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Population Change in Rural Wales: Social and Cultural Impacts

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Contents

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1. INTRODUCTION

This research report is one of series by the Wales Rural Observatory [WRO]: a research centre that addresses social, economic and environmental issues in rural Wales. Rural Wales is defined by the WRO as the local authorities of Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Conwy, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, Powys and Ynys Mon (Anglesey). In addition, in this report, the rural parts of Flintshire, Vale of Glamorgan and Swansea come under the research focus, as we are working on ward level. The theme of the report is population change, and it explores the impacts of the processes of population change on society, culture and language in rural Wales. Following this introduction the report is structured into a further seven chapters.

The research Methodology, which entailed a review of the academic and policy literature; statistical analysis of data from a range of sources; and interviews with residents and institutional actors, is described in Chapter 2 Chapter 3 reviews selections from the recent literature and makes a key point (which sets the context for this research) that while counterurbanisation is perceived to be the principal factor in rural population change, there are other factors in play – rural population change is not a unidirectional flow but a complex system of flow and counter-flows, each with their own dynamic.

The analytical core of the report is formed by the following four chapters. Drawing on existing data sources, Chapter 4 provides a statistical view of population change in rural Wales and the components of migration. Chapter 5 discusses data from interviews with national organisations that have opinions concerning the impacts of migration flows on the social composition, language and culture of rural Wales. Chapter 6 draws out the perceptions of interviewees in rural Wales concerning population change and the impacts of this change. Concentration falls first on the nature of in and out migration from rural communities, and how migration is perceived in terms of numbers, types of people, groups and reasons for moving; and secondly on how interviewees perceived the impacts of population change on their local area: how members of both incoming and established households feel they, and their local communities, have been affected by population changes. Chapter 7 looks more closely at aspects of community and culture, including the Welsh language, in the context of population change. Finally, Chapter 8 brings the analyses together and summarises the main findings.

2. METHODOLOGY

There were four strands of data collection for this project: a literature review; a set of structural interviews were carried out by telephone with householders in rural Wales; a set of telephone interviews with national organisations that have interests in rural Wales, particularly the impacts of migration flows on social composition, language and culture; and data from the Llwybro-Routes project, which is described below. Descriptions of the analyses of these data follow.

2.1 Literature Review

The literature review discusses recent academic work on population flows in the rural areas of Great Britain, the majority of which identify counterurbanisation as the most potent factor in rural migration flows. Put broadly, counterurbanisation is the perceived shift, as a counter to the historical shift from the countryside to towns and cities, of the professional classes from urban areas back to rural areas. Selected literature is discussed using themes that have emerged from the qualitative and quantitative research. In addition, policy literature relating to population change in rural Wales is discussed. The review concludes by pointing towards the underlying complexity of rural population flows, which this research project seeks to explore.

2.2 The sample for investigating population change in rural Wales

As stated in the Introduction, rural Wales is defined by the WRO as the local authorities of Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Conwy, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, Powys and Ynys Mon (Anglesey), and also included in this report, were the rural parts of Flintshire, Vale of Glamorgan and Swansea.

Drawing on a Household Survey of 4025 households carried out in 2004 by NOP for the WRO (www.walesruralobservatory.org.uk) a sample for population change was constructed. The initial criterion was, of course, that the household interviewee had agreed to take part in further research, which gave 2609 households – 65% of the NOP survey population.

To construct the sample for population change, a criterion was applied:

- At the time of the Household Survey (2004), the respondent had lived at their current address in rural Wales for less than 5 years.

This means that members of this group could have either moved to rural Wales from outside of Wales, or moved to rural Wales from elsewhere in Wales.

There were 1442 members of this group, which was termed **General in-movers**.

Drawing on the NOP survey data, selected characteristics for the General in-movers group are analysed and presented in Chapter 4. In addition, data from the Llwybro-Routes project are presented.

2.3 Structural interviews with households in rural Wales

From the 2609 NOP Survey households that had agreed to be re-interviewed, two further sub-groups groups were identified for a series of 300 structural interviews with households in rural Wales. These two groups of potential interviewees were termed: Incomers and Established.

Incomers

Incomers are the subset of General in-movers (lived at their current address in rural Wales for less than 5 years) who have moved to rural Wales from outside of Wales. The additional criterion for Incomers was that their previous address was outside of Wales.

Established

For the Established group of households the criterion was that at the time of the NOP Household Survey (2004), they had been resident at that address in rural Wales for over 20 years.

Using these criteria 495 In-comer households, and 1007 Established households were identified. From each of the two groups, 150 households were randomly selected for interview. These interviews were conducted by telephone and the interview schedule is at Appendix 3.

2.3.1 Analysis of household interviews

1) These interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcripts contained both qualitative and quantitative data, and were coded accordingly.
2) The dataset was divided into the two categories 'Incomers' and 'Established'.
3) Interviewee responses were cross-tabulated against the questions on the interview schedule. This provided preliminary quantitative analysis.
4) The analysis was completed thematically, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

2.4 Interviews with national organisations

This was a set of telephone interviews with national organisations that, it was considered, would have an interest in the impacts of migration flows on the social composition, language and culture of rural Wales, and would have something to say on what was being done, and what could or should be done, about these issues. The organisations interviewed were:

Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth)

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Welsh Language Society)

Cymuned

Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg (Welsh Language Board)

Trac

Mentrau Iaith Myrddin (Language Enterprise)

WLGA (Welsh Local Government Association)

Wales Young Farmers Clubs

Wales Rural Forum

The interview schedule is in Appendix 4.

The institutional data was analysed quantitatively, using a statistical analysis computer package.

2.5 Llwybro-Routes

A dataset was obtained from the Llwybro-Routes project. Llwybro-Routes was established as a pilot project in 1998 as a response to the problem of out-migration of young people from mid Wales. It is managed and funded by the Welsh Assembly Government. Following independent evaluation of the pilot project and the preparation of a new business plan, Llwybro-Routes is currently operational in the following local authorities: Gwynedd, Anglesey, Conwy, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Wrexham, Powys, Ceredigion, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Swansea, Neath Port Talbot, Vale of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.

Llwybro-Routes' mission statement is:

'The promotion of staying in rural Wales or returning to rural Wales as attractive and viable options.'

For this project the Llwybro-Routes data was analysed quantitatively to explore the movement patterns of young people who had left rural Wales.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Rural areas in Britain, and indeed in Europe, have, for some time, been subject to processes of population transformation, which have resulted in expressions of concern about the future health and viability of rural communities. Rather than being straightforward, population migration flows are complex, with three interacting components: out-migration, natural change and in-migration, particularly the process termed counterurbanisation. Out-migration from rural areas, particularly young people either unable to afford housing or unable to find work, is seen as a major transforming factor (e.g. Stockdale, 2004). In a study of rural England Buller *et al.* (2003) argue, however, that natural change (births and deaths) and in-migration from urban areas currently define rural demography. Buller *et al.* (2003) go on to state that natural population change is negative; consequently the English rural population, left to its own devices, would not sustain itself. However, the second trend of in-migration from urban areas is so powerful and pervasive that it has reversed the effect of the negative natural trend, so that the English rural population is increasing. From mid-year population estimates, it would appear that in rural Wales similar processes of negative natural change countered by in-migration from urban areas are at work, resulting in population increases.

Out-migration from, and in-migration to, rural areas interact in complex ways. Historically, as people sought the employment opportunities and perceived benefits afforded by urban living, since before the Industrial Revolution there has been a flow of people from the countryside to towns and cities – an urbanisation of the general population. Although major urban population centres have continued to expand – the result of positive natural change and the positive net outcomes of the complex migration flows discussed here - since the 1970s a discernable counter-flow away from urban centres towards rural areas has occurred. The underlying reasons advanced for this counterurbanisation process include a widespread rejection of urban life by middle-class, professional and service sections of the population; a preference for rural modes of living; and personal investment strategies. Studies of counterurbanisation include Allinson (2003), Berry (1976), Bolton and Chalkely (1989), Champion (1989, 1998), Cross (1990), Fielding (1998), Halfacree (1997) and Spencer (1995). As Buller *et al.* argue the study of in-migration to rural areas from towns and cities, or counterurbanisation,

has come to dominate research into rural population change. Counterurbanisation's powerful effects, in addition to population expansion, include the potential to affect the social, cultural and economic composition of rural communities.

Buller *et al.* (2003, p8) make three key points concerning counterurbanisation. Firstly, they argue that counterurbanisation is an over-simplified term that is, in its practice, constituted by fluctuating population flows between rural and urban (both inter and intra), rather than any unidirectional flow. Secondly, they argue that counterurbanisation is not a 'natural' flow but one governed by planning and housing allocations and markets in rural areas. Thirdly, they point to the differences between the processes of urbanisation and counterurbanisation. According to Buller *et* al (2003) the former was a spontaneous movement driven by the macro-economic concentration of capital, labour, resources and opportunity in newly developing urban spaces, coupled with the decline in demand for labour that accompanied the agricultural revolution, while counterurbanisation appears to be attributable to the micro-economics of lifestyle choice, often perceived to arise from comparative wealth. In the study, 'Migration impacts in rural England', the Countryside Agency (1999) point to the potentially damaging, and reinforcing, effects of rural migration flows. On one hand, rural out-migration has been identified as a process bound up with economic and social decay in rural areas. While on the other hand, counterurbanisation tends to be viewed as a pernicious phenomenon, especially with regard to its perceived inflationary effects on rural house prices (Shucksmith, 1981; 1991). Although some authors (e.g. Keeble and Tyler, 1995) argue that counterurbanisation is a re-energising factor in terms of employment and economic development, the majority of authors have been hostile, and an overarching theme of counterurbanisation studies is that the erstwhile-urban middle-class and professional sections of the population that constitute the counter-flow are colonising rural areas. It is argued that, in turn, this process has resulted in gentrification processes; rising house prices and costs of living, with concomitant problems for local people on lower incomes; a loss of rural culture; and a general marginalization of host rural populations.

Some authors suggest that there has been an over-emphasis in research studies on counterurbanisation. For example, Stockdale (2004) argues that not only has counterurbanisation become the primary focus for recent research into rural change, but

that it has tended to overshadow research into other drivers of population change such as out-migration:

> 'Out-migration, as a research topic, has been obfuscated by the counterurbanisation trend, which has become virtually hegemonic in the literature as an explanation of rural change.' (Stockdale, 2004, p167)

Similarly, Buller *et al.* (2003) argue that studies focused on counterurbanisation have tended to discount trends such as rural out-migration, migration between different rural areas and population replacement.

Notwithstanding the critique of counterurbanisation as an overused concept, Buller *et al.* suggest that it must be accepted that studies of population change, particularly counterurbanisation, have contributed greatly to recent rural research in Britain. Buller *et al.* (2003, p10) construct a methodological typology of this rural research, which has four categories: quantitative, behavioural, class re-composition and neo-humanist. In the remainder of this section, we collapse these four categories into two broader categories of research: quantitative and qualitative[1]. Within these broad categories, we review and contextualize selected literature on studies of Welsh rural population change, which introduces Welsh-specific elements to migration research: a focus on Welsh culture and language and on counterurbanisation flows constituted by incomers to Wales from England. Finally, in this section we review selected policy-related literature on migration in rural Wales.

3.1 Quantitative approaches to rural population migration

These studies draw on data sets such as census returns, housing statistics, medical data and longitudinal data, often coupled with statistical analysis to infer migration flows for rural areas. In addition, the quantitative analyses might be used as the basis for further survey and questionnaire research. For example, a recent report on the state and characteristics of England's countryside (Commission for Rural Communities, 2005) uses

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[1] There is, of course, overlap between the categories, with qualitative data used to provide context for quantitative research and much qualitative work based on quantitative data sets.

a range of data sets to draw together a demographic profile of rural England, as a context for analyses of the nature of social, economic and environmental performance and change. Broadly, the demographic analysis shows that the population of rural England is growing at a faster rate than in urban areas. A key point, however, is that the rural population is also ageing at a faster rate than the urban population. Although the report makes the point that the migration shift is constituted by complex flows between different types of settlement, rather than a simple exodus from urban to rural areas, these findings support the thesis that migration to rural areas – counterurbanisation – has been a key feature of the net population increase in English rural areas for some 20 years.

Boyle (1995) uses statistical analysis (a partially constrained Poisson regression model) to examine migration into and between rural areas in England and Wales between 1980 and 1981. He found that flows tended to be constrained by distance and to be part of a filtering process, with few people moving directly from large metropolitan centres to rural areas, but a large majority moving from non- metropolitan cities and towns to rural areas within commuting distance. A significant factor in Boyle's research was the presence of military bases as an attractor of in-migrants to rural areas. Boyle also points to other explanations for counterurbanisation such as the rural re-location of industry and commerce; the increasing willingness of workers to commute long distances; and the role of retirement migration to remote coastal and rural areas:

'..where an idyllic environment is imagined if not attained.' (Boyle, 1995, p65).

Focusing on population change in mid-Wales between 1961-1995, Walford (2001) uses geographical information systems (GIS) to link together long-term analysis with household survey information. Walford identifies two main groups of households that had migrated to their current address. The first, larger, group had moved to improve their lifestyle and to retire from the workforce, while the second group had moved to the area for employment and to raise a family. Of all respondents, 31% had moved from outside of mid-Wales, and 69% had moved within the area. Those who had in-migrated had been able to 'improve' their housing circumstances in terms of the size and value of their properties (Walford, 2001, p336). Walford observes that these findings resonate with previous research that identified antipathy between the host population and incomers (e.g. Lewis *et al.*, 1991; Boyle *et al.*, 1998) and, in addition, that they:

'…add weight to the argument that newcomers are able to outbid locals in the housing market and thus potentially lead to a continuing decline in the culturally indigenous population.' (Walford, 2001, p336)

In a later paper, again focusing on population change in mid-Wales, Walford (2004) finds more evidence concerning differential perceptions of conditions in these rural areas. Newcomers tended to enthuse about the countryside environment and were indifferent about rising house prices, whereas indigenous residents expressed concerns about the lack of affordable housing and the lack of employment opportunities. With respect to population flows, Walford's analysis, which uses a quantitative survey and tracks previous addresses, shows that, into the twenty-first century, rural mid-Wales remains an attractive destination for migrants from outside of Wales, but relatively few people had moved into the area from other parts of Wales. Population growth was the result of in-migrating new households from outside of Wales.

3.2 Qualitative approaches to rural population migration

Within the broad sweep of qualitative approaches there is a range of research studies with differing foci. As noted by Buller *et al.* (2003, p10) there have been a number of studies that focus on the effects of population change on rural communities, with a special focus on how counterurbanisation affects class recomposition. For example, Bell (1994) provides an ethnographic study of a village in rural southern England, focusing on relations between incomers and the host population, while Murdoch and Marsden (1994) explore class composition and its associated power relations in rural Buckinghamshire: an area comfortably within commuting distance of London, and accessible to counterurbanisers. Other studies of class re-composition in rural areas include Cloke and Thrift (1987), Phillips (1993) and Hoggart (1997).

Drawing on case studies in the Scottish borders (Roxburgh) and the Western Isles (North Lewis), Stockdale (2004) reverses the more common focus on in-flows and counterurbanisation and explores the consequences for rural communities of out-migration. A key strand of her argument is that the concepts of human capital and social

capital are increasingly perceived as important elements of the current policy emphasis on endogenous development in rural areas (e.g. partnerships, community participation). Human capital refers to the knowledge and skills held by individuals (Woolcock, 1998; Brown and Lauder, 2000). Social capital may be described as the network connections, based on shared values and trust, formed within a community that enable community members to act together to achieve shared goals (e.g. Putnam, 1996; Woolcock, 2000). Stockdale concludes that depopulation of rural areas, particularly among young adults, continues to have detrimental effects on both human capital and social capital in these areas. A major contributing factor is the generally low incidence of employment opportunities in rural areas. Stockdale found that many young adults enhanced their human capital by migrating to urban centres to further their education and skills but did not return to their home area because of the lack of suitable job opportunities. Those that did return were often forced to take lower paid work that was not commensurate with their enhanced levels of human capital. In a later paper, Stockdale (2006) argues that it is necessary for young adults to migrate from rural areas in order to acquire the human capital required for the economic regeneration of rural areas, assuming that regeneration is to be achieved through endogenous development. However, Stockdale further argues that in rural areas that have been depopulated, endogenous development will have limited success and will need augmentation by exogenous development strategies.

Notwithstanding Stockdale's work on the effects of out-migration, counterurbanisation remains the principal focus for much of the academic literature on rural population change. In order to understand and articulate what is going on when sections of the urban professional and service classes migrate into rural areas, the outputs of some authors, discussed below, are informed by what can be broadly understood as post-structuralist theory. Central to many of these theoretically driven accounts is the concept of the post-productivist countryside. Post-productivism embraces the idea that, for various local and global economic, environmental and social reasons, agriculture is retreating from its previous dominant position in rural areas to a state where a more diversified agriculture (including food production) shares the countryside with a range of economic and social activities such as tourism, energy production and housing. The countryside, then, becomes a place that not only produces - it is also a public good for consumption. Put broadly, the argument of this body of work is that the rural is socially constructed; that rurality is not a stable referent, but a complex process and practice; that

people practise their own ideas of what rurality is in their lived-in spaces; and that in practising their ideas, to paraphrase Murdoch and Marsden (1994), they 'reconstitute rurality'. It is further argued that the normative views of rurality held by incomers tend not to agree with the actual experiences of host populations; the implications are that rural areas become contested spaces.

Murdoch and Day (1998) explore how the constructs of rurality –the normative ideals of rural communities - held by mobile middle-class incomers to rural areas play out in the reinvention of rural communities. They conclude that many parts of rural Britain are being effectively colonised by the white middle-classes. In similar vein, Halfacree (1998) examines the concept of 'neo-tribalism' and envisages the contestation of rural space by neo-tribal incomers and indigenous rural residents. Put broadly, neo-tribalism (Maffesoli, 1996) is the idea that a condition of the postmodern world is a sense of loss of community, and that some people actively seek to join 'neo-tribes', such as counterurbanisers, in order create some time and space to withdraw, at least partially, from the undifferentiated mass population.

Drawing on the European theorists Bourdieu, Lamont and Eder, Cloke *et al.* (1998a) explore class formation and lifestyle strategies in the Gower peninsula in south Wales: a rural area that, historically, has strong connections with England and, spatially, is located:

> '…at the end of the M4 corridor and, hence, potentially at the extremities of socio-economic restructuring associated with the service sector growth.' (Cloke *et al.*, 1998a, p166)

Cloke *et al.* identify four strategies among Gower residents. First, there are a local gentry of long-established residents whose life-world is associated with community organisations, political representation, and the common good in the village. Second, there are village regulators who act as community leaders to guard and preserve their notion of village space, often against 'unwanted' development. Third, there are those incomers who have normative ideas of village life and try to practise these ideas by joining in community social and cultural activities. Finally, there are those incomers who buy into a version of rural life, almost as an adjunct to their urban lifestyle, through positional

goods such as houses and land, but tend not involve themselves with the local community.

In another study, which included several interviews with residents in various parts of rural Wales, Cloke *et al.* (1998b) employ the notion of cultural competence: that rural people will have strong cultural and geographical imaginations of what rural life should be like. Cultural competence occurs when people fit in with the rural imaginations that prevail in a specific area – cultural incompetence when people, usually incomers, seek to impose 'alien' imaginations. Cloke *et al.* identify widespread tensions and socio-cultural discord between native Welsh residents, particularly Welsh language speakers, and English in-migrants to rural Wales. The flow of English immigrants into Wales, especially the north and west, was notably perceived as problematic in the late 1980s, fuelled by the price difference between the steeply rising property market in England, and the lagging Welsh property market. It was, and continues to be, argued that English incomers were effectively colonising certain parts of Wales, to the detriment of Welsh language and culture. At that time responses by Welsh nationalist activists ranged through media statements expressing concern; calls to make immigrants pay more for houses; to a long-running arson campaign by extremists against English –owned holiday homes in Wales, and estate agents selling Welsh property to English people (Fevre *et al.*, 1999). Although English immigration into Wales peaked in 1988 and has been, of course, subject to the cyclical nature of the UK housing market, it continues to be perceived as a problematic issue. Fevre *et al.* (1999 p138) argue that the 'sheer virulence' of reactions to English immigration can be explained in terms of a 'threat to community', which can also be understood as a threat to the 'national identity of the place':

> 'If the Welsh identity of the place is being defined in terms of the Welsh language rather than say, from finding the place within the borders of Wales, then this identity can indeed be threatened by immigrants who might lower the proportion of native Welsh-speakers in the area. In these circumstances the numbers of immigrants, and especially their percentage of the population, are obviously legitimate causes of concern for worried nationalists.' (Fevre *et al.*, 1999, p139)

Day (2002, p213) also points to a Welsh identity based on language; moreover, a national identity rooted in the Welsh language and in rural Wales. As Day observes the idea that

Wales is <u>rural</u> and Welsh-speaking has led to some Welsh nationalists rejecting areas such as the Valleys and urban industrial zones as non-Welsh. A perceived exodus of the indigenous population and the in-migration of English, non Welsh-speakers to rural Wales, taken together, become a matter of real importance and a potential source of social and cultural tension in rural areas of Wales. The potential for such tensions is identified in some of the recent policy-related literature on migration.

3.3 Policy-related literature on migration

A study of population change and migration in north-west Wales – Ynys Mon (Anglesey) and Gwynedd, which are both areas seen as strongholds of Welsh culture and language – by Jones *et al.* (2001) finds evidence of social and cultural tensions between in-migrants and local people:

> 'Movement into the area from outside was widely perceived as creating social and cultural issues – relationships between 'English' and 'Welsh'. There was surprising evidence of mutual suspicion and lack of understanding. People entering the area were often poorly informed about local cultural, linguistic and social patterns; they tended to rely on limited information and partial expectations.' (Jones *et al.*, 2001, p7)

Jones *et al.* suggest that while standard analyses of migration have tended to focus on economic structures, essential services and resources, family and household composition, and social networks, the equally important role of cultural perceptions has been under-examined.

Other recent policy- literature, such as the study of 'The role of the Housing System in Rural Wales' (WAG, 2006a), also draws attention to population change and social recomposition in rural Wales. This report points to net in-migration in rural Wales, with inter-censal increases of 37,000 between 1981 -1991, and a further increase of 30,000 between 1991 and 2001. Moreover, at the 2001 Census, 30% of the population of rural Wales was English-born. The authors argue that underlying these data showing net population growth, the population of rural Wales is, in essence, ageing, with a continued

out-migration of younger people, who leave to seek education and job opportunities, and increasing in-migration of the elderly and retired (WAG, 2006a, p5). That these changes affect housing provision in rural Wales is noted:

> 'It is clear that the rate of demographic change and its variable impact on the social composition of different localities is central to debates about rural housing in Wales.' (WAG, 2006a, p5)

The report also notes the potential for conflict and the creation of new social divisions in the Welsh countryside as the more commodified lifestyles and values of comparatively wealthy incomers interact with distinctive local cultures.

Finally, 'Age-Balanced Communities in Rural Wales', a report for the National Assembly for Wales, which explores the factors that influenced young adults to leave Wales and the barriers that prevent them returning, confirms the general migration patterns (Newidiem/Menter a Busnes/Department of City and Regional Planning, 2003). For the year ending June 2002, Wales had a net gain of 6,700 people, a 0.2% increase in total population. There was a rise in the 45-64 age group. An increase in the 15-19 age group was attributed to student intakes to Welsh universities. The totals of young adults in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups experienced net decreases. Migration flows tend to be with England, with younger people moving to England and older people in-migrating from England. For example, 60% of people leaving Welsh rural authorities were aged 16-44, and the majority moved to England. In respect of in-migration to rural Wales, the report shows that almost 60% of in-migrants were from England. The report concludes by proposing two scenarios. Under the 'old' scenario the outlook for rural Wales is bleak, with few job opportunities; a low wage economy; and significant out-migration of young people. To reverse the effects of the 'old' scenario, the report agues that a 'new vision' is required. This 'new vision' calls for the creation of conditions for a vibrant rural Wales to encourage young people to build their lives there. Included in the 'new vision' are plans for new linkages between universities and employers; increased access to ICT broadband; the re-location of public bodies and centres to rural Wales; and the nurturing of Welsh language and culture.

In the cultural context, it should be noted that the Welsh Assembly Government is committed to the promotion of the Welsh language and the creation of a bilingual country. The principal policy document is Iaith Pawb, formulated in 2003 as the national action plan for a bilingual Wales, and which includes over 60 specific actions across a number of policy areas. Coupled with Iaith Pawb, the action plan, the Welsh Language Scheme is a statutory document prepared under the Welsh Language Act 1993, which sets out how the English and Welsh languages will be treated equally in the policy and services arenas (WAGb, 2006).

The Wales Spatial Plan (WAG, 2004, p49-50) recognises the flows of both in-migration and out-migration, their impacts on rural areas, as discussed in the literature above. It identifies some actions to address the issues, to which WAG is committed, such as the extension of community transport provision; improved access to health facilities; and skills diversification within the agricultural community. In addition, the Wales Spatial Plan lists other areas that might be addressed in the future. These include better delivery of public services; the development of economic opportunities linked to the land economy; and the development of essential services and public transport for rural Wales.

3.4 Summary

A salient theme in this review of the literature is counterurbanisation – the in-migration of comparatively wealthy fractions of the service and professional classes to rural areas. A range of reasons are attributed to this movement including, the search for a rural idyll; the desire for positional goods; property investment strategies; and retirement strategies. In-migration to rural areas is perceived to have some beneficial effects such as countering rural out-migration; re-energising rural economies; and maintaining the requirement for services in rural areas. The majority of authors are, however, hostile to the process and point to the detrimental effects on rural culture, social composition, the rural age profile, conflicts in the countryside, and, in particular, the effects on rural housing markets and the access of lower income groups to housing in rural areas. Rural Wales, which has a unique language and culture, is perceived to be particularly vulnerable to the detrimental effects associated with counterurbanisation and rural in-migration.

The literature points also to more complex population flows than unidirectional in-migration. We argue that these complex flows are under-researched. This current research project seeks to unpack the complexity of population flows in and out of rural Wales, and to explore what are the effects of these movements on local, rural Welsh culture.

4. A STATISTICAL PICTURE OF POPULATION CHANGE IN RURAL WALES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter of the report sets the context for the research by providing an overview of population change in rural Wales and the components of migration, derived from existing data sources. It draws largely on three data sources: the NOP survey (2004), which provides a study of 4025 households in rural Wales, government population figures from the past three censuses and mid-year population estimates, and data provided by the Llwybro-Routes project on young people leaving rural Wales.

Assessing population change relies essentially on measuring two types of change. The first is natural change and represents how population changes at the most basic level (births and deaths). The second is migration, a more complex process, on which the main focus of this project will fall. In this section then, natural change and general population change will first be assessed, and following this, data on migration will be used to isolate the components of migration; in-migration, out-migration and return migration. Following this, the research will consider households that have stayed in rural Wales for twenty years or over: 'established households'. This may seem paradoxical when studying population change, but it is considered important for this work to not only study people who have moved house in recent years (migrants), but also those who have not, for these households also contribute to the population make-up and allow us to understand why certain people and households may not move. The final section summarises and analyses statistical date from the Llwybro-Routes project, which looks at young people in rural Wales and their migration patterns.

4.2 Natural Change and Population Change in Rural Wales

In terms of population, for a defined area and over a defined period natural change is the change in total population due to natural causes (births minus deaths). Data were available on the numbers of deaths and births in each authority in Wales over a ten year

period (1991-2001), and the results have been collated for Wales as a whole, Rural, Urban, Valley and Other areas.

Table 4.1 Natural Population Change 1991-2001 [2]

Area	Live births (thousands)	Deaths (thousands)	Natural change (thousands)
Rural	**102.5**	**121.3**	**-19.4**
Other	46.9	42.3	4.5
Urban	84.4	73.5	11.3
Valley	110.7	107.2	3.4
Wales	**344.5**	**344.1**	**0.7**

Source: ONS Mid-year Population Estimates

The table clearly shows that without migration, the population in rural areas had decreased by 19,400 over the period 1991-2001. This supports the evidence found by Buller et al (2003), discussed in the literature review, who identified similar trends in rural England. Rural areas in Britain then, without migration, would not sustain their populations. In contrast, Urban, Valley, and Other areas in Wales, as well as Wales as a whole, all experienced positive natural change. Urban areas were the most extreme of these, if there was no migration, the population would have increased by 11,300 over the period 1991-2001. Given this trend towards natural population decline in rural areas of Wales, general population change in Wales will now be explored in order to assess the impact of migration.

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[2] Table 4.1 does not sum arithmetically due to rounding. For each year, ONS calculated (live births – deaths = natural change) using raw numbers. Each of the three elements of the calculation was then adjusted into units of one thousand and rounded to one decimal place. These rounded results for the 10 year period were then summed. As the sums (rounded to one decimal place) of a series of raw calculations, the numbers in the 'natural change' column are accurate. The numbers in the 'live births' and 'deaths' columns reflect cumulative rounding errors.

4.3 General Population Change in Wales

4.3.1 Census Data: Population Change 1981 – 2001

Table 4.2, overleaf, shows overall population change in Wales between the Census years, 1981, 1991 and 2001 by local authority area. In summary, between 1981 and 2001, the population of Wales increased by 3.2%. Rural, Other and Urban Authorities increased in population between 1981 and 2001, while Valley Authorities decreased in population. It therefore can be said that as rural Wales increased in population, but natural change was negative, in migration (people moving to rural Wales) must account for rises in the rural population over this period.

Population in Wales increased most rapidly in Rural authorities, which, taken as a proportion of the total Wales population, gained 0.8 % over each ten year period. Other authority areas also increased in population, but at a lower rate (0.2%). Urban authorities increased in population, although this category now represents a smaller proportion of the total Wales population, declining by 0.1% every ten years. As a proportion of the Welsh population, Valleys decreased by around 0.9% for each Census period. In summary, Rural and Other authorities are increasing their proportion of the Welsh population every ten years whilst the opposite is occurring in Valley and Urban areas.

Across the rural local authorities, between 1981 and 1991 Conwy had the greatest increase in population (9.1%) closely followed by Ceredigion (7.7%). Denbighshire had an increase just above 5% while the remaining authorities were below this level. Between 1991 and 2001 Ceredigion had the greatest increase of the rural authorities at 13.7%. Conwy and Pembrokeshire's rate of population growth declined between 1981-91 and 1991-01, and the Isle of Anglesey was the only rural authority to decrease in population over this time period.

Table 4.2 Population Change in Wales 1981- 2001, by Local Authority

Unitary Authority	Population by Year and Authority (thousands).						Change Over 10 year periods	
	1981		1991		2001		1981-91	1991-01
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	%	%
Isle of Anglesey	68	2.4	69.1	2.4	66.9	2.3	1.6	-3.3
Carmarthenshire	165.1	5.9	169.7	5.9	172.9	6.0	2.8	1.9
Ceredigion	61.2	2.2	65.9	2.3	74.9	2.6	7.7	13.7
Conwy	99	3.5	108	3.8	109.6	3.8	9.1	1.5
Denbighshire	84.9	3.0	89.4	3.1	93.1	3.2	5.3	4.2
Gwynedd	111.9	4.0	115	4.0	116.9	4.0	2.8	1.7
Monmouthshire	76.5	2.7	80.2	2.8	84.9	2.9	4.8	5.8
Pembrokeshire	107.4	3.8	112.4	3.9	114.2	3.9	4.7	1.6
Powys	112.2	4.0	119.7	4.2	126.4	4.4	6.7	5.6
Rural	**886.2**	**31.5**	**929.4**	**32.3**	**959.7**	**33.1**	**4.9**	**3.8**
Other	372.1	13.2	384.3	13.4	396.4	13.7	3.3	3.1
Urban	648.6	23.1	662.1	23.0	665.7	22.9	2.1	0.5
Valley	906.7	32.2	897.1	31.2	881.7	30.4	1.1	-1.7
Wales	**2813.5**	**100**	**2873**	**100**	**2903.6**	**100**	**2.1**	**1.5**

Source: Census 1981, 1991, 2001

4.3.2 Population Change and Natural Change 1991-2001

A more detailed breakdown of population change in Wales over this period can be obtained from the mid-year population estimates in each authority, provided by the ONS. This gives an estimate of migration, which when combined with data on births and deaths gives a more accurate estimation of population change (than census data) over a 10 year period between 1991 and 2001. Table 4.3 (overleaf) shows that natural change in Welsh rural areas (-19,400 people) has been offset by people moving in (50,300). This has resulted in a population increase of 30,900 in rural areas, a number that far exceeds the growth in Urban areas (9,100) and Other areas (12,400). Rural areas were the main driver then behind a 37,200 increase in the population of Wales as a whole, but the reason this figure is not higher for Wales is that Valley areas were seen to experience a population loss of 15,400 over the same ten year period. The table shows this decrease is due to out migration rather than negative natural change.

Looking at the breakdown of different rural areas, Ceredigion was seen to experience the greatest rise in population (11,000), with Carmarthenshire and Powys close behind. Anglesey was the only rural area to lose population over this period (-700). As with the Census results for 1981-2001, Anglesey's result is at odds with the general pattern.

A further breakdown of population change can be provided by looking at change within authority areas. Figure 4.1 displays recent population change in Wales between 1991 and 2001 using Lower Super Output Areas. The blue regions display where population is decreasing and the yellow, brown and pink represent population gain. On the map, the northwest of Wales shows a general loss of population and similar loss is shown in the south west as well as pockets in mid-Wales, although mid-Wales displays an overall increase in population.

Table 4.3 Population change in Wales between 1991 and 2001 [3]

Area	Live births	Deaths	Natural change	Net migration & other changes	Total change
	(thousands)	(thousands)	(thousands)	(thousands)	(thousands)
Isle of Anglesey	7.7	8.4	-0.7	-0.7	-1.3
Carmarthenshire	18.2	23.2	-5.0	8.9	3.9
Ceredigion	6.5	7.9	-1.4	11.0	9.5
Conwy	11.7	16.9	-5.2	6.9	1.7
Denbighshire	10.0	12.9	-3.0	6.5	3.6
Gwynedd	13.3	14.6	-1.2	3.0	1.8
Monmouthshire	8.8	9.1	-0.5	5.1	4.8
Pembrokeshire	13.1	13.4	-0.6	1.1	0.7
Powys	13.2	14.9	-1.8	8.5	6.7
Rural	**102.5**	**121.3**	**-19.4**	**50.3**	**30.9**
Other	46.9	42.3	4.5	7.9	12.4
Urban	84.4	73.5	11.3	-2.2	9.1
Valley	110.7	107.2	3.4	-18.8	-15.4

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[3] Table 4.3 does not sum arithmetically due to rounding. For each year, ONS calculated (live births – deaths = natural change) using raw numbers. Each of the three elements of the calculation was then adjusted into units of one thousand and rounded to one decimal place. These rounded results for the 10 year period were then summed. As the sums (rounded to one decimal place) of a series of raw calculations, the numbers in the 'natural change' column are accurate. The numbers in the 'live births' and 'deaths' columns reflect cumulative rounding errors.

WALES	**344.6**	**344.1**	**0.7**	**36.5**	**37.2**

Source: ONS: Mid Year Population Estimates

Population Change in Wales 1991 to 2001
for Lower Super Output Areas

Legend

Population change (%)

More than 50

25 to 50

5 to 25

1 to 5

0 to -5

-5 to -25

-25 to -50

less than - 50

WAG Urban, Valley and Other

Source: 1991 & 2001 Census

Arsyllfa **Wledig** Cymru
Wales **Rural** Observatory
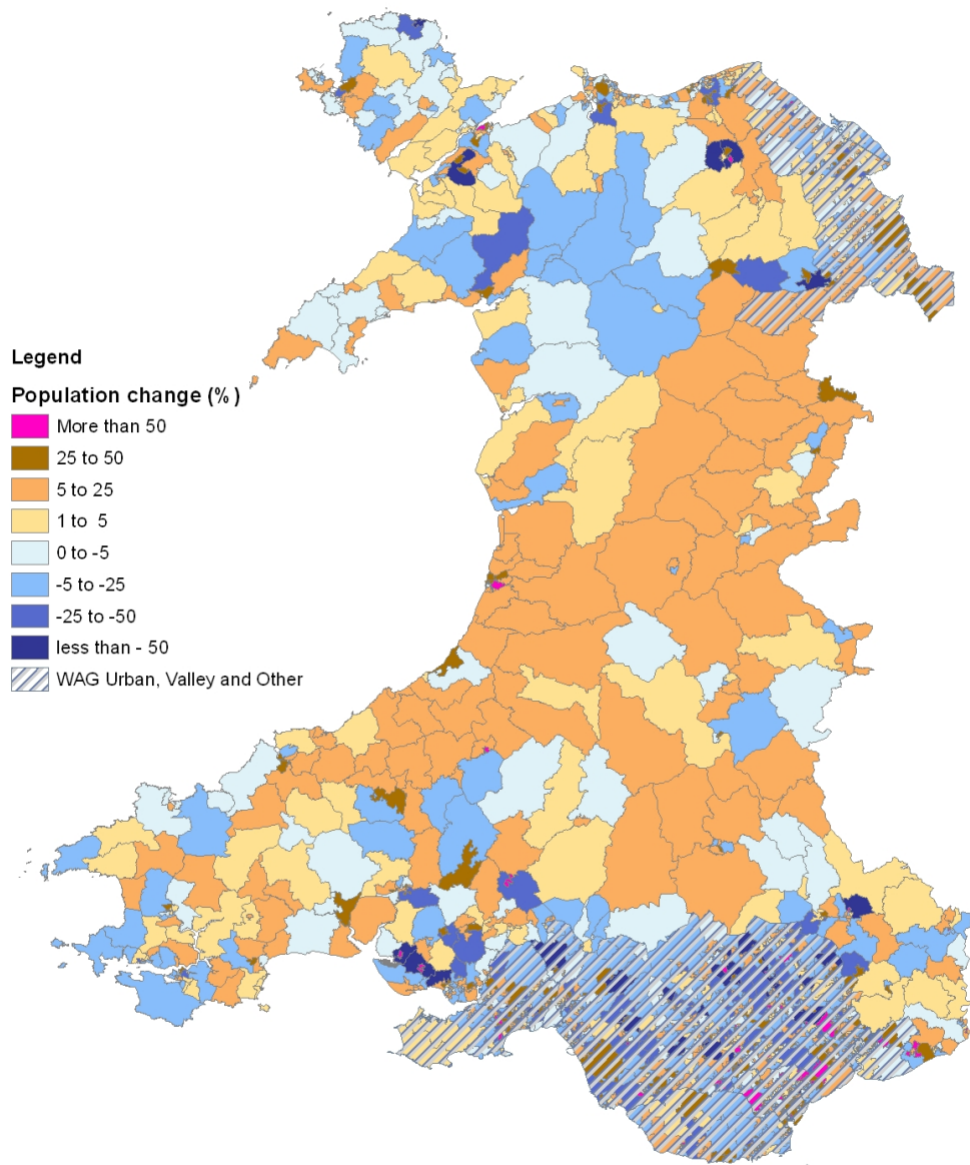
Figure 4.1 Population change in rural Wales between 1991 and 2001

4.4 Components of population change: Migration

4.4.1 Introduction

This section will statistically investigate in more detail the three components of migration: in, out and return migration, in the context of rural Wales. In addition, there is an examination of those households that have remained in the same home for at least the last twenty years, referred to in this report as "established" households. For each of these facets of migration, the NOP survey provides data that allows analysis of scale and geography, as well as typical characteristics of the households in the group: for example social class, household income and attitudes to community.

4.4.2 Out Migration

4.4.2.1 The Scale and Geography of Out Migration

The NOP survey asked 4025 households in rural Wales: 'In the last five years, have any members of this household moved out?'. The results are shown below.

Table 4.5 Households with people moving out in the last 5 years.

Local Authority	Total households (HH) surveyed	Number of HH with movers	HH with movers as % of total HH surveyed	HH with movers to/from outside rural Wales	HH with movers to/from outside rural Wales as % of HH surveyed	HH with movers outside rural Wales as % of HH with movers
Anglesey	274	61	22.3	45	16.4	73.8
Carmarthenshire	572	127	22.2	103	18.0	81.1
Ceredigion	332	78	23.5	58	17.5	74.4
Conwy	457	100	21.9	68	14.9	68.0
Denbighshire	355	75	21.1	58	16.3	77.3
Gwynedd	458	96	21.0	75	16.4	78.1
Monmouthshire	302	52	17.2	40	13.2	76.9
Pembrokeshire	459	122	26.6	91	19.8	74.6
Powys	468	91	19.4	76	16.2	83.5
Flintshire	161	41	25.5	28	17.4	68.3
Swansea	39	9	23.1	5	12.8	55.6
Vale of Glamorgan	139	30	21.6	26	18.7	86.7
No response or missing	9	3	-	4	-	-
RURAL COUNTIES	3677	802	21.8	614	16.7	76.6
TOTAL	4025	885	22.0	677	16.8	76.5

Source: NOP Survey 2004.

This table shows that of the 4025 households surveyed 885 (22%) had members that had moved out in the last five years, and 677 (16.8%) households had members who had moved to places outside rural Wales. Table 4.5 also shows the location of these households (HH) by local authority. There is a fairly even distribution across local authorities with 17% – 27% of households surveyed having had someone move out. Similarly, households with people who had moved outside rural Wales as a percentage of total households surveyed were within a range of 13% - 20%. As a percentage of those households with people that had moved, only Swansea had below 60% move outside of rural Wales. Overall, 76.5% of people leaving a household left rural Wales.

4.4.2.2 Characteristics of households with out migrants

For those households who did have a person move from their household, a series of follow- up questions were asked in the NOP survey. These included how many people had moved out (up to 4); where they moved to (locally, within Rural Wales, Urban Wales, or outside Wales); and why they had moved out. By cross-tabulating responses to this question with responses to a range of other questions from the survey we can construct context for out-migration from rural Wales in two ways. Firstly, we can infer the characteristics of the households from which people migrated. Secondly, we can gain some knowledge of where people migrated to and why they migrated.

Households with out migrants displayed the notable following characteristics[4]:

- Social class: The most common category was C1 (37.7%), with the least widespread being DE (15.3%). 60.3% of households came from the two categories AB and C1, above the average for all households (56.6%), whereas only 39.7% came from C2 or DE, compared with 45.9% of all households.

- Age: There was a relatively low percentage of households where the respondent was under 45 (15.9% compared with 34.3% of all households), but a proportionally much higher number of respondents aged 45-65 (73% compared with the average of 62.2%).

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[4] For all tables relating to characteristics of households see Appendix 1.

- Perceived Nationality: over half of the respondents saw themselves as being Welsh, reflecting the average for all households.

- Welsh Language: 69.4% of households with people moving out spoke Welsh at some level, reflecting closely the figure for all households (69.9%).

- Income: The majority of households with movers outside Wales earned under £21,000 (52.3%). The figures for each income band reflected the averages closely.

- Numbers in Household: The most common household size was 2 people (40.7%), and all categories reflected the wider trends.

- Attitudes to community: households with people moving out tended to reflect the averages for all groups when asked about community issues.

4.4.2.3 Characteristics of people leaving home

Limited data were available relating to the characteristics of the people who moved out of rural Wales in the past five years. NOP survey data concentrated on the households from which people left, but given that the interviewers were asking questions of people living in households in rural Wales about other individuals who had left the household, some of the characteristics and values given were necessarily ascribed to those who had left by the interviewees. This provided a basic understanding of the leavers.

Firstly, the area that leavers moved to was recorded. It was found that 37.4% had moved to elsewhere in the same vicinity and 37.6% moved outside Wales, with only 23% moving elsewhere in Rural/Urban Wales and 2% refusing to provide details of where people had moved to. The reasons each person left their home in rural Wales was noted, and Table 4.6 (overleaf) shows this broken down by the destination of the person who moved out. From this breakdown it is clear three factors underpin nearly 75% of decisions to move home: 27.7% left to 'set up home'; 27.3% to seek employment or for better employment opportunities; and 19.3% moved primarily to enter higher education. Other influential factors included relationship breakdowns (7.8%), moving in with a spouse or getting married (7.7%) and moving for a 'better quality of life' (2.4%).

31

Looking more closely at the three dominant reasons, some strong themes emerge as to the link between where people moved and why. Most of the people who moved out of their home in rural Wales to enter higher education moved outside of Wales (64.9%). This is a very similar figure to that for those who moved outside of Wales due to employment (61.9%), and suggests that there is a clear trend of people leaving rural Wales in order to find work or education. Conversely, only 10.9% of people who moved primarily to set up home did so outside of Wales- there was a high retention rate in rural Wales with 83.8% remaining in their local area or elsewhere in rural Wales. Almost 20% of people who left for education did move to Urban Wales, presumably the universities in urban Cardiff and Swansea. There was also a high retention rate of those who moved due to a relationship breakdown or to move in with a partner, with these people generally choosing to stay in their local area or rural Wales.

Table 4.6 NOP Reasons why people left by area they moved to

| | Destination of person who left… | | | | | | | | Total | |
| | Elsewhere in the same area | | Elsewhere in rural Wales | | To urban Wales | | Outside Wales | | | |
Reasons for leaving rural Wales	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	% of all reasons given
Higher education	22	8.0	20	7.2	55	19.9	179	64.9	276	19.3
Employment	39	10.0	51	13.0	59	15.1	242	61.9	391	27.3
To set up home	274	69.2	58	14.6	21	5.3	43	10.9	396	27.7
Housing too expensive	0	0.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	2	40.0	5	0.3
Access to services	5	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	50.0	10	0.7
Better quality of life	13	38.2	4	11.8	3	8.8	14	41.2	34	2.4
Relationship breakdown	57	51.4	13	11.7	17	15.3	21	18.9	111	7.8
Moved in with spouse or relative/ got married	67	60.9	15	13.6	9	8.2	19	17.3	110	7.7
Death/ illness	8	38.1	0	0.0	1	4.8	2	9.5	21	1.5
For their independence	14	66.7	1	4.8	4	19.0	2	9.5	21	1.5
To travel/see the world	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	100.0	5	0.3
Joined the armed forces	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	100.0	6	0.4
Retired	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	66.7	3	0.2
Bored/didn't like rural life	2	33.3	1	16.7	1	16.7	2	33.3	6	0.4
Others	22	59.5	3	8.1	0	0.0	10	27.0	37	2.6

Source: NOP Survey 2004.

4.4.3 In Migration

The NOP survey allows investigation of in migration in a number of ways. In this study two approaches were taken. Firstly, we capture general movement by focussing on people who have moved into their home in rural Wales within the last 5 years[5]. This first group includes households moving within rural Wales; those who moved to rural Wales from non-rural Wales (e.g. Valley to rural); and those who moved into Wales from elsewhere. For ease, this group will be termed "General In-Movers". Secondly there is a narrower focus on those who have moved into rural Wales from outside of Wales, and have lived in their house for less than five years. This group will be referred to as "Incomers to rural Wales".

4.4.3.1 General In Migration

Of the NOP population of 4025, 1442 (35.8%) had been resident in their present home for less than 5 years. This figure is broken down by authority area in Table 4.7, below:

Area	All HH Surveyed	Number of HH resident for less than 5 years	% of all HH in authority
Anglesey	274	91	33.2
Carmarthenshire	572	175	30.6
Ceredigion	332	127	38.3
Conwy	457	183	40.0
Denbighshire	355	125	35.2
Gwynedd	458	168	36.7
Monmouthshire	302	120	39.7
Pembroke	459	168	36.6
Powys	468	164	35.0
Flintshire	161	53	32.9
Swansea	39	10	25.6
Vale of Glamorgan	139	58	41.7
No response or missing	9	0	-
RURAL	**3677**	**1321**	35.9
TOTAL	**4025**	**1442**	35.8

Source NOP survey 2004.

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[5] Looking at people who moved into their home within five years allows identification of those who have had time to contribute to the social and cultural impacts on the local population, but had perhaps not yet become integrated into the local community. The relative effect of groups at the one or two year cut-off points could be explored, but the numbers are small relative to the populations they may be affecting.

Table 4.7 shows that 36.2% of all households in predominantly rural areas of Wales have been resident in their current home for less than 5 years. This is slightly above the number for all households in the survey, and there are clearly significant variations within rural areas. The greatest number of general in movers was found in Conwy (12.7%), with this area also having the greatest proportion of general in movers compared to all households in the authority (40% of households in Conwy had moved to their home in the last five years). Swansea (25.6%) and Carmarthenshire (30.6%) had the lowest proportions of general in migrant households.

The NOP survey also allows a profile of general in moving households to be developed:

- Social Class: The most common social group amongst households who had lived in their home for less than 5 years was C1 (33.6%). When comparing these households to the averages for all groups, a slightly greater number are seen to fall into social classes C2 and DE (46.9% compared with the 45.9% average).

- Age: The age profile for general in movers was young compared to the average for all groups. Over half (53.4%) were under 45, compared to 34.3% of all households. 46.3% of all NOP respondents were over 55, but only 29.2% of general in migrant households were in this age group.

- Perceived National Identity and Welsh Language: General in moving households were less likely to identify themselves as Welsh than all other groups, other than in movers from outside Wales. Also, these households were less likely to speak Welsh fluently or quite well (21.6%) than the average for all groups (28.9%).

- Household tenure: People who had lived in their home less than five years were the least likely of any group to own their home (71.4% compared to 82.4% of all households in the survey).

- Number of people in household: The most common household size amongst general in moving households was two people (36.9%). This age profile was similar to that for all groups.

- Household income: This distribution was very similar to the average for all groups with the greatest proportion falling into the £10-21,000 income group.

- Attitudes to community: General in moving households were less likely than average to react positively to questions about the local community. For example, 81.7% of all households felt part of the community, but only 75.1% of general in moving households did.

4.4.3.2 Incomers to rural Wales

The second group to be investigated were those who have lived in their home for less than five years and whose previous address was outside Wales (i.e. they have moved into rural Wales in the last five years). There were 495 such households found in the NOP survey, 12.3% of all households in the sample. This figure is broken down further in Table 4.8, below.

Table 4.8   Incomers to rural Wales by local authority

Region	All HH	Number of HHs classified as Incomers	% of all HHs in authority classified as Incomers
Anglesey	274	31	11.3
Carmarthenshire	572	44	7.7
Ceredigion	332	44	13.3
Conwy	457	55	12.0
Denbighshire	355	42	11.8
Gwynedd	458	56	12.2
Monmouthshire	302	56	18.5
Pembroke	459	58	12.6
Powys	468	80	17.1
Flintshire	161	16	9.9
Swansea	39	2	5.1
Vale of Glamorgan	139	11	7.9
No response or missing	9	0	-
RURAL	**3677**	**466**	**12.7**
TOTAL	**4025**	**495**	**12.3**

Source: NOP Survey 2004.

Of the 3677 households surveyed by the NOP in rural Wales, 466 (12.7%) are classified by this study as incomers to rural Wales: households that have lived at their current address for under 5 years and have move to rural Wales from outside of Wales. This figure masks variations within rural Wales, between different authorities. The greatest number of incomer households was found in Powys, 16% of the total number in rural Wales, and the fewest in Anglesey (6.3%). As a percentage of the total number of

households in the authority however, Monmouthshire becomes the focus for incomers from outside Wales, with 18.5% of households in this authority fulfilling the criteria. Anglesey had the lowest (5.5%) proportion of incomer households. These data are further illustrated in Figure 5.2, below.

Figure 4.2 Proportion of Incomers in each rural local authority
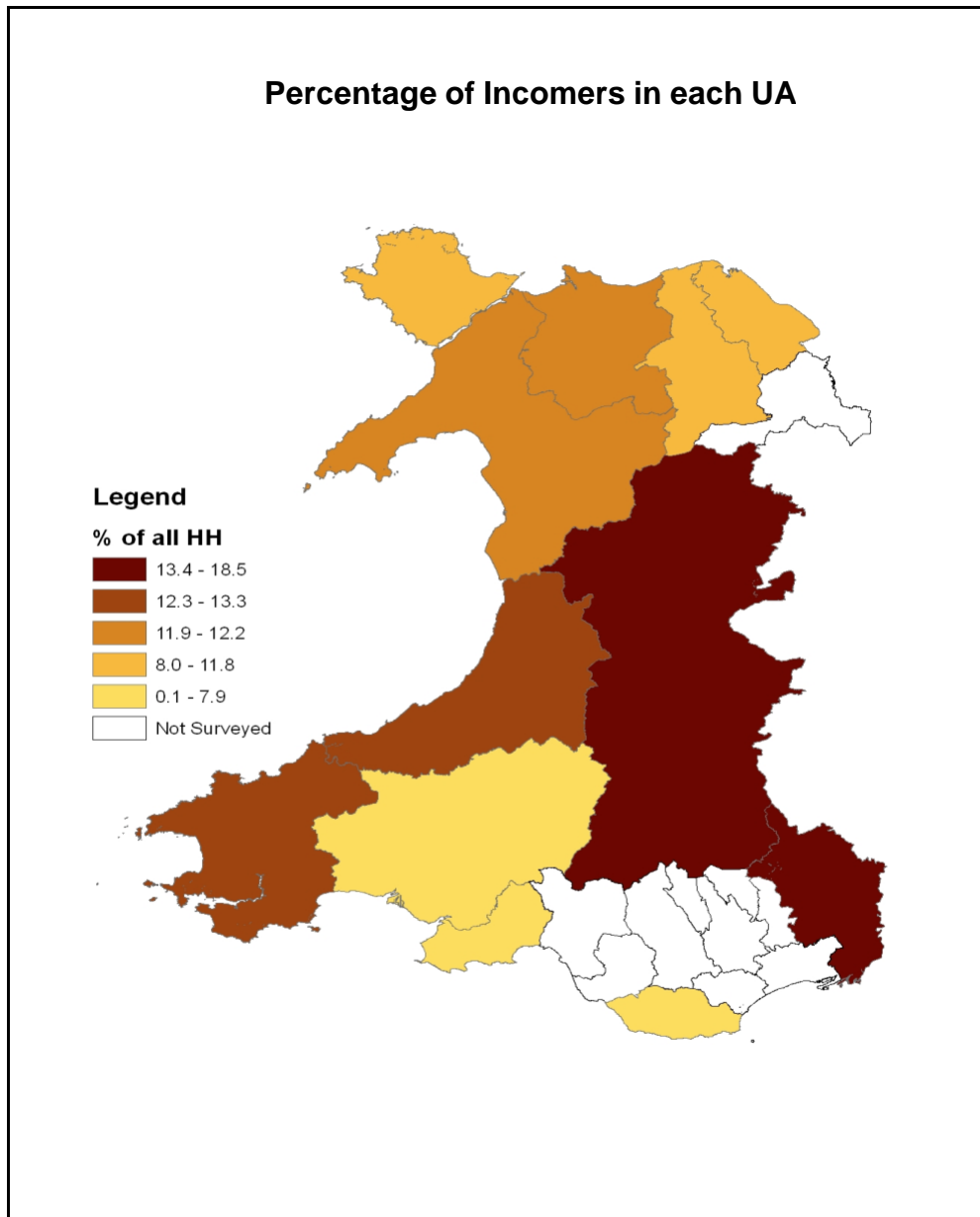
The NOP survey also allows a profile of general in-moving households to be developed. This profile tends to suggest that incomers are a distinct group in terms of their characteristics:

- Social Class: The most common social class amongst incomers to rural Wales was C1 (30.4%), the same category as for all groups in the study. The distribution amongst each category was very similar to the average to all groups, one of the few characteristics that was.

- Age: Similarly to general in moving households, incomers to rural Wales had a higher than average proportion of under 44s (43.9% compared to 34.3% for all groups) and fewer elderly (over 65).

- Perceived national identity/ Welsh Language: The proportion of incomer households who identified themselves as Welsh was significantly lower than any other group. This is unsurprising considering they have moved from outside of Wales, and is backed up by the low number of fluent Welsh speakers (9.9% compared to the average of 28.9% overall, and 39.2% of established households.)

- Household tenure: A relatively low percentage of incomers owned their own house- 73.3% compared to 82.4% for all groups in the survey.

- Number of people in household: The most common household size amongst incomers was 2 people (44.5%). The profile for all ages broadly related to that for all groups in the survey.

- Household income: 47.4%, a higher than average (33.4%) percentage of incomer households, came from the top two income brackets (essentially above £21,000).

- Attitudes to community: Predictably, incomers knew the least people in their community and were most likely to feel isolated. However, incomers were the group most likely to feel safe in their community and also had the highest proportion of people who identified is a strong sense of community where they live. This could be due to the respondents comparing their current community in rural Wales to their old place of residence, with the corollary being that rural Wales is viewed as a relatively safe place to live, with strong community relations.

4.4.4 Return Migration

A further facet of population change is those households, or individuals, that leave rural Wales to live outside the area, but later return to rural Wales to live. These are referred to as return migrants and form an interesting group of movers as they had chosen both to leave and return to rural Wales. The NOP survey provided information on the numbers of households and people classified as return migrants as well as household characteristics.

4.4.4.1 The Scale and Geography of Return Migration.

The NOP survey found that a total of 1088 people from 743 households had returned to live in rural Wales after living elsewhere (see Table 4.9, below). Of the 1442 people who had moved to their present home within the last five years, 281 (19.5%) said that they had returned to live in rural Wales.

Table 4.9 'Returnees' by the local authority of their household

Local Authority	H/Hs with returnees	% of H/Hs with returnees	Number of returnees
Anglesey	46	6.2	66
Carmarthenshire	107	14.4	141
Ceredigion	70	9.4	101
Conwy	84	11.3	128
Denbighshire	53	7.1	78
Gwynedd	89	12.0	124
Monmouthshire	58	7.8	81
Pembroke	84	11.3	133
Powys	84	11.3	122
Flintshire	29	3.9	56
Swansea	8	1.1	10
Vale of Glamorgan	29	3.9	48
No response or missing	2	-	0
Rural	**675**	**10.1**	**974**
Total	**743**	**/**	**1088**

This table shows there were variations between different rural authorities. Most authorities had around 10% of households containing a return migrant, with Carmarthenshire having the greatest proportion (14.4%) and Anglesey the lowest (6.2). Interestingly, the three 'Other' areas (Flintshire, Swansea and Vale of Glamorgan), which contain some rural and some urban areas, all had relatively low proportions of households with return migrants.

4.4.4.2 Characteristics of households with return migrants

- Social Class: The majority (63.2%) of households with a return migrant were from either the AB or C1 group. This was higher than the average for all areas of 56.6%.

- Age: The age structure of respondents from houses with return migrants reflected closely the overall picture, with 55-64 year olds the largest group (25%).

- Perceived National Identity: Most considered themselves Welsh (59%), reflecting the number for all households, although there is a significantly lower proportion of people who consider themselves English (8.7%) compared with the average (15.9 %).

- Welsh Language: Over three quarters (77%) of household respondents had some ability in Welsh, above the 69.9% average for all surveyed households.

- Number of people in household: Households with return migrants were most likely to contain 2 people (36.5%), and this, along with the other categories, closely matched the averages for all households.

- Household Income: The most numerous income group was those earning over £31,000 per year (30.5%). The proportion was vastly greater than the average for all households of 18.1%, suggesting this was a relatively affluent group.

- Attitudes to community: from the series of attitude questions asked by the NOP survey relating to community relations, households with returnees were seen to reflect the overall picture for all groups.

4.4.5 Established Households

It is important for this project to not only study people who have moved house in recent years (migrants), but also those who have not, for these households also contribute to the population make-up. Investigating the characteristics of households who have at their present address for a long time (established) allows us to understand those who are not migrating, and why. The NOP survey identified those households that had lived in their current home for 20 years or more, and provided data on the scale, geography, and the specific characteristics of these households.

4.4.5.1 The Scale and Geography of Established Households

Table 4.10 Established HH by Local Authority in Rural Wales

Region	All HH	Established: H/Hs resident for 20 years or over	% of all H/Hs in authority classified as Established
Anglesey	274	74	27.0
Carmarthenshire	572	174	30.4
Ceredigion	332	86	25.9
Conwy	457	90	19.7
Denbighshire	355	92	25.9
Gwynedd	458	100	21.8
Monmouthshire	302	55	18.2
Pembroke	459	125	27.2
Powys	468	122	26.1
Flintshire	161	45	28.0
Swansea	39	10	25.6
Vale of Glamorgan	139	30	21.6
No response or missing	9	4	-
Rural	**3677**	**918**	**25.0**
Total	**4025**	**1007**	**24.9**

Source: NOP Survey 2004.

41

The survey found 918 households in rural Wales that have lived in the area for 20 years or over. This represents 25% of the total sample for rural Wales, making established households a significant group. As for variations within rural Wales, the greatest of established households was in Carmarthenshire (30.4%), with the lowest proportion in Monmouthshire (18.2%).

4.4.5.2 The characteristics of Established Households

The NOP survey identified several notable characteristics of established households:

- <u>Social Class</u>: The most numerous social class amongst established households was C1 (37.7%), broadly reflecting the wider picture for rural Wales. Established households had the greatest proportion of group DE (21.5%), more than incomers (18.5%), out migrant households (15.3%) and households with return migrants (14.1%).

- <u>Age</u>: The age profile of respondents from established households was notably different to other groups. Only 8.3% of respondents were under 44, compared to a rural average of 34.3%. The most common age group for respondents from established households was 55-64, making up just under 1/3 of cases. 71.9% were above 55 compared to the average of 46.3% for all households. This suggests those who have been resident for over twenty years are an ageing group, which tends to confirm the observations made in the literature concerning younger people leaving rural areas.

- <u>Perceived National Identity</u>: A high proportion of established households identified themselves as Welsh. 65% felt Welsh, above the 50.3% average and considerably more than the 20.4% of households who moved into rural Wales.

- <u>Welsh Language</u>: A relatively high number of established households included fluent Welsh speakers (39.2% compared with an average of 28.9%). This group were also the most likely to believe the ability to speak Welsh was important to fully participate in the local community.

- Household tenure: 90.5% of established households owned their house. This was nearly 10% above the average, but is an expected result considering the age structure of the group and the residence period of twenty years.

- Numbers in Household: A high number of established households contained only one or two people (73.4% compared with average of 65.9%). This supports the idea that there is an ageing established population in rural areas.

- Income: The income distribution is notably different to other groups and the rural Wales average. Only 12.2% earned more than £31,000 (compared to the average of 18.1 %) and just over 1/3 earned less than £10,000 per year. This relatively low number of high earners combined with a high proportion of low earners implies that at least some households have been unable to move for financial reasons. It also implies an ageing population again, supporting previous evidence (see above).

- Attitudes to community: Established households were the most likely to consider themselves part of the community (89.2%); know many people in the community (87%); feel people in the community can be trusted (83.9%); and enjoy living in the community (95.9%). This suggests that over time people become more settled and integrated in the community, supported by the fact that this group felt the least isolated (only 17.5% said they can feel isolated compared to the average of over 20.5% for all groups). Established households were also most likely to feel they could influence decisions in the local area.

4.5 Llwybro routes data

4.5.1 The Llwybro-Routes project

The Llwybro-Routes project was established as a response to the problems associated with high numbers of young people leaving rural Wales, and provides further data on migration in rural Wales. The programme aims to collate data on young people in rural Wales and encourage people to remain living in, or return to, communities in Wales in which they were brought up. It seeks to promote rural Wales as an attractive place to live and work to young people who grew up in the area. It was formerly managed by the Welsh Development Agency [WDA], now incorporated into the Welsh Assembly Government's Department of Enterprise, Innovation and Networks.

The scheme was piloted in 1998 in four areas of Mid Wales and subsequently extended to 14 authority areas in rural Wales and several authorities outside rural Wales. This includes the nine wholly rural authorities: Ynys Môn, Conwy, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Powys, Ceredigion, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire and Monmouthshire; the three authorities that contain significant rural areas: Flintshire, Wrexham and the Vale of Glamorgan; and two other authorities: Swansea and Neath Port Talbot.

The project has three main features:

1. A comprehensive database of young people who attended secondary school in the study area. In 2006, 34,210 members were registered.

2. Regular newsletters to database members to promote the area as attractive to place for young people to live and work.

3. A website which contains links to a wide range of job opportunities, publications and case studies of young people who have stayed in or returned to live in Wales.

4.5.2 The Llwybro-Routes database

This section examines the characteristics of those who have registered with the Llwybro-Routes database. In particular, it investigates patterns of migration amongst young people. A significant limitation of the data source is the relatively young age of the sample. As of 2006, the mean age of people on the Llwybro database is 18.9. This indicates that the majority of members have not been in employment for long, and many will still be students. Accordingly, findings from this evidence that relate to young people's migration within and beyond rural Wales are somewhat tentative. The database does, however, have significant potential to identify trends amongst young people from rural Wales in the next few years, providing it is continually updated.

4.5.3 Retention and migration

Ninety-six percent of people who went to school within the fourteen local authorities covered by the project, and are now aged over 18, remain living within this area. This remarkably high figure, which refutes other evidence and the commonly held opinion that young people are leaving rural Wales, is a function of the low average age of the sample.

The proportion of respondents over 18 who live within the same region in which they went to school varies geographically. Retention is greatest in North Wales where 98% of people over 18 have stayed living within the region. In South-West Wales 96% remained living in the region, compared to 82% in South-East Wales and 76% in Mid Wales. (See figure 4.11 for a breakdown of the four regions).

Table 4.11   Local authorities within the four regions covered by Llwybro

North Wales	Ynys Môn, Conwy, Denbighshire, North Gwynedd, Flintshire and Wrexham
Mid Wales	Powys, Ceredigion and South Gwynedd
SW Wales	Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Neath Port Talbot and Swansea
SE Wales	Monmouthshire and the Vale of Glamorgan

Within Mid Wales, which has the highest rate of leavers, one third of those from Ceredigion have left the region, as have 15% in South Gwynedd and 10% in Powys; the comparative average figure for all other local authority areas is less than 3% (see figure 4.12).

Table 4.12 Percentage of "Llwybro" registered people who have remained living in Wales, and in the region in which they went to school

	% Live in the region in which went to secondary school	% Live in Wales
Ceredigion	64.9	93.9
South Gwynedd	74.8	89.8
Powys	89.9	92.3
Anglesey	97.8	99.1
Conwy	99.3	99.8
Denbighshire	98.6	99.5
Flintshire	99.0	99.2
Wrexham	99.2	99.6
North Gwynedd	96.5	99.4
Carmarthenshire	93.3	99.1
Neath Port Talbot	93.1	97.1
Pembrokeshire	95.3	98.8
Swansea	98.7	99.3

It is probable that the higher rate of out-migration amongst the sample in Mid Wales is a result of the older average age of members in this area. The mean age of those who have registered in Ceredigion is 20.6, in Powys 19.6 and in south Gwynedd 19.1. These are notably higher that the mean age of those who have registered with Llwybro throughout rural Wales: 18.9 (see Table 4.13). This is a function of the design of the Llwybro project, given that the scheme was piloted in 1988 in eight schools based in four areas of Mid

Wales: Blaenau Ffestiniog; Tywyn and Machynlleth; Central Powys; and the Teifi Valley / East Ceredigion.

Table 4.13 Average age of Llwybro members within the rural authorities

L.A.	Average age in 2006
Ceredigion	20.6
Powys	19.6
Gwynedd	19.1
Anglesey	18.5
Denbighshire	18.4
Conwy	18.1
Carmarthenshire	18.0
Pembrokeshire	17.9
Monmouthshire	17.6
Total	**18.9**

More detailed analysis on young people's patterns of migration has been undertaken on a sample of 20,771 respondents who attended school in the nine wholly rural authorities. This sample relates to those who left school between 1995 and 2005. As shown in Table 4.14, the majority, 89%, live within the same authority in which they went to school. Two percent have moved outside of rural Wales yet remain in Wales, and 1% live in England.

Table 4.14 Percentage and numbers of people who went to school in rural Wales who have remained in the same authority, stayed in rural Wales, stayed in Wales and moved to England

	Live in the same UA in which went to school	Live in a different UA, but within the nine rural UAs	Live elsewhere in Wales, but not in rural UA	Moved to England
%	89%	7%	2%	1%
Numbers	18587	1451	501	225

4.5.4 Factors influencing the migration of young people

Factors that affect the propensity of young people to migrate include individual socio-demographic characteristics, as well as experiences relating to their education and employment. Respondents' age, Welsh language ability, qualifications, field of employment and current salary are examined in relation to patterns of migration in the following sections.

4.5.4.1 Age

There is a correlation between the age of members and their likelihood to remain living within the same authority (see Table 4.15). Two thirds of people who left school in 1995 reside in the same authority in which they lived when they were at school, compared to 94% of people who left school in 2005.

Table 4.15 Migration patterns according to the year in which respondents left school

Year Left School	% in same UA	% move elsewhere in rural Wales	% remained in rural Wales
1995	67	19	86
1996	69	16	85
1997	76	20	96
1998	79	18	97
1999	87	12	99
2000	84	14	98
2001	90	8	98
2002	83	16	99
2003	90	6	96
2004	86	9	95
2005	94	3	97

4.5.4.2 Welsh language

These data indicate that Welsh speakers are slightly more likely to remain living in rural Wales than those who speak English. Ninety-three percent of Welsh speakers live in the same authority in which they went to school, compared to 88% of those whose preferred language is English. Non-Welsh speakers are also more likely to have moved outside of rural Wales and to England.

4.5.4.3 Skills and education

Llwybro respondents are invited to provide data on their education, qualifications and skills; 1692 completed these additional questions. Results indicate that young people who have higher qualifications are less likely to remain living in the area in which they grew up (see Table 4.16). Less than a half of Llwybro members who have a Masters degree remain living in the same authority in which they went to school; 23% of this group have moved outside of rural Wales; 11% live elsewhere in Wales; and 11% are now based in England. Sixty-four percent of those with a degree live in the same authority in which they went to school, compared to 75% whose highest qualifications are A-levels and 85% who have GCSEs (although, such trends may be, in part, due to the age of respondents). Those with vocational qualifications, such as a BTEC are highly likely to have remained

in rural Wales: 78% of those in this category remain in the same authority, with 14% having moved elsewhere in rural Wales.

Table 4.16   Patterns of migration according to highest qualification

	Live in the same UA in which they went to school	Live in a different UA, but within the nine rural UAs	Live elsewhere in Wales, but not in rural UA	Moved to England
Masters	44%	33%	11%	11%
Degree	64%	22%	4%	9%
A Level	75%	17%	1%	7%
GCSE	85%	11%	0%	3%
BTEC	78%	14%	4%	4%

To some extent, the subject area in which respondents have trained or are studying influences their place of residence. Ninety percent of people who classify their discipline as 'education' live in the same authority in which they went to school. This contrasts with other subjects: only 68% of respondents whose subject area is 'architecture, building and planning' now live in the same area, whilst 27% of those whose main discipline was 'communication, media and documentation' are based in England.

4.5.4.4 Salary

Young people's patterns of migration appear to have some influence on their salary. Those in the highest income bracket (over £20,000) are more likely to have moved away from the area in which they grew up: over 40% of the highest earners live in England and 36% have moved elsewhere in rural Wales. Conversely, those with lower incomes are more prone to remain living in the authority in which they went to school. To some extent such patterns could be attributed to the age of respondents.

Table 4.17   Patterns of migration according to salary

Salary	Live in the same UA in which they went to school	Live in a different UA, but within the nine rural UAs	Live elsewhere in Wales, but not in rural UA	Moved to England
Less than £10 000	88%	8%	2%	2%
£10 000 - £15 000	65%	20%	6%	9%
£15 000 - £20 000	45%	30%	9%	15%
£20,000 +	23%	36%	0%	41%

4.5.5 Summary

The current relevance of the data from Llwybro-Routes is limited due to the young age of respondents and relatively small numbers who provide information on their employment status. However, it has the potential to be a vital resource to monitor movements amongst young people from rural Wales. Further research to determine factors that influence people's decisions to stay or leave rural Wales and, for those who leave, their intentions to return would add even further value to this resource.

5. RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGES OF POPULATION CHANGE IN RURAL WALES

The discussion in this chapter is based on a series of interviews conducted with selected organisations active in supporting the social, cultural and linguistic structures of rural Wales, and concerned with the maintenance and development of rural communities. The focus was on organisations that represented social and cultural activities, community development, policy related to community development, and socio-political activity. The organisations tended to work across rural Wales, with activities not confined to particular localities.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from the following organisations: which represented cultural organisations; Cymuned, Cymdeithas yr Iaith[6] and Wales Rural Forum, which represented socio-political standpoints, Urdd Gobaith Cymru[7], Wales Young Farmers Clubs (Wales YFC), Trac, the Welsh Language Board (WLB), Mentrau Iaith Myrddin (as representatives of the wider Mentrau Iaith[8] network) and the Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA), who provided comment from the policy development and implementation sector. A brief profile of each organisation, their aims and the range of their activities relevant to the current research is given in Box 5.1.

The interviews[9] explored perceptions of the nature and impact of population change on the social, cultural and linguistic character of rural Wales, the activities in which organisations were themselves engaged in response to population change, and their observations concerning those other organisations and programmes that were identified by the respondents as being influential in this context. The interviews also explored those areas that the respondents felt were not currently being addressed by any institutions, opportunities for further or more effective action, and changes that were called for in understanding the nature and impacts of population change.

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[6] The Welsh Language Society

[7] Welsh League of Youth

[8] Language Enterprises of which there are currently some 25 operating in Wales

[9] See Appendix 4 for a copy of the interview schedule

BOX 5.1

The Welsh Language Board (Bwrdd Yr Iaith Gymraeg)

The WLB's role focuses on two core functions, namely to monitor the implementation of the Welsh Language Act (1993) in encouraging the equal treatment of the English and Welsh languages, which, in practice, means agreeing Welsh-language schemes with public bodies named under the Act and then monitoring those language schemes. The second function is to offer advice, and to develop projects either directly or by funding and working with other bodies that provide opportunities to use the Welsh language through social and other activities.

As a funding body the WLB assess applications against the monies on offer and against the WLB's strategic priorities. The WLB's strategic priorities are evaluated in various documents such as the Strategy for the Welsh Language 96, Iaith Pawb, published in 2003 and also the Board's new strategic plan published in 2005.

"The Board's main aim is to make it easier for everyone to use Welsh in all walks of life."
(WLB website, accessed August 2006)

The WLB's current 11 members were appointed by the National Assembly for Wales in 2003, and the Board has a staff of over 50. Under the Government of Wales Act 1998, the Board became answerable to the National Assembly, having previously been accountable to, and funded by The Welsh Office. The Welsh Language Board is funded by grant in aid from the National Assembly for Wales. In 2003/04 it received £12 million.

Yr Urdd

The Urdd is the largest youth movement in Wales with over fifty thousand members between the ages of eight and twenty-five. Their main aim is to promote the Welsh language and the organisation aims to do so by providing young people with a range of activities, whether sports, residential periods at outdoor activity camps, or through cultural events such as the Eisteddfod and theatre companies. The Urdd seeks to develop young people so that they become part of their communities.

The Urdd also runs a centre at the Wales Millennium Centre in Cardiff where it provides accommodation for over 150 young people. Over a year, 10,000 children will stay for short and week-long breaks, during which time, they will create performances, join workshops run by other arts residents and present work to the public.

The Wales Young Farmers Clubs

The membership of the Young Farmers comes from all walks of life, and is not restricted to farmers or even to those that obtain their livelihoods from the land in any other way. Membership is open to anyone living in rural areas that are between the ages of 10 and 26.

The Wales Young Farmers organises various activities that are offered via a network of local branches and offers trips, demonstrations, competitions of various kinds, performance activities such as acting, singing and public speaking.

Trac-cymru

Trac is Wales' first Folk Development Agency, and its rôle is to promote and develop the music and dance traditions of Wales - both within Wales and beyond. It receives support from the Arts Council of Wales and provides an information service, a free magazine, and a website that lists performers, events and contacts.

On a local level, trac works in partnership with local authorities and development groups to run projects in schools and communities. They work in schools and with local communities on projects that are used as pilots and exemplars. They do not have the resources to develop long term projects but see their role as providing a catalyst and to develop the initial ideas on which further work may be done by local people.

Nationally, it organises training sessions for experienced musicians and forums to discuss issues which matter to the folk world. trac also sees itself performing a strong advocacy role with the Arts Council, and within tourism, economic development and community development fora.

Internationally, trac arranges exchanges for young musicians, and represents Welsh traditional music in European networks.

WLGA

The Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) represents the interests of local government and promotes local democracy in Wales. It represents the 22 local authorities in Wales, and the 4 police authorities, 3 fire and rescue authorities and 3 National Park Authorities are associate members. The WLGA's primary purposes are to promote better local government and its reputation, and to support authorities in the development of policies and priorities that will improve public services and democracy.

Originally established in 1996 primarily as a policy development and representative body, the WLGA has since developed into an organisation that also leads on improvement and development, equalities, procurement, employment issues and hosts a range of partner bodies supporting local government. The WLGA remains a constituent part of the Local Government Association (LGA) for England and Wales and since April 2005, Welsh local authorities have a revised Welsh corporate membership with the LGA, ensuring that the organisation continues to represent the interests of Welsh local government to the UK Government.

Wales Rural Forum

The Wales Rural Forum is a networking organisation that brings together a range of other organisations and individuals that work in the general area of community development in rural areas of Wales. It was created in 1990 to strengthen the voice of those who are active at grass roots and community level, and to improve the flow of ideas between them and the various agencies and authorities that have responsibility for all aspects of Welsh rural life. It describes its principles of work as being; to minimise the division between the economic, social and environmental ; to promote long term views of developments in rural Wales; and to develop opportunities for local people to exercise leadership and self-determination for their communities.

Mentrau Iaith

A Menter (pl. Mentrau) Iaith, or language initiative, is a local organisation which offers support to communities to increase and develop their use of the Welsh language. A Menter Iaith usually services a whole county, and it reflects the wish of local people to make more use of the language. There is a network of some 25 Mentrau Iaith across Wales that offer practical advice and services, such as –

Advice
- to new parents on raising their children bilingually
- to public and voluntary organisations on how to increase their use of Welsh
- to businesses eager to begin to offer a bilingual service to their customers
- on Welsh medium education

Activities
- social and leisure opportunities for children and young people to use their Welsh
- opportunities for Welsh learners to use their Welsh outside the classroom
- undertaking short translation work or providing contact points for translators
- working in partnership with local organisations to offer social activities

Each local Menter has an operational plan dealing with different aspects of promoting the use of the Welsh language at community level, and the Mentrau working mainly in the rural areas have specific projects for dealing with the assimilation of in-comers, and also examine how to prevent population loss.

Cymuned

Cymuned describes itself as an anti-colonising movement, and explains that as meaning that they work to enhance understanding of the situation in Welsh-speaking areas and the problems in Welsh-language communities, to try to ensure that they persuade the government to work to regenerate Welsh-language communities and at the same time to ensure that everyone moving into these areas is aware of the cultural pressures on them, and on the responsibilities on them to learn and use the Welsh language.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society)

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg is a pressure group campaigning for the future of the Welsh language. Established in 1962, they believe in non-violent direct action. They are a voluntary movement entirely dependent on the support of members and supporters to run campaigns. Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg are campaigning for the language in many fields: education, media and culture, planning and local authorities. At present they are calling for a new Welsh Language Act which covers the many fields ignored by previous legislation passed in 1993: e.g. the private sector.

5.1 The main features of population change affecting rural Wales

The rate of change in the nature and composition of the population of rural Wales was seen by all respondents as having increased substantially during the last couple of decades. However, there was some disagreement on what has been happening more recently with some respondents feeling the pace of change has slackened, and others feeling that there had been a resurgence in in-migration illustrated by resurgent house price inflation.

'The changes have in fact been quite substantial,.. [but].. the wave of in-migration over the past five years may not be as great as it was back in the late eighties.'
(Mentrau Iaith)

'As far as the last five years..[are concerned]*, or even the last ten years,.. it has slowed'*
(Trac)

'..you had a period in the 90's when interest rates on mortgages had gone up and had slowed the market. But that has gone over the last ten years and, therefore, the speed of the market [has increased] *..again… which means that prices are rising swiftly.'*
(WLB)

In-migration was also not seen to be a simple process of people moving in and staying. People were seen to move in to an area, but may move on again within the locality, to other places in rural Wales, or out of Wales again.

'Then we see what the estate agents call 'churn', which is that quite a number of those people who have moved in move out of the Welsh-speaking areas again comparatively soon'
(Cymuned)

'The prices have slowed things, and more people are trying to sell and get out of here'
(Trac)

However, all respondents agreed that population change was composed of two main components namely in-migration, mainly of middle aged and older people from England,

and out-migration of locally born people, in particular the young. Natural population change (changes in rates of births and deaths) was not identified as being significant in terms of overall population change, but a growing imbalance in the age-profiles of rural communities, due to the current processes of in- and out- migration, was seen to be significant in changing the nature and composition of rural society.

Population change was seen by respondents to have uneven impacts across rural Wales, with some locations experiencing greater degrees of change than others, and different areas experiencing different types of change. For example, scenically attractive regions associated with coastal areas, together with some inland areas of natural beauty, have experienced significant degrees of population change, and there have been significant shifts of people from industrial and urban areas of south Wales (as well as from areas of north west England) into adjoining rural areas of Wales. While these population shifts may be identified most readily in terms of in-migration, a complementary outward migratory process was seen to be in train, which itself has changed in nature and has also intensified in the last decade.

'The things that stand out are that there is a substantial amount of movement into the Welsh-speaking areas, specifically along the coasts. So we see places down the West Wales coast and on the Llyn Peninsula tending to have far more people moving into them than do the areas a little further inland.'
(Cymuned)

'In terms of our analysis, it [in-migration] *has speeded up considerably in many areas of particular linguistic interest…..*[and]*..another interesting feature…is ..this movement from more industrial areas* [of south Wales] *..to more rural areas'*
(WLB)

'…in terms of its impact on cultural and linguistic issues (that) *the effect of in-migration is more noticeable in western areas – those areas that are more Welsh speaking'*
(WLGA)

A feature noted by some respondents was the appearance of a new type of migration into some areas, namely that of migrants from the new EU states of Eastern Europe; mainly Polish workers engaged in the agri-food sector and the hospitality and restaurant

service sectors. The WLGA also noted that it was an issue that had become relevant in both rural and non-rural areas of Wales (e.g. in Wrexham), where in-migration from Eastern Europe had required the local authority to consider their response to the impacts of people with a different language and culture than the local inhabitants.

Whilst migration from Eastern Europe was not seen to be a core issue there was more general interest in the phenomenon in so far as it contributed to a broadening of the terms of debate from being narrowly focussed predominantly on English in-migrants, and posed a challenge to the received wisdom related to the availability of employment opportunities in rural Wales. However, it did not appear that parallels with the experience in Welsh-speaking areas had been made, and the suggestion was put (and conceded by the WLGA) that the level of debate and knowledge at individual local authorities was not sufficiently sophisticated in terms of an over-arching view of the effects of population change. Rather, the impacts of population change were dealt with on a case by case basis in response to demands on specific and discrete services supplied by the local authority.

5.2 Population in-movement: the main features

The main features of population in-movement were described as being related to quality of life issues such as the appeal of the attractive physical landscapes found in rural Wales, the perceived improvements in personal well-being, and in improved standards of living. These general motivations were seen to include seeking opportunities to develop niche or lifestyle businesses, seeking safer places to live in comparison to areas where there were greater perceived threats from crime and violence, and seeking refuge from the changing nature of British society in urban areas.

The physical appeal of some parts of rural Wales was seen in the clear geographical split that may be traced between areas that have the highest and those with much less in-migration.

'One sometimes thinks that there's a direct link between scenery and in-migration. Very definitely, in places like Porthmadog, there's an almost visible line – a language line in terms of areas from the beach to places where there's better scenery than in other areas…So this then creates situations like Abersoch,

like Abermaw. There are other clusters, so one supposes that a clustering effect is taking place. For example, in Betws-y-Coed, which is not a coastal area but which also happens to be very pretty.'
(Cymuned)

Existing popular areas were also seen to develop as local 'magnet' sites for in-migration insofar as potential migrants may already have had direct personal connections with people who had already moved to the area, or may have perceived certain areas to be more socially receptive because of an established presence of significant numbers of in-migrants. Cymuned described this as a 'clustering' effect, which may also reflect a deliberate desire to increase the influence of migrants (mainly English) through increased in-migration.

Other clustering effects were suggested to be due to the presence of institutions or other sources of work. The University Colleges at Bangor, Aberystwyth, and Lampeter, act as obvious local magnets, but the same may also be said (albeit on a smaller scale) of institutions such as the Countryside Commission for Wales in Bangor, the National Library in Aberystwyth and of certain sub-elements of the hospitality and tourism sectors such as outdoor pursuit and activity centres. It was recognised that migration attracted by such institutions was of a different type and had different impacts to the in-migration to the coastal and other areas of natural beauty, but there may have been some crossover as individuals that had been attracted to the area for the purposes of study or work became established and contributed to a culture that differed from the cultural and linguistic base of the indigenous community.

Notwithstanding in-migration for work and study purposes, respondents believed that 'outsider' interest in rural Welsh areas had changed in recent decades from being dominated by second home owners, by people seeking a retirement home, to more recently of people who had been able to realise capital from property owned in urban areas and who had taken advantage of lower house prices in rural Wales. However, this last group of in-migrants had contributed, along with the effects of more general economic change, to substantial increases in the level of property prices. Consequently, the gap between house prices in rural Wales and in urban areas had narrowed and it may be that the effect of this determinant of in-migration was lessening, shifting the emphasis in decisions about migration to other considerations.

Along with the relative decline in the influence of property price differentials has come the strengthened influence of improved transport and communication links which serve to both make lifestyle businesses established in rural areas more viable and has also allowed for the possibility of commuting lifestyles. The development of the A55 across north Wales has brought areas as far west as the Llyn and Ynys Môn within commuting range of Merseyside, and has made the communities of the north west Wales more accessible for the purposes of tourism-dependent small businesses. Similarly the development of the M4 and the A48 westwards to Carmarthen and beyond has opened areas of west Wales to urban areas of south Wales, while roads leading to areas in mid Wales, including connections between the eastern areas of mid Wales with urban areas of the West Midlands and the South West of England, has, albeit on a smaller scale, had similar effects.

Improvements in the communication infrastructure are taking longer to achieve than had been hoped, with less development of internet based businesses than had been expected. There was also a perception among respondents that in-migrants had appeared to be more prepared and able to take up this opportunity, limited as it might be by the slow pace of broadband development, than had been the case among local people. It was suggested, however, that this may be a case of greater familiarity with the technology and potential markets rather than with some kind of intrinsic entrepreneurial deficiency on behalf of the 'natives'. This perception may apply to the relative rates of business creation of all kinds among the two groups, and reflects the expectation that in-migrants had generally moved from areas where business cultures were more developed.

'What one tends to see, and one hears it said, is that there's an awareness of a recognisable pattern whereby new businesses are more likely to be started up in the area by non-Welsh speakers than by Welsh-speakers. But I strongly suspect that it's something to do with the fact that people have been living in a stronger economy with easier access to the capital requires to take a risk'
(Cymuned)

Improved infrastructure and the identification of work-related 'magnets' for in-migration coincided with the debate about developing strategic growth centres in rural towns as proposed in the Wales Spatial Plan. Whilst there was no unanimity on the balance of

benefits and drawbacks of this proposed policy, there was a suggestion that the overall impact of such development had not been thought through sufficiently in all areas, including its potential impact on the social, cultural and linguistic fabrics of communities in the hinterland of these growth centres. This point is discussed further in section 5.3 below.

The shifting determinants for in-migration were seen to change the type of people who move into rural Wales. Some respondents commented on the wider range of in-migrant types that now existed in rural Wales and on the differing ways by which these classes of migrants affected local communities. Wales Rural Forum, for example, had noticed an increase in what they termed the working class in-migrant, who was often involved in running businesses ranging from small construction companies to services such as tree surgery and landscaping.

'… in north Wales what we find is what I'd call affluent Liverpudlian working-class…like builders and such like. They're not really affluent but they are able to earn money - because they've got a pile of builders from Liverpool moving into the area'
(Wales Rural Forum)

The significance of second home buyers was seen to have reduced in comparison with in-migrants who moved to rural areas on a more permanent basis and, to a small extent, had been complicated if not dissipated by the appearance of Welsh speaking second home buyers.

'..retirees, and people moving out of towns to be able to work from home in nicer surroundings…with apparently less emphasis on second home owners'
(WLGA)

'…but now we have a few of what I'd call the new Welsh middle class…- buying second homes [!]*'*
(Wales Rural Forum)

The flow of retirees has continued along with that of refugees from contemporary urban living, and these latter groups often have middle class tastes and aspirations, while anecdotal evidence also suggests that people who are dependent on social security benefits constitute another group who are moving to some rural communities. The range

of in-migrants types had created a range of different impacts to which the organisations interviewed were sensitive. How these differences manifested themselves and how these organisations engaged with this issue is discussed further in sections 5.3 and 5.4 respectively.

5.3 The impacts of in-migration on the social, cultural and linguistic contexts of rural areas

In-migration impacts on the social, cultural and linguistic characteristics of rural Wales in a number of different ways, and the overall effects that in-migration has on a particular area is dependent on the kind of community already to be found in the area. Given the varied nature of communities in rural Wales, in-migration impacts will be correspondingly varied. Cymdeithas yr Iaith, for example, insisted that whilst the effects of in-migration may have conformed to general patterns, current knowledge of the phenomenon was insufficient. To achieve a more comprehensive view of what is going on, research was required in different areas in Wales, both at the local community and on more regional and aggregated levels.

'… it's important not to fall into the trap of over-simplification and putting the whole thing in tidy boxes…so we're examining specific areas to understand the particular dynamic that's at work.'

'(but) if one wants to ask more specific questions about the exact social backgrounds of those [who are] *moving…one then has to look at a more regionalised context and see what areas adjoin those areas. So if one looks across the north Wales corridor, well one has to consider cities in the north of England… as part of the picture..'*
(Cymdeithas yr Iaith)

The core impacts that were given most attention by the respondents in the interviews for this research may be categorised as follows:

- Impact on the Welsh Language
- Changes in community age profiles
- Differences in attitudes to, and expectations of, rural life

These effects do not impinge on all communities and areas to the same extent, and as in the case of impacts on the Welsh language, are not relevant to the same degree in all areas. The effects of in-migration on the Welsh language, however, has a relevance for all rural communities since effects on the language may act as an indicator or proxy for other changes that occur in rural communities. The strength of the Welsh language is certainly acutely affected by levels of in-migration and, as is discussed further below, actions taken to deal with the effects of population change on the future of the language puts into relief the understanding that policy actors have of the inter-relationship between the cultural, linguistic, economic, and social elements of sustaining of rural communities.

The most general impact of in-migration noted by all respondents was the perceived trend towards an older rural population. This shift in the age profile of rural communities is a combination of the in-migration of mainly older people along with the out-migration of mainly younger natives. Many of the respondents, in noting this issue, referred to the report 'Age Balanced Communities' (Newidiem *et al*, 2003) following which it was widely felt that too little attention had been paid to the effects of such an imbalance and too little relevant and radical action had been forthcoming. The WLGA underlined the impact this facet of population change had on the activities of their members, which was seen to add to the general demographic change occurring across Wales, producing an ageing society.

'Local authorities are aware of the increased demands that an inflow of older residents will have on services and this is particularly noticeable in certain areas of rural Wales'
(WLGA)

The trend towards an older rural population together with falling birth-rates and smaller families has led to reductions in the demand for socially significant facilities such as local primary schools, and in its wake, other community services have been seen to follow. It was also evident in other facets of social life, such as the difficulty in some areas of maintaining local sporting teams, leading to a loosening of local social ties and a further dilution of the scope of communal life. Such losses weakened communal networks, making the strength and value of the indigenous culture and social fabric less visible and, hence, less significant to the in-migrant.

'Where there aren't so many young people, of the same age in your area, it obviously changes the type of social life that you have. It can have an effect with something as simple as local football clubs, or rugby clubs or anything- along with the number of younger people [available]. *There are no youth teams feeding through, and in some areas they don't exist anymore. …It, therefore, just makes community life perhaps a bit older……Because there is no tendency for a number of those that move in to take part in this* [type of] *life…joining a local football club isn't a step that they would take to get into the local community'* (Urdd)

However, as the Welsh Language Board recognised, in-migrants were often keen to play a role in the community to which they move. They performed as customers of local businesses, sometimes as entrepreneurs, and in starting their own businesses were potential employers. In these and other roles, the presence of in-migrants has had a direct impact on existing social networks. The social confidence and often greater leadership experience of in-migrants challenged the established order in a community, and in some cases may have introduced different understanding of what rural life entailed. This effect was again most clearly seen in Welsh-speaking areas where the contrast between native and in-migrant was more pronounced.

'A general feature that, once again, one hears about everywhere is that a number of in-migrants take up fairly prominent positions in their communities. Perhaps this is just as much to do with the lack of confidence of Welsh-speakers, but they become leading lights on community councils or associations for the elderly or the gardening club, or with the local agricultural show, and suddenly, on the one hand, their voluntary contribution and expertise is very often welcomed but then on the other hand there's a feeling that they're taking over, having been here perhaps six months, and suddenly they're leading this and that. And I believe this can intensify to the lack of confidence of Welsh people who haven't realised for various reasons that they possess their own leadership skills.'
(Mentrau Iaith)

The challenge of socially active in-migrants in Welsh speaking areas was seen to affect the use of the Welsh language in a number of ways. Most directly it resulted in a simple reduction in the percentage of Welsh speakers in the area, which in itself contributed to a shift in the informal networks that people maintained and which were intimately related to the medium of communication. In less direct ways the presence of active non-Welsh

speaking members of the community changed the presumption that a full communal life may be conducted through the medium of Welsh.

'..you don't need that many people participating in a Welsh-language community to turn it into a bilingual community where people feel uncomfortable about using Welsh. If you have a male voice choir of 15 -20 people, only two to three non-Welsh speakers need to join for the choir's activities to become bilingual in no time at all'
(Cymuned)

Respondents noted that in order that an integrated and confident language community may be maintained, 70% of the local population must be capable of being able to speak Welsh. Population change that resulted in lower percentages was seen to lead to the development of split communities (or existing splits becoming more evident), to a gradual intensification of the process of Anglicisation, and to the eventual marginalisation and potential elimination of the Welsh language and culture.

This process was said to lead to social tensions within rural communities, expressed in various ways ranging (in some extreme cases) from a perceived breakdown in social order to a development of a form of communal social psychosis as the Welsh language speaking community found itself being progressively marginalised. This process was seen to follow from the gradual but constant struggle to maintain an independent identity in the face of dismissive attitudes and the demonstration of greater social confidence and assumptions of leadership. Examples of these challenges to confidence and self esteem were seen to be evident from unthinking neglect of the use of the Welsh language, demanding as a response a constant assertion of the place and value of the language in the community, to assumptions of the pre-eminence of the English language in communal affairs, for example as the medium of debate during public meetings, and in challenging the use of the Welsh language in local business and service provision.

'..and the sensible people [in-migrants] *who come in go with the flow and join the cause too. And they really contribute, even if they don't speak Welsh. But then in other places, this happens but the in-coming people say 'Oh no, no you don't want that, you can't have that' …It's a kind of 'The trouble with you Welshies..' …And that over time can, particularly in the case of young people, and older people to I*

think affect their identity, their perception of their identity. Nobody makes much fuss about it. There's no point in shouting about it, but eventually it affects your self-esteem'
(Wales Rural Forum)

'And this business with the Welsh language. You have to battle all the time to keep it at the same level as English…for example with carnival posters recently. They were all sent out in English…If I didn't make a fuss, just to let that slide… and everybody else would just say 'Oh well, there we are, we've lost it''
(Wales Rural Forum)

Whilst the extensive use of Welsh in public and business domains is in many respects a relatively new phenomenon in itself, the effect of the process of accommodation to greater English usage within hitherto Welsh speaking communities was also described as an estrangement process within the community, where the presumptions of the natives were not necessarily accurate any longer. With increasing in-migration, the confidence of the Welsh speaker that the common language of the community was Welsh reduced.

'Then, when the situation arises where that shift has occurred, and the shift occurs where there a lot of in-migration has occurred into an area…it breaks down the confidence that the local community has that they will greet people and establish relationships and networks with people by using Welsh. They can't do that any longer because they will come across increasing numbers of people who do not speak the same language. And so they will establish new patterns and habits of using English rather than Welsh in different contexts'
(WLB)

The process was seen to lead to the driving of Welsh usage into areas where speakers can be confident of its acceptability, reducing the visibility of the language in everyday interaction, reducing its apparent importance as means of conducting community life (to the monoglot English speaker), and ultimately making Welsh into a hidden language that was used only between those that already have an insider view of local Welsh communal life. What the Welsh Language Board referred to as Welsh linguistic networks and patterns of use of the language became changed, reduced to formal public interaction and to the hidden networks of close family and friendship links, further reducing the scope for the language to maintain itself as a vibrant and evolving community language.

This process was also be seen to be present in schools since there was a certain component of in-migration made up of younger families, and along with the consequences of the out-migration of young people (and hence of potential local young families), there was seen to be a significant impact on the linguistic environment of schools in some locations. Whilst bilingual and Welsh medium schools have increased in number and effectiveness across Wales there was some evidence that the effect of in-migration had been similar in the schools to that in the wider community, namely the strengthening of split social networks and the marginalisation and obscuring of the relevance and importance of the Welsh language for adolescent children.

5.4 The actions undertaken in response to the perceived impacts of in-migration

The actions that the organisations interviewed had undertaken naturally reflected each organisation's main functions and objectives. Whilst they may have had differing objectives, the actual activities undertaken were in many cases similar. What are discussed here are actions that the respondents raised as exemplars of their own activities. Even so, the activities described were not all directed specifically at the effects of in-migration, but were part of the general work of organisations to develop and sustain stronger rural communities and to maintain conditions in which the Welsh language may be secure. A fuller description of the activities undertaken by each organisation is given in the short profiles in Box 5.1.

5.4.1 Social and cultural activities

Organisations such as the Urdd, Trac and Wales YFC were focussed on arranging social and cultural activities for their membership, and extending participation in these activities among rural people. The target population for participation, therefore, included in-migrants, challenging these organisations to make their activities attractive to those people who may not have been used to what was normally available through these organisations, without compromising their major aims and objectives. Extension to include in-migrants was a sensitive issue of balancing tradition and of wishing to be inclusive.

The Urdd traditionally have had a close relationship between area organisers and primary and secondary schools across Wales. This continued by and large and was used to provide the range of activities that the Urdd had available for age groups up to school leaving age. They were, however, also developing a more community based system, where Urdd branches were based outside schools and were aimed at providing a focus within the community where, particularly for those in the 12 to 15 age group, the aim was to make the use of the Welsh language a natural part of social life, reducing the association with classrooms and schools. The intention was also to make these new branches act like additional centres of community life for young people, where activities may be maintained on a more regular and frequent basis[10].

The Urdd claimed that young people participating via the new community based branches found that their usage of Welsh increased. However, the Urdd could not identify to what degree their activities were actually attractive to young in-migrants. This new approach was still being developed and the Urdd could not identify how it compares with the school-based system in addressing the effects of in-migration. In either system whilst it would be known whether participants were Welsh language speakers or were learners, information on origins was not available.

'A lot of the work that we do involves children, and young people who are learning Welsh….moving into areas and coming to hear about the Welsh language for the first time. So … one of our objectives is that the Welsh language becomes something that is natural, not something that is just to do with education..'
(Urdd)

As with the Urdd, the Wales YFC was engaged in providing means for young people in rural areas to socialise and to take part in training and learning activities. The clubs welcomed participation by non-farmers, but beyond the purely social based activities, maintained strong links to agricultural and land use issues. They did not specifically target new or recent arrivals to an area, but were keen to include anyone who wished to participate. Maintaining a vibrant and viable club may require more participation from 'non-traditional' potential membership, but the challenge for clubs was to balance the

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[10] The Urdd have found that in some respects, relationships between their area organisers and school-based branches are harder than they have been in the past largely due to an apparently greater rate of staff turnover in schools, which disrupts the linkages through which the Urdd's activities may be conducted. Closures of primary schools in rural areas exacerbate this problem.

interests of new people with those of existing membership. This was most clear for those branches that traditionally conducted their activities through the medium of Welsh, and clubs had to decide how to accommodate people who do not speak Welsh, and maybe to provide the opportunity for new membership to learn the language, or at least to be comfortable within a bilingual social context. This adjustment in the way that the clubs operate was performed on a continuous basis as the linguistic and age profiles of rural areas changed. There was no guidance to local branches on the issue from the Wales YFC, and the role of the organisation was worked out at a local level.

In contrast to the Urdd and the Young Farmers' Clubs, Trac was not a mass-membership based organisation but managed projects that sought to promote folk music, and knowledge about folk traditions and what they could offer. They emphasised the non-competitive nature of their activities and saw as one of their objectives using those (musical) traditions to bind local communities. In this respect, therefore, Trac naturally welcomed the participation of in-migrants, but they did not organise activities specifically to address the issues raised by in-migration. As part of their 'community-binding' objectives, Trac emphasised the appreciation of local traditional culture, often originally established in the medium of Welsh, and new members learnt about the value of this tradition and of its intimate connection with the Welsh language.

5.4.2 Awareness raising and education

More direct forms of intervention with in-migrants were exemplified in the work of socio-political and community development organisations. There was overlap here with the aims and objectives of the three groups already discussed, but with a wider scope and with more direct focus on managing change in rural communities. Wales Rural Forum acted mainly as a network to facilitate debate and attempted to co-ordinate activities and actions on behalf of voluntary and other forms of non-governmental organisations. Cymdeithas yr Iaith and Cymuned, on the other hand, were more directly partisan and aimed to affect developments by their own actions and to influence the terms of debate and the actions of government, statutory bodies, the private sector and individuals.

Whilst Wales Rural Forum may have engaged in directly organising activities to 'deal' with the effects of in-migration, it promoted a particular approach and attitude to rural community development, which by its nature had to respond to the changes of

population that rural communities undergo. Its main role was to raise awareness about issues relating to rural community development in the round, and to act as a co-ordinator, facilitator and lobbyer for a range of member organisations.

'We've now started a new project called CefnGwlad.org. It's an interactive website, and then Forum, [the website]*, will have space particularly for young people- for young people who are aware of the technology to enable them to hold their own discussion etc…..in a sense you're co-ordinating everything that's happening in rural areas, on the action side, and then you can take that to the policy people and say 'Hang on boys, you're closing schools quite happily here, but think about…"*
(Wales Rural Forum)

Raising awareness and promoting their analysis of the changes occurring in rural Wales that are to the detriment of Welsh language and culture was the aim of both Cymuned and Cymdeithas yr Iaith. Where they differed was in the scope of their geographical reach, where Cymuned had concentrated their efforts on ensuring the sustainability of core areas which may be termed as 'y fro Gymraeg' (Welsh speaking heartlands), while Cymdeithas yr Iaith had taken a wider Welsh perspective. This difference was also reflected in the activities in which each organisation was engaged in respect of the effects of in-migration, with Cymuned targeting part of their message and activities directly at people who had moved into rural areas, or were prospective in-migrants.

Cymuned's websites directly addressed in-migrants with information about the social, cultural and linguistic context of the areas to which they intended to move or to those that had already made the move.

'…a network of specific websites containing particular messages aimed at different target groups….there are some with a preaching message but some offer more information about Cymuned. They ask Welsh-speakers to consider receiving our weekly e-mail, and ask English-speakers, if they are interested in smaller cultures, to receive our e-mails.'

Cymdeithas yr Iaith's activities in relation to in-migrants were more general and aimed at researching and understanding the particular dynamics of change and in-migration in localities across Wales. Cymdeithas yr Iaith were keen to emphasise the range of conditions that applied across rural Wales and the requirement to understand local causes

and effects. In general, however, the effect of in-migration was seen as another in a number of factors affecting rural communities and the Cymdeithas's response was integrated into campaigns on such things as the closure of rural schools, the reduction of services, housing policies, and the general economic and social development policies of local authorities and the Welsh Assembly Government, all of which had direct consequences for the Welsh language.

In respect of development policies and planning issues, Cymdeithas yr Iaith had identified what they perceived as a presumption among rural local authorities in favour of continued and enhanced in-migration on the basis of population projections that forecast growth in the rural population. Since there was no indication that the rural population was growing due to natural increases, the assumption, therefore, was that the increase in population would be due to in-migration. Cymdeithas advocated that development policies should instead be directed toward the needs of the existing communities.

'..the tendency seems to be that models, methodologies are prepared examining population trends in previous periods and trying to …assess in accordance with present-day trends that includes – deaths over births, trends like that - trying to plan projections for the future. Our argument is that this is an ineffective way of trying to provide for local communities and to allow them to develop in a way compatible with their cultural, social characteristics and so on. And that there is a need for plans that assess the needs of those communities far more consistently in terms of, say housing or transport, and then seek to meet those needs'
(Cymdeithas yr Iaith)

Cymdeithas yr Iaith noted also that the teaching of Welsh as a second language to adults was a poorly resourced and organised service in rural Wales, with much of those resources that were available being concentrated around university and college towns. They advocated that there should be a greater extension of the service into the rural hinterland and that this be made into a more readily available service.

5.4.3 Programmes and policy making

Mentrau Iaith, the Welsh Language Board (WLB) and Local Government bodies in Wales exemplified those organisations that operated at the policy making and programme delivery level. Mentrau Iaith, sponsored to a large extent by the WLB, but also receiving financial support from Local Authorities, were focussed most completely (out of these three bodies) at the community level. Since their approach, in agreement with the analysis of the socio-political organisations discussed above, was to integrate linguistic with community and economic sustainability, their activities must respond to the challenges of in-migration, and to that end they operated a number of different schemes targeted at in-migrants in different areas[11].

Mentrau Iaith co-operated with the WLB and the (erstwhile) WDA on projects to respond to in-migration and these included:

- Producing and distributing Welcome Packs
- Producing Locality Information Packs
- Individually targeted and public information poster and leaflet based campaigns
- Welsh mentoring schemes

The two 'packs' projects both provided information to in-migrants, but had different levels of success to date, which reflects on their particular emphasis and modes of delivery. The Welcome Packs project, produced in conjunction with a WDA project (Milltir Sgwâr) contained information for in-migrants to south west Wales. It provided general information about the area and contained chapters on language and culture, but also on entrepreneurship and public services, and was available from various public sources. The 'Locality Information Packs' had a similar set of objectives and, produced in conjunction with the WLB, had a greater focus on language and culture. They contained statistical information about the area, information about the cultural nature of the area, about Welsh language classes for adults, the education system, and other similar contact and contextual information.

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[11] There are currently 25 local language enterprise organisations including ones based in urban areas.

The 'Locality Packs' were distributed via estate agents offices by the inclusion of request slips asking for the full pack. Take up had been less successful with this project possibly due to dependence on the commitment of the estate agent but also because of the requirement for the in-migrant to actively seek more information.

'…*or, according to what I've heard, a few* [estate agents] *have said that it could be counterproductive, that the leaflets draw too much attention to language and culture and could put sales at risk.*'
(Mentrau Iaith)

The WLB supplemented the information packs with a website that conveyed similar information and links to other relevant sources. The website further relied on a proactive attitude among in-migrants to obtain information about the areas to which they may have been considering moving to, providing information and a local interpretation of the cultural landscapes that may not have featured in the in-migrants' decision making processes to date. These two Mentrau Iaith/WLB projects had been running for some two years and were being assessed for their effectiveness.

Other publicity campaign material from the Mentrau Iaith was more general, involving a poster campaign, leaflets, and information sheets in public places. This had so far only been trialled in certain areas, but responses had been favourable, with both Welsh speakers and in-migrants finding the awareness-raising activity useful.

In other projects in-migrants had been approached by local contacts with information about the area, and about events such as 'language taster' courses, with the objective of attracting more people to take up Welsh learning classes and to participate in other local communal events and activities. In an extension of this type of scheme, the Mentrau and the WLB were running pilot projects to develop local Welsh-speakers as mentors for in-migrants learning Welsh. Local people were employed on a part-time basis to act as links within their communities welcoming and introducing newcomers to community activities and culture. In the pilot project this role also included encouragement to attend Welsh classes and other activities.

These more targeted activities and programmes were trialled in areas where the local percentage of Welsh speakers continued to be high. They were aimed at halting the

decline in the number of communities where the percentage of Welsh speakers was above 70%: a target set out in the WAG's strategy for the Welsh Language: 'Iaith Pawb'. In-migration was seen as the major determinant of the decline in the numbers of such communities. These types of programmes were, however, thought to be more likely to have success in promoting the Welsh language in those areas that were already above the 70% threshold.

The WLGA regarded their role as one of promoting inclusion and raising awareness about a range of issues that were of significance and relevance to local authorities. Their role included the development and dissemination of knowledge and ideas about communal, social and linguistic issues, but the WLGA itself did not lead on specific projects that addressed the impacts of in-movers to rural areas.

5.4.4. Co-operation with, and Comment on Other Organisations

The respondents were all aware of the kind of actions and activities undertaken by each other, and were in the main supportive of the kind of activity being undertaken. Other social, cultural and linguistically oriented groups and organisations were considered important on more local scales, with some extending their reach to cover the whole of Wales. These organisations were seen, in part, to constitute civil society in rural communities, and responded to the effects of in-migration by addressing issues of inclusion, social cohesion and the sustenance of the Welsh language through their core activities. They included, *inter alia*,:

- Cefn (Welsh language support group)
- Cylch yr Iaith
- Rhieni dros addysg Gymraeg (Parents for Welsh medium education)
- Cronfa Dros Ysgolion Bychain (Fund for Small Schools)
- Papurau Bro (Welsh medium community magazines)
- Merched y Wawr
- A number of local campaigns in support of local social facilities and/or to oppose developments that threaten social and cultural structures

Whilst the named organisations had a Welsh language bias, it was also noted that they worked with those that operate bilingually or through the medium of English, and with those whose focus was more specific, such as Housing Associations, and social enterprise organisations such as Antur Waunfawr. The contribution of these organisations to the economic sustainability of existing rural communities was seen as important, but they also contributed to the cohesion and sustainability of social, cultural and linguistic structures, and the core values and orientation with which they had been built, where equality was central, provided models for community based action and helped to generate the kind of civic society in rural Wales that will better respond to the effects of population change.

'But above all else, they offer us a way of taking action. They work with everybody. They're totally… equality is central to them and they make it happen from a community point of view. And they offer us some kind of model, if you like, of how to act'
(Wales Rural Forum)

In a similar respect Cymuned noted the efforts of the Race Equality Commission who were engaged in work with the 'Croeso' project (www.croesoproject.org) and with whom Cymuned had been co-operating. Through this kind of co-operation Cymuned sought to establish that their rhetoric and worries concerning in-migration were not xenophobic, but firmly related to language issues.

Co-operation between the myriad of community based groups, national organisations, political pressure groups, and local and Assembly-level government was seen as important. A number of formal networks already existed, including networks sustained by the Wales Rural Forum, the Welsh Federation of Housing Associations, the Mentrau Iaith and Leader groups, and to a certain extent as represented by the WLGA. Where policy and programmes related to community development was concerned, a more strongly co-ordinated central direction was not a strong demand. There were criticisms of apparent slowness and lack of effectiveness on the part of government funded and centrally directed organisations but there was no consensus for what might amount to a national umbrella body to co-ordinate activities more effectively. Wales Rural Forum supported the current looser arrangement where each organisation maintained its own

local activities and might, through regional and national networks, contribute to an overall response to community development and sustainability.

'People can respond effectively at a local level, but they can also network not just nationally, but on a European level too....And they don't just work among themselves [but] housing people mix with environment people who are mixing with farming people…and they are around the same table. And those kinds of networks are very important if we are to create a positive future'
(Wales Rural Forum)

The Forum regarded such organic interaction as more fruitful, leading to more concrete outcomes in terms of learning between workers, both within the same areas of work and across nominal boundaries (e.g. housing, environment, and community development) than would result from a formally organised 'partnership' mode of networking. What the Forum argued was required from government on this model was a supportive attitude and a facilitation service with funds to back up such organic forms of practice-based learning on community development.

In contrast, when it came to activity specifically related to linguistic issues there was a stronger call for more robust leadership from central and local government. Cymuned believed that a better discussion of in-migration as a cultural phenomenon had developed in Wales over the last five years, but this was still not sufficiently robust to deal effectively with the perceived impacts. Cymuned believed that stronger leadership and a clearer message should be forthcoming from the National Assembly and from local authorities about the 'social duties' on those moving into Welsh-speaking areas

'…… everyone now understands that how you affect the atmosphere (of a place) is a matter of personal responsibility, but very few people understand that how they deal with the Welsh language is a personal responsibility'
(Cymuned)

Engagement on such a level should, Cymuned hoped, move the debate on from misunderstandings and accusations of xenophobic attitudes. Debate at that level had in

the view of the respondent from Mentrau Iaith inhibited a serious discussion about what might be done in response to in-migration.

'…there's a great deal of shyness about the whole issue. There's nervousness. There's fear of dealing with the issue of in-migration. And I am afraid that this stems from the discussion in the Welsh Assembly some two years ago when a survey was made of the Welsh language and all the fuss about Seimon Glyn etc. And people so easily and thoughtlessly making accusations of racism…..What should happen is that the Language Board should become far more prominent in this area. County councils should [also] *be leading on issues as serious as this.'*
(Mentrau Iaith)

The contribution of local authorities was criticised by the Mentrau Iaith as being non-existent, appearing as if they wished to avoid dealing with the issue, even though some of the funding of Mentrau Iaith was supplied by local authorities. Whilst they might be interested in the impacts of population change from an economic perspective, and were required to plan for the provision of services and housing, there did not appear, according to their critics, to be enough interest on the part of LAs in the social effects of in-migration or in integrating the Welsh language into planning frameworks. As has already been noted above, the WLGA conceded that local government had not so far developed a sophisticated and holistic view of the impacts of in-migration, or of population change in general, as an area of particular concern. However, they had moved recently to establish four regional fora that aimed to allow discussion of issues of common interest that cut across authority boundaries, and could include issues such as population change, and the impact that changing population profiles could have on local authority areas and service provision.

Any narrow view of community development that reduces development to change measured purely according to an economic metric and ignoring social consequences was also criticised by the Wales Rural Forum. The respondent noted a general ignorance about what constituted community and how a community may be developed, not just at the local authority level but also within other government agencies.

'..They rather try to tag 'community' onto the needs of the agency and so on…and therefore, sometimes, we are working in rural Wales in order to meet the needs of the agency rather than to meet the needs of the community'

(Wales Rural Forum)

A tendency by government agencies to act without local sensitivity was noted where the dynamics of intervention were not fully appreciated. Voluntary organisations such as the Wales Young Farmers' Clubs noted that projects may be launched in some areas without regard to what might have already been in place. The new project often displaced voluntary action, but was usually funded only for a specific period at the end of which money and personnel disappeared, leaving a vacuum and a disrupted local social voluntary network. Similar examples were quoted by the Rural Forum, pointing to instances where officers in a local authority might administer funds for projects for a specific time without ensuring that a sustainable activity is being built up.

On the other hand the Forum conceded that communities cannot expect to have their activities funded without some reference to audit systems and a judgment on levels of competence. In this respect there was a perceived need to develop a better level of knowledge about community development activity among voluntary and other non-governmental organisations as well as within local authority and other funding agencies. What was needed, it was argued, was for community action facilitators to engage with local area voluntary groups to understand what is going on and to be able to help those groups to achieve their objectives.

'A community development officer should be continually talking himself/herself out of a job'
(Wales Rural Forum)

5.5 The main features of population out-movement and their impacts on the social, cultural, and linguistic contexts of rural areas

The majority of respondents considered that the main issues that needed to be addressed in respect of out-migration were:

- young people
- housing costs and availability
- job opportunities

The basis for concern about out-migration was focussed on young people who were seen to have to move either to continue their education or to seek employment. The presence of universities and other colleges in towns within rural areas of Wales notwithstanding, the anecdotal evidence was of the most able of the younger generation leaving their rural communities. It was noted, however, that it was not the case that young people with lesser educational qualifications did not take part in this migration, but that;

'…just one suspects rather strongly that the most disadvantaged are, perhaps, those who are least likely to manage to find something somewhere else in any case'
(Cymuned)

Larger population centres, and currently Cardiff in particular, were cited as the main draw for out-migration among young people, although the cities of northern England and London continued to attract numbers, and coastal towns (including the university towns of Aberystwyth and Bangor) were cited as destinations for many.

The out-migration, predominantly of young people leading to lower birth-rates, added to the demographic and social imbalance of communities, combining in its effects with the in-migration of predominantly older people. Out-migration impacted on the sustainability of some services in rural Wales, with the closure of rural primary schools being particularly noted. The loss of such centres of communal life contributed further to the deterioration of the capacity of the community to maintain balance in its social networks.

The effects of out-migration were very much seen as a loss of capacity and a loss of communal capital built up over generations, and such effects changed the nature and general attitudes to rural community life. It was argued that those people who managed to stay as part of the communities in which they were raised regarded rural living differently to many in-migrants who often had experience of life in a number of different localities and were not rooted to particular communities and localities.

'Very often, for example, the people who have moved in have worked in a number of different jobs and moved around England or other countries, and that's a very different experience to living where all your family are still close by'

(Cymuned)

The contrast in attitude between some in-migrants and people who had always lived in the locality was also expressed in terms of how the two sets of people regarded community life and general attitudes to living in rural areas. With increasing population change, it was argued that this trend might continue to the detriment of the quality of rural communal life.

'….you are looking at the obvious danger that you are creating a situation where rural places are for people who have managed to amass capital and who as a result are living quite individualised lives…….And that young people's increasing expectation is that they'll be going to the main towns or cities to get work and will spend their lives working in order to retire back to rural areas……It doesn't say that there is anything wrong in principle with someone retiring to rural areas or going to work in a city, but obviously, if it is a social pattern, the practices which form a community are going to be substantially weakened and it's then very interesting to see where the moral and principled habits which create a community will come from. If they are not created in rural areas, one begins to worry about where exactly they will be.'
(Cymuned)

The impact of the out-migration of young people was, therefore, seen in terms of a gradual change in character of the social and cultural nature of rural communities. It had an impact on what was 'left behind' and on what kind of community would develop following a combination of the twin processes of in- and out-migration. The Young Farmers Club respondent noted that, in personal terms, he was more likely to find his ex-school mates in a pub in Cardiff than in his local town, and that this impoverishment of local social life changed expectations and social norms.

The impact of out-migration was also seen as the other side of the coin of in-migration's impact on the linguistic landscape. Out-migration further reduced the percentage of Welsh speakers, contributing to the weakening of formal and informal networks and the presumptions of use and applicability of the language.

'..the mass of Welsh-speakers left behind to influence the position of the Welsh language in various community networks is that much smaller….Also, if there is a substantial outward migration of Welsh-

speakers from one area, the number of people in the local employment market able to work through the medium of Welsh declines.'

(Cymdeithas yr Iaith)

Local authorities were also aware of the loss of young people in terms of the loss of potential future employees and, particularly for those that leave to pursue higher education, the loss of people who potentially could be capable of filling managerial and higher echelons of local authority services.

These statements mirror and reinforce the analysis of the effects of in-migration, seeing population change as shifting the social, cultural and linguistic balance of rural communities.

5.6 Actions and activities undertaken to respond to the impact of out-migration

Respondents for the organisations interviewed saw the kind of activities required in response to the out-migration from rural Wales as extensions of their general work in strengthening communities. As noted above, out-migration was largely characterised by the loss of young people and hence activities and actions were mainly targeted at the younger age range.

Cymuned and Cymdeithas yr Iaith regarded themselves as campaigning organisations and hence offered analysis and debate on the factors affecting out-migration and its impact. In this respect they targeted young students and other young people who might become interested and wish to participate in the debate, to learn more about the issues, and to maybe join in their activities, but neither organisation had specific programmes of activity aimed at mitigating out-migration. Cymdeithas yr Iaith has been active in some cases in organising and sustaining social events that appeal to a young audience but these were mainly as an adjunct to their main function as a campaigning organisation.

The Urdd and the Wales Young Farmers' Clubs were directly concerned with organising social and cultural events and activities for their membership. They noted that membership levels in older age bands had been maintained at similar levels for a number of years suggesting, particularly for those who remained in rural communities, which

membership represents for those people an important element in their social networks. In addition, these organisations tried to maintain their connection with members who have moved out of rural Wales, and to maintain the connection between the individual and their rural roots. Trac also attempted to engender the same kind of relationship with people who lived outside rural areas, using their own publication and website to maintain contact.

Along with Cymuned and Cymdeithas yr Iaith, the Mentrau Iaith, the Wales Rural Forum, and the Welsh Language Board each indicated that their campaigns and activities were not separated into those that deal with in- and out migration as distinct phenomena. Their effects on rural communities were seen as complementary and referred to as 'mirror images' or as 'two sides of the same coin', which needed to be seen as a whole to understand how communities were changing. The former WDA's Llwybro/Routes scheme, to maintain contact with people who have moved away from rural communities and to attempt to demonstrate routes back to living and working in rural Wales, was commended as a generally useful contribution, but knowledge among respondents of the scheme's detail or effectiveness seemed sketchy.

5.7 Further actions required to deal with the effects of out-migration

Whilst improved qualifications and job prospects were important for young people, and out-migration was accepted for such purposes, there was also recognition of a natural desire among young people to gain new and different experiences of life. Respondents felt that it was right that young people should take advantage of such opportunities, but argued that there should also be ways for them to return and to settle back into their original communities.

The lack of housing and job opportunities were normally considered the two main obstructions for young people to be able to stay or return to their original rural communities, whilst the greatest obstruction for returnees was considered to be the housing market rather than the job market. The housing market was restricted both in terms of available accommodation for rent outside rural towns as well as in terms of the affordability of house prices. Hence, the house building and land use planning policies of local planning authorities were criticised both for insensitivity and for a lack of flexibility.

'..And the [National] *Park has a policy – any old buildings, old buildings around the village- those are only allowed to be converted into holiday homes......What we need is some flexible housing options for young people -but also for elderly people. Because what you have is older people stuck in a large house, three bedrooms, and they don't want them. They can't keep them up. So we need flexible housing options in rural Wales'*

(Rural Forum)

Whilst there was agreement that housing problems were a core issue some respondents argued that the availability of suitable work for people wishing to live in rural Wales was not as much of a general problem as was commonly assumed.

'It's almost a cliché, but certainly it's a problem in some parts but, at the same time, in other parts it's not a problem. There's plenty of work to be had in many places but there's possibly some kind of discourse or some kind of idea being created that there's no work available.......but this question is certainly one of the features of the process of outward migration'

(Cymdeithas yr Iaith)

If work was available, however, individuals were faced with the difficulty of finding suitable homes, and out-migration from villages, in particular, was seen to be due to the restrictions of an underdeveloped rental market, and the unaffordability of house prices.

In tandem with restricted housing opportunities respondents noted the influence of poor transport infrastructure and services in rural areas. Transport connections between rural towns and their hinterland affected access to both jobs and the kind of social life young people were seeking. Hence, even if housing might be available in villages, the costs, and in most cases the inaccessibility of transport to work or social centres made living in communities outside the larger towns difficult.

'If you are a two parent family and you are both working in Aberystwyth, it's almost inevitable that you'll need both your family cars to get to town and back and to provide for the children…...So questions [arise] *then about how affordable it is to live outside the town and this causes migration from some villages'.*
(Cymdeithas yr Iaith)

In these responses out-migration was described as operating within what is defined as local rural areas, with the phenomenon of outlying villages and communities losing their young population to local towns being as important as migration to cities and centres further away. The discussion on promoting local growth centres (as in the Wales Spatial Plan, 2004) in an attempt to sustain rural communities was, therefore, regarded with suspicion, with the suggestion that such an approach might misunderstand and oversimplify the nature of Welsh rural networks and communities and the inter-relation between rural towns and their hinterland.

'Because all that [The Wales Spatial Plan] *does is to empty small villages to* [e.g.] *Aberystwyth. ………that empties villages like Capel Curig and Pontrhydfendigaid and then they are filled with in-migrants….What is needed, I think, is not just thinking about Aberystwyth, as a growth centre, or Bangor as a growth centre. They have to think of the whole area……With a little more careful planning, and saying okay, if we are going to develop jobs here in Aberystwyth (…and…) we're going to take all these villages around Aberystwyth into consideration, and put ten houses here, fifteen houses there, a dozen houses…'*
(Wales Rural Forum)

Holistic approaches to development were, therefore, seen as having the best potential of retaining young people, of attracting young people back to the community after a period away, and of better integrating new-comers into the local social fabric. The argument was to integrate responses to inward and outward migration with general community local economic development. And, to a certain extent this orientation toward a holistic community based approach was in contrast to current forms of economic development. For example, programmes geared at generating a greater entrepreneurial attitude were regarded by those interviewed as having suggested a somewhat less important role for harnessing the economic influences of existing businesses, academic institutions and other public sector employers in supporting local economic life and hence of local community development.

'There are a lot of different enterprises for [aimed at] *local economic development where there is an army of co-ordinators and facilitators who are promoting a rather nebulous idea of entrepreneurship, and that there will be some kind of local economic development on the back of that. There may be a role for that*

but I think that we should look beyond that ……the influence of the public sector is still large…and [we] *need to examine the substantial spending policies of these institutions'*
(Cymdeithas yr Iaith)

5.8 Conclusion

Taking these views together, population change impacted on the social, cultural and linguistic characteristics of rural Wales in a number of different ways, and the overall effects that it had on a particular area was dependent on the kind of community already to be found in the area. Given the varied nature of communities in rural Wales, the impacts of population change will be correspondingly diverse.

Comments identifying the main features of all forms of population change were based on expressions of accumulated personal and organisational experience rather than through systematic study. Respondents for the organisations interviewed for this chapter noted that they did not have the capacity or resources to research these features in a systematic fashion, but could, from direct involvement, provide a valuable set of perceptions of the characteristics and the effects of population change, and of their efforts to deal with these effects.

The main perceived impacts of population change were divided into those due to in-migration and those due to out-migration. The impacts of in-migration were given as changes in the age profiles of rural communities, increased threats to the survival of the Welsh language as a living community language, changes in attitudes to and expectation of rural living, and a supplanting of local leadership roles by in-comers. Many of these impacts were also found to follow from out-migration as the loss of what was primarily the young and most able segments of rural society left an imbalance and decline in the human capital of the rural community. The process of out-migration was seen as a mirror image of that of in-migration, each process tending to exacerbate social imbalances.

Out-migration was also, however, seen to have two components, namely out-migration to distant towns and cities, and the out-migration from 'outlying' villages into more local

rural towns. This difference highlighted a difference in the type of people who move out of their original communities, but also highlighted the debate on economic and community development policies. These policies and the actions emanating from them were seen to be polarised between a focus on a holistic community-focussed approach and one that was constructed around a more neo-liberal market driven agenda.

6. PERCEPTIONS OF POPULATION CHANGE AND THE IMPACTS OF CHANGE.

6.1 Introduction.

The preceding chapter utilised existing data sources to build a profile of different groups taking part in and influencing population change in rural Wales. To further investigate population change some 300 incomer and established households were selected from the NOP survey and re-contacted for interview. Choosing these groups allowed a comparative discussion of population change as it includes people that have been in an area for a long time (20 years or more) and those who have both moved into the area recently (under 5 years), and are from outside of the area.

This chapter analyses the data gathered in the follow-up interviews. There are two main parts to the chapter. Initially, these two groups' opinions and perceptions of population change in their local area will be summarised and discussed. This starts with general population change, and then concentrates on the nature of in and out migration from rural communities and how respondents' perceive this in terms of numbers, groups and reasons for moving. This leads into the second section of the chapter, a discussion and analysis of the perceived impacts of population change. For this section, a range of themes from the interview responses are explored both quantitatively and qualitatively.

6.2 Perceptions of Population Change: General Population Change

In order to get respondents thinking about population change and its various facets, the first interview question asked how people felt population in their local area had changed in the past five years. Table 6.1, below, shows that over two thirds of respondents (68.4%) believed the population in their area had increased either a little or a lot in the past five years, whilst only 5% said it had decreased. This shows that there is widespread awareness of increasing populations in rural Wales and implies people are well informed about the processes at work (see Chapter 5 for empirical evidence of this change).

As far as differences between incomers and the established respondents are concerned, incomers did not as readily recognise the trend; a relatively small number identified it is a strong change (half as many compared to the established population said population had increased 'a lot').

Table 6.1 Perceptions of population numbers in local area over five years

	Incomers		Established		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Increased a lot	30	20.0	62	41.3	92	30.7
Increased a little	63	42.0	50	33.3	113	37.7
Stayed about the same	46	30.7	33	22.0	79	26.3
Decreased a little	4	2.7	3	2.0	7	2.3
Decreased a lot	6	4.0	2	1.3	8	2.7
Don't know	1	0.7	0	0.0	1
300	0.3

6.3 Perceptions of Population Change- In migration.

Respondents from incomer and established households were given a selection of different 'groups' and asked to identify which they felt make up the majority of people moving into their local area (see Table 6.2, below). The most common view amongst both groups was that rural Wales is a place people come to retire. Over one third of respondents identified retired people as a prominent group, with elderly people also strongly represented. There were a few divergences in the opinions of the established and incomer populations. Established households were found to be far more likely than incomers to identify groups by nationality- over one quarter said English people were moving in whereas only 15.3% of incomers identified this trend. Incomers were more likely however to distinguish in movers by age, and were most likely to say elderly people were moving in.

Table 6.2 Groups identified as moving in to rural Wales

	Incomers		Established		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Retired	54	36.0	53	35.3	107	35.7
Those in work	17	11.3	10	6.7	27	9.0
Elderly	31	20.7	10	6.7	41	13.7
Young	12	8.0	18	12.0	30	10.0
Students	3	2.0	1	0.7	4	1.3
Families	29	19.3	24	16.0	53	17.7
Low Income	7	4.7	3	2.0	10	3.3
High Earners	14	9.3	14	9.3	28	9.3
English	23	15.3	38	25.3	61	20.3
Other	21	14.0	23	15.3	44	14.7

Beyond this pre-selected list of groups, respondents were encouraged to identify other groups not included in the above list. This prompt led to an eclectic set of answers, but three main themes emerged. The first of these was the observation that there was a mixture of people moving in. A small number of respondents from both incomers and established households argued this was the case;

> *"…[A]ll sorts move in"*

The second idea highlighted by a few respondents was that 'holiday makers' were moving into rural Wales. People were seen to either buy a holiday home in rural Wales or come on a vacation and then decide to move to the area[12]. The third theme related to the most common answer given outside of the prescribed groups- 'foreign' people. A series of largely indistinct references were made to *"people from overseas"* and *"the asylum seekers"*. A few respondents went on to identify nationalities or general areas where people have moved from, with the most common being *"Eastern Europeans"*.

Following this initial discussion of the types of people moving rural Wales, respondents were asked their opinion on which areas the majority of people moving to rural Wales had moved from. This showed up some interesting differences in opinion between the two interviewed groups, specifically in relation to English people moving to rural Wales. Proportionally more interviewees from established households (64% compared to 48% of incomer respondents) gave the opinion that in movers were coming from England.

Table 6.3 Areas people have moved to rural Wales from

	Incomers		Established		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Rural Wales	4	2.7	6	4.0	10	3.3
Other parts of Wales	21	14.0	24	16.0	45	15.0
England	72	48.0	96	64.0	168	56.0
Other parts of the UK	35	23.3	12	8.0	47	15.7
Outside of the UK	10	6.7	7	4.7	17	5.7

An important aspect of population change is the reasons behind why people move from one area to another. Respondents were asked why they thought people had been moving into their local area (i.e. rural Wales). Taken together, over one third identified the environment as a potential key influence, with the second most important factor perceived as a lower cost of living in rural areas (see Table 6.4, overleaf). Employment opportunities and a safe local area were also both considered central influences on people's decision to move.

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[12] The theme of holiday makers settling in rural Wales was also prominent in later discussions about peoples' reasons for moving to rural Wales.

Table 6.4 Suggested reasons behind people moving to rural Wales

	Incomers		Established		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Employment	21	14.0	33	22.0	54	18.0
Safe environment	33	22.0	22	14.7	55	18.3
Cultural facilities	3	2.0	8	5.3	11	3.7
Recreational facilities	3	2.0	3	2.0	6	2.0
Environment	60	40.0	47	31.3	107	35.7
University/ further ed.	3	2.0	3	2.0	6	2.0
Returning home	15	10.0	6	4.0	21	7.0
Good place to raise children	8	5.3	15	10.0	23	7.7
Low cost of living	40	26.7	42	28.0	82	27.3
Friendly neighbours/ people	8	5.3	8	5.3	16	5.3
Family/ friends nearby	4	2.7	6	4.0	10	3.3
Other reasons	22	14.7	27	18.0	49	16.3

Differences can be recognised between incomer and established respondents in their responses to this question. Incomers were more likely to point to aspects of the local community and area as influences on people moving in. 40% (compared to 31.3% of established respondents) identified the local environment, whilst 22% said a safe environment (compared to 14.7%) was also a key influence. In contrast, established respondents were proportionally more likely to identify economic reasons for in-migration. 22% said employment was a key driver of in-migration, with a further 28% pointing to a comparatively low cost of living in their local area.

The interviews conducted for this project asked incomers why their household had moved to rural Wales (see Chapter 4). This provides an interesting comparison between the perceived reasons of the interviewees and the reasons given by respondents to the NOP for their households reasons for moving into rural Wales. It was found that the answers for these two questions were broadly similar. The most common reason for moving to rural Wales given by incomers was environmental (25.3%), with a safe environment also high on incomers' concerns. This was a similar response to the perceived reasons incomers gave for others moving in. Also high on the list was employment (19.3%), which both incomers and the established population also identified as important.

Beyond these categories further opportunities were provided for respondents to identify factors they perceived to be important in prompting people to move to rural Wales. Over ten responses from incomers and a further six from established households argued that issues related to housing had influenced peoples' decision to move to the area. These responses largely concentrated on the superior availability of housing in the local area and the relatively low cost of housing;

"…new housing is being built locally"

"…lots of new cheap housing"

This focus on cheap and available housing seems to contradict the view that there is a putative shortage of affordable housing in rural areas, discussed in the literature review and analysed later in this chapter. This theme may have emerged as respondents were comparing the price and availability of housing in rural areas with other areas they have either visited, know of, or have lived in. This point is particularly applicable for those incomers who have moved from more expensive urban areas such as Cardiff or London.

The second theme to emerge was that people are moving to rural Wales for a better lifestyle or quality of life.

"It is a lifestyle choice to live here… [there is a] relaxed lifestyle"

Again this theme could have emerged as people were comparing rural Wales to urban areas. This was specified by one respondent who said incomers were looking to move *"…away from city life"*. The last theme to emerge was that incomers were persuaded to move following holidaying in the area, and was espoused by six respondents;

"[People] come on holiday and appreciate the life here…"

6.4 Perceptions of Population Change: Out-migration.

The themes and questions above, exploring perceptions of in-migration, were repeated for out migration, starting with the types of people who are moving out of Wales. Table 6.5 shows that the majority of interviewees, 58.7%, believed young people were moving out of their local area and further to this, 14.7%, felt students were leaving. This echoes findings from other rural studies, discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), which found the out-migration of young people, either unable to afford housing or unable to find work, to be a major transforming factor in rural areas (Stockdale 2004).

Table 6.5 Groups perceived to be leaving rural Wales

	Incomers		Established		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Retired	7	4.7	8	5.3	15	5.0
Those in work	11	7.3	14	9.3	25	8.3
Elderly	11	7.3	6	4.0	17	5.7
Young people	78	52.0	98	65.3	176	58.7
Students	21	14.0	23	15.3	44	14.7
Families	7	4.7	5	3.3	12	4.0
Low income groups	1	0.7	2	1.3	3	1.0
High earners	3	2.0	3	2.0	6	2.0
English	3	2.0	1	0.7	4	1.3
Other	18	12.0	13	8.7	31	10.3

Table 6.6, below, shows that the majority of interviewees believed most people moving out of rural Wales were either moving to England (34.3%) or to other parts of Wales (32.3%). There was little variation in the views of incomers and established respondents on this issue.

Table 6.6 Perceived locations of people moving out of rural Wales

	Incomers		Established		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Rural Wales	3	2.0	1	0.7	4	1.3
Other parts of Wales	46	30.7	51	34.0	97	32.3
England	52	34.7	51	34.0	103	34.3
Other parts of the UK	14	9.3	25	16.7	39	13.0
Outside the UK	3	2.0	8	5.3	11	3.7

Interviewees were then asked what they thought were the main reasons people were moving out of rural Wales. The most common two reasons identified were a lack of suitable employment in the local area (52.7%) and leaving for university (29.7%). No other category was identified by over 10% of people, making these two the dominant perceived reasons for moving. This result resonates with the findings of a recent study (Department of City and Regional Planning 2003), and if these perceptions are compared to results from the NOP survey for why people were actually leaving rural Wales, close similarities can be seen. Some categories from the NOP survey were not included in this study (such as 'left to set up home', which 35.5% selected), but the categories of employment (25.6%) and university (19.7%) again scored highly.

Surprisingly, housing was not viewed as an important issue by interviewees despite high profile coverage of the issue in rural Wales[13]. In addition, a lack of services (also identified as a rural problem) and cultural or recreational amenities were not identified as major influences on population change in rural Wales.

Table 6.7 Suggested reasons for people leaving rural Wales

	Incomers		Established		Totals	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Going to university	47	31.3	42	28.0	89	29.7
Poor/ lack of educational facilities	1	0.7	4	2.7	5	1.7
Lack of suitable employment	70	46.7	88	58.7	158	52.7
Poor services	7	4.7	4	2.7	11	3.7
For better quality of life	16	10.7	10	6.7	26	8.7
Concerns over crime/ safety	2	1.3	3	2.0	5	1.7
Housing issues	11	7.3	17	11.3	28	9.3
Lack of community relations	3	2.0	3	2.0	6	2.0
Lack of cultural/ entertainment opportunities	1	0.7	5	3.3	6	2.0
Lack of sporting/ recreational opportunities	1	0.7	2	1.3	3	1.0
Cost of living	1	0.7	10	6.7	11	3.7
Don't know	7	4.7	7	4.7	14	4.7
Other reasons	12	8.0	16	10.7	28	9.3

[13] In the NOP survey housing was again not considered a major influence on people leaving rural Wales, with only 0.4% highlighting this.

Regarding differences between incomer interviewees and established households, the results were found to be broadly similar. Incomers were more likely to perceive a better quality of life or university as key reasons for leaving, whilst proportionally more established respondents identified a lack of employment and housing issues as important influences.

Interviewees were again here given the chance to specify other reasons why they felt people had been leaving rural Wales. These reasons can be categorised into two main themes; economic reasons and reasons related to greater opportunities outside rural Wales. Taking economic reasons, four incomer interviewees and seven from established households referred in some way to financial push factors, mainly concentrating on improved earnings outside of the area and career prospects.

> *"…high earners move on as part of their jobs…"*

Two established residents also suggested tax was behind some households' decision to leave the area;

> *"[They] can no longer afford council tax"*

The second theme to emerge related to better opportunities being sought outside of rural Wales. Most respondents referred to a general lack of opportunities in the local area, leading people to want to *"see other places and gain experience"*. The lack of opportunities was also linked to the exodus of young people;

> *"there is nothing here for youngsters"*

> *"[young people]… find it too quiet and slow, so they move away"*

This links to previous findings by Stockdale (2004), who found that many young adults enhanced their human capital by migrating to urban centres to further their education and skills, but did not return to their home area because of the lack of suitable job opportunities

6.5 Perceptions of the impacts of Population Change: Introduction.

The remaining sections in this Chapter explore how interviewees perceived the impacts of population change on their local area. That is, how members of both established and incoming households feel that they, and their local communities, have been affected by population changes. In a similar manner to the previous analyses, we draw a range of themes from the interview responses and explore them both quantitatively and qualitatively.

6.6 Perceptions of the impact on the local area.

When households move into an area there are impacts on both the existing local community and on the households themselves. To assess the impacts on the local community, respondents were asked to choose, from a range of opinions, what had been the impact of people who had moved into the local area in the last five years. Only one response was allowed. Table 6.8 below gives the results.

Table 6.8 Response to the impact of in-migrants

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	4	2.7	3	2.0	7	2.3
Very Good	7	4.7	7	4.7	14	4.7
Good	47	31.3	31	20.7	78	26.0
No strong opinion	63	42.0	55	36.7	118	39.3
Bad	21	14.0	25	16.7	46	15.3
Very Bad	0	0.0	15	10.0	15	5.0
Unsure	8	5.3	14	9.3	22	7.3
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

For all correspondents, 48.9% either held 'no strong opinion', were 'unsure' or did not respond; 30.7% perceived the impact of new people to be 'good' or 'very good'; and 18.3% considered the impact to be 'bad' or 'very bad'. In the light of the tensions between in-migrants to rural areas and the established population discussed in the literature, the latter result is unsurprising. The breakdown between incoming and established households is, however, revealing.

Incomers generally held more positive views of the impacts of new people, with 36% agreeing that the impact was either 'good' or 'very good'. The combined figure of the 'good' or 'very good' categories for established households was 25.7%. Results for 'no strong opinion' and 'unsure' were similar for incomers and established households at 50% and 48% respectively. It is in the 'bad' and 'very bad' categories where the strongest differences arise. While 14% of incomers thought that new people had had a 'bad' or 'very bad' impact on the local area, 26.7% of established households considered this to be the case. Therefore, of the established households, more perceived the impacts of incomers negatively than positively.

In addition to categorising their perceptions, interviewees were asked to expand on them. Of the 300 households interviewed, 31 incoming households and 58 established households offered explanations for their choice of 'impact' category. These observations and explanations fell into six themes: economy, employment, housing, community issues, social order issues, and Welsh language and cultural issues which shall be discussed below.

6.6.1 Economy

The majority of qualitative interview data concerning the local economy was favourable to the impact of in-migrants. There were 10 interviewee observations that explicitly mentioned the economy and of these 8 were favourable. Some examples of the tone of the observations were:

>..........*boost local economy*

>..........*bring wealth to area*

>..........*generates business for small businesses*

The tone of the more negative remarks was relatively mild:

>.........*little contribution to local economy*

……...don't shop in the local area

Of the 'economic' comments, incoming households made 6, with the remaining 4 made by established households. Of the two negative remarks, one came from the incoming households and one from the established households.

6.6.2 Employment

Only 4 interviewee observations concerned the impacts of in-migrants on the job market, with 3 pointing to perceived detrimental impacts. 2 respondents (both incomers) claimed that:

…...the employment situation is made worse.

and that incomers were:

…….filling jobs that locals could do.

While an incomer's perception that in-migrants had a good impact because of:

…...the different skills they bring…

contrasted with the perception of an established interviewee that:

…...those coming in are not skilled workers.

6.6.3 Housing

There were 17 observations on the impact of in-migrants on housing and related issues, with 5 from incoming households and 12 from established households. The majority – 12 / 17 or 71% - concerned perceptions that either house prices were being pushed up by in-migrants or that in-migrant demand was causing a shortage of housing. These comments resonate with the discussions concerning the impacts of in-migration on rural housing in the literature review (e.g. Shucksmith, 1981, 1991; Walford, 2004). Examples of interviewee observations were:

…….difficult to get a house in the area

…….high earners moving into the area pushes house prices up

…….young people can't afford local houses

……..youngsters cannot get on the property ladder

…….incomers taking the available houses

Within these housing-related observations there were explicit concerns about holiday homes:

…….holiday homes use up stock

……lots of houses are used as holiday homes

The remaining 5 interviewee observations related to housing included concerns about the number of new developments; the 'ugliness' of new housing; and the loss of agricultural land to housing.

6.6.4 Community Issues

Community issues here mean the perceived impacts of in-migrants on everyday life in rural communities: how well or otherwise they interact with established residents; whether or not they take part in community activities; and their standing as good neighbours. There were 24 observations on community issues: 5 from incoming households and 19 from established households. Taking the incoming households first, 4 of the 5 observations were favourable towards in-migrants, with 1 argument that:

………….our community is becoming smaller.

Of the 19 observations from established households, 8 (42%) displayed a degree of hostility towards in-migrants. Examples were:

……don't fit in

……a drain on amenities

……they place increased demand on already overstretched services – for example GPs

……they don't seem to adapt to village life style

……they destroy the existing community

……in movers are wrecking a nice place for everyone else

The remaining 58% of interviewees from established households who commented on community issues seemed relatively content to have new neighbours:

……….as long as there is give and take everyone gets on well

……….I have made friends with them

………they join in with the community

………..they make good neighbours

……….it's nice to have a new population

6.6.5 Social order issues

While connected to community issues, social order issues are taken here to relate to perceptions of social disruption, crime and public safety. Almost by definition the 6 observations made were hostile to in-migrants. Of the 6 comments, 5 were made by incoming households. The interviewee perceptions were:

………the area is not as safe as it used to be

………the police are having more problems with foreigners
        (English or other non-Welsh?)

………some of the people are dangerous or violent

………they bring their problems with them

………they often bring their problems with them   (established household)

6.6.6 Welsh language and culture

As discussed in the literature review there are expressed concerns that in-migration to rural Wales is having a negative impact on Welsh language and culture. Although there were direct questions concerning this issue, which are discussed later under 8.2.3, 8.4.6 and 8.5, eight (8) interviewees – 3 incomers and 5 established households - made observations concerning the negative impact of in-migration on Welsh language and culture. Examples were:

……….there is a clash of cultures

………they don't attempt to learn the language

……....I feel isolated in my own community as the English take over everything

……….we are losing our sense of identity

………there is a loss of language

………the people that make an effort are nice to live with but some people don't understand how different the Welsh way of life is

……….incomers are non-Welsh speaking

6.7 Perceptions of the experiences of in-migrants.

Interviewees in both categories were asked to indicate how they felt in-migrants had generally settled in their area over the past five years. Table 6.9 shows the results.

Table 6.9   Perceptions of in-migrants experiences

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	5	3.3	3	2.0	8	2.7
No problems	73	48.7	61	40.7	134	44.7
A few problems	51	34.0	41	27.3	92	30.7
A lot of problems	1	0.7	12	8.0	13	4.3
Don't know	20	13.3	33	22.0	53	17.7
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

The result that stands out in Table 6.9 above is how few interviewees, 4.3% in total, perceived that in-migrants had had 'a lot of problems'.

Again interviewees were asked to expand on their category choice: 28 incoming and 34 established household interviewees did so. Drawing on the same themes as above, economics was not an issue; 5 interviewees cited problems with either finding work or with transport to work; and only 2 perceived that in-migrants had problems finding houses. The latter result accords with the housing issues discussed above, where it was the indigenous population who had housing issues because of rising prices and shortages perceived to be impacts of in-migration.

Some interviewees used this question as an opportunity to re-state community issues, social order issues, and issues concerning Welsh language and culture. These are discussed below.

6.7.1 Community issues

In total, 18 (7 incomers and 11 established) interviewees expanded on their category choice by discussing community issues. The community-related problems of in-migrants perceived by the interviewee households tended to cover the same ground as the less-than-favourable comments on the impacts of in-migrants, discussed above. By degree, the mildest observations concerned perceived problems that in-migrants had with fewer shops and facilities than they were used to:

> *… there are fewer shops and facilities than they are used to*

> *….there are limited shopping facilities*

> *….they have problems with access to doctors and problems with the council*

Then, there were those interviewees who thought that in-migrants had problems adjusting to the perceived slower pace of life in rural Wales:

> *…. ..they bring in city ways*

> *……they can't slow down*

Some interviewees pointed to tensions between in-migrants and the established population:

> *……..inter community relations are poor*

> *..........because they are rude to us, we are rude to them*

> *…….this was a quiet area but it is becoming overcrowded*

> *…….the incomers don't want to mix*

> *…….they are people who don't make the effort to get to know the people of the community*

One interviewee considered, however, that the question asked had the wrong emphasis:

> …….*locals experience the problems not the incomers.*

This response points strongly towards tensions between the established population and incomers.

6.7.2 Social order issues

Defining social order issues as above, 6 interviewees (2 incomers and 4 established) perceived that in-migrants were involved with social order issues. Their observations tended to resonate with the quotation directly above in describing the perceived problems that in-migrants brought to the area, rather than those actually experienced by in-migrants:

> …….*there are drug users*

> …….*now there are drugs and alcohol problems in the area*

> …….*DSS people move in*

> …….*recent in-movers have caused some trouble*

> …….*I have seen racist signs*

6.7.3 Welsh language and culture

16 (10 incomers and 6 established) interviewees perceived that in-migrants experienced difficulties connected with Welsh language and culture. The incomers perceived that:

> …..*there is a problem being English in a Welsh environment*

> …..*the English annoy the Welsh*

…..the Welsh are not welcoming

…..adjusting to a new culture causes some problems

While the established households argued that:

….non-Welsh speaking [people] have different life styles

….there are some difficulties with language

…..they can't understand our culture

Two other observations, which could be connected to recent in-migration from continental Europe, are worthy of note:

….. foreigners - cultural differences   (in this context, this could refer to
English in-migrants)

….. [people] from outside the UK- completely different culture

6.8 The contribution of in-migrants to the community

Interviewees were asked what contribution in-migrants had made to the community by suggesting the range of categories shown at Table 6.10 below. Multiple responses were called for.

Table 6.10 The contribution of in-migrants

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
None	32	21.3	50	33.3	82	27.3
Started new club/ organisation	19	12.7	15	10.0	34	11.3
Joined existing clubs etc	45	30.0	31	20.7	76	25.3
Maintained services	35	23.3	14	9.3	49	16.3
Good neighbours	17	11.3	15	10.0	32	10.7
Use shops and pubs	55	36.7	32	21.3	87	29.0
Enter local politics	10	6.7	11	7.3	21	7.0
Unsure	21	14.0	19	12.7	40	13.3
Other	5	3.3	12	8.0	17	5.7
Total	239	100	199	100	438	100

The results that stand out here are those who considered that in-migrants made 'no contribution' to the local community. Of the 300 interviewees asked, 82 (32 incomers and 50 established) held this view. Taken together with the 40 (21 incomers and 19 established) who were 'unsure', this represents 40.6% of the survey population who either perceived that in-migrants made no contribution to the community or were unable, or unwilling, to identify in-migrants' contribution.

The 'other' contributions identified included: boosting the local economy; being hard workers; maintaining local school rosters; and broadening horizons.

6.9 The impact of people moving out of the area

Out-migration too, has the potential to impact on rural areas. In a similar manner to the exploration of the impacts of in-migration, to assess the impacts of out-migration on the local community, respondents were asked to choose, from a range of opinions, what had been the impact of people on the local area of people moving out. Only one response was allowed. Table 6.11 below gives the results.

Table 6.11 The impact of out-migration

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	25	16.7	4	2.7	29	9.7
Very good	0	0.0	5	3.3	5	1.7
Good	13	8.7	10	6.7	23	7.7
No strong opinion	68	45.3	39	26.0	107	35.7
Bad	26	17.3	45	30.0	71	23.7
Very bad	5	3.3	26	17.3	31	10.3
Unsure	13	8.7	21	14.0	34	11.3
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

Taken together, 'no strong opinion', 'no response' and 'unsure' formed the largest category at 56.7% of respondents. Note that 42.7% of established households against 70.7% of incomer households held these uncommitted views. Few – a combined 9.4% - considered it to be 'very good' or 'good' that people left the area. It is noteworthy that more established households than incomer households considered it to be 'bad' or 'very bad' that people were leaving the area (combined figures of 37.3% and 20.6% respectively).

Interviewees were asked to expand on their category choices; providing their perceptions of why people left the area. 21 incoming and 50 established households provided responses. Their responses fell into five themes: employment and economy, housing, community issues, and Welsh language and cultural issues. These themes are explored below.

107

6.9.1 Employment and economy

The general perception here was that there was little or no work in rural Wales, and that people had to move away to find employment. For example:

> *…….like me some friends moved away to look for work*

> *……there is no constructive work*

> *……there are no industries- all locals have to move to find work*

There were also concerns expressed that out-migration was reducing the skills level in rural areas:

> *……skilled people are leaving*

> *……it is taking talent away from the local area*

> *……we are losing people with skills*

> *……there is a brain drain*

There was a widely held perception that any loss of population was bad for the local economy.

6.9.2 Housing

High housing prices, coupled with a low wage local economy, were perceived to be a factor in out-migration from rural Wales:

> *…… the area is becoming expensive which pushes low earners out*

……it is an example of problems here, houses are too expensive

One interviewee argued, however, that out-migration opened housing for the local young people:

….. it helps re-generate the area and makes houses available to young people

6.9.3 Community issues

Giving young people the opportunity to remain in the local area was a prominent theme for interviewees, who perceived that out-migration of young people was damaging to local communities. This concern was expressed in a range of ways:

……..soon there won't be any young people raising families

……..the average age of the population is increasing

…..…we are losing future of our community

..……we are losing ideas of the young - they are the future

..……you need young people to sustain communities

But others argued that it was important for the personal development of young people, and ultimately for the wider community, that they left home to improve their education, employment prospects and life skills:

……..the community needs young people but it is understandable why they leave

……..it is good for young people to learn and gain experience

……..it's good for them - education and development - new experiences

6.9.4 Welsh language and cultural issues

There were perceptions that out-migration was having a detrimental impact on Welsh language and culture:

> ……. *it deprives the area of local Welsh people*

> ………*the language will go*

> ………*there is a loss of Welsh speakers*

> …….. *there is a loss of local culture*

Interview evidence showed that the issues of Welsh language, culture and identity were important to many indigenous people in rural Wales, which resonates with arguments in both the academic (Cloke *et* al, 1998b; Fevre *et* al, 1998; Day, 2002) and policy (Jones *et* al, 2001) literature. The observations above, together with those discussed in the previous chapters, lead into a set of questions specifically concerned with the impacts of population change on Welsh language and culture.

6.10 Impacts on Welsh language and culture

Interviewees were presented with a range of statements, and their responses were categorised. The tables below show the results.

Table 6.12 The ability to speak Welsh is important for fully participating in my community

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	6	4.0	2	1.3	8	2.7
Strongly disagree	36	24.0	28	18.7	64	21.3
Mildly disagree	27	18.0	31	20.7	58	19.3
No strong feelings	12	8.0	15	10.0	27	9.0
Mildly agree	44	29.3	27	18.0	71	23.7
Strongly agree	25	16.7	47	31.3	72	24.0
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

More interviewees agreed that the ability to speak Welsh was important for participation in the community than disagreed – 47.7% compared to 40.6%. But with 11.7% having 'no strong feelings' or not responding, it could be argued that more people (52.3%) either disagreed that Welsh was important or did not care. The result that stands out is the 31.3% of established households who 'strongly agreed' that Welsh was important compared to the 16.7% of incomer households. Note, however, that the proportions of households that 'mildly agreed' or 'strongly agreed' are similar for established and incomers – but the results and emphases are reversed as the table below shows:

Table 6.13 People using Welsh as an active language in my community is important to me

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	6	4.0	2	1.3	8	2.7
Strongly disagree	21	14.0	21	14.0	42	14.0
Mildly disagree	29	19.3	20	13.3	49	16.3
No strong feelings	24	16.0	15	10.0	39	13.0
Mildly agree	48	32.0	35	23.3	83	27.7
Strongly agree	22	14.7	57	38.0	79	26.3
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

The outcome here is less equivocal than Table 6.12 above. Taken together 54% agreed that the use of Welsh was important to them against 30.3% who disagreed to some degree, with 15.7% either having no strong feelings or not responding. As with Table 6.13, the result that stands out is the 38% of established households who 'strongly agreed' that the use of the Welsh language is important, reinforced by the other comparatively high percentages for 'agree' and 'strongly agree'.

Table 6.14 People moving out of the area has had a negative impact on the use of Welsh in the local area

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	7	4.7	3	2.0	10	3.3
Strongly disagree	24	16.0	17	11.3	41	13.7
Mildly disagree	36	24.0	38	25.3	74	24.7
No strong feelings	48	32.0	41	27.3	89	29.7
Mildly agree	19	12.7	22	14.7	41	13.7
Strongly agree	16	10.7	29	19.3	45	15.0
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

The highest single category here was those interviewees who had 'no strong feelings' (29.7%), with a further 3.3% not responding. It should be noted that a greater proportion of interviewees disagreed that out-migration had had a negative impact on the use of Welsh; 38.4% compared to 28.7% who agreed. Again, a greater proportion of established households (34%) than incomers (23.4%) perceived that out-migration had had a negative impact on the use of Welsh.

Table 6.15 People moving into the area has had a positive impact on the use of Welsh in the local area

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	6	4.0	3	2.0	9	3.0
Strongly disagree	32	21.3	34	22.7	66	22.0
Mildly disagree	37	24.7	29	19.3	66	22.0
No strong feelings	49	32.7	38	25.3	87	29.0
Mildly agree	19	12.7	34	22.7	53	17.7
Strongly agree	7	4.7	12	8.0	19	6.3
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

Taken together 44% of interviewees disagreed that in-migration had had a positive effect on the use of Welsh, with 32% either having 'no strong feelings' or not responding. 24% agreed to some degree with the statement. However, although established and incomer proportions are relatively even across the 'disagree' categories, there were 8% of established households who 'strongly agreed', which together with the 22.7% who 'mildly agreed' indicates that 30.7% of established households, against 17.4% of incomer households, perceived that in-migration had had a positive impact on the use of the Welsh language.

Arguably, this is an anomalous result in view of the observations concerning 'loss of the Welsh language' and 'loss of Welsh identity' attributed to in-migration in Chapter 7.

Table 6.16 Non Welsh speakers moving into the area should attempt to learn some Welsh

	INCOMERS		ESTABLISHED		SURVEY POPULATION	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No response	9	6.0	2	1.3	11	3.7
Strongly disagree	24	16.0	15	10.0	39	13.0
Mildly disagree	17	11.3	12	8.0	29	9.7
No strong feelings	14	9.3	20	13.3	34	11.3
Mildly agree	43	28.7	26	17.3	69	23.0
Strongly agree	43	28.7	75	50.0	118	39.3
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	300	100.0

The outstanding result here is the 50% of established interviewees who 'strongly agreed' that non-Welsh speaking in-migrants should try to learn the language. Indeed, there was some agreement across the interviewees that people should try to learn the language, with only 22.7% disagreeing to any extent and 62.3% agreeing.

7. POPULATION CHANGE, COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

7.1 Introduction

This chapter extends the discussion of the nature and impact of population change to include how incomers and established groups partake in community relations and how they view these relations. It also goes on to discuss the Welsh language and how this relates to population change. As with the previous chapter, a range of themes from the interview responses are explored both quantitatively and qualitatively.

7.2 Incomers settling into a new area

Incomers predominately felt they themselves had settled immediately or within a few months (see Table 7.1, below), and the vast majority (76%) felt they were part of the community within 5 years. So, although this group felt it takes them less time to settle than it does to become accepted by others, there are strong suggestions here of a cohesive settling process with people generally being welcomed by the existing community over time. However, this is not entirely accurate if the views of those who have lived in the community for over 20 years are considered. Established households felt differently about people moving in and becoming part of the local community: 12.7% said incomers would *never* be part of the community, and only 51.4% (compared to 76% of incomers) felt incomers would be part of the community in less than 5 years. This suggests there is at least some resistance to in-migration to rural Wales from the established population.

Table 7.1 Incomer experiences of settling

Which of these best describes your experience of settling in the area?	Incomers	
	Count	%
Felt settled immediately	91	60.7
Felt settled after a few months	32	21.3
Felt settled after about one year	9	6.0
Over one year to feel settled	9	6.0
Still don't feel settled	2	1.3
Unsure	1	0.7

Table 7.2 Feeling part of the community

How long does it normally take for incomers to be considered part of the community?	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Under 1 Year	69	46.0	49	32.7
1 - 5 years	45	30.0	28	18.7
6 - 10 Years	3	2.0	14	9.3
Longer than 10 years	5	3.3	9	6.0
Never	3	2.0	19	12.7
Unsure	21	14.0	24	16.0

7.3 Community Participation

A series of questions were asked in interviews allowing comparison of various aspects of participation in the local community by both groups. The first relates to participation in any type of organised community activities such as night classes and Church meetings. Table 7.3 (below) shows that there was a greater participation in such activities by people who have moved to the area recently (57.3%) than those who have lived there for over twenty years (46%). This may be due to a number of factors such as attempts by incomers to actively participate in the community and become more embedded or the greater disposable wealth of incomers (the NOP survey previously showed household incomes were proportionally higher than other groups).

Table 7.3 Participation in organised local groups/ societies

Do you take part in activities organised by local groups/ societies?	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	86	57.3	69	46.0
No	62	41.3	81	54.0

The interviews also asked what types of groups were attended by members of the households in order to identify cultural traits. Table 7.4 (overleaf) shows that participation rates between incomers and established households were similar for most groups, notably recreational, political, lifestyle and environmental groups. However, the incomers and established households differed with respect to two main categories: sport and religion.

There was a much greater percentage (20.7%) of incomers involved in sporting activities (such as local cricket clubs) than established household members (8.7%), with this reversed for religious groups, with many established households taking part (20.7%) and only 12% of incomers. This trend, as with participation rates in any activity, could be related to the older age profile of established groups. If this trend from the interviews were to be applied to rural Wales long term, one aspect of the cultural impact of

incomers to emerge could be the proliferation of sporting clubs and the relative decline of organised religious activities.

Table 7.4   Groups attended by incomers and established households

	Incomers		Established	
Which groups do you attend?	Count	%	Count	%
Educational	25	16.7	17	11.3
Religious	18	12.0	31	20.7
Sport	31	20.7	13	8.7
Recreational	20	13.3	22	14.7
Political	11	7.3	11	7.3
Lifestyle	10	6.7	10	6.7
Environment	11	7.3	9	6.0
Other	32	21.3	20	13.3

Interviewees were also asked about other activities that are enjoyed by people in the local area but do not fall into any of the above categories were also asked about. These included more 'informal' local activities such as socialising with friends, and Table 7.5 (below) shows participation was similar between both groups in such activities.

Table 7.5 Participation in other local activities

Do you take part in any other types of activities in the local area?	Incomers		Established.		Average for all (%)	Total
	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	44	29.3	42	28.0	28.7	86
No	105	70.0	107	71.3	70.7	212

Those who had partaken in such activities were asked to give details of what they did. The most common pursuits were socialising locally, whether in a local public house or elsewhere, and walking in the surrounding area. Other than these, a wide variety of activities were being undertaken by both groups, ranging from metal detecting to poetry to charity work. There were no distinct differences identifiable between established and incomers groups.

7.4 Social Relations: Attitudes to community

As with the NOP survey, respondents were asked about the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of statements about their experiences of, and attitudes to, living in their local community. This was designed to give a further insight into the differing (or not) opinions of incomer and established groups with concentration on local social relations. These tables can be found in Appendix 2, and the main themes and points from these are discussed below.

The first two statements to be discussed relate to people's opinion of the community and people around them. Respondents were asked whether they felt there was a strong sense of community in their local area and some surprising results were observed. Incomer households were more likely to agree with this, despite only being in the area for 5 years. This may reflect the fact that they feel the community is stronger than their previous place of residence, but may also be a sign of established groups feeling the sense of community has been diluted in the time they have been resident (perhaps by incomers). The second outlook sought was how friendly and welcoming local people had been. The vast majority of respondents from both groups agreed people were friendly and welcoming, with this surely contributing to the short time it took incomers to feel settled.

Other statements referred more specifically to respondents' (and other household members') experiences of various aspects of community. The first such statement related to whether people felt part of their community. Predictably, established households were most likely to feel part of the community (53.3% strongly agreed compared to 39.3% of incomers). 73.3% of incomers agreed however that they knew more people in their community than they used to, suggesting greater integration over time. Linked to this is the idea people can feel isolated where they live. 19.4% of incomers agreed with this, compared to 28.6% of established households. The results here support the idea that people moving to rural Wales are settling in quickly and do not generally feel isolated.

The final statement asked whether people agreed they could influence decisions in their local area. A greater percentage of incomers agreed with this (38.7% compared to 33.3%), suggesting this group were more actively involved in local issues (see Murdoch and Day, 1998)

7.5 The Welsh Language.

One of the foremost cultural issues raised by population change in rural Wales is the impact incomers are perceived to have on the spread and use of the Welsh language. This issue also proved emotive amongst interview respondents, with over half agreeing the use of Welsh in the community is important (this rises to 61.3% for established households, see Table 7.6, below).

Table 7.6   The importance of Welsh as an active language

People using Welsh as an active language in my community is important to me	Incomers		Established		Average for all (%)	Total
	Count	%	Count	%		
Strongly disagree	21	14.0	21	14.0	14.0	42
Mildly disagree	29	19.3	20	13.3	16.3	49
No strong feelings	24	16.0	15	10.0	13.0	39
Mildly agree	48	32.0	35	23.3	27.7	83
Strongly agree	22	14.7	57	38.0	26.3	79

A series of questions was included in the interviews to probe this issue and investigate how the status of Welsh may change with the influx of people from outside of rural Wales. As with the NOP survey, respondents were initially asked about their households' Welsh ability (see Table 7.7, below). The results from this are quite striking, if not unexpected. Only 3.3% of respondents from incomer households and 7.3% of other members of these households spoke fluent Welsh. This compared to over one third of respondents from established households and 26% of other members of these households.

Table 7.7 Welsh Ability of respondents by group

Welsh Ability of HH respondent	Incomers		Established.		Average for all (%)	Total
	Count	%	Count	%		
Speak Welsh fluently	5	3.3	55	36.7	20.0	60
Speak Welsh quite well	8	5.3	10	6.7	6.0	18
Speak a few sentences or words	48	32.0	44	29.3	30.7	92
Not at all	88	58.7	41	27.3	43.0	129

Table 7.8 Welsh ability of other household members

	Incomers		Established	
Other HH member Welsh ability	Count	%	Count	%
Speak Welsh fluently	11	7.3	39	26.0
Speak Welsh quite well	9	6.0	12	8.0
Speak a few sentences or words	12	8.0	20	13.3
Not at all	34	22.7	26	18.7
No answer	84	56.0	53	34.0

These tables suggest that the spread of the Welsh language in rural areas is being diluted by incomers who cannot speak Welsh (58.7% of respondents fall into this category). The next logical question is; should these incomers be striving to improve their Welsh, or at least learn some? The statement 'Non-Welsh speakers moving into the area should attempt to learn some Welsh' was presented to both groups, and the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement recorded (see Table 7.9, below);

Table 7.9 Should Incomers learn some Welsh?

	Incomers		Established	
Non-Welsh speakers moving into the area should attempt to learn some Welsh	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly disagree	24	16.0	15	10.0
Mildly disagree	17	11.3	12	8.0
No strong feelings	14	9.3	20	13.3
Mildly agree	43	28.7	26	17.3
Strongly agree	43	28.7	75	50.0

There is a clear difference in attitude between the two groups about whether incomers should learn Welsh. The majority of people in both groups agreed incomers should attempt to learn some Welsh, but the feelings of established respondents were much stronger. Half strongly agreed with the statement, compared to 28.7% of incomers, and fewer (18% compared with 27.3% of incomers) disagreed with the statement.

With 28.7% of incomers saying they believed people such as them should learn some Welsh, it is illuminating to see that only half of this percentage actually were learning.

Table 7.10, below, shows that only 14.7% of respondents from incomer households were attempting to learn more Welsh.

Table 7.10 Attempts to improve Welsh speaking ability

	Incomers		Established	
Is anyone learning or improving their Welsh	Count	%	Count	%
Respondent Yes	22	14.7	15	10.0
Respondent No	127	84.7	132	88.0
Other person Yes	16	10.7	8	5.3
Other person No	47	31.3	89	59.3

One of the possible reasons why incomers are largely not trying to learn Welsh could be a lack of facilities and support to help them do so. Looking at Table 7.11 (below) however suggests that this is not the case. 72% of households interviewed felt that the facilities for learning Welsh were either good or very good, with only 1.8% suggesting there are no such opportunities to improve in the local area.

Table 7.11 Local facilities for learning Welsh

	Incomers		Established	
The facilities for learning Welsh in the local area are…	Count	%	Count	%
Non-existent	0	0.0	5	3.3
Poor	9	6.0	10	6.7
Good	66	44.0	56	37.3
Very Good	42	28.0	48	32.0
Don't Know	30	20.0	29	19.3

The final question to be asked of respondents was how they were learning Welsh[14]. By far the most common technique was evening or night classes, with other methods including aids such as tapes, general use in the home and community, and learning as part of their job requirements.

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[14] This was only asked if the respondent said they, or someone in their household, were trying to improve their Welsh.

8. SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

In this final chapter we summarise the main findings that emerge from the report. These findings are discussed under the following themes:

- a statistical overview of population change in rural Wales
- the profile of household interviewees
- community issues and perceptions of population change
- the perceived impacts of population change
- the perceived impacts of population change on Welsh language, culture and identity.

8.1   A statistical overview of population change in rural Wales

The data in Chapter 4 show that over the period 1981-2001 the population of rural Wales increased from 886,200 to 959,700 – an increase of 73,500 equating to 8.3%. This increase was higher than those experienced by Other and Urban authorities, while Valley authorities witnessed a decrease in population. The cumulative result of these population changes was a rise from 2,813,500 to 2,903,600 for all Wales over 20 years. This is a net population increase of 90,100, which equates to 3.2%. Migration into rural Wales, then, accounted for 82.6% of the population increase of all Wales.

The ONS mid-year population estimates reveal the important role played by in-migration to rural areas. These data show that if migration were to be removed from the population change equation, the population of rural Wales would have decreased over the 10 year period 1991-2001. That is, natural change – variation in population resulting from births and deaths – was negative for this period in rural Wales. The data show a negative natural population change of 19,400 and a net in-migration of 50,300. This net in-migration masks, however, the out-migration of young people from rural Wales, highlighted by NHS Census data. In addition, the overall trend of rural population growth in this period masks geographical complexity. Eastern areas have generally experienced larger population increases than those in the west, with the exception of Ceredigion, with Anglesey experiencing a decrease in population.

With rural areas experiencing the largest growth in population, population change in rural Wales assumes increasing importance. As the data show, net in-migration is a dominant component in rural population change. Migration is, however, complex and while Welsh rural population change tends largely to reflect that of other rural areas in the UK the Welsh experience is perceived to be more complex than others; given that it is perceived that significant numbers of rural in-migrants originate from outside of Wales, which raises issues of Welsh language, culture and national identity.

8.2   Rural population change: the profile of household interviewees

An important aspect of the research was to examine two groups of households: "established" and "incomer". The statistical profile of these two groups revealed some significant differences between them. For example, the age profile of respondents from established households was higher than that of incomers, which connects with themes in the literature and with perceptions expressed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. A probable corollary of the age group profile is that a greater proportion of established households owned their own house.   With respect to Social Class, the established households contained greater proportions of groups C1 and DE, and they had lower household incomes than the incomer group. Almost by definition, higher proportions of established households self-identified as Welsh, and used the Welsh language.

As a group, incomers gave a range of reasons for moving to rural Wales. In ascending order of quantitative importance the principal reasons were: to be close to family or friends; returning 'home'; to access employment opportunities (which tends to contradict both interview evidence and received wisdom that there are no jobs in rural areas); and, the most numerous, to experience the environment of rural Wales. These findings connect with ideals of people leaving the cities and suburbia for a rural 'idyll' of beautiful scenery and a crime free community discussed in the literature (e.g. Boyle, 1995; Hoggart, 1997).

8.3 Population change and the rural community

The survey went on to explore the perceptions and impacts of population change, and the following points emerged. There were unexpected results, and perhaps hidden

tensions, emerging from the household interviews concerning the issue of community. Incomers tended to feel that they had settled immediately or after a few months, with 76% feeling they were part of the community within five years. The incomers also felt that they were readily welcomed into the community. Incomer households were also more likely to agree that there was a strong sense of community in their local area, despite being in the area for only five years. These findings conflict with the recorded perceptions of the established households: 12.7% said incomers would never be part of the community, and only 51.4% (compared to 76% of incomers) felt incomers would be part of the community in less than five years. As observed in the main text of the report, this suggests some resistance to in-migration from the indigenous population of rural Wales.

Incomers were more likely to participate in local community activities such as sporting clubs. This finding could be a function of a desire to be become embedded in the community or the greater disposable income of incomers (the NOP survey previously showed household incomes were proportionally higher than other groups). In addition, the finding connects with observations made by institutional interviewees in Chapter 5 concerning the assumption of leadership roles by incomers to rural communities.

8.4   How population change is perceived

As discussed in Chapter 4, the population of rural Wales is increasing, and quantitative recognition of this was provided by survey respondents, with a majority perceiving that the population in their area had increased either a little or a lot in the past five years. Unsurprisingly, respondents from established households were more likely to recognise this upwards trend in population.

With respect to the types of people moving to rural Wales the most commonly held perception was that rural Wales is a place where people come to retire. In addition, elderly people were identified as a prominent group. Established households tended to identify types of people moving into their area by nationality, with a majority of these households perceiving that in-movers were coming from England. Among the minority groups of incomers identified were, *'Eastern Europeans'*, *'people from overseas'* and *'the asylum seekers'*. Incomer households tended to perceive in-movers by economic category.

8.5 The perceived impacts of population change

While the previous analysis was concerned with observations and perceptions of population change, there was a set of questions that sought to understand the effects that population change had on everyday rural life. Put broadly, many of these findings resonate with the predictions of the literature review. That is, the majority of interviewees held a pejorative view of recent population changes in their area, with both in-migration and out-migration, for different reasons, perceived to have detrimental impacts on rural life. Unsurprisingly, established households were more likely to hold these views than incoming households.

While some interviewees pointed to the economic benefits of the increased spending power of in-migrants, and there was some qualitative evidence of community cohesion between the established population and in-migrants, these views were tempered by majority perceptions that in-migration was a 'bad' thing for rural Wales. Specific mention was made of a shortage of employment, with complaints that in-migrants took those jobs that were available; a general diminution of community cohesion; and rising house prices, stimulated by in-migrant-led market demand. Of greatest concern were social order issues observed by interviewees; these included perceptions that in-migrants brought problems related to drugs, alcohol, and violence to rural areas.

With respect to out-migration, again more of the established households than of the incomer households considered that this had a 'bad' or 'very bad' impact on rural Wales. The reasons adduced reflected those given for in-migration: the local economy suffered; there was no employment, so local, young people had to leave the area to find work; skilled people were leaving the area; high house prices caused young people to leave; and the loss of young people was perceived as a substantive blow to the ideals and continuity of community and culture.

8.6 Population change: Impacts on Welsh language, culture and identity

Welsh language, culture and identity may be seen as cross –cutting themes for this study. They feature strongly in both the academic and policy literatures, and as highlighted in Chapter 6, they are important particularly to the established population of rural Wales. Ten times more of the established household interviewees spoke fluent Welsh than respondents from incomer households.

There were expressed concerns from both institutional and household interviewees about the detrimental effects of population change on Welsh language, culture and identity. The interview evidence suggests some dilution of Welsh language, culture and identity due to in-migrants who either are not Welsh or who cannot speak Welsh. In addition, more so than the other analyses, the interview evidence from selected institutions presented in Chapter 5 agrees strongly with the pejorative views of rural population change expressed in the literature. This is unsurprising, as the institutions interviewed are active in supporting the social, cultural and linguistic structures of rural Wales; which, almost by definition, implies a conservative stance on population change. For these institutions the processes of in-migration and out-migration both tended to exacerbate social imbalance in rural communities. Specific threats were seen to come from ageing communities, with older people in-migrating and younger people leaving; incomers assuming local leadership roles; changes in rural life and the expectations of rural people; and an increasing imbalance and decline in the human capital of rural communities. In addition, in-migration was seen to be a threat to the strength of the Welsh language. While many of these points raise important concerns, particularly about the potential dilution of the Welsh language, others could be seen as having the potential to energise rural communities.

The observations from the institutional interviewees concerning urban centres as pull factors in rural population change processes are more substantial. As discussed in the Chapter 4 commentary, the phenomenon of outlying villages and communities losing their young population to local towns is seen as equally important as migration to more remote urban centres. In this context some concerns were expressed about the Wales Spatial Plan (WAG, 2004) and its proposals to develop strategic growth centres in rural

towns. It was argued that such plans had not been thought through sufficiently; that such an approach may misunderstand and oversimplify the nature of Welsh rural networks and communities, and the inter-relation between rural towns and their hinterland. Rural growth centres were seen, in principle, to act as magnets to younger people, with detrimental effects on the social, cultural and linguistic fabrics of rural communities. For the institutions interviewed, there appears to be a tension between policies that focus on sustaining rural communities and policies constructed around a neo-liberal market driven agenda.

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APPENDIX 1

Table A1: Profile comparison of different migration groups.		General IN (Last 5 years)		INCOMERS (Last 5 years and lived outside Wales)		ESTABLISHED HH (Lived in area 20 years or more)		HH with person moved OUT		HH with RETURN migrant		Table Total and Averages Over All Groups	
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %
Social Class	AB	281	19.5	119	24.0	186	18.5	114	22.6	195	26.2	895	21.9
	C1	484	33.6	153	30.9	319	31.7	190	37.7	275	37.0	1421	34.7
	C2	410	28.4	134	27.1	285	28.3	123	24.4	168	22.6	1120	27.4
	DE	267	18.5	89	18.0	217	21.5	77	15.3	105	14.1	755	18.5
Gender	Male	686	47.6	261	52.7	470	46.7	220	43.7	350	47.1	1987	48.6
	Female	756	52.4	234	47.3	537	53.3	284	56.3	393	52.9	2204	53.9
Age	16 - 24	93	6.4	21	4.2	13	1.3	15	3.0	23	3.1	165	4.0
	25 - 34	360	25.0	102	20.6	15	1.5	17	3.4	101	13.6	595	14.5
	35 - 44	317	22.0	100	20.2	55	5.5	48	9.5	127	17.1	647	15.8
	45 - 54	251	17.4	94	19.0	200	19.9	181	35.9	166	22.3	892	21.8
	55 - 64	259	18.0	111	22.4	327	32.5	187	37.1	186	25.0	1070	26.2
	65 - 74	121	8.4	53	10.7	274	27.2	41	8.1	90	12.1	579	14.2
	75 or over	41	2.8	14	2.8	123	12.2	15	3.0	50	6.7	243	5.9
Do you see yourself as being....	Welsh	603	41.8	101	20.4	655	65.0	260	51.6	438	59.0	2057	50.3
	British	485	33.6	196	39.6	221	21.9	164	32.5	214	28.8	1280	31.3
	English	267	18.5	149	30.1	106	10.5	64	12.7	65	8.7	651	15.9
	Or something else	84	5.8	46	9.3	24	2.4	16	3.2	26	3.5	196	4.8
	Refused	3	0.2	3	0.6	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	0.2

Where have you spent most of your life?													
	In Wales	828	57.4	107	21.6	903	89.7	377	74.8	567	76.3	2782	68.0
	England Northwest	159	11.0	95	19.2	24	2.4	31	6.2	40	5.4	349	8.5
	England West Midlands	78	5.4	48	9.7	19	1.9	17	3.4	19	2.6	181	4.4
	England West country	30	2.1	23	4.6	5	0.5	9	1.8	5	0.7	72	1.8
	England London area	115	8.0	80	16.2	14	1.4	28	5.6	41	5.5	278	6.8
	England somewhere else	143	9.9	99	20.0	22	2.2	26	5.2	37	5.0	327	8.0
	Somewhere else	88	6.1	42	8.5	16	1.6	14	2.8	33	4.4	193	4.7
	Refused	1	0.1	1	0.2	4	0.4	2	0.4	1	0.1	9	0.2

How would you describe the place in which you have spent most of your life?													
	A major town or city	776	53.8	248	50.1	136	13.5	99	19.6	152	20.5	1411	34.5
	A large village	154	10.7	48	9.7	144	14.3	80	15.9	123	16.6	549	13.4
	A small village	305	21.2	56	11.3	237	23.5	105	20.8	139	18.7	842	20.6
	A hamlet	35	2.4	7	1.4	34	3.4	15	3.0	16	2.2	107	2.6
	Open countryside	116	8.0	20	4.0	152	15.1	54	10.7	84	11.3	426	10.4
	A smaller town or city	46	3.2	113	22.8	303	30.1	148	29.4	224	30.1	834	20.4
	Refused	10	0.7	3	0.6	1	0.1	3	0.6	5	0.7	22	0.5

And how would you describe the place where you lived before moving into your present home?													
	A town/city	776	53.8	357	72.1	393	39.0	237	47.0	391	52.6	2154	52.7
	A large village	154	10.7	38	7.7	74	7.3	55	10.9	71	9.6	392	9.6
	A small village	305	21.2	57	11.5	215	21.4	105	20.8	142	19.1	824	20.1
	A hamlet	35	2.4	14	2.8	21	2.1	16	3.2	22	3.0	108	2.6
	Open countryside	116	8.0	25	5.1	104	10.3	46	9.1	70	9.4	361	8.8
	Always lived here	46	3.2	0	0.0	188	18.7	43	8.5	43	5.8	320	7.8
	Don't know	10	0.7	4	0.8	9	0.9	2	0.4	3	0.4	28	0.7
	Refused	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.1	4	0.1

Household tenure	Pope-|rty|owner	1030	71.8	360	73.3	910	90.5	450	89.6	622	84.3	3372	82.4
	Non-|owner	405	28.2	131	26.7	95	9.5	52	10.4	116	15.7	799	19.5
Economic activity	Work	907	63.6	282	57.8	424	42.5	329	65.9	448	60.9	2390	58.4
	Not in|work	519	36.4	206	42.2	574	57.5	170	34.1	288	39.1	1757	42.9
Which of these best describes your home?	Detached house or bungalow	618	42.9	230	46.5	488	48.5	270	53.6	365	49.1	1971	48.2
	Semi-detached house/ bungalow	391	27.1	122	24.6	329	32.7	156	31.0	205	27.6	1203	29.4
	Terraced house or bungalow	269	18.7	87	17.6	147	14.6	53	10.5	116	15.6	672	16.4
	Purpose-built flat/ maisonette	84	5.8	29	5.9	8	0.8	6	1.2	24	3.2	151	3.7
	Converted flat or maisonette	46	3.2	17	3.4	4	0.4	2	0.4	15	2.0	84	2.1
	Room(s) in a larger property	4	0.3	1	0.2	1	0.1	1	0.2	0	0.0	7	0.2
	Caravan/mobile home/park home	5	0.3	0	0.0	3	0.3	1	0.2	2	0.3	11	0.3
	Other	25	1.7	9	1.8	27	2.7	15	3.0	16	2.2	92	2.2
Welsh Language Ability	Speak fluently or quite well	311	21.6	49	9.9	395	39.2	159	31.5	269	36.2	1183	28.9
	Speak few words/sentences	626	43.4	220	44.4	339	33.7	191	37.9	303	40.8	1679	41.0
	Speak|no|Welsh|at all	505	35.0	226	45.7	273	27.1	154	30.6	171	23.0	1329	32.5
No. people normally resident in household?	1 (1)	341	23.7	111	22.5	303	30.1	92	18.3	183	24.7	1030	25.2
	2 (2)	531	36.9	220	44.5	436	43.3	205	40.7	271	36.5	1663	40.7
	3 (3)	250	17.4	74	15.0	147	14.6	126	25.0	125	16.8	722	17.6
	4 (4)	218	15.1	56	11.3	85	8.4	58	11.5	113	15.2	530	13.0
	5 (5)	77	5.3	26	5.3	22	2.2	13	2.6	39	5.3	177	4.3
	6+ (6)	23	1.6	7	1.4	14	1.4	10	2.0	11	1.5	65	1.6

Household income	less|than|10k	262	23.4	90	23.1	251	35.3	81	21.3	120	20.8	804	19.7
	10-21	360	32.1	115	29.5	255	35.9	118	31.0	165	28.6	1013	24.8
	21-31	223	19.9	85	21.8	118	16.6	83	21.8	116	20.1	625	15.3
	31k or|more	277	24.7	100	25.6	87	12.2	99	26.0	176	30.5	739	18.1

Anyone have long-standing illness, disability or infirmity?	Yes - respondent	266	18.4	97	19.6	298	29.6	114	22.6	185	24.9	960	23.5
	No	1036	71.8	347	70.1	604	60.0	336	66.7	493	66.4	2816	68.8
	Yes - someone else in HH	137	9.5	50	10.1	103	10.2	51	10.1	65	8.7	406	9.9
	Don't know	3	0.2	1	0.2	2	0.2	3	0.6	0	0.0	9	0.2

Are people in local area living in poverty?	Yes	644	44.7	211	42.6	342	34.0	227	45.0	351	47.2	1775	43.4
	No	704	48.8	242	48.9	599	59.5	252	50.0	359	48.3	2156	52.7
	Don't know	94	6.5	42	8.5	66	6.6	25	5.0	33	4.4	260	6.4

How frequently do you speak to your neighbours?	At least several times a week	910	63.1	319	64.4	731	72.6	322	63.9	495	66.6	2777	67.9
	About once a week	297	20.6	87	17.6	189	18.8	113	22.4	150	20.2	836	20.4
	At least 1/month but less than 1/week	125	8.7	46	9.3	38	3.8	41	8.1	51	6.9	301	7.4
	Less than once a month	55	3.8	23	4.6	29	2.9	16	3.2	25	3.4	148	3.6
	Never	49	3.4	18	3.6	17	1.7	11	2.2	20	2.7	115	2.8
	Don't know	6	0.4	2	0.4	3	0.3	1	0.2	2	0.3	14	0.3

Area self definition	Town|or|city	539	37.5	165	33.5	319	31.7	150	29.8	246	33.2	1419	34.7
	Large|or|small|village	683	47.5	226	45.8	475	47.2	246	48.9	359	48.5	1989	48.6
	Hamlet/ open countryside	217	15.1	102	20.7	212	21.1	107	21.3	135	18.2	773	18.9

Table A2: Attitudes to Community and Language.

Statement	Attitudes	General IN (Last 5 years)		INCOMERS (Last 5 years and lived outside Wales)		ESTABLISHED HH (Lived in area 20 years or more)		HH with person moved OUT		HH with RETURN migrant		Table Total and Averages Over All Groups	
		Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %
I consider myself to be a member of the local community	Neg	220	15.3	67	13.6	73	7.3	47	9.3	79	10.6	486	11.2
	0	138	9.6	46	9.3	36	3.6	30	6.0	53	7.1	303	7.1
	Pos	1081	75.1	380	77.1	896	89.2	426	84.7	611	82.2	3394	81.7
I know many people in my community	Neg	293	20.4	108	21.9	106	10.6	62	12.3	104	14.0	673	15.8
	0	98	6.8	39	7.9	25	2.5	28	5.6	36	4.8	226	5.5
	Pos	1047	72.8	346	70.2	873	87.0	413	82.1	603	81.2	3282	78.6
People in my community can be trusted	Neg	125	8.7	40	8.1	75	7.5	37	7.4	49	6.6	326	7.7
	0	217	15.2	61	12.4	86	8.6	58	11.6	104	14.1	526	12.4
	Pos	1088	76.1	390	79.4	838	83.9	406	81.0	584	79.2	3306	79.9
People in my community look out for each other	Neg	130	9.1	34	6.9	91	9.1	40	8.0	46	6.2	341	7.9
	0	143	10.0	54	11.0	60	6.0	43	8.6	76	10.3	376	9.2
	Pos	1158	80.9	404	82.1	852	84.9	419	83.5	615	83.4	3448	83.0
I feel safe living in my community	Neg	71	4.9	17	3.4	50	5.0	20	4.0	29	3.9	187	4.2
	0	39	2.7	14	2.8	26	2.6	18	3.6	24	3.2	121	3.0
	Pos	1331	92.4	464	93.7	930	92.4	466	92.5	690	92.9	3881	92.8
I definitely enjoy living in my community	Neg	53	3.7	11	2.2	21	2.1	16	3.2	25	3.4	126	2.9
	0	53	3.7	19	3.8	20	2.0	17	3.4	26	3.5	135	3.3
	Pos	1334	92.6	464	93.9	965	95.9	471	93.5	692	93.1	3926	93.8

There is a strong sense of community feeling in the place that I live	Neg	184	12.8	47	9.6	153	15.2	71	14.1	99	13.3	554	13.0
	0	157	10.9	57	11.6	75	7.5	53	10.5	73	9.8	415	10.1
	Pos	1094	76.2	387	78.8	778	77.3	379	75.3	570	76.8	3208	76.9
The ability to speak Welsh is important for participating fully in my community	Neg	786	54.6	283	57.3	463	46.2	258	51.4	365	49.1	2155	51.7
	0	144	10.0	65	13.2	73	7.3	46	9.2	66	8.9	394	9.7
	Pos	509	35.4	146	29.6	467	46.6	198	39.4	312	42.0	1632	38.6
It can feel isolated living where I do	Neg	1064	73.8	358	72.3	797	79.4	379	75.2	551	74.3	3149	75.0
	0	68	4.7	22	4.4	31	3.1	25	5.0	39	5.3	185	4.5
	Pos	309	21.4	115	23.2	176	17.5	100	19.8	152	20.5	852	20.5
I know more people in my local community now than I used to	Neg	306	21.3	82	16.7	376	37.5	130	25.8	197	26.5	1091	25.6
	0	140	9.7	44	8.9	93	9.3	58	11.5	87	11.7	422	10.2
	Pos	991	69.0	366	74.4	534	53.2	315	62.6	458	61.7	2664	64.2
I can influence decisions that affect this area	Neg	745	51.9	240	48.6	505	50.3	240	48.0	379	51.4	2109	50.0
	0	231	16.1	87	17.6	119	11.9	67	13.4	114	15.4	618	14.9
	Pos	459	32.0	167	33.8	380	37.8	193	38.6	245	33.2	1444	35.1

APPENDIX 2

Community Attitude Questions

There is a strong sense of community	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count.	%
Strongly disagree	6	4.0%	22	14.7%
Mildly disagree	14	9.3%	15	10.0%
No strong feelings	14	9.3%	9	6.0%
Mildly agree	50	33.3%	51	34.0%
Strongly agree	64	42.7%	52	34.7%
Blank	2	1.3%	1	0.7%

I consider myself part of the community	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly disagree	3	2.0%	10	6.7%
Mildly disagree	16	10.7%	8	5.3%
No strong feelings	13	8.7%	8	5.3%
Mildly agree	56	37.3%	42	28.0%
Strongly agree	59	39.3%	80	53.3%
Blank	3	2.0%	2	1.3%

People in my community are friendly and welcoming	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly disagree	3	2.0%	6	4.0%
Mildly disagree	12	8.0%	7	4.7%
No strong feelings	12	8.0%	13	8.7%
Mildly agree	48	32.0%	56	37.3%
Strongly agree	72	48.0%	67	44.7%
Blank	3	2.0%	1	0.7%

I definitely enjoy living in my community	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly disagree	3	2.0%	13	8.7%
Mildly disagree	13	8.7%	3	2.0%
No strong feelings	6	4.0%	5	3.3%
Mildly agree	29	19.3%	39	26.0%
Strongly agree	95	63.3%	89	59.3%
Blank	4	2.7%	1	0.7%

I can feel isolated where I live	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly disagree	65	43.3%	73	48.7%
Mildly disagree	43	28.7%	24	16.0%
No strong feelings	9	6.0%	9	6.0%
Mildly agree	19	12.7%	26	17.3%
Strongly agree	10	6.7%	17	11.3%
Blank	4	2.7%	1	0.7%

I know more people in my community than I used to	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly disagree	5	3.3%	41	27.3%
Mildly disagree	21	14.0%	25	16.7%
No strong feelings	10	6.7%	21	14.0%
Mildly agree	50	33.3%	34	22.7%
Strongly agree	60	40.0%	28	18.7%
Blank	4	2.7%	1	0.7%

I can influence decisions that affect this area	Incomers		Established	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strongly disagree	33	22.0%	52	34.7%
Mildly disagree	32	21.3%	21	14.0%
No strong feelings	23	15.3%	24	16.0%
Mildly agree	27	18.0%	27	18.0%
Strongly agree	31	20.7%	23	15.3%
Blank	4	2.7%	3	2.0%

APPENDIX 3

Population Change in Rural Wales.

A couple of years ago we conducted an interview with you as part of a project for the Wales Rural Observatory. At the end of that interview you said that you would be willing to be interviewed again. We are now doing some further work for the Wales Rural Observatory looking at population change in rural Wales and I am phoning to ask whether you would be willing to answer a few questions about recent population change in your area.

The interview will last no more than 15 minutes. If you prefer we can do the interview in Welsh.

Your responses to all questions will, of course, be treated confidentially and any material used within the published report will not be attributed to any named individuals.

Is it convenient to do the interview now or shall we make an appointment for a time that suits you better?

I would like to begin by asking you a general question about population change in your local area.

1. Thinking about your local area, would you say that the number of people living in your area over the last 5 years has…

(Read out a nd code only one response)

Increased a lot	1	
Increased a little	2	
Stayed about the same	3	
Decreased a little	4	
Decreased a lot	5	
Don't know	6	

The next few questions are about people moving in to your local area.

2. Thinking about people moving in to your local area, what particular groups or types of people have moved into the area in the past 5 years?

(Record verbatim response and code following categories. Allow more than one)
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

Retired people	1	
Those in work	2	
Elderly	3	
Young people	4	
Students	5	
Families	6	
Low Income	7	
High Earners	8	
English	9	
10. Other1…………………………………….		
11. Other2…………………………………….		
12. Other3…………………………………….		

3. Which of the following areas do you think most people who move here come from?

(Read out and code- Allow one response)

Rural Wales	1	
Other parts of Wales	2	
England	3	
Other parts of the UK	4	
Outside of the UK	5	

4. What do you consider are the <u>main</u> reasons why people have moved to your local area in the past five years?

(Record verbatim response and code following categories (allow more multiple responses))

…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………

Employment opportunities	1	
Safe environment (little crime etc.)	2	
Cultural facilities	3	
Recreational facilities	4	
Environment	5	
University/ further education	6	
Returning home	7	
Good place to raise children	8	
Low cost of living	9	
Friendly neighbours/ people	10	
Friends/family nearby	11	
Other1……………………………………..	12	
Other2……………………………………..	13	
Other3……………………………………..	14	

5. In general, which of these statements best reflects how you feel about the impact of people who have moved <u>into</u> your local area in the last five years?

(Read out and code- Allow one response).

141

Very Good	1	
Good	2	
No strong opinion	3	
Bad	4	
Very Bad	5	
Unsure	6	

6. Why do you say that?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

7. In general, do you feel that people who have moved in to your local area over the past 5 years have experienced…

(Read out and code- allow one response)

No problems	1	
A few problems	2	
A lot of problems	3	
Don't know	4	

8. Why do you say that?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

9. How long would you say that it normally takes for people who move into your local area to be considered by others to be part of the community?

(Code answer- Allow one response).

Under 1 year	1	
1 - 5 Years	2	

6 - 10 Years	3	
Longer than 10 years	4	
Never	5	
Unsure	6	

10. What, if anything, has been the contribution to the community of people who have moved into the area in the past 5 years?

(Record verbatim response and code following categories)

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………........

None	1	
Started new organisation/ club	2	
Joined existing organisations	3	
Maintain local services e.g. schools	4	
Good neighbours	5	
Used local shops and pubs	6	
Interested in local politics (Community Councils etc)	7	
Unsure	8	
Other…………………….................... ……………………………………………	9	

We would now like to move on to think about people who have moved <u>out</u> from your local area.

11. Which groups or types of people have moved <u>out</u> of your local area in the last five years?

(Record verbatim response and code following categories. Allow more than one)

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………144……………………………………………………

Retired people	1	
Those in work	2	
Elderly	3	
Young people	4	
Students	5	
Families	6	
Low Income groups	7	
High Earners	8	
English	9	
10. Other…………………………………..		

12. Which of the following areas do you think most people who have moved <u>out</u> from your local area in the last five years have moved to?

(Read out and code- Allow one response)

Rural Wales	1	
Other parts of Wales	2	
England	3	
Other parts of the UK	4	
Outside of the UK	5	

13. What do you consider are the <u>main</u> reasons for people moving <u>out</u> of your local area in the last five years?

(Record verbatim response and code following categories (allow multiple responses))
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

Going to university/college	1	

Poor/ lack of suitable educational facilities (e.g. schools)	2	
Local Environment	3	
Lack of suitable employment	4	
Poor services	5	
For better quality of life	6	
Concerns over crime/ safety	7	
Housing issues	8	
Local Community relations	9	
Lack of cultural/ entertainment opportunities	10	
Lack of sporting/ recreation opportunities	11	
Cost of living	12	
Don't know	13	
Other1………………………………………………… ………………………………………………………	13	
Other2………………………………………………… ………………………………………………………	14	
Other3………………………………………………… ………………………………………………………	15	

14. In general, which of these statements best reflects how you feel about the impact of people moving <u>out</u> of your area?

(Read out and code- Allow one response).

Very Good	1	
Good	2	
No strong opinion	3	
Bad	4	
Very Bad	5	
Unsure	6	

15. Why do you say that?

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you. We would now like to move on to talk about your household and the local community.

16. Do you take part in activities <u>organised</u> by any local groups or societies?

Yes	
No	

(If NO go to Q18)

17. If yes, can you tell us which groups and also how regularly you attend?

(Record answers and code in following categories)

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………..

	Code	Select Code
Educational (e.g. night school)	1	
Religious (e.g. Chapel)	2	
Sports	3	
Recreational (e.g. Walking club)	4	
Political	5	
Lifestyle (e.g. gym)	6	
Environmental (e.g. preservation or conservation group)	7	
8. Other……………………………………………		

18. Do you take part in any other types of activities in the local area outside of organised activities? Prompt: for example social, community, cultural, recreational.

Yes	
No	

If YES, please provide details of the activities.

(Record examples given)

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

19. Now could you tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about your local community:

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Mildly disagree
3 = No strong feelings
4 = Mildly agree
5 = Strongly agree

	Code
19A There is a strong sense of community in the place where I live	
19B I consider myself to be part of the local community	
19C People in the community are friendly and welcoming	
19D I feel safe living in my community	
19E I definitely enjoy living in my community	
19F It can feel isolated living where I do	
19G I know more people in my community than I used to	
19H I can influence decisions that affect this area	

20. Do you feel any groups or particular types of people are isolated or excluded from the community in your local area?

Yes	1
No	2
Unsure	3

If NO or UNSURE go to Q22

21. If yes, which groups?

(Record answer and code following categories)

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

Elderly people	1	
Young people	2	
People on low incomes	3	
Farmers/farm workers	4	
Non-Welsh Speakers	5	

Welsh Speakers	6	
'Local' People	7	
Recent in-movers	8	
9. Other…………………………………………		
10. Other…………………………………………		
11. Other…………………………………………		

22. We would like to know how you feel generally about your local area. Could you rate the following aspects of your local area as to how satisfied you are with them;

1 – Very satisfied
2 – Satisfied
3 – No strong opinion
4 – Dissatisfied
5 – Very dissatisfied
6 – Don't Know.

	Rating
Housing	
Schools	
Access to health services	
Access to shops	

148

Recreational facilities	
Cost of living	
Public transport	
Employment opportunities	
Cultural Facilities	
Overall quality of life	

We would now like to ask you some questions about the Welsh language in your area.

23. Firstly, with respect to speaking Welsh, which of the following applies best to you and others in your household;

(Read out and code only one response)

	Code	You	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4
Speak Welsh fluently	1					
Speak Welsh quite well	2					
Speak a few sentences or words	3					
Not at all	4					

24. Are you or any household members learning or improving your/ their Welsh?

	You	Other
Yes		
No		

If NO, go to Q26.

25. If Yes – can you provide details of what you/ they are doing?
………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………

26. In your local area, would you say that the facilities for learning Welsh are…

(Read out and code- allow one answer).

Non-existent	1	
Poor	2	
Good	3	
Very good	4	
Don't know	5	

27. Could you tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about the Welsh language in your local area :

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Mildly disagree
3 = No strong feelings
4 = Mildly agree
5 = Strongly agree

	Code
The ability to speak Welsh is important for fully participating in my community	
People using Welsh as an active language in my community is important to me	
People moving <u>out of</u> the area in the last few years has had a <u>negative</u> impact on the use of Welsh in the local area	
People moving <u>into</u> the area in the last few years has had a <u>positive</u> impact on the use of Welsh in the local area	

Non-Welsh speakers moving <u>into</u> the area should attempt to learn some Welsh	

Thank you. We would now briefly like to talk about movements relating to your household.

28. Has any person or persons moved out of your household in the past five years?

Yes	
No	

If NO go to Q30

If YES please continue overleaf….

29. If yes, could you please tell me:

(For each person fill columns)

	Age when left	Year when left	Gender	Where they moved to (place name/ county).	Reason for <u>leaving this area</u> (see overleaf table for codes)	Reason for <u>settling in new area</u> (see overleaf table for code)
Person 1						
Person 2						
Person 3						
Person 4						

Reason	Code
Education (e.g. university leaver)	1
Physical Environment (e.g. greenery)	2
Employment	3

Services	4
Low cost of living	5
Quality of life	6
Friendly neighbours/ people	7
Friends/family nearby	8
Health	9
Housing	10
Safe environment (e.g. little crime)	11
Returning home	12
Cultural amenities	13
Recreational amenities	14
Personal	15
Other……………………………………………………… ……………………………………………………………… ………………………………………………………………	16
Nil response	17

30. Has anyone who has ever previously left your household to move to another area moved back to the local area?

Yes	
No	

If NO go to Q32

31. If yes, could you provide the following details;

(For each person fill columns)

	Age when left	Age when returned	Year when returned	Gender	Where they moved back from (place name/ county).	Reason for moving back (see below table for code)
Person 1						
Person 2						
Person 3						
Person 4						

Reason for returning	Code
Education	1
Environment	2
Employment	3
Services	4
Quality of life	5
Health	6
Housing	7
Personal	8
Other	9
Nil response	10

32. How many years have you lived in the local area you now live in?

(Record number of years)

e.g.

0	4

33. Does this represent all of your life?

Yes	
No	

If YES, go to Q38

34. Where did you live before?

(Record place/ county)

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

35. What type of settlement did you previously live in?

(Read out and code- allow one).

Open countryside/ hamlet	1	
A small village	2	
A large village	3	
A town or city	4	

36. What were your main reasons for moving to this area?

(Record verbatim and code following categories)

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

Employment opportunities	1	
Safe environment (little crime etc.)	2	
Cultural amenities	3	
Recreational amenities	4	
Environment	5	
University/ further education	6	
Returning home	7	
Good place to raise children	8	
Low cost of living	9	
Friendly neighbours/ people	10	
Friends/family nearby	11	
Other………………………………….	12	

37. Which of these best describes your experience of settling in this area?

(Read out and code- allow one answer)

Felt settled immediately	1	
Felt settled after a few months	2	
Felt settled after about one year	3	
Over one year to feel settled	4	
Still don't feel settled	5	
Unsure	6	

38. What factors do you feel influenced this settling in process?

……………………………………………………………………..............................

....

....

....

....

Finally, please would you provide some details about yourself?

39. Your gender:

Male	
Female	

40. Could you please tell me your age last birthday?

41. Are you currently in paid employment?

Yes	
No	

42. Can you tell us your current post code

Thank and End

APPENDIX 4

<u>**Agency Interview Schedule.**</u>

The Social and Cultural Impacts of Population Change in Rural Wales

Agency Interviews

This research project on population change in rural Wales is being undertaken by the Wales Rural Observatory. The Rural Observatory is funded by the Welsh Assembly Government to undertake research and analysis on social, economic and environmental issues in rural Wales. This project is examining the social, cultural and linguistic impacts of recent population change in rural Wales using information from a variety of sources, including official statistics on population change and migration, data from a large household survey undertaken by the WRO in 2004, a new survey of long-distance in-migrant and established population groups, and interviews with organisations concerned with the Welsh language or social and cultural activity in rural Wales. It is in relation to the last of these areas of work that we have contacted you.

The interview focuses on population movements to and from rural Wales and the impacts of these movements on social, cultural and language issues in rural areas. The interview should take about 40 minutes to complete.

1. To begin, could you tell me a little about the nature of your organisation in terms of its main objectives and areas of work and also your own position within it?

In its research work the Wales Rural Observatory includes towns (e.g. Aberystwyth, Bangor, Newtown, and Carmarthen) as part of rural Wales – our area of interest. These towns should, therefore, also be kept in mind when answering the following questions.

2. What is your assessment of the main components / features of population change in rural Wales over the last five years? (prompt for changing numbers (growth/decline/stagnation); geographies of population change (spatial unevenness))

3. Turning to population <u>in-</u>movement in rural Wales, what would you say have been the main features of population in-movement over the last five years? (prompt, in terms of groups, geographical origins, particular hot spots, drivers of / reasons for in-movement)

4. In what ways, if at all, have these processes of population in-movement impacted on the social, cultural and linguistic contexts of rural areas?

5. What actions, if any, are being undertaken by <u>your</u> organisation to deal with any of these impacts?

6. What actions are currently being undertaken by <u>other</u> organisations or agencies to deal with any of these impacts?

7. What further actions, if any, do you feel are needed to address any of these impacts?

8. Turning to population <u>out-</u>movement in rural Wales, what would you say have been the main features of population out-movement over the last five years? (prompt, in terms of groups, geographical origins, particular geographical hot spots, drivers of / reasons for out-movement)

9. In what ways, if at all, have these processes of population out-movement impacted on the social, cultural and linguistic contexts of rural areas?

10. What actions, if any, are being undertaken by <u>your</u> organisation to deal with any of these impacts?

11. What actions are currently being undertaken by <u>other</u> organisations or agencies to deal with any of these impacts?

12. What further actions, if any, do you feel are needed to address any of these impacts?

13. Are there any other comments that you would like to make about the social, cultural or linguistic impacts of recent population change in rural Wales?

THANK AND END