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TITLE: MIGRANT TOURISM ENTREPRENEURS IN PERIPHERAL NORWEGIAN SETTINGS

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Abstract

In rural areas where entrepreneurial activity among locals remains low, migrant tourism entrepreneurs may play an important role by contributing new ideas and vitality in the tourism sector. Previous studies on small firms in tourism has presented conflicting evidence with respect to motivations, indicating that a preoccupation with lifestyle may conspire against business motivation, service quality standards and profitability among such operators. In this study of migrant tourism entrepreneurs in peripheral Norwegian settings, semi-structured interviews were conducted with owner-operators of eight businesses, including both Norwegian and international informants. Human capital and motivations pertaining to the migration, business start-up, and the choice of the tourism industry were mapped. Their cooperative practices and actions taken to become part of their local communities were also inquired into. Migrant tourism entrepreneurs were found to be heterogeneous. Higher education, tourism sector experience, and previous business ownership was found among respondents. While there were cases of informants migrating for the sake of becoming self-employed, a majority were motivated by a desire for rural living. Some respondents were "tourism professionals" and greatly enjoyed tourism work. Not all respondents were highly driven in their business efforts, and pluractivity was found to be an important factor. The migrant entrepreneurs in this study preferred informal cooperation, and largely adapted to the cooperative practices of their locations. Business owners categorised as "professional managers" were found to have a stronger business focus and cooperated motivated by self-interest. Informants differed greatly with respect to actions taken to become part of their local communities.

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Foreword

The idea for this thesis came into being several years ago. As a seasonal worker in tourism in rural Norway in 2009, I noticed a couple of small scale tourism operators who appeared to be doing something new in their locations. Given that they were both incomers to this region, I started to become curious about their backgrounds and motivations for migrating. Later, as a student at the University of Otago in New Zealand in 2010, I discovered that there was a lot of available research on lifestyle motivations in the context of tourism entrepreneurship. From then on I started to look into this phenomenon, and discovered that few studies had been undertaken on lifestyle migration and tourism entrepreneurship in the Norwegian setting.

Without the participation of the tourism operators who are the subject of this thesis, this study would not have been possible. I am deeply indebted to them all, for taking the time and being so kind as to let me interview them.

I would also like to thank the University of Stavanger. A warm and heartfelt thanks to my advisor Jens Kristian Steen Jacobsen. A special thanks to Torvald Øgaard for his general kindness to students and enthusiasm throughout the Master's programme.

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1. Introduction

The Norwegian tourism industry is fragmented and a scarcity of businesses providing basic services to tourists is the prevailing situation in many of Norway's sparsely populated rural areas. In areas where entrepreneurial activity among locals remains low, migrant tourism entrepreneurs might play an important role, contributing to vitalising this sector. A number of empirical studies undertaken at rural tourism destinations have remarked on a high frequency of in-migrants among tourism entrepreneurs and small business owners (e.g. Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Komppula, 2004; Shaw & Williams, 2004). Depending on the disciplinary lenses applied, migration to rural destinations has been described as travel-stimulated entrepreneurial migration (Snepenger, Johnson, & Rasker, 1995), urban-rural migration (Paniagua, 2002), consumption-led mobility (Williams & Hall, 2002), amenity migration (Moss, 2006), lifestyle migration (Stone & Stubbs, 2007), and commercial counter-urbanisation (Bosworth, 2010), to name a few. Rarely investigated as a separate group in hospitality and tourism, migrant tourism entrepreneurs have often been described in the context of lifestyle entrepreneurship.

According to Morrison, Carlsen, and Weber (2008), in-migrant tourism operators "tend to be attracted by what they perceive to be positive attributes associated with the tourism industry, actively seeking a different type of lifestyle; hence the emergence of the terms "lifestyle migrant" and "amenity migrant"" (p. 2). Consequently, the entry into tourism entrepreneurship is assumed motivated by lifestyle (Morrison, et al., 2008, p. 2), as opposed to more profit- and growth oriented entrepreneurs (Getz & Petersen, 2005, p. 223). However, while often looked upon as a constraint, non-monetary and lifestyle related arguments could probably attract more people to enter this sector (Lundberg & Fredman, 2012, p. 668). In a context where tourism has a low career status and is characterised by low income levels

compared to other sectors, the latter view is more helpful for rural communities and regions which aim to strengthen their tourism supply.

According to Bosworth (2010, p. 977), the commercial activities of in-migrants are vital in local development. Migrants bring in new ideas, but also value local resources and characteristics. As outsiders in-migrants may be better equipped to identify the local attributes that are most attractive to tourists (Bosworth & Farrell, 2011, p. 1491). This outsider's view may also make them alert to business opportunities that locals are less likely to spot (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 439). Regarding small tourism firms and destination development, Williams and Hall (2002, p. 32) claim that migrants bring with them diverse skills and generally add to the development capacity of tourism destinations. They respond to market changes and can also help to shape them (Williams & Hall, 2002, p. 32). While Bosworth and Willett (2011, p. 196) suggest that in-migrants can be important agents of rural change, such migrants need to establish local networks and become locally embedded in order to unleash this potential. Evidence referred to by Bosworth and Farrell (2011, p. 1491) showed that in-migrants make efforts to become embedded while also retaining extra-local networks and introducing new forms of human and social capital that enhance the tourism sector. The authors (Bosworth & Farrell, 2011) state that, "in-migrants display entrepreneurial behaviour through pro-active attempts to integrate with other local businesses, using their contacts and experiences from outside the local area, adopting new technologies, exploiting market niches and investing in business development" (p. 1491).

However, Bosworth and Willett's (2011) research indicated that the perceptions, motivations and expectations of counterurbanisers influenced their behaviour at their destinations and also the tourism development potential of their host communities. As the authors (Bosworth & Willett, 2011, p. 209) documented, while entrepreneurial in-migrants

could contribute to a vitalisation of rural destinations, this might not be the case if migrants had chosen a location based on more individualistic quality of life factors, as was found to be the case in Cornwall. As a consequence, in-migration might stimulate business development in rural areas, but it could also contribute to cementing a sense of backwardness (Bosworth & Willett, 2011, p. 209).

The objectives, motivations, characteristics, and capabilities of tourism entrepreneurs has not yet received the attention it deserved (Hallak, Brown, & Lindsay, 2011, p. 143). For policy makers and those responsible for destination development is is important to know the goals and motivations of people who start and operate tourism businesses in order to begin to understand their impacts on their geographical contexts (Di Domenico, 2005, p. 110).

On this background, a study of migrant tourism entrepreneurs in rural Norway was undertaken. The aim of the study was to explore the notion of lifestyle entrepreneurship in its broadest scope. Migrants' motivations and decision making surrounding the migration process, the choice of location, and business acquisition or start up was considered key to addressing these issues. This study is placed within the theoretical field of small firms in tourism (Thomas et al., 2011). With the aim of determining whether migrant tourism entrepreneurs in rural areas of Norway are primarily oriented towards lifestyle or business, the following research questions were formulated for the study.

1.1. Research Questions

How can migrant tourism entrepreneurs be distinguished in terms of human capital what kind of skills do they draw on in their current business operations?

What motivated the decision to migrate and which variables have been dominant for migrants' decision making when regarding the localisation of their enterprises?

What kinds of motivations do migrant tourism entrepreneurs display for starting or

buying tourism businesses?

How do migrant tourism entrepreneurs cooperate with other tourism operators and how have they become embedded in their local communities?

2. Literature Review

The Skills of Rural Tourism Operators

According to Hall (2005, p. 167), while many rural regions are rich in natural capital and capital such as transport infrastructure, a lack of human capital may represent an important tourism development challenge. At the firm level human capital theory identifies human capital as a resource that affects venture or firm performance (Davidsson, as cited in Chell, 2008, p. 5). Human capital pertains to individuals and refers to experience, expertise/ability, learning and training, knowledge and skills (Chell, 2008, p. 5). In small business research human capital such as education, prior managerial experience, prior business ownership, and specific sectoral experience are considered pre start-up factors which might affect business growth (Storey & Greene, 2010, pp. 244-269).

It has been suggested that small scale operators in tourism are different from those in other sectors, considering the tourism industry's relative ease of entry in terms of the skills required (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 99). Williams, Shaw and Greenwood (1989, p. 1650) pointed at a strong tendency in the small tourism business sector, especially in hospitality, for owners to lack formal training or working experience specific to the industry. Furthermore, Shaw and Williams (2004, p. 103) refer to studies which demonstrated how many tourism entrepreneurs' past work experiences, which had mostly been outside the business world, were restricting their business operations. Research (Shaw & Williams, 1998, p. 248) also documented that small rural tourism businesses were often operated by non-locals with limited formal qualifications who had moved into the destination, often as a form of semi-

retirement.

However, studies have also demonstrated that migrants form a type of entrepreneurial rural agent with characteristics such as higher educational attainment and greater managerial expertise (Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006, p. 121). A study of urban-rural migrants in Spain also revealed that a majority of tourism operators belonged to the socio-economic group "the new service class", described as self-employed and skilled professionals (Paniagua, 2002, p. 361). As the literature offers contested evidence on the subject, a further inquiry into the backgrounds of migrant tourism entrepreneurs is needed.

Migration Triggers And Localisation Choices

As the aesthetic appeal of living in a particular geographic area is a common motivation for owner-operators of lifestyle oriented small tourism firms, a process of migration also tends to feature (Morrison et al., 2008, p. 3). Moreover, Williams and Hall (2002, p. 31) suggest that tourism entrepreneurial migration may be a case of both lifestyle seeking migration and labour migration, depending on whether individuals are motivated primarily by economic or quality of life considerations. Bosworth (2010) made a useful distinction between planned and unplanned start-ups, stating that, "although those with planned start-ups are a significant group of entrepreneurial in-migrants, the large number of in-migrants starting their businesses some time after their residential move demonstrates that, unlike urbanisation, this is not economic migration in the traditional sense" (p. 976).

Migration triggers are likely to be a combination of push and pull factors in most cases (Paniagua, 2002, p. 355). For example, wanting to escape the pressures of urban life and employment routines are previously reported migration triggers (Stone and Stubbs, 2007, p. 437). Regarding the localisation of migrants' businesses, previous studies has shown localisation decisions to be almost completely dominated by lifestyle considerations.

Specifically for the small family business, locational decisions are heavily influenced by personal preferences and the aesthetic appeal of particular geographical locations rather than rational economic assessment (Morrison, 2006, p. 204).

A study of Northern European tourism entrepreneurs in rural France and Spain noted that features associated with the local environment (notably the climate), family (a spouse or partner originating from the region), and prior knowledge of the region through previous holiday visits were dominant (Lardiés, 1999, p. 485). Urban-rural migrants in Spain had chosen locations by chance, on the basis of previous visits, or because friends were living there (Paniagua, 2002, p. 362-363). Some migrants also chose locations after a systematic search for a village that satisfied previously established criteria. Moreover, Stone and Stubbs (2007, p. 437) reported that Northern Europeans in rural France and Spain had selected residential location based on amenity factors such as climate and landscape. The authors (Stone & Stubbs, 2007) stated that, "it is noticeable how few of the interviewees had identified, a priori, a specific business location and market niche" (p. 439).

Entrepreneurs And Small Business Owners

According to Ucbasaran, Westhead, and Wright (as cited in Westhead, Ucbasaran, & Wright, 2005, p. 393), entrepreneurship involves the founding of new independent firms, as well as the development of purchased and inherited independent businesses. In this study this definition of "entrepreneur" will be used for practical purposes, as it includes all respondents. However, it is also common in entrepreneurship literature to suggest that entrepreneurs and small business owners are inherently different. For example, Carland, Hoy, Boulton, and Carland (1984, p. 358) distinguished between entrepreneurs and small business owners, claiming that small business owners establish and manage businesses for the principal purpose of furthering personal goals, whereas entrepreneurs establish and manage businesses

for the purpose of profit and growth. A variety of typologies of small business owners have also been suggested. For instance, according to Hornaday (as cited in Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998, p. 22) there are three types, namely "craft" owners, who pursue personal satisfaction and are therefore motivated to do work they want to do; "promoters", who seek personal wealth and/or financial return, and "professional managers", who seek to build a successful organisation which they can manage. Storey and Greene (2010, p. 5) suggested that small business owners are likely to have a wide range of motivations, which are not exclusively or even primarily, monetary. Small businesses may for instance provide interesting employment for their founders, or be a hobby that generates income. For the smallest businesses in particular, a desire to grow the business is the exception rather than the rule (Storey & Greene, 2010, p. 5). Hence, "whilst the assumption of a profit-maximising business seeking to generate shareholder value may be valid for larger enterprises, it is wholly inappropriate when considering smaller businesses" (Storey & Greene, 2010, p. 6).

Entrepreneurs And Small Business Owners in Hospitality and Tourism

Thomas, Shaw, and Page (2011, p. 965) stated that while entrepreneurship is often defined with terms such as "vision", "creativity", "innovation", "exploitation of opportunity", and "financial motivation and growth", such entrepreneurial firms are likely to be a minority in tourism. One key issue is whether all small business owners in hospitality and tourism occasionally behave entrepreneurially, or whether only a minority can be termed "entrepreneurs" (Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998, p. 21). Shaw and Williams (2004, p. 99) suggested that small scale entrepreneurs in tourism are somewhat different from those in other sectors, regarding the close relationship between elements of consumption and production. In this context tourism scholars have raised concern over a lack of profit- and growth focus, associating this with poor economic performance. For example, Getz and Petersen, (2005, p.

238) suggest that while profit- and growth oriented entrepreneurs are highly valued, lifestyle and autonomy motivations predominate in the industry. Particularly in rural and peripheral locations, the protection of a certain lifestyle will often be prioritised over a commercial focus on profit-maximisation (Getz & Carlsen; Sherwood et al.; Thomas et al., as cited in Morrison, 2006, p. 199). This often repeated dichotomy of motivations and orientations pertaining to lifestyle versus commercial pursuit often lies at the core of discussions on "lifestyle oriented small firms" and "lifestyle entrepreneurship".

"Lifestyle entrepreneurship" is where individuals, "align entrepreneurial activity to fit with personal circumstances and style of life; prioritise personal over business goals; and are not growth motivated" (Morrison, 2006, p. 195). Moreover, Morrison (2006) claimed that "limited career ambitions, a merging of family and business, quality of life aspirations, and low motivation for commercial pursuit other than lifestyle sustenance may converge to conspire against growth, innovation, and entrepreneurial behaviour" (p. 204). While a conceptualisation of the "lifestyle oriented small tourism (LOST) firm" was discussed by Morrison et al. (2008), the authors suggested that lifestyle represents "an extremely elusive, subjective, and qualitative concept" (p. 6). Moreover, the authors (Morrison et al., 2008, p. 2) also suggested that the question of whether a good lifestyle dominates is particularly important for destinations as it has implications for business motivation, service standards, quality and profitability.

However, researchers have also suggested that lifestyle entrepreneurship is a response to the niche markets offered by post-modern tourism consumption (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Shaw, 2004; Shaw & Williams, 2004). According to Nuntsu et al. (as cited in Morrison et al., 2008, p. 10), there is strong support for the role of lifestyle oriented small firms as pioneers and innovators of niche market products that augment the tourism diversity of a destination. A

key feature is that such operators tend to express "alternative" sets of values. When first

discussing this phenomenon, Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) examined the value positions of a

number of entrepreneurs, which highlighted "almost defensive actions driven by what is

perceived to be a high polarisation of ideological perspectives within the tourism industry and

wider economy" (p. 379). Moreover, Andersson Cederholm and Hultman (2010, p. 28) stated

that the rationale behind the heading "lifestyle entrepreneur" is that the market ethos is

rejected in favour of personal values as motivating factors for doing business.

      A different perspective was offered by Karlsson and Lönnbring (2001), based on

previous studies of small tourism firm operators in rural Norway. The informants in these

studies portrayed the running of a small firm as a lifestyle; a lifestyle one had to enjoy to

cope. As earning a high income was not considered important by these operators, what the

authors (Karlsson & Lönnbring, 2001, p. 80) referred to as the core of entrepreneurship; the

joy of creating or building something of one's own, was what essentially motivated these

tourism entrepreneurs.

      Furthermore, research (Szivas and Riley, as cited in Vaugeois & Rollins, pp. 633-634)

has also highlighted why people choose a career in the tourism sector. Motivational

orientations such as "instrumental utility", where tourism is perceived as a means to the

achievement of economic advancement; "positivist", where it is favoured for intrinsic values;

refugee, where it offers an escape route from an unpleasant job; and entrepreneurial, where it

is appreciated for its suitability to one's business were described (Szivas and Riley, as cited in

Vaugeois & Rollins, pp. 633-634). A study from Vancouver Island in Canada (Vaugeois and

Rollins, 2007, p. 644) revealed that a majority of people chose tourism for the positive

attributes associated with the industry.

Cooperation And Destination Building

According to Hollick and Braun (2008, p. 4), micro tourism firms tend to be "atomistic in nature"; often they do not consider themselves part of a destination and do not have a particular interest in developing collaborative strategies that focus on geographical destination building (Ryhänen; Braun, as cited in Hollick & Braun, 2005, p. 4-5). In contrast, research (Atterton, 2007, p. 239) has suggested that rural incomers tend to think in terms of a larger geography. Thus, by virtue of possessing an outsider's view, migrant tourism entrepreneurs may be able to cooperate with other operators in ways which promote destinations that are attractive from the point of view of a tourist. While formal cooperative networks with public sector involvement are found in the Norwegian setting, informal cooperation among rural tourism businesses is also likely to be widespread (Atterton, 2007, p. 237).

On the other hand, migrant tourism entrepreneurs may also become deeply embedded into local communities, and thus act to consolidate existing "structures". For this reason it was considered important to explore how and why migrant tourism operators make efforts to embed their businesses in a local or regional tourism industry through cooperation.

Embeddedness

According to Morrison (2000, p. 65), each entrepreneur brings their own unique sets of personal motivations and characteristics to interact with their specific host society and business environment. For migrant tourism entrepreneurs the local community is simultaneously their new home and the social and economic context for their business efforts. Thus, entrepreneurial newcomers are faced with the task of becoming part of a local community both privately and in a business sense.

The concept "embeddedness" is frequently used in the context of rural

entrepreneurship, in some studies to describe social and economic ties to a local community (Bosworth & Willett, 2009, Bosworth & Farrell, 2011, Bosworth & Atterton, 2012). According to Jack and Anderson (2002) embeddedness describes, "the nature, depth and extent of an individual's ties to the environment" (p. 468), signalling that as a concept "embeddedness" may be difficult or impossible to measure. However, social networks are important for "embedding", which as a process has been described as, "becoming part of the local structure" (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 468).

Moreover, Bosworth and Atterton (2012, p. 269) suggested that in-migrants become "locally embedded" for different reasons and through different types and intensity of activities. Some business owners take a more purposeful approach while other relationships develop through more informal, non-business activities (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012, p. 274). For instance, participating in the social life of the community may be an important part of incomer integration and acceptance (Tinsley & Lynch, 2008, p. 169).

Furthermore, entrepreneurs need to understand how the social context "works", described by Jack and Anderson (2002) as "understanding the nature of the structure" (p. 468). Thus, embedding may perhaps require a type of intuitive knowledge or skill. Indeed, among behaviours and skills characterising an entrepreneur, Chell (2008, p. 211) included "networking and social embedding" and an "ability to learn the rules and make the right move at the right time". Embedding is also a process of gaining social approval; it involves developing credibility locally (Jack and Anderson, 2002, p. 468). According to Atterton (2007, p. 232), in the process of embedding firms acquire characteristics that make them fit the environment in which they operate.

However, the social context does not always contribute positively to a business, as social obligations can also constrain (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 483). Understood as such, for

in-migrants the process of embedding may perhaps be characterised as a balancing act. This could be vital as research (Atterton, 2007, p. 239) has shown that newcomers are less likely to be restricted by local social norms, bringing energy, skills and a willingness to change. Hence, whilst local acceptance in a social and business sense is important, retaining some freedom from social norms may be desirable.

3. Method

3.1. Description of the Method Applied

The subjects explored in this study are not new to social science, and as such it would be incorrect to claim that this research is exploratory in nature. However, according to Neuman (2011, p. 38), some of the purposes of descriptive research is to provide a detailed, highly accurate picture, to locate new data that contradicts past data, and to report on the context or background of a situation. These points describe the general objectives of the study well.

Rapley (2011, p. 285) suggested that a reason to engage in qualitative research is to discover a phenomenon, in all its textures and nuances, to focus on and explore. On this background it was decided to employ a qualitative research design, using semi-structured life-world interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 33). The interviews were undertaken in environments where the informants lived and worked, placing an emphasis on the social or cultural context (Neuman, 2011, p. 175). Also, by visiting each each person in their home or business premises and giving assurances of anonymity, an atmosphere conducive to relatively open communication was hoped for.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p. 35) argue that interview research is a craft where few rules or standardised techniques are available to the researcher. The authors (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 36) suggest that the interview craft has to be learnt via practice. This

view stands in opposition to a positivist position in the social sciences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 36). The following words provided by Bosworth and Farrell (2012) described the approach taken with some accuracy,

> A semi-structured questionnaire was compiled, however a flexible approach enabled interviewees to tell their stories, ensuring the most important events as perceived by each respondent were given due attention. The role of the interviewer was principally to facilitate this storytelling while using probing questions to delve more deeply into the influences affecting key decisions (p. 1479).

3.2. Sampling

The target population for the study was tourism operators in rural and peripheral locations of Norway who had migrated from outside the region, taken up permanent residence in their chosen locations, and started businesses either before relocation, at the time of relocation, or after relocation.

Some respondents were localised in areas around a fjord and in the wider region which is part of the NCE Fjord Tourism cluster. Other respondents were localised near national parks and National Tourist Routes. By relocating to what might be characterised as high amenity areas, the chosen informants would potentially qualify for the application of the "lifestyle prefix" (Morrison et al., 2008). Whereas climate was found to be the most important attraction for in-migrants in Southern Europe (Lardiés, 1999; Stone & Stubbs, 2007), other features such as living space, clean air, and spectacular landscapes are amenities that might attract "lifestyle oriented" migrants to rural Norway.

The principles of sequential sampling, a type of non probability sampling, was used for the study. Neuman (2011, p. 267) stated that a non probability sample often fits the purpose of a qualitative study well. This type of sampling gradually selects cases with the

specific content of a case determining whether it is chosen or not (Neuman, 2011, p. 267). The first two informants were selected on the basis of the student researcher gaining knowledge of these operators when working in the tourism industry in the same region. Hence, when selecting respondents some emphasis was also put on the student researcher having some knowledge of the context.

In order to capture the combined phenomena of migration to rural/peripheral locations and tourism entrepreneurship in as rich a detail as the project permitted, it was decided not to distinguish between Norwegian and foreign respondents. Furthermore, there were no criteria attached to what type of places the informants had migrated from, for instance in order to study only cases of urban-rural migration. Respondents would be selected with the aim of securing variance with regards to migration unit, gender, age, business type (product offering), and features of the landscapes they inhabited (inland mountain area/fjord area/coastal area). The latter aspect was emphasised to secure variance in leisure interests which the locations would permit respondents to pursue. Cases which "stood out"; where individuals appeared to be doing something new, and also cases which fit preconceived ideas of "lifestyle migrants" would be selected, which determined the choice of specific foreign nationalities.

The following criteria were applied when selecting informants: The informant had to live in the location all year round (in order to exclude cases of seasonal migration), the informant was not born and did not grow up in region (in order to exclude cases of re-migration), and the informant had not migrated because of a partner or spouse originating from the region (in order to exclude love/marriage/partnership as a motivation for migration).

According to Neuman (2011, p. 270) sequential sampling involves gathering relevant cases until the amount of new information ends or a certain diversity of cases is reached.

Cases are gathered until a saturation point, which requires that all collected cases are evaluated continuously (Neuman, 2011, p. 270). After the ninth interview, this saturation point was reached.

3.3. Data Collection Method

An interview guide was constructed and deployed (see appendix 1). A test interview was carried out via telephone in April 2012, after which adjustments were made to the research questions and interview guide.

3.4. Data Analysis

Silverman (2011, p. 169) suggested that qualitative researchers can approach interview data in three major ways. Whether a positivist, emotionalist, or constructionist stance is taken has consequences for how the truth of the data produced in the interviews are viewed. Whereas positivism suggests that interview data potentially gives access to "facts" about the world, emotionalism holds the view that informants are actively constructing their social worlds. The latter view suggests that interviews can generate data which give an authentic insight into people's experiences.

However, based on the actual experience of doing research interviews, a constructionist position was taken in this study. This position was adopted as a consequence of the student researcher noticing how interviewees actively seized the interview situation to claim identities, which was not independent of who they perceived the listener to be. Constructionism suggests that interviewees and interviewers are always actively engaged in constructing meaning. Of particular interest is how interviewees construct narratives of events and people (Silverman, 2011, p. 169). Moreover, according to Holstein and Gubrium (2011, p. 153), when the interview is viewed as a meaning making occasion, interest in the content of answers are allowed to persist while research coverage extends to both how and what the

respondent and interviewer produces and conveys in the interview process (Holstein &

Gubrium, 2011, p. 153-4).

According to Chell (2008, p. 188), the social construction of reality suggests that an

individual produces his or her own reality through perceptions and interpretations of

behaviour, situations and events. Furthermore, as there is no direct access to an informant's

"lived-experience" (Riessman, 2011, p. 315), all forms of representation of experience are

limited portraits (Riessman, 1993, p. 15).

The nature of the obtained interview data suggested that a framework which took into

account the principles of narrative analysis should be employed. This was a consequence of

the interview responses frequently taking a narrative form although no particular effort was

made to elicit stories. According to Riessman (1993, p. 1), the purpose of narrative analysis is

to see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of

events and actions. Moreover, individuals construct past events and actions in personal

narratives in order to claim identities and construct lives (Reissman, 1993, p. 2). A central task

for the listener and analyst as they interpret meaning, is to detect the "point" the speaker

wishes to make (Riessman, 2011, p. 313). To resist the pull toward narrative seduction, the

investigator can interrogate what the narrative accomplishes (Riessman, 2011, p. 314).

Narrators can position themselves as victims of a circumstance or as active beings that

assume control over events and actions (Riessman, 2011, p. 315). Furthermore, how other

people and their behaviour is defined in narratives can have moral overtones of

propriety/impropriety, good/evil, acceptable/unacceptable (Chell, 2008, p. 192). These

observations were used as guidelines throughout the data analysis phase.

However, while attention was paid to the manner in which interviewees portrayed

themselves and their experiences in the interviews, the data analysis in practice took a general

form. Consequently, no specific analytical procedure was followed and knowledge of the

object of analysis weighed heavier than the use of specific analytical techniques (Kvale &

Brinkmann, 2009, p. 239). According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, 239), mixing different

types of ad hoc methods is a common form of interview analysis, referred to as "bricolage".

This approach may also include a theoretically focused reading of the data.

Furthermore, according to Riessman (2011, p. 311) the vast majority of qualitative

research is category-centred rather than case-centred. Hence, detail and specificity tend to slip

way in favour of general statements about the phenomenon of interest (Riessman, 2011, p.

311). In the data analysis it was considered important to focus on and preserve some of the

unique aspects of each case.

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 245) present various tactics for generating meaning

from qualitative data, going from the concrete to the more conceptual and abstract. For

instance, in order to perceive things and their relationships more abstractly, the authors (Miles

& Huberman, 1994, p. 245-6) suggested factoring, noting relations between variables, and

seeking to detect intervening or submerged variables. These suggested approaches were vital

in the analytical phase.

4. Results

4.1. Description of the Data Collection

No specific method was employed when locating respondents. For instance, two

respondents were suggested by acquaintances, one business was located via a publicly funded

tourism project, one was located via an Internet search, and one was located via an e-mail

requesting assistance addressed to a destination marketing organisation. One couple was

contacted but declined the request to participate. Furthermore, one interview was carried out

but deemed unsuitable for data analysis. As this was the only case of a single female migrant

interviewed, it contributed to weakening the sample considerably.

The data collection for this study was undertaken in the off season, over a period of five months. The interviews were conducted in September 2012 (three interviews), December 2012 (four interviews), and January 2013 (two interviews). The student researcher stayed with respondents as a paying guest on two occasions, and in that way gained a richer insight into the businesses and their locations. The interviews lasted from approximately forty five minutes to two hours and forty minutes. Interviews with couples generally lasted longer. In one case only the husband was able to take part, as the wife had duties elsewhere.

Moreover, one interview was done in English language, the remaining in Norwegian. Norwegian language skills among foreign interviewees were very good. When language problems did arise a direct clarification was permitted due to the amount of time spent on each interview. All interviews were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder, and audio recordings were found to be of a good quality, which allowed for a word by word transcription of each interview by the student researcher. While not using a specific transcription scheme, this resulted in approximately 200 pages of written material for analysis. Follow up questions were required in two cases, and this was done via telephone and e-mail. Interviews and transcriptions were done alternately.

According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p. 189), researchers who transcribe their own interviews learn a lot about their own interview style. Also, during the transcription they will to an extent remember and reflect on the social and emotional aspects of the interview situation, and will hence already have started the interpretation of what was said (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 189). In order to gain additional context knowledge one interview lasting circa thirty minutes was conducted with a municipality representative responsible for business development in a municipality where three of the informants were operating. In addition

various secondary sources were used, such as web and brochure material from the businesses studied as well as those of destination marketing organisations.

4.2. Description of the Obtained Sample And Summary of the Findings

The total number of interviews used for analysis was eight. Four male entrepreneurs, of whom one was a foreign national, had migrated to their current locations alone ages ranging between 28 and 35 at the time of relocation. In one of these cases around five years had passed between business start-up and permanent relocation. All these four respondents had started their own businesses. The remaining respondents were couples; two couples had moved from the same European country with their children, parents aged between 38 and 40 and ages of their children ranging from three to eleven at the time of relocation. Moreover, two couples, one couple of mixed nationalities (Norwegian/foreign national) and one couple Norwegian, were aged 52 to 55 and had grown children living elsewhere when they migrated to their chosen locations. In one case the spouses relocated at different times, as their youngest child was still in High School. The wife therefore stayed behind in the family home for two additional years. Three couples had purchased existing businesses, whereas the forth couple had started their own business. Years passed since relocation varied among the respondents; at the time of the interview they had lived permanently in their locations between three and twelve years.

Previous Locations

Respondents were asked about their locations prior to relocation. Migration patterns were far from clear cut. While there were cases of urban-rural migrants, respondents had also moved from rural locations in Norway and abroad. Moreover, as some of the respondents had either grown up or lived in rural areas previously, rural living was in some cases a matter of preference or habit. Also, in two cases the migration process had a feature of settling down

rather than moving *from* somewhere. One respondent settled down in his chosen location after years of travelling and "nomadic" living, whereas another respondent had been a seasonal worker alternating between the Northern and Southern hemisphere.

Human Capital

In correspondence with a previous study (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 438) the respondents were found to have a variety of backgrounds. Higher education (Bachelor level/Master's level university degree or specialist qualifications) was common, in areas such as education, social work, healthcare, art and design, and geography. Out of a total of twelve individuals mapped, seven had higher education levels. One respondent had also done university level tourism courses.

Moreover, four individuals in three businesses had directly relevant tourism work experience. Out of these, one couple reported having particularly broad experience, specifically with accommodation provision. They also reported having done various training courses relevant for the sector, and had seasonal work experience from several countries. A second respondent was a trained outdoor guide, had seasonal work experience from several countries, and also reported having managed an activity tourism business in his home country.

Moreover, in half the businesses mapped there was at least one person who was a serial entrepreneur (Westhead, et al., 2005, p. 394). Previous businesses owned and operated by respondents had been in event management, design and manufacturing, "dot com", and food processing. For a majority of the respondents their education and previous work experience were not directly related to the present venture (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 475).

Firm Type

The businesses studied included five accommodation providers, of which two included restaurants, two activity businesses, and an open farm. Three informants had become portfolio

entrepreneurs (Westhead, et al., 2005, p. 394) after relocation, and were thus owning and/or operating two or more businesses at the time of the interview. One informant had ventured into various farming and tourism activities, whereas an activity provider had set up a second company offering a different activity product. The third portfolio entrepreneur had started offering guided activities in addition to his purchased accommodation business. Moreover, although not formally a portfolio entrepreneur, one informant also reported combining two distinctly different operations on the same premises and under the same company name.

Firm Size, Firm Age, And Organisational Structure

Following EU definitions of micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises, all the firms in this study fell into the category of micro enterprises (European Commission, 2013). This category includes businesses that employ less than ten people and have an annual turnover equal to or below two million Euros. The largest firm studied employed eight seasonal workers, whereas an accommodation provider employed himself and had seasonal help from young international volunteers coming to stay for a working holiday. Moreover, two businesses were owned and operated by "copreneurs" (Sharma et al., as cited in Getz & Carlsen, 2000, p. 550) on a full year basis, with seasonal help during the summer months. Another business had the characteristics of a family business, with parents and their two children working together as a team. Hence, the organisational structure of the businesses varied, partly determined by migration unit. All businesses had been in operation for more than two years, ages of the businesses ranging from three to ten at the time of the interview.

Sources of Start-up Capital

In five cases involving couples or families, high prices realised through the sales of houses, businesses, and business properties, together with personal savings and in one case redundancy payments, were used to fund the purchase of a business or private property and

subsequent business start-up (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 440). One couple at a pre-retirement

age were clearly wealthy, having sold the stock from a profitable business and their family

home in the capital region. Differences in price levels between the countries put foreign

migrants at an advantage and had made it possible for them to purchase businesses in rural

areas of Norway. It is important to note that financial entry barriers were still high in some

cases, with informants investing their life savings in these businesses. With one exception

single migrants relied on a combination of family members' financial support and bank loans

for the acquisition of rural properties, and they had also received funding from Innovation

Norway for the business start-ups.

5. Analyses of Single Case Findings

5.1. Informant A: The Nature Romantic: the Quiet Life in the Countryside

The informant had moved to a small and remote village on the coast where he had

previously spent a lot of time pursuing an outdoor interest at the level of serious leisure

(Stebbins, 2001, p. 54). He first visited after receiving a tip and for the sole purpose of going

surfing. The respondent reported regarding the place as unique in terms of opportunities for

outdoor activities such as surfing, fishing, diving, walking, and climbing. His stated

motivation for relocation was that he had wanted to live on a big, clean beach ever since he

was a child. Hence, migration may be characterised as consumption-led (Williams & Hall,

2002), and the case is also an example of what has been referred to as a blurring of boundaries

between production and consumption, described in the context of UK surf tourism by Shaw

and Williams (2004).

When recounting his migration story the informant emphasised that moving to the

village and starting a business never involved deliberate choice but had happened by chance.

Andersson Cederholm and Hultman (2010, p. 21) found a similar line of argument in the

narrative of a "lifestyle entrepreneur" operating in the rural accommodation sector in Sweden. The informant stated that he was pushed into relocating by the previous house owner, who almost insisted on selling a house to him. This house had previously been used as a rental unit for visitors and tourists.

The informant moved to the village intending to find paid employment. Through what he described as a chain of coincidences involving one person and word of mouth, more and more people started showing up at his place, which lead him to open a low budget guest house. With time product offerings had gradually been expanded to include a shop, equipment rental and surf courses. The guest house had been operating for more than ten years at the time of the interview, and while a slow upgrading of the facilities was taking place, the interviewer noted that standard was still basic. The respondent explained that the guest house was easy to operate in its current form, and that many of his guests appreciated the informal and relaxed "backpacker" atmosphere. By starting a business the respondent had established the location as a surf tourism destination. When he started his business there were no other tourism operators in the village.

Entrepreneurship And Business Development

The local bank had been helpful in the relocation phase, making it possible for the informant to buy his house. He had also received funding from Innovation Norway, a process he reported experiencing as bureaucratic, frustrating, and unhelpful for what he was trying to achieve. The label "entrepreneur" was rejected on the basis that he did not choose entrepreneurship; he claimed to have no inner drive or motivation connected with being an entrepreneur. He reported preferring not to plan but rather act on opportunities that came along naturally. Thus, the approach to running a business was described as, "to relax and see what happens". This operator did not lay claim to any clear business identity, product profile

or target market.

A surf shop had been started with products made by visiting surfers, friends and acquaintances, an approach to business he described as "cosy". Not having anyone employed in the shop made this approach feasible. A friend who stayed with him in the summer held daily yoga lessons in a barn. The informant left service provision up to his seasonal staff, as he did not consider himself to be a good host. For the duration of the interview the informant clearly rejected a "market ethos", by actively describing and emphasising his lack of "business like" behaviour. He portrayed his guest house as a meeting ground for like minded individuals rather than a commercial enterprise. However, a notion of professional distance was expressed by the consistent use of the word "customer" about his guests.

Positions on Profit And growth

In the running of the business this operator admitted to settling for low profits. Taking on paid employment in the winter had been necessary for many years. Although this situation was not chosen or considered ideal, having a safe and steady income and enough to survive was nevertheless acceptable. This informant's orientation could not be considered entrepreneurial, as opposed to some of the surf businesses in Cornwall described by Shaw & Williams (2004, p. 111), where entrepreneurial factors relating to business expansion were found to be significant.

Regarding growth, a possible conflict of roles was noticeable. In the interview the informant alternated between speaking as a surfer and a business owner. One the one hand, he stated that "the thing with surfing is that when you find a good surf spot you keep quiet about it. It quickly becomes too crowded", and, "there are waves around here that we don't market, that we want to keep to ourselves". This may have been an expression of what is referred to as localism, an established concept within the surfing culture; when individuals or groups of

surfers designate certain surfing spots as their own on the basis of having been there first (Wikipedia, 2013).

On the other hand, the informant also shared his thoughts on how the destination could be developed in order to attract more business; "I'm wondering what is a smart thing to do, because surfing is growing everywhere". Being a sole operator, ideas for how to develop the place as a surf destination were discussed with guests, informed by projects and development undertaken at surf destinations elsewhere in the world. This confirms with Shaw and Williams' (2004, p. 106) observations that ideas are communicated between the global surfing community, with the Internet also playing a vital role. For example, the respondent talked of the possibility of making physical changes to the local beach area in order to create more "surfable waves". However, a strong drive towards carrying out these projects was not conveyed.

Although the guest house tended to be fully booked throughout the summer, there were no plans to expand. While getting plenty of requests, he claimed to consistently turn down media, fearing that too many and the wrong kind of people might start turning up. Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) noted that several of the lifestyle entrepreneurs operating in the Wellington backpacker market "went out of their way to avoid publicity (…), fearing that the integrity of their enterprise would be compromised by the corresponding demand" (p. 385). Hence, a clear correspondence with these observations was noted. The informant also stated that he would prefer not to have direct competition in the village from any other accommodation providers. He reported wanting to maintain what in his eyes made the place unique; a quiet rural idyll for himself and his guests to enjoy. As such, this respondent's approach could perhaps contribute to strengthening a sense of "backwardness" in this local community (Bosworth & Willett, 2011, p. 209).

Local Tourism Development

A second tourism operator had later set up a competing business in the village. This was a tour operator promoting package tours based on surf camps to popular destinations world wide, targeted at a youth market. With strong financial support from a public sector agency, a young migrant entrepreneur (and surfer) had started this business. The profile of these two enterprises potentially illustrate the differences between surf tourism and surf culture proper, with surf tourism becoming increasingly dominated by tour operators and the growth of packages (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 106). The informant perceived this competitor's relatively large scale operation to threaten the place's uniqueness. He expressed some disbelief regarding this operator having received a lot of funding from Innovation Norway to copy what he was doing. However, while not commenting directly on this case, the stated policy of this agency was to support "commercially oriented entrepreneurs with growth ambitions" who start businesses that contribute to increasing the attractiveness of a given destination (Innovation Norway, personal communication). Thomas (2007, p. 38) suggested that tourism partnerships between the public and private sectors could be hampered by the rhetoric of the public sector and a lack of understanding of the objectives of small tourism firms, with the dominant discourses of regional and local economic development only emphasising economic concepts. As such, this case may be an illustrative example.

Based on his reported experiences, cooperation with public sector agencies and participation in tourism development projects were generally avoided. He stated that, "I haven't understood the point of any of it". This attitude may however also confirm work by Booth (as cited in Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 106), which demonstrated that surfers were resistant to regulation. Furthermore, status and credibility among fellow surfers and snowboarders provided this small scale operator with the amount of business that he was

comfortable with.

According to Green and Chalip (as cited in Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 106) surfers are bound together by social practices and an interest in alternative lifestyles. Operating in accordance with the "non-commercial values" of this specific sub culture, the rejection of the "market ethos" may also have served as a source of credibility among these niche consumers.

5.2. Informant B : The Entrepreneurial Personality: the Joy of Envisioning And Creating New Business

The informant reported moving to his chosen location alone without knowing anyone locally. He did however know the region well through being a keen skier. Feeling done with city life his stated motivation for migrating was that he wanted to try living in the countryside. He selected his specific location using an atlas and based on its proximity to several good skiing spots, which were located about an hour's drive away. Finding a suitable property online settled it. The property included several spacious buildings in good condition and access to farm land. When visiting to see the property the informant reported "seeing some opportunities for development". The location's spectacular landscape and the fact that it was "relatively close" to the capital were also important factors.

At the time of relocation the informant had recently finished his studies abroad. He commuted to another village for work during his first year. Upon arrival in his new location, he started exploring farming opportunities by talking to locals, receiving tips and eventually a mentor. This process resulted in the start up of what became a successful farming company. Despite having no previous experience within agriculture, his company had become of the country's largest producers in its niche. The informant also acted as a representative for several farming organisations on a local and national scale.

Team Entrepreneurship And Business Development

Starting out in the "dot com" world, and having made a living from his own companies from a young age, this informant willingly labelled himself an entrepreneur. His first company was successfully sold and was still in existence at the time of the interview. The respondent had started four businesses in his new location, two of them farm based, a tourism development project and an activity tourism business.

This migrant described how he purposefully selected partners for all his businesses and projects, which always involved small teams. For him doing business was in its very nature, cooperative. If necessary, he would nurture relationships patiently for a long time before launching a business idea to a potential business partners. He used the image of the chameleon to describe how he would assume different roles in order to get through to people with his ideas. Business partners were both locals and extra-locals.

Reflecting on entrepreneurship, he attributed some importance to having grown up with an entrepreneur parent. Mindful of not having a talent for administration and business management, he reported mainly enjoying *developing* new business. Businesses and projects tended to emerge from a business idea which he believed could be "converted into money". The informant reported being in a constant process of conjuring up new ideas for business. An idea would be conceptualised in terms of a business model, often followed by the assembly of a team with the right skills base. He described business start-ups as involving fearlessness; "I'm not scared of thinking in terms of grand thoughts", and, "I believe that I'm able to see opportunities and I'm not afraid to pursue them".

As with tourism, farming involved a lifestyle strongly influenced by seasonal fluctuations. This provided him with two distinctly different lives, one in the summer and one in the winter. The interviewee agreed with the interviewer with respect to this being a

different or unconventional lifestyle. However, this was a lifestyle that he was very

comfortable with. Furthermore, in his view entrepreneurship offered a means to gaining

freedom from "other people's structures". He jokingly referred to himself as a shift worker,

often choosing night shifts in the ski season. Thus, being self-employed offered him the

opportunity to pursue intrinsic goals such as independence and a flexible lifestyle (Middleton

and Clarke, as cited in Morrison, 2006, p. 197).

At the time of relocation the informant had started a new career. However, having to

deal extensively with public sector bureaucracy had lead him to lose his drive, enthusiasm and

inspiration. A strong feeling of disenchantment with the "system" acted as a push factor back

into self-employment. The interviewer however noted that these experiences may have been

connected with the informant displaying behavioural characteristics which suggested an

"entrepreneurial personality" (Chell, 2008, p. 211). This suggestion was strengthened by the

fact that the informant displayed an "ability to overcome institutional constraints" (Chell,

2008, p. 211) when starting his own businesses. For instance, whenever possible and to a

greater extent than other informants, he would seek and receive public sector support for his

business projects.

Positions on Profit And Growth

The respondent denied being driven by profit in his current activities. However, what

he defined as an acceptable yearly income was very high compared to other informants.

However, no signs of growth aversion were communicated, also made evident by the strong

growth of one of his companies.

Why Tourism?

While lacking sector specific experience, the informant reported enjoying "creating

experiences for himself and others", which was why he chose to start an activity tourism

business. Through the pursuit of leisure interests, notably ski touring, he had become familiar with the mountains in the region. He had also read up on local history and culture in order to have the capacity to act as a guide. As a result of having frequently attended local and regional tourism seminars and conferences, and informed by an "experience economy" (Pine & Gilmore, 1999) line of reasoning, he reported noticing that local tourism operators were failing to create "experience products". Unlike a majority of participants in this study, this informant perceived mass tourism and commercialisation to be a positive. When giving an example of a destination in the region he regarded to be successful, he named the largest cruise ship destination.

For the first "version" of his tourism business he assembled around twenty individuals, mixing locals and extra-locals, as company owners. The business aimed at combining elements of heritage conservation, volunteer work, and guided activities. The idea for this business was hatched on a seminar on heritage conservation. The failure of the early version of this business was attributed "the energy of the company burning out". However, the company name was kept and the business was redesigned into a commercial enterprise aimed at delivering guided activities conceptualised as "activity products centred on nature, culture, and food". The activity packages, composed of the informant's own contributions and those of hand picked suppliers, would be targeted at a price insensitive market. He admitted that he had not undertaken any kind of research into the markets he was targeting, but relied on his own observations and hearing about a trend, claiming that, "there is no doubt that this kind of price insensitive market exists". In order to accommodate such wealthy guests, the respondent had initiated a development project, which aimed at building high end accommodation facilities. For this he had received financial support from a public sector agency.

5.3. Informant C: The Social Entrepreneur: the Rewarding Act of Giving

This respondent recounted that after having travelled extensively for years, he had started to worry about becoming rootless. Around the same time he discovered that he was one of many heirs to a rural property, which he had managed to buy with family savings and a small loan. He reported knowing the region and village well from having lived there during in his student days. While a relative was also from the village, family history was not communicated as important for the choice of location. He reported associating the village with something hidden and safe, he liked the scenery, the local people, and the relaxed rural atmosphere. The choice of location was communicated as deeply personal; it was the one place on earth where he thought it would be possible for him to settle down.

The informant reported relocating with the idea that he would commute while doing an academic degree. An important stated motivation for him to buy the property was that he wanted a large house in the countryside where he could invite people to stay. He envisioned a place where people he had met on his travels and other "globetrotters" could drop by and stay for free.

Entrepreneurship And Business Development

By virtue of being a careful person and associating an entrepreneur with a risk taker, this informant did not see himself as an entrepreneur. Business start up came as a consequence of "playing around" and trying to let out rooms to tourists one summer. The place quickly became popular, which resulted in formal business start-up. He explained his motivation to start in terms of wanting an enjoyable job and to import and create an atmosphere likened to the one he had when travelling himself. Also, after a few years in the village he also felt a need to surround himself with extra-locals. Lacking sector specific experience, the informant drew on his travel experiences for the development of his business concept. He noticed a

complete lack of the type of hospitality product he decided on, which was common elsewhere in the world. The informant did not undertake any research on his target market before setting up his business, but assumed there were low budget travellers in Norway since public transport was available. This assumption was also built on the existence of a youth hostel in a nearby town. Being a keen traveller himself he had observed low budget travellers world wide and claimed to "know the codes". Thus, he copied and transferred a business concept which was completely new in this particular context, which according to Hjalager (2010, p. 2) constitutes product innovation.

His staff were young volunteers from abroad. Admitting that this arrangement was initially a way of securing cheap labour, he found out at a later stage that he liked to inspire these young people and saw them as a vital part of the product. Their presence contributed to the warm and home-like atmosphere that he wanted his guests to experience. When discussing a deeper drive he saw the most important and rewarding part of the job as being able "to give to others".

As a novice entrepreneur the administrative part of the job had been a struggle, with bookkeeping and accounts causing almost insurmountable difficulties. In that respect starting his own business had been experienced as "awful". Furthermore, seeing himself as politically "red" to the core, "the world of business and finance" had never been his interest. Learning how to run a business had hence been a trial and error process, "whatever worked I continued doing, and what didn't work, which was most of the things I tried, I stopped doing". However, mastering the task of administering a business was found to be very rewarding and the informant claimed to have gradually become more and more commercially oriented in his operation. Thus, this case demonstrates that some entrepreneurs are able to learn and develop, with this informant gradually developing skills associated with different stages of business

(Chell, 2008, p. 211).

Positions on Profit And Growth

During the first years all the profits made went into low budget investments in the business. Making a living from paid employment in the winter, the informant had not expected to ever be able to live full time off his business, and also assumed he would eventually grow tired of it. In that respect the business had status as a hobby project for a long time. At the time of the interview, however, his business was profitable and to his own amazement it provided a full time living. Seeing himself as very privileged, an important stated goal was to contribute to the welfare of the local community. He hoped to one day be able to label himself a social entrepreneur. Thomas (2007, p. 38) coined the concept "ideological lifestyle businesses" to describe businesses that were commercially driven but where owners also had other strong motivations, such as social concerns. As well, Morrison (2006, p. 198) suggested that entrepreneurs presented themselves in different "guises", such as a social guise, where the entrepreneur combined commercial skills with social aims and objectives. A correspondence with these observations was noted.

Regarding growth, the informant reported wanting to expand the accommodation offering in the early years. However, due to the heritage conservation regulations, this was not permitted by the municipality. While initially seen to threaten the survival of the business, the informant eventually found out that he was comfortable with the small size of the operation.

5.4. Informant D: The Tourism Professional: the Enjoyable Lifestyle of Running an Activity Tourism Business

The migration process was gradual in the case of this informant, who had moved to a remote rural location holding popular natural attractions and a small community of tourism operators. Having worked for an activity tourism company in his home country, he visited

different operators while travelling in the Nordic countries, "to see how other companies worked". When first arriving in what was his place of residence at the time of the interview, he reported meeting people he got along with instantly. He then started seasonal work as an outdoor guide for a local company. While spending a day off in the outdoors with a local, he reported discovering a business opportunity.

Entrepreneurship And Business Development

Being part of a small and close-knit community of tourism operators, this informant of foreign origin illustrated a case of an "embedded" entrepreneur (Jack & Anderson, 2002). After having established a social network locally, he was lead to discover a business opportunity, and through the social network he gained support for his business start-up, as well as help to get access to financial support from Innovation Norway. This case confirms Jack and Anderson's (2002, p. 484) observation that being socially embedded may enable access to latent resources that would not otherwise be available to an individual entrepreneur.

When describing his motivation for starting a business, discovering an opportunity and being set on pursuing it was communicated as key; "The idea of owning a business was really awful. But I suppose it was just seeing something I *knew* would work. There wasn't even a question in my mind, that's why I budgeted so low, to try and curb my own enthusiasm".

Thus, in terms of opportunity recognition this was a case of entrepreneurial behaviour (Chell, 2008, p. 211). By pursuing his business idea he reported going against some local myths regarding risk. The informant described how he undertook research by reading up on a natural phenomenon and spending a lot of time in the area where he wanted to take tourists, in order to assess risks for himself and design tours aimed at beginners. Reflecting on his business idea he stated that, "it was all very obvious", referring to his cultural background and previous experience in the tourism sector. The process of business start-up was described as

involving planning and budgeting. The existence of a local booking office was an important factor in his decision to start. By co-locating with other tourism businesses he gained access to markets.

Product offerings had gradually been expanded and improved, with product development being partly based on client feedback; a result of guests suggesting improvements on a written feedback form at the end of each tour. Product differentiation was consciously used as a strategy to keep competition at bay. And, if competitors had started operating in the same area the informant thought it could affect the "wilderness" experience of his guests negatively. Moreover, encouraged by local tourism operators this informant had also started a second business. When developing this business he reported giving members of his seasonal staff the responsibility for developing products targeted at different markets.

This operator expressed an intrinsic interest in the work and emphasised the personal enjoyment involved in having the opportunity to hire and work with like-minded people. The most rewarding part was however spending time with clients. Tourism was described as a people industry; in his view one had to be interested in people to enjoy a long career as an outdoor guide. If you were in it for the outdoor experience you would last one season, however "if you focus on the people it's like a world of enjoyment". As previous research on adventure tourism operators noted, such operators tend to fit in the category of "the happiness seeker"; they experience success when they are happy at work and the customers are satisfied with the product/experience (Lundberg & Fredman, 2012, p. 665-6). As such, this informant was a typical example.

Positions on Profit And Growth

Profit in itself was not a motivation for this informant, however the need to have a comfortable income level was communicated as important, as a tourism operator "does have

to make money to go on year after year". The ideal was described as "the great middle ground". He explained that, "the point I want is where I have a house, I have my own place to live and it's the way I want it. And I can go to a shop and buy whatever food and drink I want". However, "I'm not going to put myself out to be a multi millionaire or anything like that. Anyway, I'm in the wrong industry if I want to be a multi millionaire!".

Claiming to be sceptical to growth, the main issue was the need for more staff. He also disliked the situation at the time of the interview where he was in the process of becoming an administrator rather than an outdoor guide; "I love what I do. And I love every minute of it except when I'm in the office".

5.5. Informant E: The Family Business: Improving the Life of the Family

The couple with their two children moved from a medium-sized European city where they had been running an inherited family business. One of the parents developed a health problem which made it impossible to continue in that particular line of work. The family seized the opportunity to move abroad. An element of wanderlust was communicated. As none of the parents liked warm climates, they decided to go North. Among the Northern nations, Norway's economic status was considered a positive. They also discovered that rural municipalities in Norway were trying to increase their in-migration through a recruitment agency. Hence, they started looking for something in Norway; a country they had never previously visited. When visiting "their" village to look a farm, they were offered to buy a tourist accommodation business by a fellow countryman.

When deciding on this specific location it was factors related to family safety and welfare that were most important, such as schools and the distance to an airport. However, when visiting the area for the first time, the husband also recounted that they were impressed by the landscape. The decision to buy the business was made swiftly, based on gut feeling and

trusting the former owner. However, as a consequence of not doing any research on the place, they got into financial trouble and experienced a difficult start-up phase.

Family And Business Development

According to Morrison (2006, p. 195), family businesses may be established for social and economic purposes, and mesh domestic and business dimensions towards the attainment of lifestyle goals; a suited description for this particular business. However, as owning and operating his own business was something the interviewee had done from a young age, self-employment was also a matter of preference. Although mastering the administrative part of running a business, he claimed to dislike budgeting and bookkeeping and reported that decision making was always based on "feeling".

Since take over the family had invested their savings in upgrading the accommodation facilities. For a long time they tried running a small restaurant. However, locals did not visit and the tourist season was found to be too short. Hence, contrary to what the previous owner had told them, the restaurant operation had turned out not to be profitable. Partly due to their financial situation, exploring new business ideas and trying to find new sources of income had been important.

As a consequence of many of their guests requesting the activity, the family had started a new company offering guided activities. As a local company had recently closed down, there was a gap in the market. The husband was already skilled in the activity in question as it had been a leisure interest. This business was operated out of a neighbouring village where the family got free access to a building used for storage. This second business had been growing steadily since start-up.

Positions on Profit And Growth

The business operation as described by the husband displayed the characteristics of a

family business; functioning as a tool for the betterment of the family (Chua, Crisman, & Sharma, as cited in Getz & Carlsen, 2005, p. 238). Furthermore, after having managed staff for many years in his home country, the informant preferred to keep the business operation in the family, stating that; "I don't want to boss people around all the time". Hence, while both children worked in the family businesses, hiring employees was not an option, and they had decided not to grow the businesses beyond the confines of the family. As both spouses also had paid jobs in the winter, in this case the off-season did not represent "a lull in which family and lifestyle goals can dominate" (Getz & Carlsen, 2005, p. 241).

This operator expressed the values of the "market". He reported seeing the tourism industry in his region as too defensive and in need of more competition and commercialisation. In his view the lack of interest among locals in capitalising on the growing cruise tourism was incomprehensible. While the informant came across as profit oriented, there were signs pointing to him being in the wrong environment to find allies for this approach. However, speaking as a family man, he stated that the family had a much better life in their new location. Although making less money than in their previous life, the family had more time together. Moreover, despite the all-consuming nature of tourism work in season, the husband also noted that he had a much less stressful lifestyle than before.

5.6. Informants F: The Self-Employed Urbanites: the Joy of Transforming a Run-Down Business Into a High Quality Product

This mixed nationality couple of whom one spouse was Norwegian, initially migrated from a large city in Europe. Both married for the second time, a notion of wanting to start over was communicated. Their stated motivation for relocating was, "we wanted our own story", and the decision to migrate was expressed in terms of needing to escape their former spouses. Both informants had spent their entire lives in large cities. They moved to their

current location via another rural location in Norway.

As their two stage migration story illustrated some typical features of "lifestyle migration" and the entry into self-employment, it will be described in some detail. When first moving to Norway, they had come across a property while on holiday. The decision to migrate was motivated by perceived quality of life factors, most strongly expressed by the husband of foreign origin, who in the interview frequently referred to being in the process of pursuing a dream. Never having made use of his initial education as an agronomist, the husband reported a desire to "go back to the roots". However, the reality of low skilled employed work in a new country had been far from a dream come true. The husband recaptured; "It was so boring and I was so tired every night. It was depressing". However, work experience from a managerial position in a multinational company and limited language skills made it difficult to find other suitable employment in a rural location. In this period the wife reported having worked in a small hotel, accumulating what later proved to be valuable experience in the hospitality sector, "It was like an apprenticeship. It was fantastic! I was in the kitchen, I was everywhere".

However, completely different work schedules meant that the couple rarely saw each other, and self-employment started to present itself as an option. This story partly confirms Stone and Stubbs' (2007, p. 438) observation that paid employment may be in conflict with the lifestyle ambitions of migrants to rural areas. Hence, after around five years in the first location they decided to start looking for a business to purchase. When unable to find a business in the area where they were living, they began looking further away, making use of a recruitment agency.

On a trip combining a holiday with a business search they recounted driving into a remote valley near one of Norway's largest national parks. In the words of the husband; "it

was a beautiful valley and in the past I had often travelled in North Canada, in the Yukon Territory. Now I was thinking: why did I travel that far? This place is just as nice". An annual local festival was taking place, and the couple reported liking the community atmosphere. The following day they stopped for coffee at a place further down the valley which coincidentally turned out to be for sale. The husband recounted, "the place looked sad, it wasn't well maintained, there were no pictures on the walls. Outside it was like a jungle. It wasn't very nice, but we saw a potential". When deciding to purchase the business, the husband noted that; "we didn't do any market research. It was just gut feeling".

At the time of the interview, after having operated the business for three years, the couple realised that they had been lucky regarding localisation. One spouse initially thought the place was too close to a road, which had status as a National Tourist Route. This had however turned out to be a blessing; "we have a lot of drop by visits. And several of our guests return because they first visited by coincidence". They reported knowing other operators in the area who were running businesses situated in much more scenic locations, however, detours along desolate roads in poor condition prevented tourists from making the effort it took to visit.

Copreneurship And Business Development

Having been self-employed her whole career the wife stated that she preferred being her own boss. To her an important advantage of self-employment was the irregular work rhythm, characterised by intensive work loads and sudden quiet periods. This was something she liked and was familiar with from her previous work abroad. In the present business, the wife acted as chef, whereas her husband, being skilled at economic management, had taken on bookkeeping and administration. This division of labour is often found in businesses based around "copreneurship" (Hall & Rusher, 2004, p. 93).

A novice with respect to entrepreneurship, the husband expressed a strong sense of pride in the business, and saw this as the most gratifying aspect of being a business owner. Also, having to learn a new trade from scratch was experienced as rewarding, "every day is exciting! Every day I learn something new!".

While investing their personal savings in gradually upgrading of the business facilities, the couple reported that the greatest change after take over had been the way the business was operated in terms of enhanced service quality, an the start-up of a restaurant. When discussing the industry her business was a part of, the wife made frequent references to hospitality trends in urban areas, hence urban experiences was an important source of inspiration. Furthermore, aiming to have guests stay for up to two weeks, the couple had started promoting activities in the area, also offering to transport guests to various walking trails in the national park they were located close to. The stated long term goal of this couple was to build the business and sell it for retirement (Getz & Carlsen, 2000, p. 551).

Positions on Profit And Growth

Placing personalised service at the core of their product, the couple did not wish to grow their business. According to Porter (1980, p. 198) this feature is often found in businesses operating in fragmented industries. Although representing a financial challenge at the time of the interview, they were working towards being able to employ full time staff. A strong commitment to succeeding with transforming the place into a "gem", a high quality product, and being able to charge higher prices was communicated. Commercial success and profitability was hence a clear objective. The informants expressed a strong will to succeed, and a sense of joy with being in the process.

According to one spouse, the most difficult change after take over had been a complete loss of privacy. The husband lamented that, "we have invested our privacy in this business".

At the time of the interview the couple were living on the business premises without a kitchen of their own. This aspect of running a small tourism business had not been a dream come true. Moreover, although they were convinced that the business would never make them rich, they saw themselves as wealthy in terms of "experiences and feelings"; seeing birds and wildlife, having the opportunity to go skiing right outside their door. One spouse noted that; "We both like mountains, and just waking up in the morning and looking out the window is fantastic". A notion of living more authentically was communicated.

For the husband migrating to a new location and taking over a business had been a process of adapting to and learning to like an entirely new lifestyle. He stated that, "if you're not prepared to change, to learn a new lifestyle, then you don't belong here". Accordingly, in this case the relocation was not a purposeful action aimed at attaining a desired lifestyle; rather lifestyle was an outcome of running a tourism business in a rural location (Morrison et al., 2008, p. 2).

5.7. Informants G: the Tourism Professionals (Copreneurship): the Joy of Hosting

The couple recounted moving with their three children from a rural community by the ocean. Their previous location was reported to be a popular tourism destination in their home country. The wife grew up in the area, whereas the husband had migrated from an urban area in his youth, attracted by the place's natural amenities. Thus, the husband's entry into tourism was based on a lifestyle motivated relocation, whereas the wife grew up surrounded by tourism businesses.

The couple migrated to Norway for the specific purpose of buying their own tourism business, as prices of businesses were unaffordable to them at home. Their oldest child was also at an age when it was time to change schools, which influenced the timing. They had some knowledge of Norway through a previous holiday visit, and one spouse had also lived

and worked in Norway before and spoke basic Norwegian. They reported having been seasonal workers on several occasions in different European countries. For that reason, moving to a new country had not been an intimidating prospect.

While factors related to their children's welfare were also crucial when deciding on their location, it was the state of the business that was the main decisive factor; they could start without making any immediate investments, and saw a potential for developing the business in their own way. They also noted positive features such as the business' idyllic and sunny location. Furthermore, as the business was located next to a regional highway, a potential market for drop by restaurant visits was assumed. When considering marketing, the location next to one of Norway's "famous fjords" was also seen as vital. The couple reported having evaluated the place in terms of its accessibility. Rural living was however a matter of habit and preference for this family.

Copreneurship And Business Development

The desire to be self-employed was explained with reference to a range of push factors. Having been managers of tourism businesses on their own and together in the past, they were both aware of the amount of work it involved and that low pay was a feature of the industry. After countless hours of hard and poorly paid, at times even "volunteer" work for others, they decided to try themselves. Coming from a job as a manager of an accommodation business, the husband had also grown tired of "constant staff problems".

Involving the children in the business was considered inappropriate, thus the basic organisational structure of this business was that of "copreneurship". In this case however, the husband did the cooking in the low season.

At the time of the interview this business employed a local in a part time position in addition to seasonal staff. Other locals were also willing to step in if they needed extra help.

The couple emphasised the critical value of having sector specific experience, particularly in the start-up phase, which ran smoothly. They also placed a lot of emphasis on having a rural background, and knowing the "structure of small rural communities". As a conscious strategy they had started out quietly in their new location. Not until after five years in operation had they introduced their business officially in the community by holding an open day for locals.

The business facilities had been upgraded with their own investments as well as with financial support from the municipality, based on a demand for en-suite bathroom facilities. This refurbishment had made it possible to promote their product on a business market. According to the husband finding new types of guests for the hotel had been an important goal. Although reluctant to state them, further improvements made were higher service quality levels and a more open and welcoming attitude to locals. The couple furthermore reported to have worked actively with professional hosting and service quality enhancement through seasonal staff training. They had received a lot of positive feedback from locals and fifty percent of their revenue came from a local and regional market, of which private events made up an important part. Like other in-migrants operating accommodation businesses in this study, the informants had started promoting walks and activities in the area to tourists immediately after take over, also offering to transport guests to various walking trails.

Positions on Profit And Growth

The couple reported placing people before profit, as a too strong profit orientation in their view could impact negatively on the welfare of guests and staff. Discussing growth, the couple were somewhat in disagreement. One spouse claimed that remaining small was a deliberate strategy, whereas the other pointed to the limited opportunities that were available to them, stating that; "there are some things you can choose yourself, but it's also the situation". Hence, in the husband's view it was primarily factors external to the business that

limited growth. The wife reported being more focused on developing the business than growing; this was described as an important and enjoyable part of owning and operating a small business (see also Karlsson & Lönnbring, 2001, p. 80-81). They had for instance tried running a souvenir shop, music nights, buffets, and markets for locals.

While small tourism business owner-operators are often referred to as lifestyle motivated, the husband considered the choice of an accommodation business to be a lifestyle choice, in the sense that the family had to constantly combine private life, family life, and work. He also considered it to be a lifestyle choice in the sense; "This isn't a gold mine, and we knew that when we started".

5.8. Informants H: The Wealthy Farmers: the Privilege of Cultivating One's Interests

The decision to migrate in this case came as a consequence of finding a farm after having searched around the country for more than two decades. The couple reported wanting to live closer to nature and as farmers. The state of the farm buildings was considered important; the buildings had not been modernised in any way and were considered objects worthy of restoration. The farm's location was also described as critical for the decision; it had a remote, scenic and sunny location with a spectacular mountain view and only one neighbour in sight. While perceiving the farm as a "paradise" in terms of living, it was also described by the husband as a great place to create a unique visitor experience. The location was described as; "a great location if you are trying to establish the exact opposite of McDonald's".

Copreneurship And Business Development

The couple had sold the family home and the husband's business in the capital area in order to dedicate themselves completely to their project. Both spouses had grown up in entrepreneurial families and attributed a lot of importance to this fact, stating, "it's in our blood". It was noteworthy that one spouse displayed characteristics such as vision and

creativity to a greater extent than the other, clearly being the entrepreneur of the two (Thomas et al., 2011, p. 965). The other spouse was more focused on farming and rural living, and appeared less motivated to act as a tourist host.

In their youth the couple had been part of starting a farm based family business with one of the spouse's parents. At that time the extended family moved out of the capital to a remote rural location. However, after a few years the couple decided that they needed to pursue their own dreams and moved back to a rural location in the capital area. There the husband started a business of his own, which grew to become a profitable venture. When buying a farm thirty years later it was motivated by a need to find a common project as their youngest child was in the process of leaving the nest. When describing what they were in the process of building one spouse in particular emphasised that they were realising a dream which they had shared from the time when they first met. They often referred to the family business, which had become a commercial success, when describing what they were in the process of building. This case thus lend some support to the notion that serial entrepreneurs are likely to try to repeat former successes (Westhead et al., 2005, p. 413).

The farm was a matter of deep interest for both spouses, in terms of restoration, creative wood work, keeping and training animals, and working towards achieving self-sufficiency and sustainable, "green" living. Local building traditions and myths were interpreted and actively used, however, in creative and personal ways. It was not in their interest to build a "historically correct" outdoor museum. An intrinsic task motivation was evident in both informants. However, when regarding motivation the project appeared to represent serious leisure (Stebbins, 2001, p. 54) for one spouse, whereas "entrepreneurial creativity" (Amabile, 1996, p. 7) would be more accurate to describe the drive of the other.

An important stated goal was to educate visitors on sustainable farming and some of

the problems connected with modern agriculture. This desire to educate visitors has been found among farm tourism operators in previous research elsewhere (Ollenburg & Buckley, 2007, p. 447). Furthermore, their hard working lifestyle among hundreds of animals on a remote mountain farm was also a source of interesting stories which were used to entertain visitors.

At the time of the interview the farm was open to visitors in the summer, with a daily tour which included animal feeding and pony riding for children. They also ran a small café and delivered farm products to other tourism businesses in the area. According to Getz and Carlsen (2005, p. 249), family businesses in tourism seem to proliferate because of lifestyle preferences and accumulated personal wealth. Described as such, this was a textbook case.

Positions on Profit And Growth

According to the husband, "credibility" was the core of their product. Moreover, the key to building a "credible" product was pursuing personal interests with enthusiasm and passion. In contrast, building a product based on a perceived demand and with a commercial interest at heart was not "credible". However, the husband also noted that, "it's easier said than done to create a livelihood and a profitable business". On this background their business philosophy was described as a balancing act between the commercial and the non-commercial. Whereas the husband still received a comfortable salary from his old company, their long term economic goal was to cover all their expenses and earn a salary for the wife.

Interestingly, this couple expressed very different ideas with regards to what would be desirable growth. Pointing to the "vacant" land surrounding the farm, there were in no limits to growth in the husband's view. The wife on the other hand was worried that the business might grow too large. Describing their current lifestyle she noted that, "we are living in the present. We are happy", and "we are independent and free". However, she also lamented not

having time to enjoy the natural environment; "now we don't really have time to ski in the daytime and things like that, but that is what we want and that is part of the reason why we moved up here. To *have* that freedom. But actually now we don't have that freedom, because now we are so overloaded with work". Hence, in this case their new lifestyle had ended up owning them (Morrison and Teixeira, 2004, p. 166).

6. Discussions

6.1. The Reliability of the Data

There are a range of threats to the reliability of the interview responses in this study. Memory decay, hindsight bias, or rationalization after the fact (Davidsson & Honig, 2003, p. 311) will have influenced responses, as there were cases of informants having moved to their current locations as far back in time as twelve years. Moreover, regarding the popularity of "lifestyle migration" as a subject of media attention, most respondents had featured in local or national media with their migration stories, hence some of their responses may be frequently reproduced and ready-made versions of events. It also became evident that these colourful and interesting stories were often part of how respondents presented themselves to their guests.

A further threat to reliability is social desirability bias, which is when responses are influenced by respondents' unwillingness to report accurately for impression management reasons (Fisher, 1993, p. 303). This essentially involves the basic human need to present oneself on the best possible light, which results in data that are systematically biased towards the respondent's perception of what is socially desirable (Fisher, 1993, p. 303).

Moreover, according to Holstein and Gubrium (2011, p. 153), because interviews are always dialogical, they are inevitably performances aimed at particular audiences. Therefore, as far as reliability is concerned,

good interview material should be viewed as reliable enough, *under the circumstances*.

Similarly, the validity of answers derives not from their one-to-one correspondence to meanings held within the respondent, but from the respondent's ability to convey communicated experiences in terms that are locally comprehensible (p. 154)

The data produced in these interviews were to a degree, "artefacts of the occasion" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011, p. 153). Consequently, one cannot expect answers derived on that occasion to necessarily replicate those on another.

According to Polkinghorne (2007, p. 6), narrative research issues claims about the meaning life events hold for people. It makes claims about how people understand situations, others, and themselves (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 6). Thus, the author (Polkinghorne, 2007) suggested that,

Readers are asked to make judgments on whether or not the evidence and argument convinces them at the level of plausibility, credibleness, or trustworthiness of the claim. Researchers, thus, should not argue for a level of certainty for their claims beyond that which is possible to conclude from the type of evidence they gather and from the attributes of the realm about which they are inquiring (p. 7).

6.2. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Research

Previous research on small tourism firms in rural settings have often described locals and migrants as one category under various headings, such as the family business (Getz & Carlsen, 2000). To date, there has been a paucity of studies on migrants to rural areas who purchase and start tourism businesses. As such, this study makes a contribution. An important strength of this research is the context knowledge of the student researcher.
Some important weaknesses of the research must be mentioned. All the businesses in this study are "survivors", and the research therefore gives no insight into migrant tourism entrepreneurs who fail. As several such cases came up during the data collection phase, this

important issue also warrants attention. The research only gives insight into the perceptions of

the informants, other points of view could also have been taken into account, notably those of

local people. Furthermore, the manner of the sampling rules out any claim to these cases

being representative of a larger population, and, as the profiles of migrant entrepreneurs have

been found to vary from country to country (Stone and Stubbs, 2007, p. 438) the results here

may not be representative of other contexts.

6.3. Considering the Human Capital of Migrant Tourism Entrepreneurs

Human Capital Tourism Entrepreneurship Input

This section concerns the informants' reported human capital and seeks to consider the

research question, "How can migrant tourism entrepreneurs be distinguished in terms of

human capital and what kind of skills do they draw on in their current business operations?".

Regarding the tourism industry's "relatively ease of entry in terms of the skills

required" (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 99), mapping the skills of the informants was seen as

vital in order to assess whether their profiles would correspond to low the skilled migrants

described in early research, for instance by Shaw and Williams (as cited in Shaw, 2004, p.

127), or to the resourceful and skilled operators portrayed in more recent studies (Paniagua,

2002; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). Low skills or "irrelevant" skills may

moreover indicate a preoccupation with "lifestyle". The responses received also made it

possible to clarify whether previously accumulated human capital was seen as useful and

relevant for these migrants' current business operations. Furthermore, did they feel restricted

in any way due to a lack of human capital? Human capital may also be an indicator as to what

kind of contributions migrant tourism entrepreneurs are able to make in the wider context.

According to Storey and Greene (2010, pp. 244-269) years of schooling has been

linked with higher earnings in entrepreneurship, however, the evidence for the impact of other

types of human capital, notably considered as pre start-up factors affecting growth, is not clear.

First, when regarding skills bases, one informant in this study might be characterised as "constrained" (Shaw & Williams, as cited in Shaw, 2004, p. 127), by virtue of lacking experience from the sector, having limited years of schooling, and no prior experience from the "world of business". This informant did, in a sense, stand out as a "black sheep". The remaining respondents had more substantial skills bases, in terms of higher education, prior business ownership, or prior managerial positions (Paniagua, 2002; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006; Stone & Stubbs, 2007).

Among informants possessing experience specific to the tourism sector, two operators also had previous experience with managing the type of businesses they had started and purchased in their new locations. One respondent reported knowing the "whole package", which also included knowledge of different types of markets and marketing. Taking over a business had therefore been relatively straightforward in these two cases.

Interestingly, informants with tourism sector experience also referred to more carefully considered decisions regarding the localisation of their enterprises and also appeared to have been more occupied with financial risk than other respondents. One of these operators noted that moving to another country and learning a new language had been challenging enough. Having to learn a new trade in addition would in his view involve too much uncertainty. His spouse also noted that, "people think it's romantic to run a small hotel. It's not like that at all". Hence, tourism experience implied more careful decision making in these cases.

As previously noted, one informant had taken on paid employment in tourism after moving to Norway, and described this experience as most valuable. Such responses point to tourism business operation being perceived as a trade which has to be learnt, and as such

practical experience is more relevant than formal education (Morrison & Teixeira, 2004, p. 169). Indeed, one operator had done university level courses in tourism, but valued his time working for a tourism operator much higher.

According to Storey and Greene (2010, p. 258), one potential effect of lacking sector specific experience may be that individuals draw on other skills and display more creativity. Whether experience can be transferred to one field to another has however been subject to debate (Chell, 2008, p. 219). There were examples of informants without tourism experience drawing on their previous backgrounds, sometimes in creative ways. For example, one informant made use of business model conceptualisation, derived from his previous work as a "dot com" entrepreneur and consultant, also showing an ability to "think outside the box". Also, a couple who were educated teachers transferred the teacher role by placed an emphasis on educating their guests. A third respondent who reported having done a lot of guiding in museums in his past, claimed to still be "taking people on adventures", albeit in a different format in an accommodation business. This manifested itself as a highly entertaining and personalised approach to hosting with storytelling used in various ways; an important feature of what came across as a unique and original business concept. Hence, such examples point out that informants may transfer knowledge and make use of skills which appear not directly relevant for a tourism business. Indeed, such "irrelevant" skills may make the tourism sector more colourful and diverse.

However, no informants directly cited education as important when reflecting on which skills they needed in their current businesses. According to Storey and Greene (2010, p. 258), one potential explanation for the important role of education in entrepreneurship is that education enhances the skills base of individuals. If so, education represents a skills base which these respondents were unaware of using.

However, serial entrepreneurs appeared to be at an advantage. For instance, familiarity with administrative tasks and notably bookkeeping was clearly important in a small business. Bookkeeping represented a challenging field for novice entrepreneurs, with one informant struggling with it for several years. Due to the high costs associated with hiring accountants, he had refused to do so and claimed to have been operating "illegally" for years in regards to tax regulations. This novice entrepreneur reported that learning how to own and operate a business had involved numerous mistakes. In contrast, although not skilled in business administration himself, one serial entrepreneur was aware of his own limitations and knew how to assemble and hire the right people in order to carry a project through.

Experience with self-employment was cited as important in terms of an ability and readiness to put in a substantial amount of work hours in a business. Thus, familiarity with the all-consuming and irregular nature of the work was also advantageous.

Moreover, although some serial entrepreneurs were skilled at marketing, they had limited knowledge of tourist markets. Those respondents who lacked marketing skills had often adopted an improvised "learning by doing" approach to this aspect of their business operations. Particularly in one case where an operator had managed to attract new niche markets to his destination, had his unorthodox approach to marketing been a success. One of the couples however reported that a lack of marketing skills was restricting their business operation directly, as they had no idea which marketing tools would be efficient.

It was worth noting that characteristics pertaining to personality were often cited as more important than various forms of human capital when informants reflected on which "skills" they needed the most. Features such as determination and persistence, energy, genuine enthusiasm, a fighting spirit, focus, self-discipline, vision, social intelligence, humility, the ability to hire people that are better than yourself, knowing how to work as a team, and the

ability to assemble good teams, were cited as vital "skills". This may lend support to "personality" as an important factor to consider among pre start-up factors in the context of the small business (Storey & Greene, 2010, p. 264). Alternatively, these responses may also indicate a high internal locus of control in these respondents, which is often found among entrepreneurs and business owners (Chell, 2008, p. 98). Such responses also showed that many informants were motivated and highly driven in their business efforts.

Human Capital as Destination Input: Bringing in New Skills

There were cases of in-migrants building their product offerings on skills which were unusual or new to their locations, and their skills therefore represented valuable destination input. For instance, one informant reported possessing an outdoor skill which was uncommon among locals, who although highly skilled were described as "very mountain oriented". The skill in question was fundamental to his business operation, and as such it was unlikely that a local could have carried out the start-up of this particular business.

Based on the interviews there was also strong evidence pointing to the businesses of migrant entrepreneurs contributing to service quality enhancement in the tourism sector. One informant noted that people in rural areas of Norway were not "schooled in tourism", and in his view tourists did not get "a fair deal" from the tourism industry. Describing the tourism industry in his home country as a "very professional service industry", his business was operated in accordance with what he had learnt at home.

In this context it is vital to note the value of the outsider's view. A previous study pointed out that in-migrants were individuals who spotted specific opportunities because they were outsiders, in areas where their skills, knowledge and contacts gave them a competitive advantage over local businesses (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 439). Moreover, being well travelled, some informants frequently commented on what their localities and regions lacked

compared to other places in the world. Thus, the view of the outsider may represent an important resource for some rural destinations.

6.4. Motivations Pertaining to the Migration, Business start-up And the Choice of the Tourism Industry

As the evidence from the interviews has pointed out thus far, rural areas of Norway are destinations for a variety of entrepreneurial migrants operating in the tourism sector, some of whom may have been "lifestyle motivated" in the migration process. Morrison et al. (2008) claimed that in-migrant tourism operators, "tend to be attracted by what they perceive to be positive attributes associated with the tourism industry, actively seeking a different type of lifestyle (p. 2). However, the authors (Morrison et al., 2008) also suggested that, "lifestyle represents an extremely elusive, subjective, and qualitative concept" (p. 6). Hence, it is not entirely clear what this lifestyle motivation or orientation refers to.

By focusing on the decision making of migrant tourism entrepreneurs, an untangling of the variables which make up a decision to migrate, a decision to start a business, and the choice of the tourism industry for a business was permitted. Moreover, the "lifestyle motivation" connected to a decision to migrate to a rural area and a decision to start a business may not be the same. The following sections seek to consider the research questions, "What motivated the decision to migrate and which variables have been dominant for migrants' decision making when regarding the localisation of their enterprises?" and, "What kinds of motivations do migrant tourism entrepreneurs display for starting or buying tourism businesses?", and through that clarify some of the meanings of "lifestyle" in the context of migrant tourism entrepreneurship.

Considering Localisation Choices

As noted in the single case analysis section, these migrants located places either

through a purposeful search or through already being familiar with an area. The informants differed greatly with respect to their degree of familiarity with their chosen locations. In three cases of purchased businesses, respondents had spent very limited or no time at all in their locations before deciding on buying their businesses. In contrast, there were cases of informants being familiar with the location itself or the wider region from having pursued leisure interests there in the past. In these cases the localisation choice was primarily based on opportunities for leisure combined with having found a suitable property.

The importance of local social networks was also noted in one case. The chain of events which lead to business establishment and subsequent relocation in this case happened as a result of having established a network of friends and business contacts locally. Hence, mere familiarity with the location could not account for this localisation choice.

Moreover, these tourism operators tended to either speak matter-of-factly or give very personal reasons for choosing their locations. For some informants, having already decided to migrate it was a case of finding a location which "ticked all the boxes". Other informants described their first meetings with their locations in terms of "clicking" with locals, some aspect of the local environment, or the business itself. One respondent who first came on a holiday described his meeting with *local tourism operators* in the following words, "we had a lot in common and a lot to teach each other - so it was a really just a perfect meeting, I felt really welcome and each person I met after that was just the same and it ended up I couldn't leave!". Another respondent reported getting instantly hooked on "his" place when surfing there for the first time. "Gut feeling" and "feeling at home" were further words used to describe why informants chose locations. One respondent, already well acquainted with his location, described it as a haven; a perfect place for him to settle down.

Interestingly, in the case of the most remote localisation choice in this study, the place

was not only described in panegyric terms in terms of living, but was regarded as an integral part of the product the informants were building. Hence, while the localisation indicated amenity migration (Moss, 2006) and clearly "contradicted the rationale of profit-maximisation" (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 475), this was nevertheless the most well accounted for localisation choice.

It was noteworthy that no respondents in this study reported purposefully researching markets. This finding corresponds with previous research undertaken in the Norwegian setting (Jacobsen, Dybedal , & Skalpe, 1996, p. 91). Thus, it was evident that no respondents chose location purely for reasons related to the business and, "rational economic assessment" (Morrison, 2006, p. 204) did not guide locational decisions in any cases.

In this study there were only three cases where informants reported placing any emphasis at all on evaluating their locations as business locations. As previously noted, the places were evaluated in terms of their attractiveness and their accessibility for visitors, and the existence of a local booking office was cited by one respondent as an important factor. In a third case, the evaluation of the location was markedly less pragmatic and based on an entrepreneurial vision of the product's ability to attract large numbers of visitors.

Notwithstanding the more personal reasons given by informants when recounting their stories about why and under what circumstances they chose locations, the following factors sum up migrants' responses on major influences over localisation choice:

A favourable impression of local people/community (rural living)

Natural amenities at the location provided desirable living conditions (rural living) (Lardiés, 1999; Paniagua, 2002; Stone & Stubbs, 2007).

Location or region provided opportunities for "serious leisure" (rural living)

Location provided for family safety and welfare (rural living)

Finding a sought-after farm (rural living)

Finding the "right" business (opportunity for self-employment)

Features of the location provided business opportunity (tourism business location)

Consequently, features pertaining to "rural living" guided localisation choices in a majority of cases. However, in all the cases described here, the choice of location was a combination of factors. Indeed, as suggested by Jack and Anderson (2002), "localisation represented an optimisation of all benefits" (p. 475), or more accurately described in cases of families; localisation represented the best available option when everyone's needs had been taken into account. However, in the two cases of families migrating as a unit, one family placed an emphasis on evaluating the business itself and to an extent the access to markets, whereas family safety and welfare was the dominant concern in the other case.

To sum up, despite mixed motivations when regarding these informants' localisation choices, three variables which can be conceptualised as "rural living", "opportunity for self-employment", and "tourism business location" was found dominant in each case.

Conceptualising Migration to Rural Areas

In the interviews, factors influencing the decision to migrate were conceptualised as push and pull factors (Paniagua, 2002, p. 355). Informed by previous studies, quality of life factors were expected to be mentioned by a majority of respondents when talking about their reasons for migrating (Lardies, 1999; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). Indeed, features associated with the natural or rural environment *were* cited pull factors. Respondents reported being attracted by various landscape features, clean air, a village atmosphere, spacious housing, and the possibility to pursue leisure interests, notably at the level of serious leisure (Stebbins, 2001, p. 54). Push factors such as traffic congestion, air pollution, the previous location being overcrowded, stress, and the "rat race" of urban living also came up.

However, although somewhat important in a few cases and notably in cases of Norwegian migrants from urban areas, mere landscape aesthetics did not have a strong bearing on a decision to migrate. Neither was previous holiday visits found to be a major stimulant to migration among foreign respondents, as several previous studies have indicated (Lardiés, 1999; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). The existence of a recruitment agency, Placement (*www.placement.no*), is however a unique factor in this setting. Aiming to attract migrants from particular European countries to rural areas in Scandinavia, this agency cooperates with municipalities facing problems connected with depopulation. The informants who reported making use of this agency ended up in regions and in one case also a country unknown to them. In contrast, Norwegian respondents generally knew the regions they chose to locate in well from numerous previous visits (Snepenger et al., 1995).

While the cited push and pull factors correspond with findings in previous research, these factors were found to be secondary in a majority of cases. The interviewees recounted very personal stories about the migration process, pointing to deeper motivations and signalling that these are significant and life-changing events. It could also involve a painful transition process, as in one case where an informant at a pre-retirement age reported that selling the house which had been the family home for decades had been extremely difficult. Hence, when probing deeper into their motivations, it became more difficult to make generalisations. However, all respondents sought to improve certain aspects of their lives, or desired some form of change. Interestingly, in two cases the most important change desired was to become self-employed (Paniagua, 2002, p. 368).

Moreover, rather than being a purposefully chosen move towards a more desired lifestyle, the decision to migrate was sometimes spurred by changes in circumstances beyond the respondents' control, such as in one case where a respondent had developed a health

problem. This was also evident in the case where a couple reported needing to escape their former spouses. However, this finding also resonates with Paniagua's (2002) suggestion that "marriage break-up was one of the reasons, sometimes the most important one, for a desire for a change in lifestyle which, in turn, had motivated the move to the country and setting up of the rural tourism business" (p. 367).

When regarding timing, respondents often reported migrating at a time when they would have to relocate anyway. An element of seizing an opportunity was often communicated. For example, one informant reported having recently finished his studies abroad and when in the process of moving back to the capital area he decided on trying something completely new.

The findings here may confirm that this type of migration is more likely to take place at certain life-cycle stages. According to Champion and Sheppard (as cited in Bosworth, 2010, p. 968) urban to rural migration is especially high at retirement and pre-retirement ages and during prime working and child-rearing ages (30-44 years). Indeed, the couples interviewed either had children in primary school age or were "empty nesters" (Champion & Sheppard, as cited in Bosworth, 2010, p. 975) when migrating to their chosen locations. However, four cases of male respondents who migrated alone at ages ranging from 28 to 35 may represent a different category of migrant, which in two cases was connected with the pursuit of certain types of outdoor recreation (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 111).

It has previously been suggested that migration to rural areas may have features of "an escape from the trappings of modernity" (Bosworth & Willett, 2009, p. 209). This description was found too simplistic when regarding motivations, as no informants expressed a very strong preference for rural living. They often stressed that they missed aspects of urban life, such as cultural events and urban cafés and restaurants. One informant also stated that he

could just as well have lived in a city, whereas another reported spending much of his off

season time in a European metropolis. Hence, although actively choosing a life in a rural

location, informants still appreciated "modern" living. Thus, although outside the scope of

this study, Bosworth's (2010, p. 969) question of whether this kind of migration is a retreat

from urban life or a spread of urban lifestyles into rural areas was appropriate and worthy of

further exploration.

A relocation to a rural area combined with tourism entrepreneurship has previously

been conceptualised as a simultaneous consumption and production (Shaw & Williams,

2004). Moreover, reflecting on their findings on tourism entrepreneurs in New Zealand,

Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) reported "consumption and production being inextricably

interwoven to the point that separation seems meaningless" (p. 389). Some evidence

supporting these observations was found in the younger age category. The authors (Ateljevic

& Doorne, 2000) described this phenomenon in terms of tourism operators engaging in

"extended lifestyle experiences" (p. 386). Indeed, single male respondents in particular

showed evidence of still living or having previously lived very mobile lives, "the world being

their oyster". In these cases an urban-rural divide appeared less pronounced, perhaps giving

way to a more global perspective. This also points to the tourism industry being global in

nature, well illustrated in one case where the respondent had worked in tourism on different

continents and also employed seasonal workers from a range of countries.

Motivations for Choosing to Migrate: a Desire for Rural Living

While the heterogeneity of these cases precluded the student researcher to attach any

definite labels to this migration phenomenon, the most frequently cited motivation for a

decision to migrate in this study was a desire for rural living. Informants had their own

definitions of what rural living implied, however it could include various forms of leisure

based in a rural or natural environment, which in these specific cases included ski touring, surfing, the restoration of old buildings, and farming. Hence, concepts such as consumption-led mobility (Williams & Hall, 2002), lifestyle migration (Stone & Stubbs, 2007), and amenity migration, defined by Moss (2006) as "migration to places that people perceive as having greater environmental quality and differentiated culture" (p. 13), describe these particular cases with some accuracy. A lifestyle motivation in a migration process may thus point to individuals' desiring "rural living", "a life in the countryside" or "a life in closer contact with a natural environment".

This motivational orientation could be identified on the basis of direct claims, what were the migrants' intention with regards to work when relocating, and on the basis of their decision making surrounding localisation. As suggested by Bosworth (2010, p. 976), "unplanned start-ups" point to migration motivations not centred on the economic. There were three cases of migrants relocating with the idea of finding employed work, based on commuting to other places. This indicates that the locations were chosen for their qualities as places to live. All these informants migrated alone and were in the younger age category. Thus, "unplanned start-ups" (Bosworth, 2010, p. 976) in this study implied "a desire for rural living".

A second category, of which there was only one example in this study, was informants who relocated with plans to start a business in their new location, but who did not have set plans for the business. This one case stood out as "the Wealthy Farmers" had personal savings to fall back on, and therefore were in a financial position which made it possible for them to take time to build their product. This case demonstrated that inquiring into sources of start-up capital is significant to be able to distinguish entrepreneurial in-migrants.

A third category were "planned start-ups" (Bosworth, 2010, p. 976), of which there

was one case of an entrepreneurial start-up based on opportunity recognition, with localisation choice pointing to "tourism business location". The remaining respondents in this third category had purchased businesses.

Motivations For Choosing Entrepreneurship: a Desire for Autonomy

Those respondents who chose self-employment purposefully described their motivation as a desire for autonomy or independence. This finding corresponds with a number of previous studies on rural tourism entrepreneurs (e.g. Getz & Carlsen, 2000, Hall & Rusher, 2004). A desire to become self-employed was also the most frequently reported migration motivation in a previous study on urban-rural migrants (Paniagua, 2002, p. 365). Again, the respondents attached their own meanings to "autonomy" and what were the perceived benefits of being one's own boss. However, "lifestyle" in this context denotes the lifestyle of an entrepreneur, where the traditional separation between work and leisure disappears completely or becomes very blurred, hence working and living is inseparable (Karlsson & Lönnbring, 2001, p. 81). This meaning of lifestyle is likely to apply to small businesses in many sectors. As previously noted, one respondent described the benefits of self-employment as being "free from other people's structures", which for him meant being able to choose when to work and when to take time off. The couples in this study however described self-employment more in terms of a shared project, which was part of the larger "relationship project".

As noted, the respondents in this study varied with respect to how purposefully they had chosen self-employment. In two cases interviewees had relocated for the sole purpose of purchasing their own businesses. Other respondents were habitual entrepreneurs with entrepreneurship representing a continuation of this preferred life-mode (Hjalager & Lindgaard, as cited in Williams et al., 1989, p. 1648). While liking the independence of

running his own business, one serial entrepreneur also described himself as somewhat unsuited to work for others; he had noticed that he tended to get annoyed and impatient when employed, often disagreeing with how work tasks were organised.

However, there was also one respondent who described the idea of starting a business as "awful", hence the perceived responsibilities of self-employment were clearly not attractive. In two cases business start-up was also described as coincidental (Andersson Cederholm & Hultman, 2010, p. 21). In these cases the informants claimed that entrepreneurship was not actively chosen, but happened as a result of playing around or because of a sudden upsurge in demand for accommodation locally. These business start-ups had the characteristics of hobbies unexpectedly becoming a livelihood. Notably, these were also cases of backpacker style accommodation businesses, with owners expressing "alternative" values (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000).

Motivation for Choosing the Tourism Industry: a Desire for Enjoyable Work

A third motivational factor concerns these migrants' motivations for choosing the tourism industry for a business. It was found that in-migrants chose tourism actively, as a result of tourism being perceived as the best available or most suitable option, or because a tourism product was somehow naturally inherent in a purchased property. Motivational orientations found useful in this context were described by Szivas and Riley (as cited in Vaugeois & Rollins, pp. 633-634) as "positivist", where tourism is favoured for its intrinsic values; "instrumental utility" where tourism is perceived as a means to the achievement of economic advancement, and "entrepreneurial", where tourism is appreciated for its suitability to one's business. An additional orientation is where the tourism industry was chosen due to perceived benefits associated with seasonality (Andrews, Baum, & Morrison, as cited in Morrison, 2006, p. 199). A "positivist" orientation was found prevalent amongst respondents

who had chosen tourism actively.

For those informants who had experience from the tourism sector, tourism entrepreneurship represented a continuation of a chosen career. Interestingly, in one of these cases career entry into tourism was based on relocation motivated by "a desire for rural living" years earlier. As this respondent possessed extensive sector specific experience at the time of the interview, this suggests that lifestyle or amenity migration (Moss, 2006) may represent an important path into the industry. Another respondent recounted that he had not consciously chosen a career in tourism at any point, however as he was so happy with the work he was doing it just continued. In the interviews these "tourism professionals" expressed a genuine liking of what they were doing for a living.

Moreover, there were several cases of "instrumental utility" orientations. In one case the informants reported having decided on tourism to supply them with an income as a consequence of being located in a popular tourism region. Other activities had been considered, however, in this case seasonal fluctuations were seen as beneficial and conducive to the chosen farmer's lifestyle.

The "entrepreneurial" orientation was found in cases where tourism was appreciated for its suitability for a business, notably in one case of a couple with different professional backgrounds who wanted a shared project. The least deliberate choice of the tourism industry was reported in one case where a tourism product, accommodation provision, was "naturally" inherent in the property bought. Moreover, this respondent also reported that he was not sure whether his business could be considered a part of the tourism industry.

Regarding the reported motivations for the choice of the tourism industry, "lifestyle" assumes particular meanings also in this context. This was where respondents talked about the lifestyle of running a specific kind of tourism business. Again, it is noteworthy that informants

assigned their own meanings also to this application of lifestyle.

First, running a nature-based activity tourism business is a lifestyle in the outdoors, described by one informant as enjoyable days with "great mates" (seasonal staff) and clients. Although all-consuming in season it was portrayed as "a lifestyle of not really working". A hedonistic approach to life was communicated. The informant also stated that, "I think the company is a lifestyle for me (...) It's not a job, I don't mark down my hours".

Second, where accommodation businesses are concerned the "lifestyle label" may have the more negatively charged meaning of private life and work life blending together in time and space. Owner-operators often live on the business premises and are responsible for the welfare of guests twenty four hours. In effect they are "always" at work. In addition, two examples of such businesses in this study were operated on a full year basis. Thus, these business owners were unable to enjoy some of the benefits of seasonal fluctuations. While one couple had chosen this lifestyle consciously by virtue of their positive view of the industry and their tourism expertise, for the other couple the realisation that their business owned them had come as a somewhat unpleasant surprise.

6.5. Considering Migrant Tourism Entrepreneurs' Motivations Related to Lifestyle

As the previous sections have indicated, in the context of migrant tourism entrepreneurship, "lifestyle" may be spoken of as rural living, the freedom or autonomy of small business ownership, or as a description of the nature of work in the tourism industry. If at all lifestyle oriented, the interviews indicated that migrant tourism entrepreneurs are likely to refer to one of these meanings of "lifestyle".

Importantly, all respondents stated that they had moved to their new locations for the sake of living or were unable to separate business and living in any meaningful sense, making statements such as, "my life is what I make a living from. Business is so integrated in my

life". This illustrates that the meaning of "lifestyle", or rather business, life and living, is bound up with individuals' own definitions.

Based on a combination of the previously determined motivational factors, more condensed cases of "migrant tourism entrepreneurship" may be identified. Starting with informant A, he stated that a coincidence had lead to the migration, however his goal was living in a clean natural environment and to pursue his favourite leisure interest, clearly "a desire for rural living", which is why he has been assigned the label "the Nature Romantic". He also stated that he moved with the intention of finding employed work and that business start-up was accidental, allowing for a rejection of the "market ethos" and a business approach based on "alternative", non-commercial values (Andersson Cederholm & Hultman, 2010, p. 21). Furthermore, tourism was not consciously chosen, rather an accommodation product was inherent in the spacious house he had purchased. This case lends strong support to Ateljevic and Doorne's (2000) analysis of "lifestyle entrepreneurs". It is also noted that this type is likely to be a novice entrepreneur without sector specific experience.

Moreover, while informant C reported very similar motivational patterns in the migration process and with respect to the coincidental nature of business start-up, self-employment had later turned out to offer an opportunity to further personal goals, which were social and community-oriented in nature, hence the label "the Social Entrepreneur". However, as his stated start-up motivation was a desire for enjoyable work and fuelled by a social need to surround himself with international travellers, this informant had a "positivist orientation" (Szivas & Riley, as cited in Vaugeois & Rollins, p. 634) to the tourism industry.

Moreover, informants E displayed an "entrepreneurial orientation" to the tourism industry with self-employment being the main attraction. Also acting as a migration trigger in this case, self-employment represented a means to pursuing common dreams and building a

new life together as a couple. A tourism business was deemed suitable regarding the couple's

common skill base. The all-consuming nature of the work and the loss of privacy had been a

challenge, as well as working together as a team, perhaps placing a strain on the relationship.

Hence, their common life project could end up threatening what it was intended to build.

Importantly, in this case rural living, portrayed as a more authentic life in close contact with

the natural environment, was an outcome of running a tourism business in a rural location.

This case confirmed Vaugeois and Rollins' (2007, p. 644) observation that many people are

able to trade off some disadvantages of tourism work with the positives (such as the quality of

the work and the work environment).

In the case of informants G migration was also motivated by a desire for self-

employment. Self-employment represented a major improvement from their previous

situation; they were still working hard but this time for the benefit of their own business.

Already aware of the "lifestyle" involved in running an accommodation business, this couple

had a "positivist orientation" to tourism. Driven by "the joy of hosting", an intrinsic

motivation was also expressed.

Another family from the same European country, informants E, migrated for the sake

of rural living, seeking a less stressful life for the family. Choosing self-employment was a

matter of habit, and the choice of tourism a coincidence; a consequence of stumbling over an

accommodation business for sale while visiting to look at a farm. In the interview the

informant expressed an "instrumental utility" orientation to the tourism industry. While the

all-consuming lifestyle of running one's own business was already familiar, the strong

seasonal fluctuations represented a challenge for this family. Interestingly, the couple had

taken on employed work in the winter partly in order to combat the felt lack of a normal life

rhythm in season.

6.6. Profit And Growth as Motivating Factors for Doing Business

Migrants Tourism Entrepreneurs: Entrepreneurs or Small Business Owners?

Some researchers suggest that entrepreneurs can be distinguished from small business owners on the basis of their intentions with regards to profit and growth when establishing businesses (Carland, et al., 1984, p. 358). In the same vein, Thomas et al., (2011, p. 965) suggest that "financial motivation and growth" is a defining feature of entrepreneurship. Hence, by not being profit motivated when starting their businesses, the respondents in this study all fell into the category of small business owners, and are according to theory considered to be in business for the purpose of furthering personal goals (Carland, et al., 1984, p. 358).

A distinction can be drawn between profit-maximisation and other start-up motivations rooted in the economic sphere, such as a business representing a livelihood for a single individual, a couple, or a family. Although not strongly emphasised, economic motivations among informants in this study centred on their businesses supplying what they themselves considered an acceptable income. Cited start-up goals centred on the economic tended to be modest. An activity provider in this study for instance reported budgeting very low at start-up, aiming only to supply himself with a basic income. A more ambitious goal was cited by another informant, who reported starting a farming company with the aim of supplying himself and two business partners with an income. Moreover, a couple in this study reported aiming at turning around a declining business for the purpose of making it profitable and selling it for retirement; also an economic motivation.

Although not driven by profit-maximisation in their business efforts, no respondents in this study communicated a desire to experience bankruptcy, although some of them reported on financial difficulties and were struggling to make their businesses profitable at the time of

the interviews.

When outlining the characteristics of fragmented industries, of which the Norwegian tourism industry is a good example (Jacobsen & Espelien, 2010, p, 27), Porter (1980) noted that owner-operators of small service firms were often satisfied with a subnormal rate of return on their invested capital, which to others "are unacceptable and may appear irrational" (p. 19). Some of the respondents in this study communicated a strong business motivation while simultaneously fully aware that their businesses "isn't a goldmine" or "will never make us rich". As such, one respondent also noted that with respect to money, running a tourism business was a lifestyle choice (Karlsson & Lönnbring, 2001, p. 81).

 In a sense, the localisation of a business in a rural area contradicts the rationale of profit-maximisation (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 475). Thus, venturing into tourism in a rural location may essentially be an inappropriate choice for the strongly profit driven. Some informants indicated that they perceived a profit orientation to be counter-productive and not conducive to business success, simply because substantial profits were an unlikely outcome. Thus, a lack of profit focus may be interpreted as an adaptation to the financial reality of rural tourism business operation. This attitude was most strongly expressed by an informant who had work experience from tourism in a rural location elsewhere. Thus, such attitudes are perhaps also learnt through a form of socialisation into the industry. Interestingly, this operator also expected his staff to be focused on "lifestyle". Focusing on other outcomes such as quality of life or personal enjoyment may be strategies applied to be able to persist in the industry, despite periods of low income levels. Alternatively, "quality of life" is in itself a form of profit.

Importantly, profit is essentially an *outcome* of entrepreneurship or small business ownership. Although a desired outcome it may not be what drives an entrepreneur or a small

business owner. For example, Schumpeter (as cited Swedberg, 2000, p. 16) suggested that

"the joy of creating" was an important component of an entrepreneur's drive. Also, according

to Amabile (1996, p. 7), intrinsic task motivation is an important aspect of entrepreneurial

creativity; this is when an individual is driven by a deep interest and involvement in the work,

by curiosity, enjoyment, or a personal sense of challenge (Amabile, 1996, p. 7). According to

Iso-Ahola (1999, p. 43), rewards undermine intrinsic motivation. When people are given

rewards for doing an activity that they are intrinsically interested in, they subsequently lose

much of their interest and willingness to participate in that activity (Iso-Ahola, 1999, p. 43).

Thus, an intrinsically motivated individual is unlikely to focus on the outcome of an activity,

which in the case of a business is profit.

   One of the interviewees reflected on the difference between being driven by profit and

being driven by a passionate interest. In his view, a profit-orientation could somehow corrupt

a creative process. Although profit was a desired outcome, it was only desired as a result of

having created a product "from the heart". Furthermore, while denying being driven by profit

in any of his activities, one informant explained that when pursuing a business idea it was

always based on a conviction that the idea could be converted into money. Thus, profit as a

motivation and profit as a potential outcome of entrepreneurship or small business ownership

are two distinctly different spheres of interest.

   A different perspective on profit was offered by a couple with reference to their own

work experience as employees in tourism. When managing a commercially successful venture

for someone else in their home country, these informants had noticed that a strong orientation

towards profit and growth had impacted negatively on the welfare of staff and guests. While

the company in question had grown large since then, in their own business they had chosen to

focus on the people. This "non-commercial" strategy had however resulted in commercial

success. This raises the question of whether a people oriented strategy such as this falls within the category of personal goals.

Despite the primarily non-economic orientations displayed by the participants in this study, lacking profit orientations did not point to these operators attempting to *protect* a certain lifestyle (Getz & Carlsen; Sherwood et al.; Thomas et al., as cited in Morrison, 2006, p. 199). For this, the informants were simply found to be too hard working. Hence, placing profit-maximisation up against "lifestyle" was found unhelpful when trying to account for the motivations and goals of these migrant tourism entrepreneurs.

Returning to Morrison's (2006) definition of "lifestyle entrepreneurship", which is where individuals "align entrepreneurial activity to fit with personal circumstances and style of life; prioritise personal over business goals; and are not growth motivated" (p. 195), this conceptualisation needs to be explored further. While the description does not clarify what might set a lifestyle entrepreneur apart from a small business owner, it does however point out that "real" entrepreneurs are not to be found among lifestyle entrepreneurs, and that growth motivations are key to identifying "real" entrepreneurs.

Positions on Growing the Business

It is well established that a desire to grow the business is the exception rather than the rule among the smallest businesses (Storey & Greene, 2010, p. 5). With reference to models of small firm growth, Shaw (2004, p. 127) points to evidence suggesting that a majority of tourism businesses remain at a "survival" stage, which is characterised by viability, but where management systems are minimal and the entrepreneur is still synonymous with the business. Such characteristics however also apply to small business owners in other sectors, who according to Chell and Baines (2000), "pursue personal goals associated with lifestyle, independence and family welfare with a preference for no growth and stability" (p. 198). On

the background of such evidence, it was not surprising that a majority of respondents in this study did not desire or intend to grow their businesses.

The most frequently cited reason for not wanting to grow a business among respondents was connected with a need to hire staff. These statements were in two cases based on respondents having managed staff in the past. In another case a respondent was already managing staff and did not want to hire *additional* staff. A previous study (Morrison & Teixeira, 2004, p. 171) found that managing employees and their skills was perceived by owner-operators to be the most challenging part of running small tourism businesses on a day-to-day basis. This may explain why some of the informants in this study were keen to avoid this issue altogether.

Moreover, one of the businesses in this study had grown to a size where the role of the owner-operator was changing. This change was clearly not desired, with the informant stating that, "what I'm doing in the company is not sitting well with me now, I do far too much e-mailing and office work, in fact I do e-mailing and office work, which I don't want to do at all". Hence, business growth had implied an increasing amount of time spent indoors for this enthusiastic outdoor guide. New management structures were required, however, at the time of the interview the respondent signalled a resistance to take his business to the next level.

This is important as flexibility on the part of an entrepreneur is necessary for growth to happen, with Chell (2008, p. 211) listing "skills associated with different stages of business" as a defining aspect of entrepreneurial behaviour. Thus, by trying to align "entrepreneurial activity to fit with personal circumstances and style of life", this respondent could rightfully be labelled a lifestyle entrepreneur (Morrison, 2006, p. 195).

This demonstrates that some tourism operators may try to constrain growth in order to maintain a level of business which they themselves are able to enjoy. Di Domenico (2005)

also noted that small scale tourism operators, "identified personal control over daily business activities as a highly valued characteristic" (p. 119). Personal control was defined in terms of "hands-on" dealings and physical presence. The author (Di Domenico, 2005, p. 119) therefore assumed that such operators might not thrive in a more detached manager role.

However, keeping a business at a certain level may also reflect a competitive strategy. There was one example of owner-operators in this study perceiving growth to collide with their chosen profile, which was that of providing high quality personalised service. According to Porter (1980, p. 198), smaller firms tend to be more efficient where personal service is key to the business, as the quality of personal service declines with the size of the firm once a certain threshold is reached.

External contextual factors are also important to consider in the context of small firm growth (Morrison & Teixeira, 2004, p. 169), as there may be limited opportunities for growing a business in a rural environment. Although small business owners may state that they are not growth motivated, the external environment also largely determines to what extent they are able to. In one case the owner-operators had been working actively to establish themselves in different international, regional, and local markets. However, in the interview the wife claimed that they remained small as a matter of deliberate strategy, whereas the husband pointed to external factors preventing strong growth.

Lastly, when considering growth orientations among respondents, two cases stood out in this study. Although not growth motivated, two informants did not display any form of *aversion* to growth. Indeed, one of the informants envisioned a large scale future business operation, whereas the other had already been able to grow one of his businesses to a resource mature level (Morrison et al., as cited in Shaw, 2004, p. 128). Hence, this may be where the "real entrepreneurs" enter the picture.

6.7. What Drives Migrant Tourism Entrepreneurs in Their Business Efforts?

While profit and growth orientations differed among the entrepreneurs in this study, money was not what essentially drove or motivated a majority of the respondents in their business efforts. Trying to uncover what *did* drive informants was therefore an important concern. When regarding their tourism businesses, not all respondents could be characterised as highly driven. The analysis therefore also aimed at mapping factors (other than "lifestyle") which might explain a low business motivation. The following sections outline some patterns observed among the respondents, and suggest four tentative categories of migrant tourism entrepreneurs.

Resource Poor Entrepreneurs (the Nature Romantic)

This one case shared some of the characteristics of a "non-entrepreneur" or a "constrained" entrepreneur as identified by Shaw and Williams (as cited in Shaw, 2004, p. 127). The respondent did not convey a strong business drive, rather he was focused on survival and what he himself defined as economic safety. Hence, business ambitions beyond supporting a low budget lifestyle and business operation were not evident. In this particular case a low business motivation may have its background in a lack of relevant human capital (business/tourism experience) as well as a role conflict. With regards to the latter, as previously noted this respondent's identity was rooted in the surf culture, not in the tourism industry or the world of business. Moreover, although reporting on "almost defensive actions" (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000, p. 379) in his business operation, those actions were *not* "driven by what is perceived to be a high polarisation of ideological perspectives within the tourism industry" (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000, p. 379). Rather, his business operation may have reflected the alternative or "anti-commercial" values of a sub culture.

Resourceful Entrepreneurs (the Entrepreneurial Personality, the Family Business, The

Wealthy Farmers)

In this tentative category, all respondents were driven by "a desire for rural living" in the migration process. These previously successful serial entrepreneurs had already "made their millions" in urban areas. None of them had tourism sector experience. At the time of the interviews these informants were "pluractivists"; they had other income sources or personal wealth to draw on. In one case the tourism businesses were the family livelihood, however, both parents had paid jobs in addition. In the other two cases the tourism businesses were merely additional income sources. It was noted that the informants in this category were "entrepreneurial types", and that all of them had grown up with entrepreneurial parents. Two of them were also portfolio entrepreneurs (Westhead et al., 2005, p. 394), and had explored several business opportunities in their new locations. Moreover, driven by creativity and/or vision in their business efforts, two informants appeared to primarily appreciate *the developing phases* of business.

Professional Managers (the Social Entrepreneur, the Tourism Professionals, the Self-

Employed Urbanites)

A third tentative category of migrant tourism entrepreneurs were informants resembling "professional managers" (Hornaday, as cited in Dewhurst & Horobin, 1998, p. 22). Enjoying the process of transforming low quality, "shabby" enterprises, their commitment was centred on enhancing product and service quality and on building a good reputation for the business. In two cases the businesses were operated on a full year basis, and was the sole income source for the informants. Their drive might perhaps be characterised as "the joy of transforming" or "commitment to service quality". Experimenting with different business concepts and getting instant feedback from guests was reported as an important and

enjoyable part of the process. These owner-operators were highly motivated, and pride in the business was an important reported outcome. An alternative business motivation in this "field" might be that of the social entrepreneur, who in this study was committed to creating value and contributing to the economic welfare of the local community.

Tourism Enthusiasts (the Social Entrepreneur, the Tourism Professional, the Tourism Professionals, the Wealthy Farmers)

Business motivation in this "field" was fuelled by intrinsic interest and a love of the work. Motivations were people oriented with respondents indicating a deeper drive which centred on generosity and giving. This "hosting" aspect of tourism work was expressed by informants as personally rewarding. Furthermore, working with what one informant referred to as "all the crazy people in the world" was also a source of humour and entertainment in the day-to-day running of the business. An alternative drive in this field might also be "educative"; desiring to educate or communicate a message to tourists, of which "the Wealthy Farmers" may be a future example.

Pluractivity, Not Lifestyle

Morrison et al. (2008, p. 2) claimed that the question of whether a good lifestyle dominates or is an outcome of running a tourism business is important for destinations, as it has implications for business motivation, service standards, quality and profitability. However, as noted above, a lower business motivation was found in cases where respondents were not depending on their tourism business for economic survival. This highlights what may be an inherent problem of diversification or pluractivity (Getz & Carlsen, 2005, p. 243) in the tourism sector. Due to a lack of commitment to making a viable living from their tourism offerings, "pluractivists" may be unable to function as the backbone of rural tourism.

Although highly driven these informants' drive was primarily focused on other

projects. For instance, as a consequence of making a comfortable living from farming, one respondent expressed a very limited commitment to succeeding with his tourism business. The tourism business was merely one in a number of additional activities and projects which had been initiated. In the other case the informants had their livelihood from a substantial amount of personal savings and other sources of income. Hence, a tourism business was started with the long term aim of subsidising their farm. At the time of the interview the farm was all-consuming leisure for its owners, to the extent that they had very limited time for anything else.

However, it was common among all respondents to have paid employment in addition to their tourism businesses (Morrison & Teixeira, 2004, p. 170). In this study, five out of eight businesses represented a full time living for their owners at the time of the interviews. Paid employment was reported in the early phases of two additional businesses, leading one respondent to assign a hobby status to his business for many years, assuming that it would never become a "real" livelihood. Hence, in the early phases of a business the drive to succeed may not be strong. Although running his business on "business" principles from day one, this informant reported that his motivation had changed as his business progressed through different stages of development. Consequently, what appears to be a lifestyle orientation in the early stages of a business, may change as the business later turns out to represent a full time livelihood.

Values, Labels, Identities, And Roles

As previously noted, several theoreticians suggest that small business owners start and operate businesses for the purpose of furthering personal goals (Carland et al., 1984, Storey & Greene, 2010). Moreover, small business owners have the independence and freedom to operate their businesses in correspondence with their personal values. Indeed, this may be one

of the main attractions of running one's own business, and as such small business operation

can perhaps be regarded as a form of self expression. According to Vinson, Scott, and Lamont

(1977), "values (...) are responsible for the selection and maintenance of the ends or goals

toward which human beings strive, and, at the same time regulates the methods and manner in

which this striving takes place" (p. 45).

The cases here point to personal business goals including a desire to supply high

quality service, a desire to offer a warm and caring atmosphere to visitors, and a need to show

visitors that although inexperienced, they can spend a whole day in a wilderness environment.

Moreover, even the least driven individuals in this study were focused on providing positive,

unique, and educative experiences to tourists. Thus, these operators were clearly focused on

the outcome of their business activities.

On the other hand, the role of business owner or entrepreneur may be in conflict with

other roles. According to Di Domenico (2005, p. 111), it is one thing to be positively disposed

towards the business role, but another to assume that role in preference to all other competing

roles. It became clear that some informants in this study did not want to be associated with the

concept "entrepreneur" and were also hesitant to assume roles as "business" people in the

interviews. For instance, despite displaying almost textbook business behaviour when

describing the start-ups and development of his companies, one informant clearly disliked

being characterised as professional and business oriented in this operation, claiming that he

was "all about lifestyle". This not only illustrates how informants claim identities in

interviews (Riessman, 1993, p. 2), but also shows that a "lifestyle orientation" may give

limited access to information on business motivation and service quality standards.

Such conflicts of roles was evident also in cases of "accidental" business start-ups. In

marked contrast, those informants who had grown up in entrepreneurial families tended to

embrace their identities as entrepreneurs. These previously successful serial entrepreneurs appeared to be more positively inclined towards market values, perhaps as a consequence of a lifelong familiarity with the "business world". Through the interviews it became evident that each individual expressed a unique value system. This point was particularly pronounced in cases of couples, were spouses in two cases expressed very different attitudes to their businesses.

As previously noted, niche markets connected to certain types of outdoor activities and adventure sports are associated with particular values and "codes". For the sake of credibility, operating along the codes of the sport may be vital. As shown here, a conflict of roles may however ensue if operators are participators in the sports themselves. Commitment to the business may thus depend on an owner-operator perceiving his or her identity as that of a business person or "sports" person first.

One case illustrated what had been an ongoing negotiation of values, identities and roles particularly well. Starting a business built around his identity as a nomad and globetrotter, the informant sought to develop a product built on "alternative" values (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000, p. 389). The respondent also stated explicitly that the role of a business person had collided with his personal values informed by a specific political ideology. However, this entrepreneur had assumed an active salesman's role and gone out of his way to promote his company in ways which he reported experiencing as extremely uncomfortable. Furthermore, going through a struggle to develop the necessary skills to master the task of running his own business, this case also suggested a process of entrepreneurial learning (Storey & Greene, 2010, p. 259). After having lived through these phases for the sake of his business, the informant realised that his identity had changed. Proud of his achievements he realised with a smile that he had now become a "business man". However, his political

conviction nevertheless continued to be the fuel of his business drive which he described as that of a "social entrepreneur".

6.8. Cooperation And Embeddedness: How do Migrant Tourism Entrepreneurs Behave at their Destinations?

The following sections will outline and discuss the informants' self-reported behaviour at their chosen destinations. Hence, these sections seek to answer the research question, "How do migrant tourism entrepreneurs cooperate with other tourism operators and how have they become embedded in their local communities?". At the outset it was assumed that "lifestyle" oriented migrants, and at this point specifically those who were motivated by "a desire for rural living" in the migration process, would display less business oriented behaviour at their destinations. Thus, it is sought to illuminate whether the migration motivation "a desire for rural living" had any bearing on cooperation with other tourism operators and purposive "embedding" actions.

Cooperation. The Desire to Have Colleagues in the Tourism Industry

Tourism operators in peripheral locations may or may not perceive their businesses to exist within a larger context, notably a destination and a local or regional tourism industry. An orientation towards a larger whole was assumed to imply that respondents were committed to promoting their own businesses as well as perceiving an interdependency between all actors in the industry. It was also assumed that in-migrants, by virtue of possessing an outsider's view, might be able to initiate and promote cooperation focused on a visitor friendly geography rather than many small communities.

Among eight businesses studied only one business could be characterised as "atomistic" (Hollick & Braun, 2004, p. 4). Although not cooperating with anyone, the informant reported networking frequently with other tourism operators by attending meetings

arranged by the municipality. This case was however an exception, as the remaining participants in this study had made a variety of efforts to cooperate with other tourism businesses. Their approaches and motivations for doing so however differed. Moreover, their locations also differed greatly with respect to the density of existing tourism businesses, and the cooperative climate among tourism operators upon arrival.

There was no pattern as to how cooperation had been initiated. An accommodation provider for instance reported that he had initiated cooperation with an activity provider by going on a guided tour with him. This had resulted in friendship and close cooperation. Moreover, informants had either become included into existing cooperative networks or were active in initiating cooperation themselves. Indeed, there was one case where informants reported becoming key agents in the development of cooperation. This couple of foreign origin discovered upon arrival that there was very little contact and no cooperation among tourist operators in their area. Being accustomed to frequent telephone contact with colleagues in the tourism industry at home, they had become very active in the promotion of cooperation, with the husband also taking a leading role in the start up of a tourism forum in the municipality.

A completely different story was told by an operator who had become integrated into a close-knit tourism community located in a remote valley. An almost complete overlap of social and business contact was evident, with colleagues in tourism sharing both professional and leisure interests. Moreover, yet another type of case was presented by a couple who upon arrival in their new location was introduced to local tourism operators via an already established business network partly funded by the public sector. The automatic inclusion into this formal network had resulted in close contact and informal as well as formalised cooperation with local tourism businesses.

The Nature of Cooperation

While there were two cases of operators cooperating formally with other operators based on packages, informal cooperation was the most common and also the preferred cooperation mode among respondents. This may support Atterton's (2007, p. 237) suggestion that informality is a feature of doing business in any rural location. One informant described the desired state of affairs as, "many small operators, standing together, sending people to each other and supporting each other". By virtue of running a small scale and low budget operation, this entrepreneur preferred to keep expenses to a minimum and reported avoiding formalised cooperation primarily for that reason. Furthermore, he also described it as convenient and less time consuming to make booking requests to other operators on the spot and via the telephone, allowing him to concentrate his full efforts on giving his guests a unique hospitality experience. However, in this case the approach was also consistent with a refusal to allow the business operation to assume any characteristics associated with the corporate world.

The Rationale Behind Cooperation

Three important motivational orientations were found prevalent among respondents when regarding their informal cooperative practices; social or collegial, adaptive, and active cooperation motivated by self-interest. The adaptive approach was when incomers discovered upon arrival that cooperation was the norm and that cooperation was expected of them, as in the case of the formal business network referred to previously.

First, establishing and maintaining contact with colleagues in the tourism industry was clearly an important *social* concern, and in this respect the informants in this study had a lot in common. Hence, these migrant tourism entrepreneurs displayed a desire to be part of a tourism community and to have colleagues and business contacts in the industry. Various

forms of collegial behaviour was described, most frequently expressed as a need to generate business for other operators. This supportive attitude was found to be widespread among the respondents in this study, and it was not restricted to their own destinations. Visitor referral networks (Tinsley & Lynch, 2008, p. 170) were common, which are based on operators passing on guests to other chosen operators.

One couple reported discovering upon arrival in their new location that the cooperative climate among local tourism operators was very friendly and they were quickly included into the tourism operators' social network. They recounted how they had initiated a themed sports event in cooperation with local accommodation providers. An important stated rationale behind organising the event was "to establish a friendly cooperation and to generate business to other operators in the area". Hence, in this case the informants did not cooperate to increase their own revenue, but to consolidate the social network. It is vital to note that although the informants in this study desired frequent contact with other operators, some of them lamented never having time to network (Curran & Blackburn, as cited in Chell & Baines, 2000, p. 197).

Moreover, operators also cooperated motivated by self-interest and because cooperation was perceived as good for business. This orientation thus indicated a stronger business focus. Cooperation motivated by self-interest was mainly carried out between businesses providing complementary products, notably accommodation providers and activity businesses. Where available, all accommodation providers in this study had started promoting activity businesses locally, and some also in a wider area, immediately after start-up. This was a self-serving strategy aimed at increasing their own number of guest nights. The outcome of these cooperative efforts may be crucial for their localities and wider regions, in terms of an enhanced quality of the overall visitor experience. Moreover, one couple had initiated formalised cooperation with other operators focused on a round trip. The husband reported

that this practice was totally new in their wider area, stating about his colleagues that, "they were not used to that sort of thing".

However, with this notable exception, a preference for informality appeared to prevent cooperation focused on round trips. Thus, although several respondents reported *thinking* in terms of a larger geography, there was limited evidence pointing to incomers cooperating in ways which promoted larger destinations. In some cases the all-consuming nature of tourism business operation and the remoteness some of their locations could however partly account for the strong local focus displayed by informants when regarding their cooperative practices.

Factors Described as Impacting on Cooperation

The informants described a range of factors which were seen to facilitate or hinder cooperation in the interviews. Product type influenced cooperation. In one of the study areas strong price competition among accommodation providers offering similar or identical products prevented any form of cooperation. As such, activity providers in this study were in a very beneficial position. One of the informants offered complementary products himself, which had resulted in cooperation with a large number of operators.

Moreover, the importance of shared values was highlighted by one respondent. In the context referred to operators were in agreement with respect to what was a "correct" level of commercialisation in and around nature conservation areas, as well as placing friendship before money. The words "almost communist" was used by the informant to describe the values of the small and close-knit tourism community in question. Anecdotal evidence also points to this destination being perceived a hippie village by outsiders. Thus, the approach described was reminiscent of Ateljevic and Doorne's (2000) comment on lifestyle entrepreneurs in New Zealand, with owner-operators embracing "collaborative and symbiotic relationships and trust-based networks with (…) other like-minded operators" (p. 385).

Although in competition for the same tourists, in this business community the informant

reported that everyone was "happy to work together". However, there were signs pointing to

more commercially oriented operators being excluded from networking and cooperation in

this particular context.

Furthermore, niche operators needed to be more purposeful in their cooperative

approaches. One operator reported that his colleagues in the accommodation sector "always

discussed how to capture new markets". Claiming to mainly have repeat business and the

majority of his revenue from low budget "niche" market segments, cooperation was hampered

by this operator perceiving what he was doing as fundamentally different from the activities

of local tourism operators. However, as he had not made any efforts to reach out to operators

outside of his immediate area, in this case the lack of a cooperative approach also indicated a

generally low business motivation.

Another informant who reported targeting a price insensitive niche was planning on

using local and regional tourism operators as sub contractors. Pointing to a need for high

product and service quality standards to satisfy this niche, sub contractors in the wider region

would have to be hand picked for each job. This approach to cooperation was however

unusual as respondents generally made efforts to cooperate with whichever businesses were

located in their proximity, thus primarily focusing on geographic destination building in their

closest area.

One couple also reported that pluractivity was hampering cooperation. Local operators

who were engaged in other types of activities, notably farming, displayed a lack of flexibility

and limited or non existent commitment to delivering service quality in the peak season.

Using one local activity provider as an example, this operator was not only offering his

activity a limited number of weeks, but also a limited number of days a week. As the only

operators in their community committed to making a full time living off their tourism

business, these respondents reported feeling alone. This demonstrates that different

expectations and different attitudes towards running a business can create tensions (Bosworth

& Willett, 2011, p. 203). Although located in a community with many tourism businesses,

which included a number of businesses run by other in-migrants, they did not feel part of a

"real" tourism community.

Importantly, one informant also reported that local patriotism was hampering

cooperation. This was perceived as a hindrance to cooperation between businesses located in

different villages and municipalities. The respondent stated that, "we can't cooperate. It's

inherent in the whole structure here, it's this municipality against the next municipality, you

know? But in our municipality it's village against village (…). It's strange, for us anyway. We

had this in (home country) a hundred years ago". This operator had remained excluded from

close networking with other tourism operators. Although located in an important tourism

region, the location itself was not a destination. Hence, in the absence of a local tourism

community his cooperation became focused on a larger geography, whereas other operators

largely cooperated within the confines of the "structure". This case indicated that despite

making purposeful efforts, in-migrants may not be able to promote cooperation focused on a

"larger whole".

Lastly, although all respondents in this study had some contact with other tourism

operators, one foreign operator commented on the lack of a tourism community *in Norway.*

Coming from a country where tourism was a significant industry, he had noticed that there

was no real commitment to making the whole industry more profitable among operators, for

instance by working towards extending the season;

people running the companies, they're "oh, we're not open today, no we're gonna close

on the 31st of August because there's not so much tourism in September". Well, with

that attitude there will be no tourism in September, will there? That's why there isn't a

Norwegian tourism community. There isn't one, because of there was then people

would be trying to get the season, not even have a season. To have a year.

Hence, despite a good cooperative climate locally, the felt lack of a larger community

committed to a common tourism project was evident in this case.

Cooperation With Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs) And the Public Sector

Several respondents reported thinking of their businesses as part of a larger destination

for which no DMO existed, seeing their regions through the eyes of a tourist. One couple

reported that destination organisation was too fragmented and illogical from the perspective

of a tourist. Having operated their business for almost a decade, they had also noticed that

there was little continuity in this field as destination organisation appeared to be in a state of

constant change. Moreover, there was also one reported case of a DMO going bankrupt,

which had resulted in one of the businesses in this study missing out on marketing through

Visit Norway.

Furthermore, those informants who reported on collaboration with DMOs claimed that

their staff was incompetent or difficult or impossible to work with. One informant reported

that their nearest DMO office was closed in the peak season, and that they could not get hold

of brochures when they really needed them. Hence, when regarding cooperation with DMOs

the issues described here were seen to hamper cooperation directly, and the migrant tourism

entrepreneurs in this study had difficulties with building links to this part of the industry.

There were signs pointing to public sector agencies and notably Innovation Norway

being unable to build partnerships with these small businesses in ways which was experienced

as beneficial. Based on their experiences, several of the tourism operators in this study had

decided not to participate in tourism projects again. These attitudes were a consequence of having invested money and time on projects which had yielded no results.

Interestingly, a correspondence was noted with the findings of a study from the Scottish Highlands and Islands, where operators reported that formal events were "too over the top" with "too much money hurled at them" (Atterton, 2007, p. 241). Several respondents reported having attended "fancy dinners" in connection with projects and mandatory start-up training before receiving funding. One operator reported rejecting future cooperation with the public sector on the basis of perceiving such spending of public funds as fundamentally unethical.

However, a couple also reported avoiding projects for the sake of independence; they did not want to have to adapt to fit in. Hence, the findings in this study confirm Thomas' (2007, p. 37) suggestion that tourism partnerships between the public sector and small firms may be hampered by an inadequate conceptualisation of small firms in tourism, and a lack of understanding of the objectives of owner-operators in this sector.

Cooperation And "Lifestyle" Motivations

Evidence from the interviews point to features of the locations playing a vital role for cooperation, which highlights some of the complexities involved in making the "correct" localisation choice. The density of tourism businesses and the cooperative climate upon arrival appeared to largely determine these operators' approach to cooperation, with many of them adapting to an established way of doing things out of a desire be accepted and have colleagues in the industry (Bosworth & Willett, 2009, p. 271-272). This also illustrates a process of embedding, which is when firms acquire characteristics that make them fit the environment in which they operate (Atterton, 2007, p. 232). In the case referred to, where a couple had initiated cooperation focused on a more visitor friendly geography, it was not by

virtue of possessing an outsider's view, but rather by virtue of possessing tourism sector experience. Those informants who reported cooperating most purposefully, which in both cased also included cooperation on formalised packages, had migrated to their chosen locations for the sake of becoming self-employed. Another case of cooperation motivated by self-interest was also represented by "the social entrepreneur", who relocated for the sake of rural living, but had gradually become more skilled in his business operation. Thus, in this study it was owner-operators in the tentative category described as "professional managers" who displayed the strongest business focus in their cooperative practices.

Embeddedness. Gaining Social Approval in the Local Community

The local community is a home environment as well as the social and economic context for the business efforts of migrant tourism entrepreneurs. The following sections give some insight into the perceptions of migrant tourism entrepreneurs in rural Norway regarding processes of embedding. In the interviews some informants distinguished between their private selves and their roles as business people when discussing their local communities, at times in subtle ways, which indicated that "social" and "business" were two qualitatively different concerns for these entrepreneurial in-migrants in regards to their local communities. Speaking as their private selves, a majority felt welcome and said that locals had been kind to them, whereas the business field appeared to be more multifaceted.

In a private sense, having a network of trust-based relationships locally is a matter of basic human needs being met. Regarding strong tie networks, understood as high trust relations with family and close friends (Granovetter, as cited in Atterton, 2007, p. 231), there may be important differences between migrants on the basis of migration unit. For instance, Shaw and Williams (2004, p. 103) suggested that the migrant entrepreneur might experience a psychological and cultural distance to his or her host population, and as a consequence, "very

often falls back on the family unit and places increased reliance on family members, which may act as substitutes for social networks" (p. 103). Interestingly, it appeared as though some single migrants had built strong tie networks within the confines of their own businesses. One operator for instance reported regarding some of his seasonal staff as family.

Jack and Anderson's (2002, p. 478) research on rural entrepreneurs stressed that there was no pattern to the actions which resulted in embedding. This observation was confirmed, with all informants in this study reporting different approaches to becoming a part of their social contexts. However, apart from in one case where the informant's identification and thus also the prestige connected to the business owner role was very limited, all informants in this study signalled a need to be acknowledged and supported by locals in their *business efforts*. This was evident from the disappointment or annoyance some informants reported feeling when locals appeared *not* to support them. Interestingly, in two cases informants also described remaining in what might be described as a state of non-embeddedness.

In one of these two cases the informant thought that locals were experiencing a cultural distance to in-migrants, who were all surfers. This cultural distance was explained in terms of locals and in-migrants having vastly different perceptions of the ocean. According to the informant, to a local the ocean represented work and natural resources, which in this context were fisheries and oil. Accordingly, when an in-migrant arrived and started making a living out of "playing in the water", this would seem somewhat absurd in the eyes of a local. While the informant on his side expressed a notion of respect and sympathy for the host population in this remote community, in a business sense he however remained in a non-embedded state. However, this entrepreneur's ties to the natural environment in the location were communicated as deep and strong, arguably also a form of embeddedness.

In another case an interviewee reported that the most important concern upon arrival

in the new location had been to learn the new language and to become quickly integrated into the local community. As a means to establishing social networks and learning Norwegian, both parents had taken on extra jobs locally, as well as being engaged in various activities related to their children's welfare. Despite such purposeful efforts, however, they had not managed to establish strong ties to the local community. Moreover, the informant reported that locals had displayed a complete lack of interest in their business with a minority having any knowledge of the size of the operation and their product offerings. Thus, this business owner also remained in a state of non-embeddedness, "unable to penetrate existing structures" (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012, p. 264). This state was characterised by a feeling of missing out on information and not knowing what was going on in the local community.

Interestingly however, when starting a second business which had to be operated out of another village a few kilometres away due to its access to a natural attraction, the experience with locals had been completely different. Locals had paid attention to his efforts and given him a lot of positive feedback. Hence, when regarding incomer integration and embeddedness, making the correct localisation choice appears to involve some luck.

A couple who had moved out of the capital area to establish themselves in a rural location for the second time in their lives reported that the rural "climate" had changed. This positive change was seen as connected with an ongoing process of rural restructuring,

> people are much more positive and curious about the opportunities that outsiders are able to spot and develop than they were only one or two decades ago. So I think that is something which characterises the local people here, that they think it's a good thing, that people come from the outside. Because now they need it. A couple of decades ago they didn't need it.

These informants reported taking a more formal approach to the local context, by

getting involved in local organisations and participating in projects locally and also in the wider region. These official engagements were partly a result of their own initiative and also a consequence of having been invited to participate. Regarding the establishment of strong tie networks however, this particular couple gave the impression of valuing their privacy.

A second informant reported on a similar approach to *his* local community. While coming across as somewhat of a loner in a social sense, he had become involved in a range of projects including the start-up of an association focused on promoting local business development, as well as taking on positions in several cooperative networks and interest groups for farm products on a local and national scale. Importantly, through activities such as these incomers are able to share their human capital for the benefit of their local communities (Bosworth & Willett, 2011, p. 199).

Moreover, the business efforts of newcomers were important for the vitality of some of these small communities, and in some places there clearly was local awareness of it. One informant noted that, "many locals are just happy that someone are running this place. There's a café further up the valley and there's talk of closing it because no one wants to take over. This kind of thing worries local people". Emphasising the importance of community engagement, she also noted that, "I think it's important that you really try to integrate (…), "You can't sit around and wait for people to come to you, you really can't". Taking an interest by showing up at local events was required,

> in this tiny community with a hundred and fifty people, there are three community
> houses and they all have their own Christmas bazaars. It's the same around Easter. And
> we make sure that we go to all of them. Even if it's just for half an hour.

However, such purposeful actions were communicated as partly putting on a show (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012, p. 270), and appeared to primarily be about building a good reputation for

the business. Moreover, also highlighting how community engagement could be important for a business, the informant reported that a colleague in the tourism industry was seldom seen, and as a consequence of this operator's absence her business was also forgotten. Hence, by not being active in the community this operator missed out on informal cooperation through a visitor referral network. This example thus illustrates some of the overlap of social and business in the rural context (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012, p. 261).

One case highlighted that knowledge of how rural areas "work" could be an advantage. By virtue of having a rural background themselves, a couple of foreign origin attributed their local success to the fact that they knew "the structure of small rural communities". In their previous rural location abroad they reported having observed migrants from urban areas arriving with grand ideas only to be gone shortly after, because they "scared people and did not know how to cooperate". In their view "knowing how to cooperate with everyone" was vital for anyone running a business in a rural location. This illustrates that "social competence" may be crucial in the context of entrepreneurship (Chell, 2008, p. 211).

With fifty percent of their revenue coming from a local market, this competence had clearly also been of vital economic significance. For the purpose of establishing themselves at this market, the couple reported having developed their restaurant gradually to suit local taste buds. In this process of learning about local food traditions, the couple had received a lot of help from people in the community. Moreover, on locals' request and somewhat to their amazement several years after start-up, they reported arranging annual parties where they served the regional specialty "smalahove" (dried sheep's head).

This case may confirm Jack and Anderson's (2002, p. 468) suggestion that embeddedness as a process involves acquiring knowledge of how business is conducted. While relying on international visitors in the peak season, for the remainder of the year this

small business had become a part of the social fabric of the local community.

However, developing this kind of competence was portrayed as a difficult process by one informant, who described the "embedding" as somewhat painful and spanning over several years. As an enthusiastic newcomer he recounted starting his career in the village as the manager of a local supermarket, which had been purchased by an extra-local. While there was a lot of suspicion in the community surrounding the investor's motives for the acquisition, the respondent reported sensing that he gained status as "a rescuer" for taking on the job. However, although locals were keen to support the business by shopping there, they also kept their distance and no one were willing to help out. When the job ended in a burnout after a few months, he reported sensing that he completely lost his status and could feel that locals were talking behind his back. Having to start again from scratch, this informant reported that he had rebuilt his reputation slowly and carefully, this time with knowledge of how the local community "worked".

As previously reported, in one of the cases described here an informant's embeddedness or ties to the social environment impacted on the entire entrepreneurial process. While familiarity with the location is important to be able to understand the nature of the social context (Jack & Anderson (2002, p. 468), it may be vital to note that the "ability to learn the rules and make the right move at the right time" has also been listed as a defining characteristic of entrepreneurial behaviour (Chell, 2008, p. 211). The informant in question knew who to approach in the local business community for the purpose of gaining support, reporting that he asked permission from a local tourism operator (jokingly referred to as "the king of the valley") to start his business. This local operator, who was also the informant's former employer, was quoted as answering, "don't be silly, we've got too many tourists, it would be great if you took some!". Mindful of not wanting to "step on anyone's toes" or

"steal" business from local operators, in this case gaining direct support for the start-up from a local operator was a means to becoming embedded in the local tourism community. According to Tinsley and Lynch (2008), business owners who,

> conform to the norms of the business community, (…) find that they have the support of the business community, and because the business community is so entwined with the general community, the business owner receives support from all levels of society (p. 174).

Embedding: a Balancing Act

Although desiring to be part of their local communities, some informants also expressed a need to retain their autonomy in a social and business sense. One operator noted that it was important not to be "absorbed by the village", as this was intuitively seen as restricting. This also meant accepting and perhaps embracing the role of an outsider and being ready to stand out in the local community. As such, in these cases "embedding" did not describe a process of becoming locals and neither was this what the migrant tourism entrepreneurs in this study ultimately desired. Their primary needs appeared to be centred on gaining local support and acknowledgement in their business efforts. This finding contradicts previous research, with Jack and Anderson (2002) explaining that, "the entrepreneurs seemed to take pride in (…) becoming local and all wanted to have a close local relationship" (p. 481).

One participant in this study stood out as more "deeply" embedded than the others. After operating in his village for almost ten years, this entrepreneur had played an increasingly important role in local tourism development. The entrepreneurial potential in this case appeared to have been unleashed partly with the help and encouragement of the local business community. However, at the time of the interview the informant had become

involved in a formal business network out of a feeling of social obligation, despite perceiving

the project to be a waste of money and time. This demonstrates that embeddedness can also

place unwanted social obligations on operators (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 483).

      Several informants reported feeling that locals had watched from a distance the first

few years, as though they were expecting them to give up and move. Hence, in the contexts

described here persistence and patience was clearly needed in an embedding process. Some

informants referred to newcomers as representing a different kind of energy. This enthusiasm

or energy was however sometimes quickly drained, which could end in disappointment. One

informant noted that, "you want to spread some enthusiasm and maybe you do, but it takes ten

years".

      Business success combined with long-term living appeared to be the recipe for local

acceptance. A successful business could also mean freedom from local norms. As such,

purposeful actions aimed at becoming part of a local community may be less important than

assumed. One informant reported noticing that he had gained respect locally by showing

himself as hard working and skilful at what he does. Moreover, simply by sticking around he

thought that locals had realised that he genuinely wanted to live and work in their community.

Embeddedness And "Lifestyle" Motivations

      Findings from these interviews point to cultural features of each locality being

important for embedding processes, as well as the "social competence" of each entrepreneur.

Thus, whereas previous research pointed to the perceptions, motivations, and expectations of

"counterurbanisers" being important for their subsequent behaviour at their destinations

(Bosworth & Willett, 2009), the cultural characteristics of local communities also play a role

(Atterton, 2007). The findings here however give very limited indications to what are in all

likelihood intricate processes which also need to be considered from multiple points of view.

Hence, this may be a fruitful area for future research.

According to Bosworth and Atterton (2012) theories of regional development assign an important role to in-migrants by virtue of "the wider economic and social relationships that they develop and maintain in the local area to which they move" (p. 266). Moreover, in-migrants play a key role in rural development, by bringing together extra-local and local networks and by introducing new assets and opportunities to rural economies (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012, p. 267).

In this study there was limited evidence pointing to migrant tourism entrepreneurs bringing together the extra-local and the local in their business efforts. In cases of foreign nationals, the physical and cultural distance to the "extra-local" may perhaps serve to hamper such efforts. However, two cases of Norwegian urban-rural migrants categorised as "resourceful entrepreneurs" reported a very high level of formal engagement in their local communities and wider regions, while also retaining and establishing new linkages to the capital area. While migrating for the sake of rural living and showing a limited commitment to their tourism businesses, these informants most closely resembled the ideal in-migrant as referred to above. Moreover, these informants were also the "real" entrepreneurs among the informants in this study.

Chell and Baines (2000) suggested that entrepreneurs could be distinguished from owner-operators on the basis of their networking behaviours. For instance, business owners who primarily stressed the warmth and mutual support of networking belonged to a category of less entrepreneurial owner-managers (Chell & Baines, 2000, p. 208). "Entrepreneurs" on the other hand, "seemingly do not have bounds to their horizons of networked possibilities" (Chell & Baines, 2000, p. 211). One of these "resourceful entrepreneurs" reported behaving in a manner consistent with this description. He reported that he liked to attend meetings and

conferences in order make himself more visible in the wider regional business community, stating that,

> I'm very eager. I try to attend as many conferences and meetings as possible, and they're always good places to meet people (...). And to be noticed, because that's also necessary (...) you have to dare to open your mouth and (...) say what you think. Then it's easier to become involved.

From a tourism industry perspective, it was however unfortunate that these informants' business and networking efforts were primarily focused on agriculture. Therefore, at the time of the interviews, their business efforts did not contribute to enhancing the tourism sector in their locations.

6.9. Implications for Destinations

This study suggests that the business efforts of migrant tourism entrepreneurs enhance the rural tourism sector, confirming Bosworth and Farrell (2011, p. 1491). Informed by their own interests and personal values, the migrant tourism entrepreneurs in this study developed products which were new to their destinations by copying and importing business concepts observed elsewhere. Other informants drew on their unique expertise for the development of new products. Thus, the business efforts of these in-migrants increased tourism product diversification locally and regionally. According to Hjalager (2010) such efforts represent a type of innovation; "product or service innovations refer to changes directly observed by the customer and regarded as new; either in the sense of never seen before, or new to the particular enterprise or destination" (p. 2). Furthermore, this study also suggests that migrant tourism entrepreneurs, and particularly those in the younger age category, establish niche destinations and are able to attract new niche markets to their locations.

Furthermore, the interviews also indicated that service quality enhancement,

professional hosting, and a more friendly attitude to local guests are likely outcomes of migrant tourism entrepreneurship. Also, all accommodation providers in this study had started promoting activities and activity businesses in the areas where they were located to their guests, which benefited the wider tourism industry. Several of them also offered to transport their guests to various activities.

For the purpose of building helpful partnerships Destination Marketing Organisations and public sector agencies such as Innovation Norway may have to acknowledge that small tourism operators are not in it for the money. Thus, by speaking the language of the market and only emphasising economic concepts such agencies hamper cooperation with small scale operators such as these.

7. Conclusion

This study highlighted that migrant tourism entrepreneurs in rural areas of Norway are heterogeneous. While a majority of the respondents in this study were motivated by "a desire for rural living" when regarding their decisions to migrate and their localisation choices, there were also cases of informants who migrated for the sake of becoming self-employed.

By studying migrant tourism entrepreneurs in isolation a tidying up of the lifestyle orientations among such rural operators was allowed. This indicated that lifestyle had multiple meanings for these respondents. "Lifestyle" may imply rural living, entrepreneurial autonomy, and the nature of work in the tourism sector. Moreover, according to one informant, running a business which is not a goldmine is also a lifestyle choice. Thus, their lifestyle orientations did not give access to business motivations and service quality standards, as Morrison et al. (2008, p. 2) suggested.

No informants reported being driven by profit in their business efforts, however entrepreneurial types displayed less growth aversion than other operators.

Moreover, the human capital of migrant tourism entrepreneurs is important to consider. The findings here indicate that serial entrepreneurs without tourism sector experience are more likely to express market values and to be positively inclined towards mass tourism. This may be as a result of their familiarity with the business world, and also a result of having grown up with entrepreneurial parents. These are the "real" entrepreneurs. Novice entrepreneurs without sector specific experience are likely to express "alternative", non-commercial values and engage with niche markets. Novice entrepreneurs with sector specific experience are likely to engage with broader markets and to be reproducers of standard formats, however, these operators are the "backbone" of the sector.

Moreover, migrant tourism entrepreneurs who have other income sources and are pluractivists are likely to display a lower business motivation, because they are not depending on their tourism businesses for survival and/or are more committed to other activities.

The migrant tourism entrepreneurs in this study made important contributions in their locations. Some of them had taken over and turned around small local businesses in areas which were characterised by depopulation, and thus contributed to vitalising local communities. Moreover, in-migrants in this study invested their personal savings, which in some cases were considerable, in upgrading worn down business facilities and in rural areas. This in itself may be of considerable value for a small community. Irrespective of such positive contributions, they could probably all be categorised as lifestyle entrepreneurs, broadly understood.

Regarding cooperation, these migrants tended to adapt to the established and informal cooperative practices in the areas where they were operating, with visitor referral networks being widespread. However, some migrants cooperated more actively and motivated by self-interest, notably accommodation providers.

Furthermore, this research also pointed out that a knowledge of how rural areas "work" may be important for in-migrants. The operators in this study displayed different activity levels and engaged with their local communities in a variety of ways. Moreover, as the features of each location appeared to be important, this may be a fruitful area for further research.

At the outset the aim of the study was to illuminate whether migrant tourism entrepreneurs were primarily oriented towards lifestyle or business. At the end of the project however, the question became meaningless. In the cases described here, the two could not be separated.

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Appendix 1

Interview guide

Respondent grew up where (nationality/urban or rural background)

Moved into destination year

Started/purchased business year

Migration unit (alone, with partner/spouse, with family)

Current product offerings (firm type)

Number of employed staff in season (firm size)

Sources of start up capital, formal/informal (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 109)

The migration process (Paniagua, 2002, p. 355) (NB memory/hindsight bias)

Previous location

Push and pull factors of migration

Specific motivation for migration

Any changes in circumstances that spurred the decision to migrate?

Research Question 1: How can migrant tourism entrepreneurs be distinguished in terms of human capital?

Activity before the migration (Paniagua, 2002, p. 355)

Professional qualification (title)

Employment sector (s)

Work abroad (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 438)

Studies abroad

Previous experience with running a business (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 438)

Which **skill** do you think has been most useful to you in the running of your business?

Are there other skills that have been important?

Research Question 2: What are the characteristics of migrant tourism entrepreneurs who have a cooperative approach to running a tourism business?

Cooperative behaviour

Describe start up phase – assistance/support

Past/current/future cooperation with other businesses

Has cooperation been formalised in any way?

How did cooperation start?

Why cooperate?

Involvement in any tourism related projects? Rationale behind involvement.

Do you see your business as part of a destination?

Research Question 3: Who are the well informed migrants when regarding the localisation of their enterprises?

Selection of specific location (Paniagua, 2002, p. 355)

Reason for first visit

Holiday/vacation (Snepenger et al., 1995; Lardiés, 1999, Stone & Stubbs, 2007)

I would like to explore your choice of place, can your say something about that? (memory bias)

Lifestyle related factors, such as

Amenity factors (landscape) (Hall, 2005; Stone & Stubbs, 2007)

Location offered opportunity to build a peaceful lifestyle (Befus et al., cited in Stone & Stubbs, 2007)

Property prices, better housing (Stone & Stubbs, 2007)

Business related factors, such as

Better suited for new business venture than previous location (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 437)

Local knowledge, local contacts (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 476)

Discovered market niche that was not tapped into

Respondent undertook market research before deciding to set up a business in the chosen location (Shaw & Williams, 2004, p. 109)

Respondent evaluated the location's

Competitive situation

Accessibility

Tourism development potential

Research Question 4: What motivations do migrant tourism entrepreneurs display for starting or buying tourism businesses?

Motivation for entrepreneurship

Can you remember a special episode or moment when the idea for your business came into being?

Can you say a few words about why you wanted to start your own business?

Lifestyle related motivation,

Paid employment would be in conflict with lifestyle ambition (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 438)

To be able to support a life in the new location

Diversion/something to do (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 439)

To meet interesting people

To support leisure interests (Hall & Rusher, 2004, p. 91)

Income related motivation,

Necessity, survival

Discovered market niche (Stone & Stubbs, 2007, p. 439)

Profit opportunity, to make money

Gained access to capital/resources locally (Jack & Anderson, 2002, p. 468)

Motivation related to **autonomy**

Financial independence

To be one's own boss (Hall & Rusher, 2004, p. 91)

Deeper motivation/drive

Components of entrepreneurial drive (Schumpeter, as cited in Swedberg, 2000, p. 16),

Desire for independence, persistence, joy of creating

Task motivation as component of entrepreneurial creativity

Intrinsic motivation – deep interest, involvement in work, enjoyment, personal sense of challenge (Amabile, 1996, p. 6)

Profit/growth orientation

Is profit making/earning a high income important to you?

Any thoughts on growing the business?

Specific motivation for tourism entrepreneurship

Assuming you consider your business to be part of the tourism industry,

could you say a few words about why you have chosen to operate a business within tourism?

Low barriers to entry in terms of skills/investment required

Positive view of the industry (Vaugeouis & Rollins, 2007, p. 644)

Tourism lifestyle, e.g. perceived advantages connected with seasonal fluctuations (Morrison, 2006, p. 199)

Educational/professional background in tourism

Expertise (Amabile, 1996, p. 5)

Choice of product

a) For migrants who started their own business and introduced a new product

Rationale behind choice of product (s)

Sources of inspiration

b) For migrants who bought a business

Rationale behind choosing business type

Choice of specific business

How has your business developed since start up/take over?

Can you say something about how new products came into being? (source of ideas?)

Summing up,

Do you think that the locals think of you as someone who has come here to run a business or as someone who moved here to pursue a rural lifestyle?

If you were forced to put yourself in a category, would you see yourself as lifestyle oriented or as someone who is primarily here to run a business?

Born year