is another example of a particular social context, where affluence and possibly aspiration and pretension, combine to provide another unique social circumstance which modifies and shapes the economic process.

Willie the tinker provides a further example of the shaping of the economic by the social realm, although in this case the social, the ascribed outcast social position of a tinker, was prior to entrepreneurial activity. Willie's social world was one of limited economic opportunity. The low social status of a "traveller" creates a social condition which predicates against high status work, entrepreneurial or other. It is, for example, quite inconceivable that Willie could act out Graham's role. Willie's social condition in terms of manners, education and demeanour would make this impossible.

So again we have the social shaping the economic. In this case Willie's business was appropriate for his low social position, reminiscent of the Indian caste system. Willie's chagrin at the failure to recognise the "greenness" of his re-cycling activities, in contrast to the encouragement of the young woman's fashionable grass re-cycling, is further evidence of social-economic interaction.

8.2.4 Deliberate independent action intended to change an existing situation to one of enhanced potential value.

Action was recognised to be a key feature of entrepreneurship, and the independence of this action seems to differentiate entrepreneurship from other activities. Entrepreneurship is patently about action, it was a basic feature which marks out the phenomena. The ensuing enterprise is a palpable consequence of this action. Although the businesses consisted of a variety of actions, the common factor was that changes were made to the factors of production. These varied considerably, ranging from minor changes, for example the changes in products after change in ownership, to the major changes of an entirely new businesses. Nonetheless each business involved changes from an existing situation to a modified or altered situation which was potentially superior in terms of economic possibilities. Consequently we may argue that entrepreneurial action can be described as the creation of a situation where value can be extracted.

Whilst this inclusive description of entrepreneurial action describes the confusing variety encountered in the study it is rather general to be of analytical value. Furthermore the fable of the "heroic entrepreneur" as the Schumpertian men of action of the enterprise culture described in Chapter Four sits uneasily on the shoulders of the small shopkeepers of Chapter Seven. This inconsistency can however be reconciled within the model by recognising the qualitative and quantitative variations in the degree of change engendered in these entrepreneurial actions. Given that entrepreneurship is recognisable as a process we can begin to discern some further explanation of enterprise within this inconsistency. There appear to be distinguishable stages in entrepreneurship, first is the highly "entrepreneurial" stage where changes are introduced to create the enhanced value situation. This is followed by a more mundane stage where the value is harvested from the new situation. The changes made, which create what we have referred to as the enterprise, represent the degree of entrepreneurship. Put plainly, the more change involved in the creation of the business, the more entrepreneurship. As was suggested earlier (section 4.7.5) the degree of novelty, the amount of change incorporated, in the business seemed to offer a yardstick of the degree of enterprise. Although this

conceptualisation does not provide any indication of the degree of success of the venture it does provide a way of viewing the process so that the different elements can be recognised within enterprise.

Examples in the data demonstrate how this action creates enterprise. Mabel for example, merely took over an existing shop. Although she affected changes such as adding a Post Office and hairdressing to the services offered, these were relatively minor in comparison to say Rodgers's enterprises which involved the total creation of the businesses. Although these were extreme examples of minimal and maximum action, we can see how both these enterprises were created by the actions of the entrepreneurs to modify an existing situation to one suited to their aspirations. What was remarkable about all these entrepreneurial creations was the way in which they were shaped to encompass the entrepreneurs own unique aspirations and personal talents. Mabel's modest adaptation of the shop business which she took over obviously reflected her hairdressing and bookkeeping skills, but at a broader level it reflected her aspirations for a relaxed, controlled and independent life style. She, like many of the respondents, had seen no tension between the burden of responsibilities in owning and running the business and a "relaxed" lifestyle. The key factor appears to be the independence and control which business ownership offers. As she said, "*Of course I've got a lot to do, but I don't have a boss telling me to do it.*" The significant point about these entrepreneurial creations is the way that they mould an existing situation to one closely suited to the individual.

Rodger's businesses were very different from Mabel's, they were larger, needed more capital and much more innovative. Since they were entirely new businesses they also required much more "enterprise" in putting together different components to create the businesses. Yet they too illustrated the configuration of opportunity into an enterprise which reflected the aspirations of the entrepreneur. It may be recalled that Rodger's enterprises seemed to centre around creating a new contemporary role and status and how his businesses resonated with new ideas and innovations. This case not only illustrates the entrepreneurial action to create new business forms, which were in keeping with his aspirations, but also demonstrates the notion of stages of entrepreneurial process. Although the businesses were very enterprising, in the sense of making major changes to create new business forms, they were commercially unsuccessful in Rodger's hands. Yet when the ailing business were taken over they thrived. The data suggested that Rodger quickly lost interest in a business after it was set up and neglected management. This seems to confirm the two aspects of entrepreneurship, first the creative action which is followed by the harvesting of value. In Rodger's case, he excelled at

the first aspect, but the second, less creative, aspect held little appeal.

The theme of independence runs through the data, not only in terms of autonomy and the self empowerment of the respondents, but is also reflected in the creation of their businesses and the way they were tailored to fit the requirements of the entrepreneurs. This independence of action may serve to distinguish entrepreneurship from other forms of action. Each of the entrepreneurs studied had deliberately set out on a course of action which was relatively autonomous, self determined and self determining. The purpose of this independent action was, as discussed earlier, to create a business form which was self-expressive or was directed towards the realisation of values, which themselves were individualised. Autonomy and self determination was emphasised by the way that they carried the entire responsibility (jointly in the partnerships) for the operation of the business in every aspect. This can be usefully compared to corporate economic action where the individual action is implanted into the corporate structure. It therefore cannot be autonomous since such action is ultimately responsible to the structure.

The depth of this independence was illustrated by the entrepreneurs attitudes towards outside influences. Although professionals were used for specialist advice such as accountancy, this advice was in very specific areas which had little bearing on the general running of the business. Jack, whose car business was failing, is a good example of the limited effect of external influence. He only paid real attention to his accountant when this became a mechanism for the survival of his firm. Pat and Adrian's surprise at the their final audited accounts, which were very different from the expectations which had provided the basis for the operation of their businesses, also seems to emphasise their independence. Autonomy was exemplified by Fred the haulier's case. It may be recalled that he expressed delight when he was able to achieve his independence when the company, which even bore his name, folded and allowed him to start a new independent organisation.

This is not to say that the entrepreneurs had complete freedom of action, many commented, for example, that obtaining or servicing bank overdrafts was a restraint on their activities. However this restraint was seen as a nuisance rather than as a structural constraint on their actions. Adrian's comments summed up this attitude, *"The bank didn't seem to understand my business, what I want to do. They had reduced my overdraft just when I needed more. I had to go to another bank"* Again this seems to stress the autonomy and self determination of entrepreneurial action. Thus we may argue that such constraints may influence action, but do not determine the action.

It is worth noting the unstructured nature of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs, especially

during the creative phase of their businesses, face a relatively formless context, a blank canvas to develop their businesses. The analogy of entrepreneurship as an art form discussed in section 4.6.3 seems apt. New entrepreneurs are confronted with an extraordinarily wide range of choices of action; there are few set plans or restrictions which govern these choices. Taking this into account it is unsurprising that entrepreneurial action should reflect their own tastes and personalities. So rural entrepreneurship is an individualistic form of business which centres on independent action.

8.2.5. The extraction or realisation of values.

Where the previous section showed that enterprises are the manifestation of creative entrepreneurial action, the extraction of value is seen to be the essence of rural entrepreneurship. This is how entrepreneurs earn their living. Section 4.7.5, which was based on the literature, proposed that entrepreneurship could be seen as the process surrounding the shift from an existing use value to a higher market value. Thus entrepreneurial "value" was the difference, and provided the entrepreneurial income. Whilst the data demonstrated this to be accurate at a general level, the field work also revealed two further aspects of rural enterprise. First that in the operation of the enterprises market values are only one aspect, albeit a major aspect of entrepreneurial work. The new values generated within the process were not limited to the realisation of marketable values but also included significant elements of personal value enhancement which were not "marketable" values. Secondly, that the entrepreneurial strategies involved in the process of value creation could be related to the origins and socialization of the entrepreneurs. In particular, the areas from which value was chosen to be extracted were related to the entrepreneurs' interpretation of their social world.

The mechanisms of shift from an existing use value to a higher market value was most visible within the cosmopolitan group. The re-ordering of the means of production tended towards the production of newer areas of value, they involved more change and could be described as more enterprising. Don the puffer owner provided a lucid example. His strategy, which was typical of this cosmopolitan group, involved the commodification of the countryside. That is, he made available for sale those non-material qualities of rurality which appear to have a cultural value. In doing so he used culturally valued artifacts, set them within a context which was publicly available and sold them. The "artefact" in this case was an old steam puffer. Significantly this vessel had little commercial value, was technically obsolete and no longer economically viable to operate as transport. It was however, an icon

of an older order. As such it was endowed with a range of qualities, old machinery rich in disappearing engineering craft and whose operation could be appreciated and understood on a human scale. In addition, by using the puffer to cruise the West Highlands the natural beauty of the area could also be appreciated from an unusual viewpoint. So Don's operation provided a marketable amalgam of nostalgia and the picturesque; from obsolete and redundant use values to a new commodified leisure value

This example highlights the personal element, which was very typical of the rural small business, of the individualistic inputs to the business which meant that each business was an idiosyncratic creation. Don's initiative in recognising and realising the opportunity was a reflection of Don's own values and beliefs which were incorporated into the venture. He placed a high value on rurality and obviously enjoyed boats. The operation of the business provided a context to enjoy both. This context represented a value frame, a commodification from which he could draw value. Most obviously he earned his living from this context as customers paid to share the experience. The context has however, a deeper significance as a frame of value. If we look at Don's job in a conventional way, as simply an occupation, it has a low status. He is often dirty with coal and oil, he works physically and hard. In short he would not appear to be an ideal dinner companion. Yet the context of enterprise ownership turns this on its head, he is, for his customers, a sought after companion. Despite the trappings of an engine-room greaser, in the context of business ownership he is a figure of importance. So this value, status, an identification with enterprise control, is a product of the enterprise. This personal status is highly context contingent, it is doubtless highest amongst those who share Don's views.

However status change and enhancement through business ownership and control was a universal feature of the respondents. It was not only a relative value, to be seen as a mark of social distinction but it also affected the entrepreneurs themselves. Glynis the guest house owner comments, when asked about cleaning lavatories after strangers, were trenchant. She saw no dissonance between her social status and the dirty job. The task was accepted and justified in the context of ownership. Even Ralph, who enjoyed hereditary aristocratic status which was rather inappropriate, used his enterprise to realise a more congruous status. His ownership of the small plant hire business allowed him to modify an outmoded identity into one in keeping with his modest aspirations. Similarly we saw that Billy, who dealt in illegal drugs, chose to operate a perilous business because of the status value he envisaged in being the local supplier. In this extreme case this status value was the primary

motivation, his accumulated profits were actually a problem! So the "value" of status associated with ownership is pervasive. Not only can it override other conventional social valuations but can also modify the entrepreneur's experience of a situation.

Status was not the only personal non-economic value produced. The respondents appreciated and enjoyed a number of other values engendered from the business. They included different forms of satisfaction; fulfilment from the work involved in the business, gratification from carrying out the business successfully and of course, the satisfaction of independence, being their own boss. Some respondents delighted in the excitement of the enterprise whilst others saw an opposite value, security. It is significant that the importance the entrepreneurs paid to any particular value reflected their choice and orientation. This selection often directed the business and was a basic motivation so that the stream of benefits from the business was a mirror of their aspirations. This is why the businesses were so idiosyncratic, value orientation was both cause and effect. The businesses were facilitators of value realisation, a means to individual ends.

In this study the "manufacture of importance" was the most significant non-economic value sought. The creation or augmentation of a significant identity was paramount. The enterprises were used to "fit" the entrepreneurs into their chosen identity. The "identities" selected varied considerably from local importance to a cultural identity, a wider recognition related to broader cultural idioms associated with what had been described as the Social Construction of Rurality. An interesting corollary of this was the substance of this identity. For the locals this took the form of owning or running a successful business but the cosmopolitans seemed concerned about self realisation. In both groups the rural milieu played a significant part in the business motivation and interpretation of value. The locals valued their local network whilst the rural qualities of life were important to the cosmopolitans. Although each group placed a different interpretation on rurality, and aspects valued within rurality, the small scale of rural relationships was important. So clearly this rural milieu was a significant factor in the creation and maintenance of the rural businesses but not in a predictable or determinant way.

Entrepreneurs drew on a variety of values, some rural and some general, employed these in different ways within their businesses to create outcomes of values. We saw how even "success" was a loose and expansive category, intimately moulded to the entrepreneur's aspirations. Equally we saw how deep this personal conception of value ran in the unfortunate cases of the failures.

8.2.6 The Ownership and Active Use of Financial Assets, Personal Skills and Abilities

The earlier sections have shown how the entrepreneurs created and used value frames to achieve particular objectives. Whilst it would be trivial to report that entrepreneurs used capital and skills in their businesses, the banality of the observation obscures the diversity of combinations of these assets used by the entrepreneurs. Noticeably varied combinations of finance, ability and experience were utilised as tools within these value frames. The flexibility of entrepreneurship as a fluid process remarked on earlier is again illustrated by this variety. The versatility of the entrepreneurs to use their unique blends of these ingredients in the furtherance of their objectives was remarkable.

Whilst some capital was an obvious prerequisite, the combinations used to achieve enterprises were notable. The respondents displayed an astonishing variety of combinations of financial and personal assets. For example, Ted had lots of business experience from previous management occupations. He successfully combined this experience with some capital to produce a successful business. In contrast Sarah's previous work experience, as a social worker was not commercial, but nonetheless she combined this "craft" experience with her inherited capital to produce a viable business form of privatised care for the handicapped. Bob, who ran a small diving school had very little capital but he used his extensive naval experience. He too successfully combined non-commercial, "craft" experience into a modest business. Rodger had considerable inherited wealth, but little commercial experience and weak commercial abilities. Nonetheless, he too eventually evolved a personally satisfying business which reflected a successful combination of his personal assets.

Even the amount of effort expended in the use of these assets varied considerably. At one extreme we saw that Terry, the photographer, put very little effort into his business. Yet in stark contrast, Pat the timber contractor appeared to live and exist only for his business. More typical was a trade-off between effort and ambition. Ted, for example, managed to achieve a comfortable living with modest effort. The amount of effort expended appeared to be linked to the original aims, which again illustrates the diversity and fluidity of the entrepreneurship phenomena. The value of this finding is therefore in demonstrating that there can be no fixed formula for entrepreneurship.

8.2.7 Context Contingency.

This part of the model refers to the way that the variations in the enterprises reflected the context in which the entrepreneur operated. The data reviewed has shown the number of features which had configured the enterprises. We saw how the orientation of the entrepreneurs had shaped

their ideas of an appropriate value frames; we saw how the ensuing enterprises were influenced by how the entrepreneurs conceived their situation and how the emerging businesses were shaped by diverse goals. A key finding has been the fluidity of enterprise and how it blends the individual into their environment. The resulting enterprises were therefore contingent on these formative factors.

The overall context for this study was rurality and the literature showed that rurality could be perceived as a multifaceted frame of value because the social construction of rurality allowed a variety of significant areas of value. The data from the field work showed how cosmopolitans admired and used the cultural aspects of this construction in their entrepreneurial work and that locals held a slightly different perception of rurality based on interpersonal relationships. These different interpretations of context appeared to shape the different forms of business. It seems justified to extrapolate from these cases to argue that the form of entrepreneurship is contingent on the context. The entrepreneurs interpretation of the milieu of operation becomes the value frame on which they based their business.

We should also note as section 4.2 illustrated, that what is regarded as entrepreneurship is itself contingent on the observer. In the context of say, new jobs, entrepreneurship is seen to be a very different thing by government from, for example the entrepreneurship of the "American Car Worker's Dream". In newspaper job advertisements entrepreneurship has become a catch-all expression for animated management and more insidiously, entrepreneurship is used as a justification for free-booting commercial practices.

From a different perspective this argument is borne out by the discussion on rationality, where rationality itself is fluid rather than a fixed. Rationales vary from context to context, so that perceptions of a social structure or situation may vary from individual to individual. In this way they too are context contingent, so that the pursuit of a set of actions may be entirely logical to that individual's rationality of the situation.

The responses of the respondents to surprising financial results illustrate this well.

Marginality, in the sense discussed by Stanworth and Curran 1986, that incongruity between perceptions and position in society may produce entrepreneurship as a means of reconciliation is an example of the importance of context for producing enterprise. Lenski's 1954 account of status inconsistency proposes that individuals may endeavour to change the ground rules of status generation, in addition to reconciling their position, describes many of the entrepreneurial actions. Many of the cosmopolitan businesses were effectively changing the ground rules of status by

moving to the countryside. In rurality they could use a different value frame, where the expectations are very different, or at least rationalised differently, from urban value frames.

Thus the public and private expectations of "a small country living", may be very different from the expectations of the same business in an urban environment. (Interestingly Lenski's account of *social* action is very similar to Kirzner's economic account of entrepreneurial action, where opportunity perception creates brand new markets.)

In general terms context is a specific value frame where the enterprise is contingent on the interpretation. Accordingly it is argued that the form of enterprise is contingent on the entrepreneur's perception of the context. The value of this finding is it helps explain the diversity of businesses.

8.2.8 Overtly Economic Action

Despite these comments on the social and personal actions which shape enterprise the overriding context is economic. Although the discussion has demonstrated the cultural and personal configuration of enterprise; enterprise is about fixing these elements into an economic context. It follows therefore that entrepreneurship is economic action and the ultimate criteria is consequently economic viability. In the long term the business must produce income which exceeds the costs incurred.

Although the market is ruthless in the ultimate application of this dictum, so that businesses which do not meet this criteria will fail, social and personal factors intervene in the operation of the business. For explanation it is useful to consider the economic ultimatum as a frame, a hard fact, but within this frame the entrepreneur has considerable latitude to act as they choose. The choice of actions, as we have seen, are based on the entrepreneur's interpretations of what is desirable and reflect their skills and abilities as objective possibilities.

The soft facts of the businesses studied can be examined from three different viewpoints, the business formula, the entrepreneurs and the social. Each of these aspects illustrates variability and indeterminacy within the economic frame. The business formulas, the necessary ingredients which formed the basis of the businesses varied considerably. We saw that some businesses were capital intensive, some had little capital; some used the entrepreneur's craft skills whilst others used commercial expertise. Similarly the entrepreneur's intentions, motivations and exertions were to be found in varying quantities and blends. What counted as success or failure for the entrepreneurs was

not calculated on basis of returns to capital or even effort, but on a imprecise personal evaluation. This included such notions as cultural returns and status. Income from the business was not restricted to cash but included benefits such as the opportunities for travel, the freedom and excuse to buy impressive equipment.

Even the social milieus of the entrepreneurs varied. Different groups recognised different frames of value and in one example Billy, even this changed over time. We did see how respondents often modified their businesses to adapt to the hard facts. William the fish farmer's original business formula was just outside the economic frame of viability but his self confidence and enthusiasm allowed him to adapt to suit the changing circumstances.

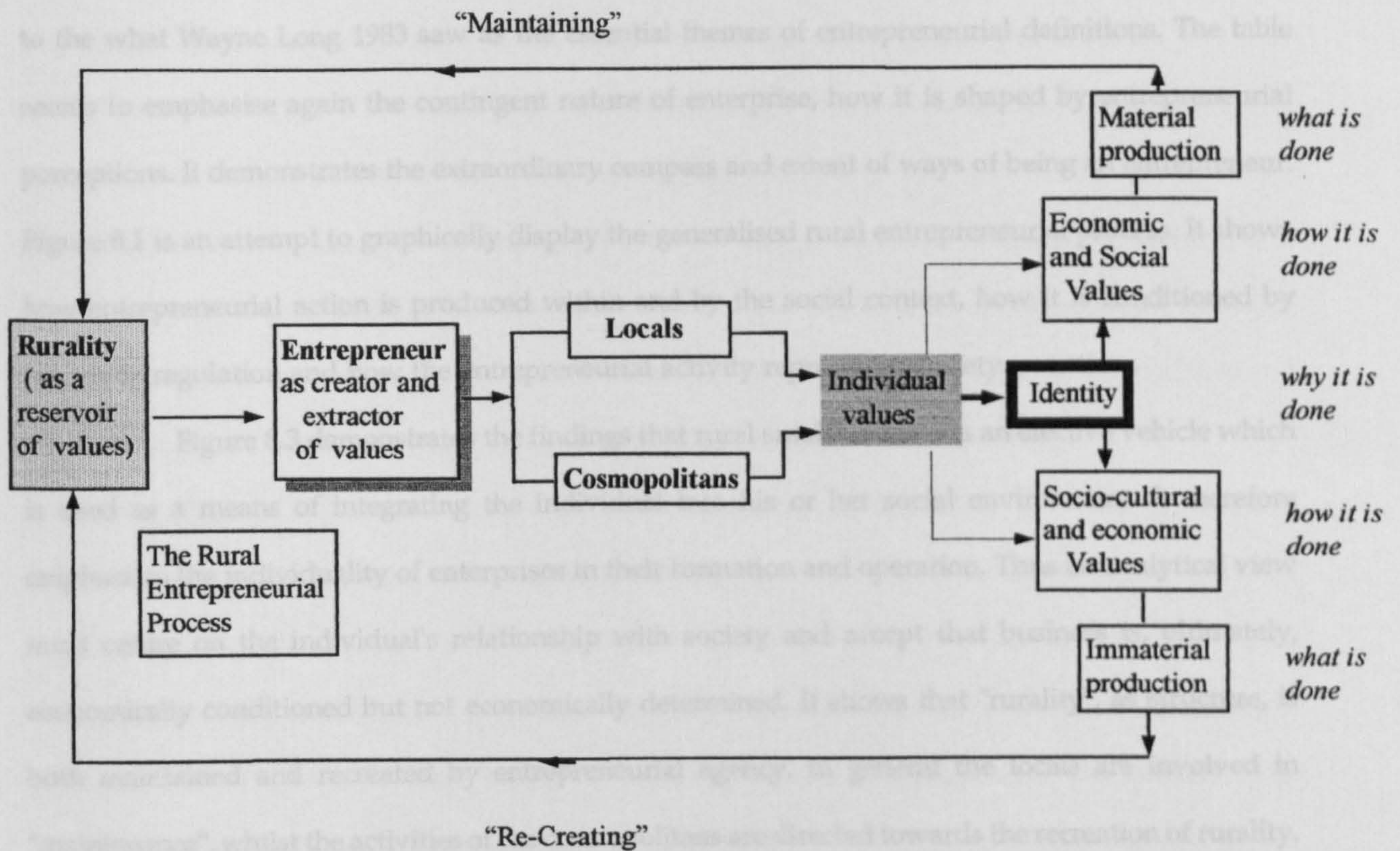
Social change also altered the parameters of the value frames. Two examples of this stand out in the data. Rodger's enterprises were argued to be a result of his efforts to find a new social role suited to changing social circumstances. His eventual success hinged upon these changing social circumstances to create a new viable value frame. One where art, tradition and rurality became a business, in particular one where his lack of commercial competence was not a major handicap. His earlier enterprises although high on initial motivation and creation slipped out the frame of viability because of his disinterest in mundane detail. His present business does not seem to require this continued attention and is currently successful.

Campbell's case was different although he too had tried a variety of businesses to integrate his aspirations. His successful enterprise was dependent on forestry. However the social attitudes towards large scale coniferous mono-culture changed dramatically, so that the generous grants and tax regimes which sustained forestry were discontinued. Consequently his enterprise slipped out of the frame of viability. So we may conclude that in spite of the variations in the soft facts of business operation, long term economic viability is crucial.

8.2.9 Summary

The model describes the nature of rural enterprise encountered, it emphasises the fluidity of enterprise and reflects the chameleon-like quality of small businesses as entrepreneurs blend their assets into a chosen environ. The approaches to business, the composition of enterprise and the components of small rural business were infinitely variable, but were bound by and to the entrepreneur's perceptions. The value of the model lies in recognising the breadth and complexities of small business, it specifically offers a way of separating out two discrete elements of small business, the creative aspect of enterprise formation and the management aspect of drawing value from the

Figure 8.3 The Rural Entrepreneurial Process



The Rural Entrepreneurial Process is generated by individuals seeking identity and social position using the framework of small business.

To achieve this they draw on the variety of values incorporated within "Rurality".

1. "Maintenance" is primarily servicing the local rural economy. It is generally conducted by "locals" who use a spatial monopoly to generate local social position.
2. "Re-creation" is essentially the Commodification of the countryside and involves "cosmopolitans" giving substance to the symbolic and cultural aspects of "Rurality." Their identity is enhanced by association with these values.

Thus "Rurality" represents the *conditions* of Rural Small business and its *nature* is the process of the extraction of value.

enterprise. It lacks predictive power simply because of the variety of ways of doing business. In short, rural entrepreneurship seems to be a way of doing what you want to do. Table 8.1 relates the model to the what Wayne Long 1983 saw as the essential themes of entrepreneurial definitions. The table seems to emphasise again the contingent nature of enterprise, how it is shaped by entrepreneurial perceptions. It demonstrates the extraordinary compass and extent of ways of being an entrepreneur. Figure 8.1 is an attempt to graphically display the generalised rural entrepreneurial process. It shows how entrepreneurial action is produced within and by the social context, how it is conditioned by economic regulation and how the entrepreneurial activity reproduces society over time.

Figure 8.3 demonstrates the findings that rural small business is an elective vehicle which is used as a means of integrating the individual into his or her social environment. It therefore emphasises the individuality of enterprises in their formation and operation. Thus an analytical view must centre on the individual's relationship with society and accept that business is, ultimately, economically conditioned but not economically determined. It shows that "rurality", as structure, is both maintained and recreated by entrepreneurial agency. In general the locals are involved in "maintenance", whilst the activities of the cosmopolitans are directed towards the recreation of rurality.

8.3 Conclusions.

" Aristotle noted that there were three prizes of fortune; first, honour and prestige; secondly, security and thirdly wealth." Polyani, in Dalton 1971

Like Aristotle's fortune, small business in the countryside prizes prestige first, with wealth accumulation a very secondary objective. The arcadian enterprise is profoundly personal, it reflects the aspirations and inspirations of the individual entrepreneur so that each business is an idiosyncratic creation. Although the socio-economic milieu, which forms the context of rural business, shapes and moulds these aspirations into objective possibilities, it is the interpretation and understanding of the meaning of this context which governs the actions of the entrepreneurs.

The model of rural entrepreneurship shows how entrepreneurship is a social process, albeit set within an economic frame. This social process, which centres on the extraction of value, is contingent on the phenomenological interpretation of significant meaning. At the level of the

individual we saw how entrepreneurial action was conditioned by the social circumstances; how the protean entrepreneur wove their business into the fabric of their social context. We saw how identity was sought by the purposeful and elective identification with sets of socio-cultural values, and how this shaped the business. The variety of ways of realising business echo these interpretations and aspirations of the life-worlds of the entrepreneurs. Yet the variety also reflects the agency of the entrepreneur as they use a diverse range of personal resources, skills, imagination, cultural and financial capital to form and operate their businesses. Rural small business is best seen as a means of achieving ends, rather than an end in itself. So the nature of rural enterprise is less about business and more about the individual integrating his or herself into their selected social milieu.

Although this micro form of entrepreneurship is intimately and idiosyncratically contingent, the analysis of the data demonstrated that there were recognisable parameters to this contingency. These boundaries could be conceptualised as structures, the economic and the social, within which rural small business acts. These configurations are blurred, we saw how the economic performance of the firm was interpretive in the short term, but determinative in the long run. The economic structure of the rural appeared to be restrictive, but entrepreneurial meaning and action turned these same structural features to advantage by elaborating and commodifying the uniqueness. Although the social structure was argued to hold different values, the consistent symmetry of the activities of the two groups can only be explained by their recognition of the same values. Accordingly we must recognise that rurality and the rural are configuring social structures. This borne out by the actions of the rural gatekeepers, who helped shape new enterprise into an appropriate rural form.

An essential feature of these structures is Structuration, Gidden's concept of continuity and change. The value of this conceptualisation has been borne out by this study. Structures have been seen to shape entrepreneurial possibilities, they are both enabling and restricting. The continuity can be mapped over time, but time also modifies and changes. This process is most distinct in the social construction of rurality, where the reified meaning has threaded through the development of mankind. Yet the post modern meaning is richer and more resonant. Change has made it more culturally relevant. The same made be said of the physical structure; distances have been reduced, improving accessibility. Yet this very accessibilty has caused new emphasis on the uniqueness of the rural.

Rural entrepreneurship plays a part in this structuration. Although change has opened entrepreneurial opportunity, we saw how the continuity of rural was reinforced by the action of the cosmopolitan businesses. These agents, by commodifying rurality, published and made available the symbolic rural values. They recreate rurality. The locals business role was different, their work was servicing the countryside, but this basic maintenance allows the continuance of the physical countryside. This then is the nature and the conditions of rural small business.

8.4 The Contribution of this Research

This study has examined rural entrepreneurship from a variety of perspectives, it has attempted to develop the body of entrepreneurial knowledge and understanding by relating this to the experiences of rural entrepreneurs. Consequently the study has sampled the entrepreneurship of Bartlett's 1988 intellectual "onion" and found that it is not in fact a single onion but a field of unique and exotic fruits. The contribution of the study to scholarly knowledge is that it offers a model of rural enterprise which was inductively created from the actual experience of rural enterprise. This is seen to be an aid to understanding the unfolding of the entrepreneurial process by exploring the issues from the entrepreneurial perspective. Furthermore by looking at extreme examples of entrepreneurship the study forced an examination of the boundaries of the phenomena.

The value of this model, in enhancing entrepreneurial understanding, is that it encompasses and recognises the variations which occur within enterprise. In particular that entrepreneurship is a social process within an economic context. It therefore accounts for individual, situational and social variables and provides a preliminary explanation of entrepreneurial motivation. As Willis 1978:170 points out ethnography "breaks the spell" of theoretical symmetry, it shows "subjectivity as an active moment in its own form of production". Furthermore the model indicates that there are two analytically important features of enterprise, namely the creative element where frames of value are constructed and secondly the harvesting element where these values are realised.

The findings also draw attention to a number of specific points;

1. Culture and social context are important configuring elements of entrepreneurship.
2. The flexibility and fluidity of enterprise.

3. How entrepreneurship is used as a means of achieving diverse goals, but that personal empowerment appeared to be more crucial and significant than cash.

4. The role of entrepreneurship in rural change.

Although, pace Marx, the research offers no "cookbooks for the future" in terms of predictions about enterprise, it has illustrated the width and depth of the entrepreneurial phenomena. In particular, the ethnographic approach has signalled the contingent nature and the potential range of explanatory variables within rural entrepreneurship. In turn the examination of the ecological aspects of rural entrepreneurship have shown how these variables mesh as entrepreneurs realise their objectives.

8.5 The Implications of the Research

A number of points have arisen from the study which may have implications for further research and implications for the encouragement of enterprise.

8.5.1 The Future

Small business has been important in rural social and economic development. This study has shown how the flexibility of enterprise enables the idiosyncratic abilities and assets of entrepreneurs to integrate change. The small scale of rural business is well suited to the small scale of rural society so that there is every reason to suppose that small business will continue to be the prototypical type of rural business. The new businesses in this study have focused on new areas of value, both as sources of entrepreneurially created value and as an influence on entrepreneurial choice. Long 1977:188 argues that entrepreneurs seek to "legitimize their decisions and courses of action through an appeal to values and ideologies." Certainly values have a long heritage in enterprise, from Weber to the enterprise culture. Yet their role as legitimisers of particular action varies, as Etzioni 1987:183 suggests they wear out. The bundle of rural values encompassing environmentalism, rural place-myths and organic orders are effectively reactionary, analogous constructions of anti-industrialism existing mainly at an ideological level. Consequently, in the longer term, these values may lose potency to legitimise action. However the evidence of history supports the longevity of these values in some form or other, this coupled with the extraordinary resilience and flexibility of

enterprise indicates a continuing role for small rural business.

Given that fragmentation and individualization are key features of both social and economic process, and given that the viability of the social construction of rurality continues, the post modern rural business can be anticipated to incorporate these features. The rural context, small scale, peripheral but appealing, will continue to attract incomers who value these aspects. Rural small business will continue to be a legitimate reason for rural residence. Thus we may expect to see a growth of small business which are only marginally economically viable, whose emphasis is on personal satisfaction rather than economic goals.

8.5.2 Research and Theoretical Implications

An outcome of the methodology of this study was that comparisons of the explanatory powers were made between different levels of explanation. For example, in Chapter Four economic explanations were argued to be incomplete accounts of entrepreneurial behaviour, largely because human and entrepreneurial behaviour is not limited to economic rationality.

The field work appeared to confirm this, the entrepreneurs' motivations and actions were directed towards producing a range of "utility", much of which was outside the conventions of economic explanation. However the data also showed that long term economic viability was still an essential requirement of enterprise, in spite of the emphasis which this study had placed on personal gratification.

This seems to indicate that the level of analysis is a critical feature of research, one which profoundly affects the results. Had this analysis been at a higher level, say an abstraction to the level of the firm and concentrated on the collection and analysis of economic data it is entirely conceivable that it would have produced quite different results. Equally had the study been a time series of motivation and confidence this too, may have produced quite different results, because the data hints that motivation and confidence change over time. The point about this is that at each level of analysis the aggregation of common features, at that level, tends to conceal and suppress other factors which may be explanatory variables. Since entrepreneurship is a complex socio-economic phenomena this aspect of methodology should be taken into account.

A related point is the ambiguity and imprecision of what may properly be considered entrepreneurship. This study has effectively skirted the problem of definition by using an open-ended attitude which, in effect, begs the question. In this case this is defensible within the objective of discovery and justified by the finding of the different creative and management aspects. However research, particularly positivistic research of cause and effect, may need to develop agreement and consensus on a limiting definition, perhaps distinguishing these aspects, if the research is to be cumulative.

8.5.3 Implications for the Encouragement of Rural Small Business

Intervention by the state to encourage small business has a long tradition in the Highlands. From the days of the Napier Commission on crofting, through the era of the Highlands and Islands Development Board to the present Highlands and Islands Enterprise these bodies have represented a cross political concern about the unique conditions of the Highlands. The aims of these organisations have changed over time, no doubt reflecting shifting concerns; the Napier Commission sanctioned the crofting way of life by providing legal tenure; the ethos of the HIDB was modernising the Highlands to "catch up", whilst the present situation has been shown by this study to be to encourage "appropriate" development. These may well be commendable but they may also have unforeseen effects. This study has established that one consequence of change, which is promoted by the encouragement of "appropriate" rural business, is the reproduction of the rural idyll. This undoubtedly represents new frames of value which are beneficial, but it may also act to discourage other forms of development. The issue is not that these developments are wrong, but that such developments may be occurring inadvertently with long term consequences for the ossification of the Highlands into a rural theme park.

At the practical level of provision of assistance and guidance for rural businesses the enterprise agencies this study may have implications for the type of help required. The range and form of entrepreneurial motivation noted suggests that the during the creative stage of enterprise the proposal may be fragile and only tenuously formed. This may be seen as a tension between control and innovation. Underlying motives and goals may also be concealed within a vocabulary of "correct"

motives. The perception of opportunity does, of course, eventually need to be directed towards viability, but a heavy handed premature forcing into a conventional business form may curb possibilities. This implies that very careful handling of potential new entrepreneurs may be required if the full potential is to be achieved. For example if the approach is inflexible, emphasising details, problems and the need for a rigid formalised business plan, especially at an early stage, this could discourage the delicate appeal of the more marginal attractions of enterprise. The focus of the advice should be the entrepreneur rather than the business. The evidence of the study is that whilst enterprises require management after the creative stage, the early stages need a recognition of the multiple rationalities observed in the study.

For established businesses, which at some stage may require guidance, the problem is one of approachability. The independence, even in the face of reason, of established entrepreneurs was an important finding. Experienced entrepreneurs, especially the locals, displayed distrust about the motives and procedures of bureaucratic organisations. This was probably because of their experiences with authorities and coupled with "greyness" of some aspect of their operation. The study emphasised that status generated by the business was a very important factor, thus "counselling" has overtones antipathetic to this aspect. So pride and scepticism may deter the entrepreneur from seeking help. This may be overcome by the agency presenting an empathetic image, perhaps "consultant" rather than one of bureaucratic expertise, and by taking care never to talk down or denigrate the current efforts. It needs to be recognised that the size difference coupled with the very different structures and objectives of small business and bureaucratic advisory organisations may be very real barriers to the exchange of information. Entrepreneurship has been seen to be an antithesis of institutional form, it is a loose and flexible form of individual action reflecting bounded rationality and satisficing goals, it is therefore ill-matched to rule following bureaucracy.

8.6 Suggestion for Further Research

This study indicates two areas of further research which may be fruitful and valuable. The first, the deepening of the findings this research to give more empirical support, could be achieved by quantitative work. A statistical sample, from a national universe of small businesses could be tested using a Likert scale of attitudes (Moser and Kalton 1989) to check the extent and pervasion of

"non-commercial" motivation and goals. This would test the applicability outside the Highland rural environment, as well as the accuracy of these findings. It would also be interesting to see how and if these motivations correlate with business size, given that this work has focused on very small business.

The second area would involve widening the scope of this study to include some of the interesting issues which arose but were not pursued in detail. A methodology similar to this study, but with a narrow focus on these issues would appear to most effective. The issues of interest include risk perception, self confidence in business and empowerment through small business.

The perception of risk appeared to vary amongst the respondents. At its broadest and over generalising, the locals appeared to take much bigger risks but within the confines of their businesses. Contrastingly the cosmopolitans paid more attention to detailed business risk but conversely took greater overall risks with their untried business ideas. This is intriguing but unexplained by the study. It may however be related to the second interesting area, the self confidence displayed by most of the entrepreneurs. It is not clear whether this confidence predated enterprise, or if it was a result of operating the business. Nor is it clear how justified this confidence was, or whether it was a pragmatic strategy to cope with uncertainty. It would be therefore be a useful aid to understanding entrepreneurship if these relationships and issues were investigated.

This study has emphasised how individuals used enterprise to empower themselves to achieve diverse goals. Prominent amongst these goals was a social identity, which ranged from reconciling a marginal identity to incorporating idealist objectives. At the same time the study has shown the remarkable range of talents, skills and abilities which combined with financial assets to create the enterprise. So that enterprise was the medium of this personal satisfaction. Notwithstanding this the study failed to establish if this was a question of dropping out from mainstream society, rather than embracing the individualization of the enterprise culture. It might therefore be useful to ascertain how and if this strategy of empowerment could be applied to other members of society, particularly those less fortunately endowed with the more obvious entrepreneurial talents. Socially oriented schemes such as community business, co-operatives and the like, do offer employment, and re-training schemes may enhance perceptions of self worth, whilst Enterprise Allowance reduces one barrier to

enterprise. None of these directly address the issue of entrepreneurial empowerment. If society continues to fragment along the lines suggested by the post modern pundits, so that the individual becomes more isolated from the security of large scale enterprise and institutions, this issue of confidence in the self will continue to grow in importance. Consequently the empowerment of small business may offer a solution to disenfranchisement and deserves researching.

Closing Reflections

This thesis records a long journey of discovery. It has covered a lot of ground from starting out from an initial interest to reach an understanding of rural entrepreneurship. Perhaps it has not taken the most direct route, but discovery may need to follow a more scenic route, and shortcuts are only evident in retrospect. Exploration requires a more measured evaluation than following well worn paths. The guide books and maps for this journey, the literature, cannot be blamed for lack of information; they may instead be responsible for offering too many interesting possibilities. Some of which transpire to be merely interesting diversions and detours on the way, though few were cul-de-sacs. Traveller's tales of other journeys beckoned with promise and inspiration to experience this route for oneself. Nor can I blame my mentors, who warned of the perils of uncharted paths. Sometimes it is essential to encounter one's own dragons to be convinced of their existence. So discovery is not just about finding the destination but appreciating the journey itself.

The destination, this richer and fuller understanding of rural entrepreneurship, has been rewarding largely because of this journey. The lived experiences, aspirations and actions of the entrepreneurs which provide the substance of this work, have enriched my experience and enhanced the journey. Most of all they should not be thought of as simply milestones along the route. Their individual efforts were the real landmarks which orientated understanding. Hopefully others may now be able to use the routes and short cuts discovered and signposted by this work.

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