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TITOLO TESI

RURAL IN-MIGRATIONS IN SERBIA – AN ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATION ON RURAL COMMUNITIES

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I am indeed fortunate!

Belgrade, 10 March 2017

List of schemes, tables, maps and graphs

List of abbreviations

AH – Agricultural holding(s)

EC – European Comission

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

IGE-APV – Institute for Gender Equality of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina

IPARD – Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance in Rural Development

LG – Local Government(s)

NUTS – Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics (French: Nomenclature des Unités territoriales statistiques)

RIM – Rural In-Migration(s)

RIMH – Rural In-Migrant Household(s)

RS – Republic of Serbia

SA – Study Area(s)

SBRA – Serbian Business Registers Agency

SBD – South Bačka District

SCTM – Standing Conference of Towns and Municipalities (National Association of Towns and Municipalities)

SESR – South East Serbia Region

SIPRU – Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit

SORS – Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

UAA – Utilised Agricultural Area

VR – Vojvodina Region

ZAD – Zaječar District

Summary

A new paradigm on rural areas (OECD 2006) is interpreted by many recent studies as the upshot of economic, social and cultural impact of changes in contemporary rural societies (Mahon 2007). '[In-] migration [in rural studies] has been central to rural restructuring processes' (Gkartzios 2015, p. 845), or as Stockdale emphasized (2006, p. 364), '[In-] Migration is a pre-requisite for rural endogenous development'. Interests of the literature, thus, are very broad and encompass everything from contemplation of in-migrants' characteristics to socio-economic implications on newly inhabited communities and role of territorial capital. The role of in-migrants in agriculture, however, 'is not addressed in the literature to any degree' (Sutherland 2012, p. 569). I have made the same observation. Despite a great need for finding a new niche in deliberation of rural revival, in-migration and its possible role therein has not been assessed in Serbia until now.

Aim - Exploration of RIMH in Serbia and their contribution to the rural economy. In order to achieve this aim, I have: (1) Documented the socio-economic profile of RIMH in Serbia; (2) Analysed the ways of RIMH involvement in rural economy and society, and (3) Collected key drivers and motives for RIM. The issues most frequently dealt with by the theory, synthesised by Gkartzios & Scott (2015) served as inspiration for defining research questions: (1) Who, in the case of SA in Serbia are in-migrants? (2) Why did they decide to relocate or return from urban to rural areas? (3) How did they become involved in the socio-economic life of the community they moved to? And (4) Do in-migrants' characteristics, their reasons for, and characteristics of their integration differ depending on the diversity of SA?

Hypotheses - To verify initial theses of this PhD Study, so that characteristics, causes, and impacts of RIM in Serbia differ depending on the territory they take place in, I have set up three hypotheses: (1) Socio-economic features of RIMH, primary motivating factors for their migration, and displacement distance are regionally specific; (2) RIM motivating factors may affect the distance of relocation and (3) Ways to become involved in rural economy depend on the age and educational structure of RIMH and the factors that motivated their migration.

The study belongs to combined exploratory and testing out type of research (Scheme 2).

Due to sample feature as rare and hard-to-reach population group (Kalton 2001, Ellard-Gray et al. 2015) sampling technique are employed: (1) intentional, purposive sampling; (2) partial - biased sampling, and (3) driven sampling - chained through lists or 'derived rapport' and

respondent driven sampling, snowball sampling. In order to prepare a sample, three steps of screening (Kalton 2001, p. 492) have been applied: (1) a 'pre-screen questionnaire' (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, p. 4; Šimon, 2014, p. 125), Survey Questionnaire 1, 'Mapping of urban-rural migration – Form for LG'; (2) identification of RIMH through derived rapports (from six sources) and snowball method. A total of 210 RIMH were identified, majority in two Disticts, SA, SBD and ZAD, namely 86; (3) phone interviews with 86 RIMH. Sample of 74 RIMH (sampling units) met the RIMH definition's parameters. Two research methods are employed: (1) a case study and (2) a survey. Randomly selected household members aged 18 and over were surveyed. The response rate was 81.1% (60 RIMH equally distributed in two SA).

Data from the Survey Qestionnaire 1, and the Survey Qestionnaire 2, 'Survey on households that have moved or resettled from towns to villages 'was processed using the: (1) descriptive and (2) inferential statistics method. Differences in respondents' attitudes were identified with the Chi-Square $\chi 2$ test and the Mann – Whitney U test. Defining the existence of links and impacts between the researched phenomena employed regression analysis, logistic regression in particular, and correlation analysis. Inference on the parameter a, and regression coefficient bj is derived using the t-test.

Out of 34 LG surveyed through the first survey questionnaire, 27 have recorded rural in-migration, in most settlements approximately 500 of RIMH. Out of sample observed 64.7% do encourage in-migration. 68.2% have legal acts regulating in-migration.

RIMH survey findings suggest that RIMH are young (mean age of 32) and that relatively educated families (60% of them with high school and university level education) migrated from towns in Serbia (91.7%) from an average distance of 77 km. The total number of surveyed RIMH members is 198 (108 in SBD, and 90 in ZAD). Participation of active and employed persons is higher compared to that of inactive and unemployed.

Environmentalism (food self-sufficiency and need to change the urban lifestyle) have motivated almost half of RIMH. Family property, often associated with the loss of a job in the town motivated returnees, while housing was more likely to motivate newcomers. In SBD housing is most often equally valued and associated with incentives.

Agricultural resources of the 76.7% exceed the limits set by the definition of agricultural holding. Nearly one half have registered their farms. Almost 60% of RIMH farms are small farms, and around 12% are large holdings, sized 10.1 ha (mean). The total available land is

dominated by private ownerships (95.6%), and arable land (70.7%) or 0.68 ha/inhabitant which suggests the satisfactory level of RIMH food sustainability. The majority generate income from agriculture (48.3%) to a certain degree, whereas agriculture is the main source of income for one-third. Four-fifths of RIMH generate some sort of income within the households, dominated by that originating from agricultural activities. More than half of RIMH is involved in the output sales market, of which 62.5% sell more than 70% of their production using multiple sales channels at the same time.

One third of RIMH is involved in private, micro or small business, providing employment for a total of 78 persons (58% are village residents, not members of the family household). Young and educated in-migrants are usually the ones engaged in private business.

When compared to the SBD, RIMH of ZAD are older, with higher dependency ratio, higher education degree, they are more active in agriculture and cross up to three times greater distances to relocate to villages that are more isolated and distant from municipal and regional urban centres.

The way in which RIMH are involved in rural economy is territorially specific, dependent on the factors that motivated migrations, and on general demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the household head.

Level of satisfaction with the decision to migrate is very high. Better and much better quality of life in the new environment compared to the urban environment of origin was reported by 83.3% respondents. 59.3% of RIMH perceived their quality of life better and much better compared to the indigenous population.

1. Introduction

1.1. Justification

> *Migration has the potential to introduce or remove human resources, and as such the prospects for endogenous development are inextricably linked to contemporary migration processes.*
>
> *(Stockdale 2006, p. 356)*

Many recent studies' objectives are devoted to interpreting a new paradigm on rural areas (OECD 2006), as the upshot of economic, social and cultural impact of changes in contemporary rural societies (Mahon 2007).

Europe, in the demographic sense, is the oldest continent. Rural areas in Europe are still portrayed by ageing population and its outflow, and consequently a high degree of demographic erosion (EC 2007). In elaborating rural-urban distributions and demographic change patterns in the territory of 27 EU member states (Copus et al. 2006), it can be seen that distinctly rural regions have insignificantly grown at the expense of predominantly rural regions. Most negative trends concerning the share of rural population in the overall population are seen in the new EU member states. The authors, in order to provide a clear representation of types of changes that ensued in rural regions of Europe, separated them into two main components, namely their nature and migrations.

In the quantitative sense, migrations are more important – both in terms of direct and indirect effects – in all three types of rural regions. Distinctly rural regions throughout Europe have been experiencing mostly positive or the least negative net migratory trends, as they tend to benefit from both changes experienced by predominantly rural regions, often referred to as urbanisation, on one hand, and from migrations from predominantly urban regions or counterurbanisation. Consequently, predominantly urban and predominantly rural regions in Europe have also experienced relative negative net migratory trends. Five countries, however (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Greece and Sweden) recorded positive trends in net in-migrations in predominantly rural regions. Additionally, some migratory traits, such as the age structure migrations are more pronounced along the North-South axis, while others, such as the gender inequality are more pronounced along the East – West axis.

Therefore, ensuring more robust and resilient rural areas in an era of globalisation requires a distinctive shift of rural development [aims and] policies from sector approach towards places

and their social and economic vibrations (Welbrock et al. 2012, referring to OECD 2006a, 2006b).

Changes within a community through a process of collective learning are probably one of the biggest challenges for each rural community. They include changes in the way of thinking and acting. One of the most appropriate approaches for these changes is to undertake assessment of those groups within a community that bring different community vision. Positive results of these visions can lead to a higher level of confidence in the local community as regards performance of new development paths.

Authors such as Ward (2006) argue that in considering the model and the intensity of necessary changes in rural areas we should not neglect the fact that the environment present in rural areas reflects not only endogenous, but also exogenous influences. In particular, as he emphasises, we should bear in mind the deep rural-urban interdependence, especially when it comes to people, their movements and their consuming of one area or the other. Associated relationships should be placed at the forefront of further discussion on rural development. Migratory motions, with penetration of urban dwellers and their capital in particular, play an important role in this (Garip 2008).

Based on the previous empirical research (Ouredníček et al. 2011), Šimon (2014) states that even a very small number of in-migrants may lead to a change in local communities. Moreover, '[in-] migration [in rural studies] has been central to rural restructuring processes' (Gkartzios & Scott 2015, p. 845). These migrants often occupy a leading position in generating incentives for local economic development.

Kalantaridis (2010), by referring to the conclusions of previous studies, sees the population growth in the context of English countryside as well as the trend of stronger economic vitality (lower unemployment in rural areas compared to the national average) and entrepreneurship (more registered companies per 1000 residents in rural areas compared to the national average), as key factors for rural recovery. Rural in-migrations, as the author states, play the most important role in this process.

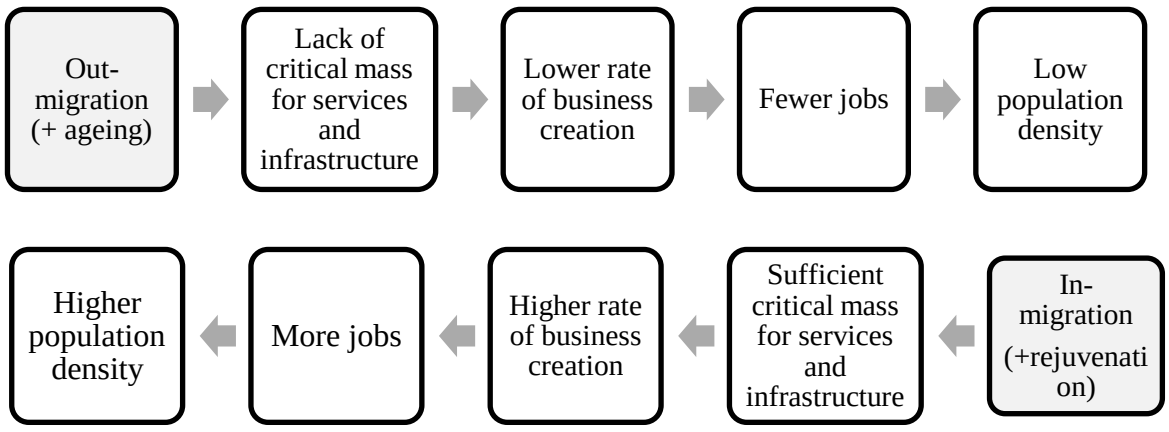
Some authors (McManus et al. 2012) deal with in-migration within the rural resilience perspective by believing that the "decline" of, in particular small rural communities is to continue "unless they are favoured by [in-migration] gentrification and lifestyle-led migration" (p. 21).

But still further contextual comparison and verification of its effects on the character of settlements is required (Bajmócy et al. as reffered in Šimon 2014).

Dahms and McComb (1999) offered an interesting conceptualisation of the main contributing factors to counterurbanisation phenomenon, which are described in the literature to date. This review of in-migration factors clearly indicates the complexity of the topic and the pursuit of scholars to consider the in-rural migration traits from different angles and in different territorial environments. Interests of the literature are very broad and encompass everything from contemplation of in-migrants' characteristics, reasons for relocation, urban environment's role and rural-urban relations, socio-economic implications on newly inhabited and abandoned communities, role of policy in encouraging or preventing the phenomena, role of a wider, but also global environment at a given time, territorial implications, role of territorial capital or potential to attract or discourage settlement of new residents, and so on.

The OECD Report (2006) introduced the cycle of rural decline in which continuing out-migration combined with the ageing of the rural population embodies one of five causal elements of this decline. This work presents this cycle as a chain in which out-migrations are set as the first, causal element in the rural areas' decline. I assumed a certain liberty in logical interpretation of this approach, and have presented the option that may be the trigger of a reverse trend – rural recovery. In this respect, in-migration and rural rejuvenation would play a vital role in the process of rural recovery (Scheme 1).

Scheme 1: Chain of declining-revival of rural regions



Source: Authors's depiction based on OECD (2006, p. 32)

Nonetheless, relating migrations to development, as emphasised by Haas (2007, p. 3), represented a kind of 'paradigm shifts in social theory'. Research course, as found in Haas, ranged from optimistic, through pessimistic, to revived optimistic stance in contemporary research on the link between migration and development. Nowadays, however, the link between migration and development is 'anything but a new topic' (Haas 2007, p. 7).

The statements of Székely (2013 who refers to the beliefs of Sýkora 2003) were helpful in defining this study. He stated that the priorities in studying the phenomenon of RIM should include: (1) exploring territories affected by the process that have sustained dramatic changes with particular consideration of socio-economic transition of local communities and relationships between indigenous peoples and migrants, and (2) the impact on the way of life and socio-economic relations.

Serbian society is simultaneously undergoing an intensive urbanisation process, i.e. population concentration in urban centres, and an extreme depopulation of rural areas. Demographic erosion faced by rural areas in Serbia is becoming the most important determinant of economic activities in rural areas.

1.2. Research design

Due to tackling a new problem in the case of Serbia and examining the most appropriate theories and concepts which contribute to interrelation of RIM and rural development, the research belongs to exploratory type of research. On the other hand, the research intends to implement already applied methods and established findings and proposals. Thus, the research has equally important testing out feature.

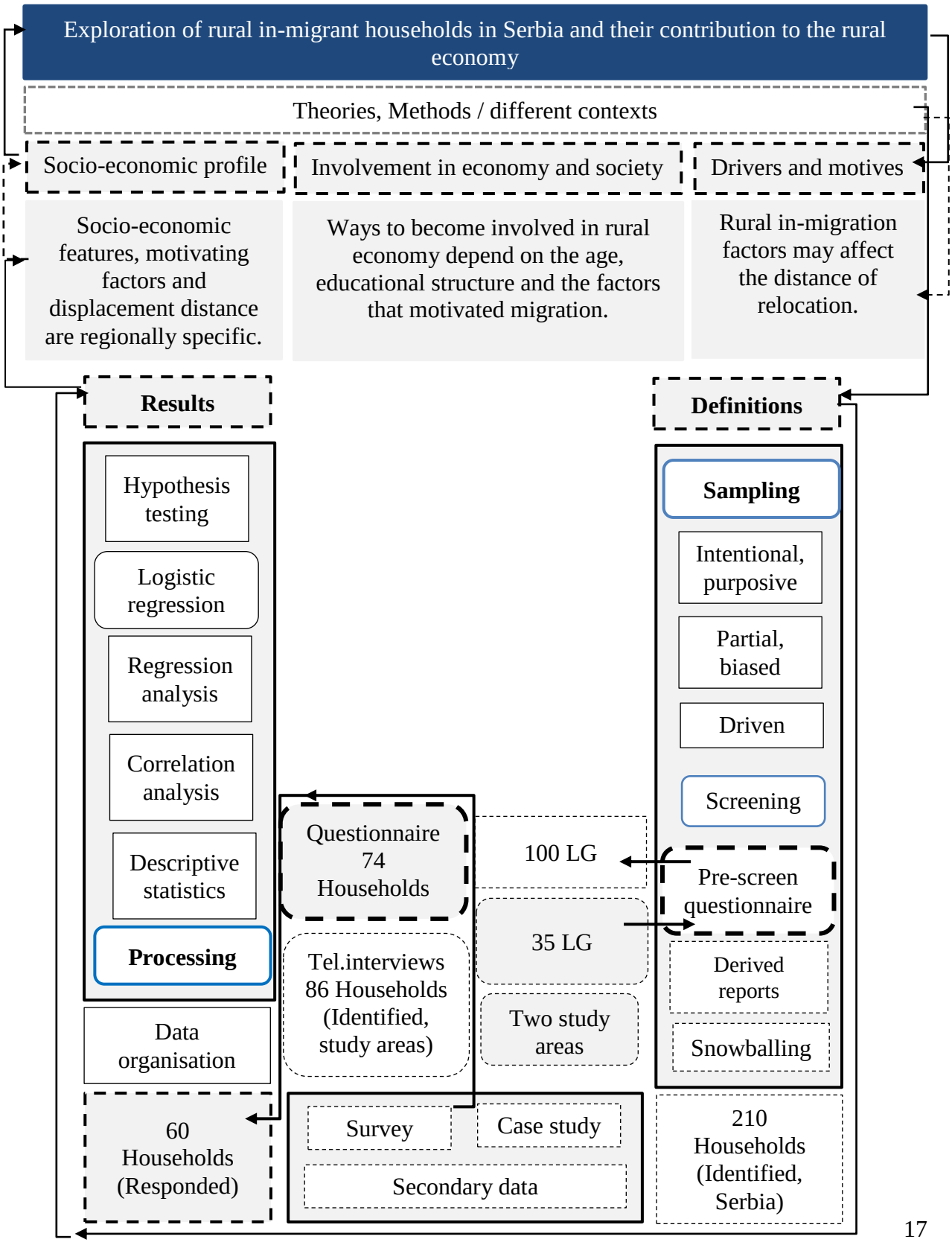
The nature of the research process reflects holistic, hypothetico–deductive method.

The research design, after precisely defining research objectives, research questions and associated hypotheses, included six of the following steps: (1) defining research definitions; (2) sampling; (3) collecting secondary and primary data; (4) data organisation; (5) collected data processing, and testing the hypotheses, and (6) interpreting results and answering the research questions.

The applied RIMH identification and sampling procedure, shown in (Scheme 2), has identified a total of 201 RIMH divided into three statistical regions (NUTS 2), 13 administrative districts (NUTS 3), 58 LGs and 151 villages. Primary data of importance for this PhD's objectives were

collected using the two questionnaires and phone interviews. Primary data was collected from 35 LGs using the first questionnaire, and from 60 RIMH in two SA using the second questionnaire. 86 RIMH in two SA were interviewed by phone.

Scheme 2: Depiction of research design



1.2.1. Research questions

This work is aimed to identify rural in-migrant household in Serbia and to assess their contribution to the rural economy.

More specifically, to achieve these objectives, the following key questions were developed:

(1) Who are rural in-migrants?
(2) Why did they decide to relocate or return to rural areas?
(3) How did they become involved in the socio-economic life of the community they moved to? And
(4) Do in-migrants' characteristics, motivations, and strategies to get integrated differ depending on the diversity of study areas?

Research questions represented the backbone of the work and milestones to design its structure and develop the methodology.

Hypotheses. Assumptions regarding characteristics and impacts of RIM and examined literature steered the composition of the Thesis so that characteristics, causes, and impacts of RIM in Serbia differ depending on the territory they take place in. Besides, starting hypothesis was that socio-economic features of RIMH, migratory distances these households cross, factors that motivate them to decide to migrate, and finally, qualities of their economic and social inclusion in the communities they came to, are mutually related.

During the preparation stage however, I have followed the common practice in determining variables – to define all terms that describe variables relevant for the study. Afterwards, hypotheses are to be defined based on variables and their mutual relations.

To verify initial theses of this Study, a total of three hypotheses I have set up.

Checking and testing these hypotheses was an attempt to legitimise or refute the hypotheses, but also to contribute to the partial revelation of the complex phenomena of RIM in two SA. Verifying set hypotheses cannot be limited to solely theoretical deliberation. Scientific terms must dispose of their practical equivalents. A presupposition or hypothesis in science is to be verified by acknowledging the reality. An objective reality is to be described, measured, and compared to determine whether presupposed links (hypotheses) describe actual relations. Presented hypotheses are, thus, set by inspiration based on the awareness on local context and the level of literature review.

(1) Socio-economic features of rural in-migrant households, primary motivating factors for their migration, and displacement distance are regionally specific.
(2) Rural in-migration motivating factors may affect the distance of relocation.
(3) Strategies to become involved in rural economy depend on the age and educational structure of rural in-migrant households and the factors that motivated their migration.

1.3. Definitions

Rural In-Migration – In exploring the literature I found no single definition of RIM. Some authors in defining their research focus relied on the migration distance, the time period, the characteristics of rural in-migrants and other parameters (Bosworth 2006, referring to definitions given by Stockdale & Findley 2004, Raley & Moxey 2000).

Bearing in mind the weight of human capital brought in by RIM, especially in terms of the definition emphasised by Bourdieu (1986), it is vital to preserve the openness when studying and defining this phenomenon. Stockdale therefore suggests observing not only migratory processes between urban and rural settlements, but also migratory processes between settlements of similar size (2006).

Defining RIM in this PhD Study was guided by the Law on Territorial Organisation of the Republic of Serbia (Article 16, 2007 and 2016). I decided to remain focused on migratory movements between (1) urban settlement – a populated place without a municipal seat, and (2) a populated place with a municipal seat or 'municipal centre' (regardless of whether they are an urban or other type settlement) – a populated place without a municipal seat or a 'rural community'.

Rural in-migrant households – As in the case of the in-migration definition, the definition of in-migrants in the literature covered varies significantly. In Stockdale, for example (2006. p. 358), rural in-migrants are defined as those

> …who were not brought up in the study areas and whose last change of address originated outside the study areas. Thus using birthplace and last move data for a maximum of two adults per household (a respondent and his/her spouse/partner)…

For the purpose of this study, RIMH shall be all households, composed of by at least two working-age adults, that 'identified themselves' (Šimon 2014, p. 126), as residents of particular

place of relocation, whether they are newcomers or returnees, residing in one territory for more than six months, with the last recorded relocation from the 'urban' type settlement that has happened between 2002 and the time of this study, who are originally from either Serbia or abroad, including the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Literature suggests differentiating between newcomer and returnee households. For us, as can be seen from the definition of rural in-migrants, both groups are equally valid. Definitions of these two groups of rural in-migrants in the case of this PhD Study are:

Newcomers – households whose respondent: (1) had not designated the family farm and/or family house as one of the motivating factors for their move and/or one of the factors for moving to a specific village, and (2) whose last move had originated from an urban settlement or settlement with a municipal seat. This group includes households that have listed 'the house that was previously used as a holiday home or a second home' as one of the motivating factors to move to a specific settlement.

Returnees – The guiding definition used in defining the contingent of households that belong to a returnee category is rooted in the definition provided by Stockdale (2006, p. 362): 'Returnees among the household sample were identified as adults who had been brought up within the study districts and whose last move had originated from outside that district'.

Returnees are defined as households whose respondent: (1) had designated the family estate and/or home as one of the factors that motivated their move and/or one of the factors for moving to a specific settlement, and (2) whose last move had originated from an urban settlement or settlements with a municipal seat.

1.4. Outline of the Thesis

Reviewed literature and views of many scholars contribute to the thesis that RIM cannot be placed in a narrow research framework. That is why many studies examined in this literature review are complex in all aspects.

The complexity of the topic can be detected at the beginning of the research process. The issue of basic research terms' definitions, such as the definition of the study unit often depends on factors of the context itself within which the phenomenon is observed (time, geography, politics, socio-economic context). Complexity is discernible in defining a research methodology. Authors often discuss and argue the advantages and disadvantages of one or the other methodology, tool, etc. The conclusions encounter in the literature, which are usually a reflection of the same contextual factors that determine the research phenomena definition, are at the same time a reflection of the research topic's complexity.

In order to ensure the transparency of literature findings, the available literature is reviewed by categorising it into several sections and corresponding subsections.

First, Section 2.1 offers an insight into fundamental considerations encountered in the literature, intended to, at the very beginning, show not only the chronology of the phenomenon, but also the chronology of the research community's interest in the topic. Introductory deliberations also provide insight in authors' attempts to determine the place and the role of RIM in considerations of contemporary rural development models.

Experiences and potential answers to essential questions set in this research process are presented in Sections 2.2 – 2.5. Literature review in these sections presents findings on the actual nature of rural in-migrants, their main socio-economic characteristics, reasons for deciding to move or return to villages from towns, presence and types of consequences encountered due to their move in economic, and especially agricultural and rural entrepreneurship sense, and social impacts of their relocation.

After examining references of many authors to the conclusion that RIM are not only motivated but also determined by the presence or absence of political management, Section 2.6 offers literature findings that describe the relationship and the role of policies and in-migrations.

Although initial assumptions and theses conceptualized in this PhD work through provided research hypotheses reflect a positive attitude about the impact and consequences of RIM (as

shown in the Scheme 1), some authors have either directly or indirectly researched negative impacts of RIM. In order to maintain the objective course of this research and open the possibility to further discuss the results of my research to be presented in this PhD Study, Subsection 2.5.4 gives an overview of the findings encountered when studying the literature.

Finally, given its importance for this PhD Study, Section 2.7 provides a specific review of the literature regarding in-migration studies and return migration, in particular.

There is a need to emphasise that this attempt to classify literature findings also reveals the complexity of the topic. Namely, it is evident that each individual segment presented in this literature review (for example, economic impacts) tightly correlates with the remaining segments (social impacts, territory and its features, governance).

The intention of Chapter 3 is to provide a synthesis of the situation in rural areas in Serbia (Section 3.1) and illustrate the socio-economic and demographic framework for RIM. Section 3.2 includes an overview of ways for defining the criteria for selecting the territory subject to research, encountered in the literature review (Subsection 3.2.1). By relying on literature findings and by respecting the national specificities, Subsection 3.2.2 gives a detailed description and the description of reasoning behind the criteria for selecting the research territory in this PhD Study. Chapter 3 ends with the Subsection 3.2.3 that describes socio-economic and, in particular, demographic trends in two selected territories.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological procedure applied in this PhD work. The chapter starts with an introduction (Section 4.1) that presents, for the purpose of this thesis, important considerations of the literature on methodological approach in RIM studies. Section 4.2 presents introductory deliberations in this PhD Study. Deliberations were presented as articulation and tendency to answer key questions to define a clear and precise methodological framework for attaining set objectives. In addition to questions that required an unambiguous answer, basic obstacles in applying the defined methodological procedure is also encountered. Encountered obstacles were presented in Subsection 4.2.1. The sampling process occupied a very important place in the methodological framework considering the absence of any data on the study unit, namely RIMH in Serbia. The complexity of the sampling process was shown in Section 4.3 and Subsection 4.3.1 – Screening. The reasons for selecting the two research methods are given in Section 4.4. A detailed logical and chronological procedure for collecting secondary (Subsection 4.5.1) and primary data (Subsection 4.5.2) was shown in Section 4.5.

Section 4.6 describes methods used to process collected data and test set research hypotheses. The description of respondents, the sample and main information on RIMH move (Section 4.7) conclude the chapter on the methodology applied in this PhD Study.

Research results were synthesised in Chapter 5. Results obtained based on collected data from LGs with the first questionnaire (Section 5.1) were presented separately. The following section, Section 5.2 offers an overview of testing the set hypotheses. By including the Section 5.3, synthesised results that concern self-perception of the quality of life after in-migration and RIMH integration in new communities is shown.

Conclusions are given in the Chapter 6, divided into three Sections that follow the research questions.

2. Literature review

Rural In-Migrations are 'potentially constituting something of a transfusion in the form of new blood, new ideas and fresh enthusiasm for locally based action'
(Derounian 1998, p. 128 cited in Stockdale 2006, p. 356)

2.1. Preliminary considerations

Defining clear research questions in this PhD work employed research motives, questions, results and conclusions from a wide range of research literature on rural studies, migration, development, innovation, etc.

General theoretical framework that treated the migration issue reveals the complexity of the topic, especially when it comes to the intentions to clarify the relations between migrations and development.

Haas (2007) offers a chronological review of theories which attempted to clarify the migration phenomenon. Neo-classical economic theory assumes that migrations occur as a result of 'cost-benefit calculation' (p. 12), and place territory and its economic (income) and demographic (density) offer in the centre of migration decisions. Such a discourse prevailed also in the literature dealing with rural migrations until 1980s. A logical consequence is the development of push-pull models of migration which connect the theory and migrations in a much more explicit and clear way. Transitional migration theory goes a step further. For the first time reciprocity is established, arguing that migrations contribute to the attractiveness of the territory, adding to its development potential. Social capital, chain migration and network theory (referring to Hugo 1981; Massey 1990) and Migration systems theory (referring to Kritz, Zlotnik 1992), however, presuppose that the decision on migration is not influenced only by economic, but also by social presumptions.

Urban-rural demographic flows and rural population increase started in the developed Western countries since the mid-1970s (Boyle 1995, referring to Champion 1992), with fluctuations in intensity (Dahms & McComb 1999). The phenomenon was theorised under different terms such as 'new migration', 'rural demographic revival', 'rural repopulation' or 'ruralisation process', 'population centralisation', 'rural gentrification', 'rural greentrification', 'rural renaissance', 'population turnaround', and 'urban-to-rural relocations' (Popjaková & Blažek 2014, p. 154; Boyle 1995, p. 66; Phillips 2005, p. 478; Stockdale 2016, p. 599, referring to Smith & Phillips 2001 and Stockdale 2010; Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 130, Gkartzios & Scott 2015, p. 846).

Each of these terms clearly depicts the intention of researchers to study and put the phenomenon and its impacts to a certain context.

Despite the fact that counterurbanisation, as subsequence of general RIM is confirmed in many cases (Hosszú 2009), recent academic works intend to overcome judgments on counterurbanisation as rare, slightly implicative process, less supported by direct observations (Popjaková & Blažek 2014).

Considering development concepts and suggesting development policies is often coloured by a prevailing general prejudices about rural-urban differences, which are often not questioned. The prevalent view is that rural areas, when compared to their urban counterparts, tend to be 'static' and 'inward looking' (Gkartzios & Scott 2015, p. 846, referring to Rantisi et al., 2006; Gibson, 2010; Bell & Jayne, 2010), or at least slower in responding to global changes and needs. Nonetheless, socio-economic, environmental and cultural dynamics of rural areas across Europe are becoming increasingly evident (Halfacree 2014), and in some contexts even more intensive than in urban centres (Stockdale 2004). Human resource as the main driver, upholder or obstacle of this dynamic is increasingly entering the research focus.

Halfacree (2014), in 'Counterurbanisation story' (p. 518), presents a chronology of studies and ways for conceptualising this topic. The presented story essentially reflects the complexity of the topic, for which the researches were often forced to remain bound by narrow research questions – socially, economically, culturally, infrastructurally, historically, geographically selective, but most retained the causal - consequential research direction.

Speaking of interest for this topic, there are different views in the literature explored regarding which migratory direction, in- or out-migration, drew more attention of the research community. Stockdale states (2004) that comparing to rural out-migration, RIM phenomenon occupies great attention in scientific research. However, a three years later published Milbourne's paper (2007, p. 381) gave a chronology of interests and concluded quite the opposite: 'research and policy attention for much of the 20th century focused on the causes, characteristics and consequences of net movements of people out of rural places', just the same as did Phillips (2005) in his deliberation on the rural gentrification process.

I found that a significant part of the research followed the RIM 'process' (Boyle 1995, p. 65) and its impact on rural areas.

Recognising causes and consequences of RIM is only possible if the observation is holistic in nature (Székely 2013). Many authors did not observe rural and urban areas as separate areas; instead they spoke of functional space in which rural and urban represent 'two sides of the same coin' (Székely 2013, p. 69). Urban and rural areas are mutually 'complementary' (p. 60) and in a permanent reciprocal relationship, even when the exchange of population is in question.

Migration, including RIM, creates physical, economic, and social change in the area that is being abandoned, but also in the area that is being populated (Székely 2013, by referring to Sýkora 2003). In regard to the distance between the town of origin and the village the migrants move to, intraregional migration can be differentiated, when the distance is small, often in literature compared to, or referred to as the suburbanisation or the urban sprawl (Székely 2013), and interregional migration involving considerable distances. Despite the presented view of Székely, numerous earlier studies still insist on a clear demarcation between the nature of the two phenomena - suburbanisation and RIM such as counterurbanisation (Boyle 1995, p. 66, referring to Robert's and Randolph's definition of suburbanisation 1983).

Many researchers have, by studying the RIM phenomenon and its features and effects on rural communities, departed from a certain hypothesis, whereas others have outlined it as the deciding factor in rural revitalisation and improved capacities of rural areas for socio-economic recovery from contemporary problems (Székely 2013).

RIM research dedicates considerable attention to clarifying the position of in-migrations in one of the two models of rural development, namely endogenous and exogenous. According to many, this phenomenon precisely calls for overcoming the limits set by sole advocates of one or the other model. Literature widely analyses both advantages and disadvantages of a dichotomous view on the approach to the development of rural areas (Bosworth 2006; Ward et al. 2005; Stockdale 2006). Stockdale (2006) concludes that research in the field of rural migrations and their impact on economic perspectives of rural areas quite clearly speaks in favour of the need for complementarity of exogenous and endogenous approach to rural development.

By drawing on the claim that literature lacks a clear framework for analysing in-migrations and what is suggested by Douglass (1998) to divide the research on this topic into two components: structures and flows ('five types of flows: commodities, people, production, capital and information'), Kalantaridis (2010, p. 419) sets new framework for conceptualising complex

urban-rural flows. In setting the analytical framework, the author lists three interrelated ‘analytical levels’: (1) space; (2) organisations, and (3) individuals.

During literature review, I kept in mind Brown's statement (2010, referring to conclusions presented by Woods 2005, p. 78) that references in this research field are often denoted by Anglo-American findings. The significance of this issue was also articulated by Dahms and McComb (1999, p. 134) – ‘Unique economic [political] and demographic conditions in a particular area/country may encourage or discourage migration’.

In most Eastern European societies, urbanisation and industrialisation, and consequent rural-urban distribution of population took place in the second half of the twentieth century. Along with people moved their capital – knowledge, relationships, and cultural-ethnographic and psychological patterns, accordingly significantly extending and modifying social networks. Unlike Western European societies that have previously undergone the urbanisation process, the reverse, urban-rural population movement in the Eastern Europe have been observed just at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Székely 2013; Šimon 2014). This trend is particularly strong in suburban areas of major cities.

That is why, as it is observed in the Eastern European literature, research in this geopolitical milieu in their work insisted on preliminary questions such as the definition of counterurbanisation and its distance from the definition of suburbanisation. Moreover, it is suggested that this process should not be viewed as a ‘residential decentralisation’ (Šimon 2014, p. 118) and gradation in urban development (Popjaková & Blažek 2014.). Intending to make a clear direction of his research, Šimon (2014) for example, accentuates need for at least two types of distinctions. Firstly, distinction from previous works that follow the general urban-rural migrations, and secondly, the difference in population movement to suburban areas and remote rural communities. Thus, counterurbanisation is seen by him as a migration from urban to beyond suburban commuting zones. Moreover, he sees the counterurbanisation as a migratory trend within the village system. This was justified by the stance that the impact of counterurbanisation on smaller communities can be more thoughtful. Raw comparison of possible implications of the proportion of migrants who left overpopulated urban and newcomers in sparsely populated rural settlements, favors the view.

Brown (2010) states that Anglophone literature’s findings, especially of earlier date, fail to take into account national differences and clearly set the rural idyll as the main pull factor of in-

migrations. This, as the author points out, leads to mimicking the research questions that are not appropriate for the territorial context.

Authors of RIM research from other non-Anglophone background support this Thesis and set a specific research concept. In the research study that is, in terms of geography and culture, closer to Serbia, Gkartzios and Scott (2015) and Gkartzios (2013) conclude that, for example, motives of those who intend to leave the metropolitan area in some segments are similar, and in some differ from the Anglophone literature's findings. In addition to the rural 'lifestyle' vision (Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 133), environmentalism and so on, younger population perceives rural areas as areas that may satisfy their needs in search of a solution for their housing and employment issues. Gkartzios believes that this is a Greek society's specific answer to the impacts of economic crisis.

Much of the literature deals with counter urban migrations in light of attractiveness of rural territories, which in the context of general economic growth attract new residents. Gkartzios and Scott (2015, p. 843) state that the literature, except when it comes to immigration from poor or war stricken areas, entirely excludes the influence of 'crisis-led mobility'. In their work that was contextualised by the economic crisis, Gkartzios and Scott argue that the economic crisis plays not only a push in-migration role and increases in-migratory intensity, but also participation of different socio-demographic groups of in-migrants increases the creative capacity of rural economy and the cultural discourse. Of course, there are exceptions, but they are mostly tied to 'displaced-urbanisation' (p. 843), a phenomenon in which counter-urban movers are motivated by personal economic motives, in most cases affordable living or chance to resolve housing issues, and therefore tend to cross shorter distances and keep their jobs in towns (Gkartzios 2013, referring to findings by Mitchell 2004). In any case, this new urban-rural population movement influenced by crisis changes the role of rural areas by making them shelters for 'urban refugees' (Gkartzios 2013, p. 162, referring to recommendations by Kasimis and Zografakis 2012).

Eastern European scholars observed in this work departed from similar assumptions and came to similar conclusions. Referring to the conclusions on key incentives for urban-rural migratory flows in Western societies, wherein environmentalism of middle class plays a main role, Šimon (2014), stated that in the case of post-socialist countries economic factors influence the category of unemployed and those not able to 'pay' (p. 118) for urban lifestyle. However, etymologized from the case of Czech Republic, the author proposed the following 'typology of four

counterurbanisation migration strategies' (p. 132) in Eastern European context (1) ex-urbanisation – where migrants are still functionally linked to urban area; (2) anti-urbanisation – not linked to urban anymore; (3) family livelihood, and (4) rural enterpreneurship strategy.

However, in other areas of urban-rural relations, which are not related to urban-rural migrations, some authors observe the benefits of research findings in developing countries. Kalantaridis (2010) in his paper deals with the influence of in-migrations in the general context of rural-urban relations and interdependence, and by referring to other researchers (Dabson 2007; Snoxell, 2005), emphasises that the issue of dealings between rural and urban areas, as opposed to developing countries, it is a topic insufficiently examined in developed countries.

2.2. Who are rural in-migrants?

Scholars, in studying in-migrations often depart from questions of who in-migrants are, or who can be treated as an in-migrant. Often, in attempt to establish a clear distinction, researchers focus on questions of 'residence' (Boyle 1995, p. 66), and consider only those groups that are permanently residing in rural areas.

Thus set limits greatly determine who rural in-migrants actually are, their socio-economic features, and rural changes that can be observed or expected with their presence.

Halfacree (2014) offers a very interesting critique of modern science course in studying the relationship of in-migrations and rural changes, by calling it even 'discriminatory' (p. 516, referring to Law and Whittaker 1988, p. 178-9). In order to comprehensively understand the dynamic of change in rural areas, researchers of in-migratory movements should, according to Halfacree, avoid sharp classification in defining the subject of research. As an example he cites a completely unfair disqualification of those devoid of the permanent residence status, such as rural leisure users, as opposed to residence in-migrants. Although, according to Boyle (1995, p. 66) he himself took part in making such distinctions,

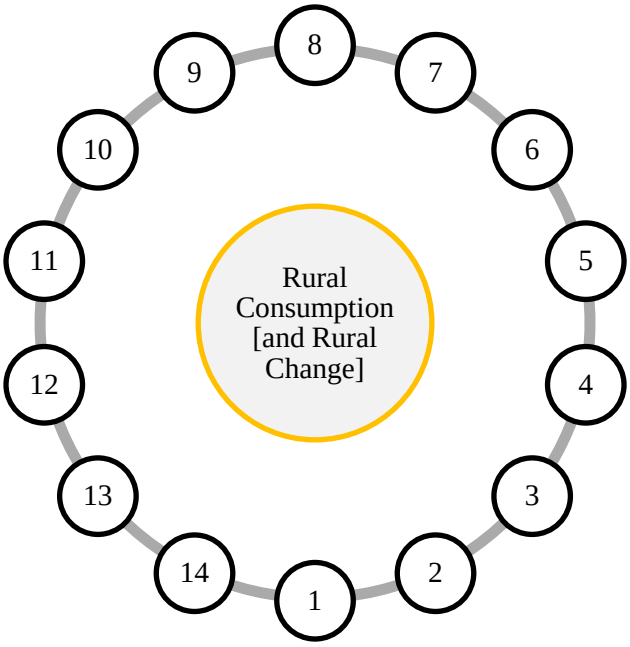
> Halfacree (1993) also regards 'counterurbanites' as those making a conscious attempt to seek a residential environment which is geographically separated from and socially distinct from urban areas

Halfacree believes that the focus should be on in-migrations consequences. According to this author, it both contributes to the socio-economic dynamics and belongs to the same contingent of rural areas' consumers. To substantiate, Halfacree recalls the chronology of scientific views that join these two groups into one. A paper from 1972 (Clout) was the first to define a group of urban penetrants comprised of leisure users and those living in rural areas and originating from urban areas.

The greatest risk a uniform and traditional view of rural in-migrants, according to Wilbur (2014), and ignoring the diversity of newcomers in their traits poses is removing the possibility to estimate their achieved or potential impacts on rural communities.

Therefore, Halfacree (2014, referring to King 2002, p. 90) suggests to researchers of rural changes to refrain from being exclusive in separating migrations from other forms of mobility. His wider view on those who use, and thus change the rural environment is shown in the Scheme 3.

Scheme 3: Consumers of Rural Places by 'Place Commitment'



Legend:

1) In-transit visitors
2) Occasional visitors (non-residential)
3) Occasional visitors (residential)
4) Regular visitors (non-residential)
5) Regular visitors (residential)
6) Second-home owners (irregular users)
7) Second-home owners (regular users)
8) Dual location households
9) Long-distance workers (rarely at home)
10) Long-distance commuters (weekly)
11) Long-distance commuters (daily)
12) Short-distance commuters (urban)
13) Short-distance commuters (rural)
14) Non -commuters (in -situ)

Source: Halfacree (2014, p. 521)

With the intent to implement these recommendations and show the importance of flexibility in terms of categorisation of those who change the rural environment, some authors take one step further. Hence, Székely (2013) questions the issue of urban dwellers that dislocate their economic activities. In providing an answer to this question the author makes a distinction between 'residential' and 'commercial' rural in-migrants (p. 62). The author therefore suggests that rural penetrations can be observed from the perspective of economic impact that does not necessarily have to be residential in its character.

By referring to Shuckmith (2001), the description of rural in-migrants' features as individuals who are economically and socially powerful, Kalantaridis, (2010) brings into direct relationship characteristics of rural territories, i.e. their ability to attract new residents and development potentials and socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants.

The complexity of characteristics of the RIM phenomenon and the importance of research discourse were described by Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012). In responding to the question of who migrates to rural areas, authors refer to previous researches' findings (Steenbekkers et al. 2006, 2008). In case of the Netherlands, as it can be assumed in the so-called 'classic' view of rural in-migrations, this is mostly older and more educated middle class. Working population is to a large extent tied with their work to urban centres, i.e. they commute for work. However, by relying on other findings, these authors at the same time stress the importance to, instead of the described and relatively normal assumption of characteristics of in-migrations, pay attention to the fact that RIM can also be: (1) not only urban-rural but also rural-rural, (Gkartzios & Scott 2009); (2) with a smaller relocation distance (referring to Walford 2007); (3) multiclass (referring to Halfacree 2008 and Hoggart 2007); (4) economically and business related to the place of settlement (referring to Findlay et al. 2000). It can be also add that RIM can be different in age structure of migrants, with the majority share of working age population categories (Stockdale 2006, p. 358). These variances from the classic Western assumptions on who are rural in-migrants are even more evident when considering less attractive territories, said Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012).

A clearer answer to the question of who rural in-migrants are in studies explored is contained in answers provided in sections to follow in the Literature Review chapter.

2.3. Territory and rural in-migrations

Reviewed literature includes a considerable debate on the relationships between the territory subject to research and intensity and characteristics of RIM. In these efforts the literature focuses on identifying differences between impact of economic profiles and achievements of rural territories in attracting new residents, by trying to make clear demarcations and classifications. However, it seems that observing relations between economic performances of a territory in a linear manner, even between similar rural environments (Agarwal, Rahman & Errington 2009, p. 310) and intensity and quality of RIM is not quite possible.

Some authors assume that territorial aspects are crucial for the interpretation of characteristics and end effects of rural in-migration, while others claim quite the opposite.

Despite advocates of the role of introduced in-migrant capital, rural in-migrants can generate impact on both territories and host rural communities only in cases with strong enough framework conditions of the territory itself, or as Kalantaridis (2010) calls it, strong opportunity nexus.

Some authors (Bryden et al. 2004; Terluin & Post 2000; Reimer 2003), according to Agarwal, Rahman and Errington (2009, p. 309), resort to separation of rural territories into ‘leading’ and ‘lagging’ areas. Others (Bijker, Haartsen & Strijker 2012) call them ‘popular’ and ‘less popular’ areas. Regardless of the terminology, the same question remains in all instances - 'why some rural areas were performing better [in attracting residents] than others?' (Agarwal, Rahman & Errington 2009, p. 310).

The territorial capital, as a ‘collection of objective and subjective factors that contribute to the development [and attractiveness] of a given area’ (Bogdanov 2015, p. 143), and its elements, and the relationships between those elements are in focus of the researches posing this and similar questions.

Rural areas with potential for endogenous development, natural and skilled human resources and institutional system that stimulates innovation, are attractive for living and economies requiring a milieu with a high quality natural environment and those providing consumer services that satisfy global tastes. But this is not the case with regions which are remote or isolated and lacking qualified human resources and quality natural resources (Vazquez-Barquero 2002, p. 165-169).

Besides economic, rural territories additionally exhibit values that comprise the 'raw material' (OECD 2006, p. 69) and basis for economic development. These amenities together (Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 132-134) compose the territorial capital that is systematised by many researches as 'material, natural, cultural, social and human' capital of a territory (Agarwal, Rahman & Errington, 2009, p. 310; Bryden et al. 2011, p. 294, Bogdanov 2016, p. 143). The level and the quality of one territory's capital directly correlate with the quality of life that is an important driver of migrations and migrants' intentions, regardless of whether migrations are outward or inward. 'Thus, reductions in regional incomes and employment opportunities will, ceteris paribus, cause changes in migration and may differ between the age and educational groups.' (Bryden et al. 2011, p. 43).

In testing and proposing a method for modelling the determinants of economic performance of different rural areas, Agarwal, Rahman and Errington (2009) conclude that economic indicators of rural territories are most closely associated with the human capital. In an intent to systematise the complexity of the analytical view of human capital's impact on economic development or demise of rural territories, Agarwal, Rahman and Errington (2009, p. 310) by referring to earlier research (Bryden & Hart, 2001; Reimer, 2003; Porter & Ketels, 2003; CA, 1999; North & Smallbone, 1996; Bryden et al., 2004; van Dam et al., 2002; Cloke & Thrift, 1987; Longino, 2001), systematise seven human capital factors: 'education and skills, entrepreneurship, demography, migration, access to services, housing, and quality of life'. The tested model, also, indicates a specific dependency of economic performance of rural territories and investments, especially in terms of ties and networks involving investments in information and communication technologies. The third important determinant of economic performance is physical availability or isolation of the territory – road infrastructure.

Emphasysing the importance of human capital in a certain territory, Kalantaridis (2010) in his research notes territorial differences with regard to entrepreneurial sectors involving in-migrant entrepreneurs and their locally born counterparts. In fact, while in the territory of his research this difference is insignificant due to absence of differences in general features of human capital - entrepreneurs themselves, differences in sector orientation of both are significant in other regions of England.

The influence of RIM on entrepreneurship and rural development is greater in territories that have already experienced entrepreneurship and are well equipped with human and physical capital, with a registered 'strong nexus of opportunity' (Kalantaridis 2010, p. 427). In that

context, the author points out that the degree of influence of RIM is essentially ‘cumulative’ in nature, much more than ‘transformational’.

Literature sources, hence, by explaining causative factors to urban-rural migrations, clearly focus on the same factor – the increased level of rural areas’ attractiveness (Bryden 2008) as opposed to urban ones. Territorial preservation is also mentioned as a territorial feature that correlates with the intensity of in-migrations, besides the attractiveness of the mentioned territory (Bosworth 2006).

However, the same traits of the territory are not a sufficient motivating or demotivating RIM factor. The motives differ and depend on characteristics of three sides, those who have migrated, the areas they have migrated to, pull factors, and limitations and push factors of urban environments they migrate from.

Many authors in reviewed literature contemplate a prevailing uniform view of characteristics and motives of RIM – in-migrants are most often the middle class, economically inactive (retirees), and still socially and economically tied to urban areas (Stockdale 2006, p. 355), and motivated by the territory itself, or the so-called ‘rural idyll’ factors.

In order to avoid traps of uniform observation in determining in-migration by territorial capital, the context of space in this type of research ‘needs to be conceptualised as contingent’ (Bijker, Haartsen & Strijker 2012, p. 490, by referring to conclusions of Findlay 2005). With the intent to examine set patterns, Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012) analyse motives and characteristics of migrations in specifically selected rural areas that are poorer, less attractive, and more isolated. By referring to Bolton and Chalkley (1990), these authors place the territory and its characteristics in the focus of research and examine the presence and the extent of correlation between in-migration motives and territorial features.

Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012. p. 491) have in the case of densely populated countries, such as the Netherlands, selected two main criteria based on which they have defined less attractive territories: (1) greater distance from urban centres, and (2) lower price of real estate. However, Kalantaridis (2010) claims that literature finds no strong enough arguments to confirm the positive correlation between the degree of rural-urban interdependence and accessibility of a regional urban centre. In fact, the author sees that these interdependencies are greater in regions in which urban centres are more distant (measured by the degree of participation of the regional urban centre in the labour force in rural entrepreneurship and

market for rural products and services) and vice versa. Therefore, by referring to own previous research, but also by referring to different literature sources, Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012. p. 491) claim that features of less attractive territories should be arranged in line with the national context.

Kalantaridis (2010) compared the researched less attractive territory with other rural areas in England. In this territorial comparison, the territory the author explored is in an unfavourable position in terms of results of research focusing on rural in-migrants' characteristics and their influence in a number of dimensions. First conclusion of this author is that intensity of this migratory route is much lower compared to other regions. Second, in-migrants originate mostly from the same region, unlike other regions in which newcomers mostly originate from other regions. On the other hand, Stockdale (2006, p. 358) in her study concludes that rural in-migrants, in general, cross shorter distances, and that migrations in more than two thirds of cases occur within one region – research territory. Third finding of Kalantaridis mentions that in case of less-attractive areas in-migrants are mostly retirees (52%), i.e. five times more than the share of this category of rural in-migrants at the national level. The fourth finding claims that migrants' profiles differ significantly between the researched and other territories – a high percentage of the unemployed and those with the low level of education migrate to less-attractive rural territories. The presented facts for the researched territory testify in favour of territorial determination of character and implications of RIM, and bring into question, as pointed out by Kalantaridis (2010), the role presented by Stockdale (2006, p. 364) that RIM are the 'pre-requisite' for economic revival of rural areas.

When it comes to less attractive territories in other national contexts, the importance of certain motivating factors, but also characteristics of RIM are somewhat different when compared to more attractive territories.

The authors of the EC Report (2007) claim that certain peripheral rural areas in Europe - particularly the ones with greater tourism potential - have experienced significant in-migratory movements. The Report also discusses the reasons behind these movements, and argues that those reasons certainly have nothing to do with employment, and that in-migrations in Europe are usually a result of problems, or in other words, push factors present in urban areas.

On the other hand, less attractive areas in the Netherlands attract a relatively lower income, young, highly educated people (Bijker, Haartsen & Strijker 2012). In case of these studies'

findings, the conclusion is that less-popular rural areas also attract the middle-class, that a larger portion of in-migrants is 'return to the rural migrants' (p. 497), with the largest share of those who are the so-called regional migrants, or those who have migrated within the same territory included in the study and with a relatively small share of those who have moved from urban areas. According to these authors, the presumption that less attractive territories are more lucrative due to more affordable living and housing is unjustified. Quality of life and rural idyll factors often attributed to attractive and economically stronger territories play an equally important role in making a decision to migrate to even less attractive territories. The similar situation is with other factors that motivate rural in-migrations, too. Therefore, authors conclude, the complexity of the RIM topic should be considered without a bias on unquestionable causality of territorial features and characteristics of those who are moving to that territory.

'Cultivation' (OECD 2006, p. 33) of rural amenities can contribute to the revival and improvement of rural regions' competitiveness, including those that are perceived as less attractive or less developed. This report lists several such regions in OECD countries that have turned out to be 'successful'. In this case, amenities imply: (1) creating new employment opportunities (Siena - Italy); (2) tourist attractions (Tiroler Oberland - Austria, Mugla - Turkey and Tasman - New Zealand; (3) favourable conditions for entrepreneurship and preserved rural ambiance (Engadina Bassa - Switzerland, Alpes de Haute Provence - France or Dare County - United States); (4) availability (Peloponissos in Greece, Yamanashi-Fujihokuroku in Japan), and (5) distance and isolation, the so-called dynamic remote rural regions (Notio Aigaio in Greece, Comhairle Nan Eilan in the United Kingdom, Western Isles or Mie-Iga in Japan).

2.4. Why did rural in-migrants decide to move or return?

There are various theoretical concepts to analyse RIM, each with different focus on migrants' characteristics, environments and expectations. In addition to these aspects, factors that motivate RIM become increasingly important, particularly to social scientists.

Rural in-migrants' motives, based on literature on motives, are multi-layered in character, the same as factors that cause urban sprawl at the expense of surrounding rural areas (Székely 2013). In most cases, it's the synergy of multiple motives that prompt the decision to move from urban to rural areas, and create new, changed urban-rural relations. This assertion was partially substantiated in the subchapter illustrating positions of different authors regarding territories and intensity and characteristics of RIM.

Considering motives is a very complex task. The level of complexity is best illustrated in the study conducted by Dahms and McComb (1999, p. 131) which suggests that 'no single theory or explanation was adequate to account for all the moves', and that motives depend on the 'perception of rurality' (p. 132, referring to Shucksmith 1994, p. 128), regardless of whether it is a perception of economic, social, cultural or natural values of rural areas.

Theory reviewed depicts Push Pull Theory in which both, 'push factors from cities and the pull of the country' (Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 130) or centrifugal-centripetal forces (assessed by Nilsson, Å., 2013 on rural out-migrants who moved back), or factors in both the origin and the destination (Gkartzios 2013, p. 165 according to Massey et al. 1998), and inter-regional migration forces have the power to make a shift in motives determining the decision to migrate.

In presenting literature findings on why RIM take place, Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012) once again drew attention to the thesis that one-dimensional view of RIM is almost impossible. Attempts to observe the motives one-dimensionally in the RIM phenomenon, as noted by said authors, can lead to poor assessment of the role of the territory itself and its pull factors for RIM. These authors refer to the division of motives suggested by Van Dam et al. (2002). Based on this division, motives for RIM can be separated into three main groups of motives, namely: (1) motives that concern housing (including a general ambiance of the host environment – physical, social, and environmental, and conditions and quality of housing); (2) family motives, and (3) economic motives. It is interesting that in the case of the Netherlands, besides employment or new employment, the motive of education and professional development is regarded as an economic motive.

Kalantaridis (2010) summarises the migration decision factors dealt with and divided into three categories by Champion and Shepherd (2006), specifically: (1) economic factors – relocation of employment opportunities to rural areas; (2) socio-economic factors – retirement for instance; and (3) social and environmental factors – rural areas as desirable or preferred places of residence.

The literature also provides answers regarding the importance of certain motives for specific groups, categories, and classes of in-migrants. Economic factors are the most influential for rural in-migrants whose move distance is greater and whose origin is rural (Halfacree, 1994 and Van Dam et al. 2002, as quoted in Bijker, Haartsen & Strijker 2012, p. 492 and Bosworth 2006, p. 4-5, by referring to Stockdale & Findlay 2004, Moxey 2000, Keeble et al. 1992). On the other

hand however, in case of less attractive territories of Scotland, the most important factors that instigate shorter distance move include family reasons, employment (for one-fourth of respondents), and housing. In-migration factors that concern the quality of life, as opposed to other studies found in the literature, did very little to stimulate rural in-migrants' decision to move (Stockdale 2006).

Policies and modern political systems can at the same time present both push and pull RIM factors. European integrations have contributed to the population mobility, generally speaking, and so, to the phenomenon of transnational RIM. 'The EU also offers the option to pursue work, better living conditions and cheaper housing...' is one of the comments of a cross-border rural in-migrant, cited by Székely (2013, p. 73) in his study. The author emphasises the economic nature of motives (poorer economic status in one, and better economic status in the other political environment) that are fuelled by new political environment.

The literature at the same time regards all listed factors as both push or pull determinants of migratory movements (Nilsson 2013, p. 88-89).

The expansion of major cities and urban building and industrial land at the expense of agricultural land and natural areas is very powerful. Accordingly, the territory of the Serbian capital, Belgrade has, for only few years before the 2006 report (European Environment Agency, 2006), grown for about 70 square kilometres of agricultural land and more than 20 square kilometres of natural areas. Nonetheless, the trend of urban sprawl at the expense of rural areas continues also in major cities of Western Europe. For example, surfaces of Helsinki, Munich, Lyon, Milan, Copenhagen, and Dublin have grown by between 100 and 200 square kilometres at the expense of 'rural land', while Brussels spatially expanded to more than 250 square km of agricultural and natural areas. Distinctive for these suburban settlements is the enlarged population that brings in new value systems, economy, lifestyle, knowledge and resources (Székely 2013).

Characteristics of push and pull drivers of urban sprawl (European Environment Agency, 2006 and 2016), and push and pull drivers of RIM tend to be very similar in certain segments. Illustration in the table 1 attempts to summarise and compare drivers of the two mentioned phenomena.

Table 1: Comparison between rural in-migration drivers and urban sprawl drivers

RIM drivers *(Šimon 2014, p. 130)*	Urban sprawl drivers *(European Environment Agency, 2006, 2016)*
Macro-economic factors	
• Employment reasons – loss of employment	• Economic growth • Globalisation • European integration
Micro-economic factors	
• Private ownership of property / land • Availability of housing • Cheaper housing • Employment opportunities • Breeding the animals	• Rising living standards • Price of land (also Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 130) • Availability of cheap agricultural land • Competition between municipalities
Demographic factors	
• Less crowded • Change in household composition	• Population growth • Increase in household formation
Housing preferences	
• Better house, larger dwelling • Second home • Flat for children, 'empty nest'	• More space per person • Housing preferences
Urban issues	
• Problems of urban areas • Closer to nature • Better life in the countryside • Closer to family, relatives, friends • Problems with family / friends • Slower pace of life, calm • Divorce, separation • Native area • Health reasons • Better for bringing up children	• Poor air quality • Noise • Small apartments • Unsafe environments • Social problems • Lack of green open space • Poor quality of schools
Transportation	
• Quality of physical environment	• Private car ownership • Availability of roads • Low cost of fuel • Poor public transport
Regulatory frameworks	
	• Weak land use planning • Poor enforcement of existing plans • Lack of horizontal and vertical coordination and collaboration
Personal self-fulfillment	
• Hobbies • Fancied a change	

Source: Authors' systematisation

2.5. Socio-economic impact of rural in-migrations on rural communities

'[In-] Migration is a pre-requisite for rural endogenous development'.

Stockdale (2006, p.364)

The literature, in considering socio-economic impact and consequences of in-migrations, differentiate between impact and consequences on abandoned (in this case urban), and newly inhabited (rural) communities. In consideration of literature findings on impacts and consequences of in-migrations, this Study is limited on socio-economic impacts and consequences on host rural communities.

Observed over time, literature findings on impacts of RIM can be split into two separate time phases (Stockdale 2006). The literature in the first phase (1980s and 1990s) mostly presents negative consequences of RIM on issues concerning housing and real estate markets, employment and involvement in the host community's activities. Research in the second phase (2000s) focuses on positive impacts of RIM, particularly in terms of creating new jobs and economic activities. This attention to economic implications of RIM is the consequence, as pointed out by Stockdale (2004; 2006, referring to Marsden et al. 1990) of the change in the role of rural areas, that are nowadays besides being considered suitable for agriculture and manufacturing, becoming areas that ought to be preserved and are desirable for living. These studies were mainly conducted in attractive territories with recorded greater intensity of in-migrations as opposed to out-migrations. Stockdale (2006, p. 356) poses the following question: 'Does a similar [socio] economic benefit accrue from in-migration to [less attractive] depopulating rural areas?'

The literature reveals an often encountered dilemma on whether the consequences of RIM should be treated as consequences of exogenous influences, since they come from outside, or should be observed as part of the already established, however under their influence altered endogenous corpus of a territory. RIM were precisely what Bosworth (2006) used to cite Lowe et al. (1995, p. 87) who suggested the discourse with endogenous-exogenous split in proposing the rural areas development model. Instead of this difference, Lowe et al. suggest a new approach that considers all developmental factors, regardless of whether they are outside factors or factors with endogenous character.

In theory of neo-endogenous development in defining the meaning of the term 'neo-endogenous', the focus shifts from factors to the territory and its capital (Ray 2001, p. 4, quoted

in Bosworth 2006, p. 6). Rural in-migrants, by inputting themselves and their own economic, social, and 'cultural' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 54-55; Gkartzios 2015, p. 850; Phillips 2015, p. 231) capital irreversibly change the territory and its features, but likewise become a part of the community by contributing to the 'social upgrading' of both the community and the territory (Sutherland 2012, p. 569).

For the overview of literature findings to be as comprehensive as possible, this section was divided into several subsections pertaining to different spheres of influence of in-migrations onto rural communities, namely: economic impact (including impact on rural entrepreneurship), involvement of rural in-migrants in agriculture, and social influence. The last subsection in this section – Negative consequences of RIM is presented in order to monitor the chronology of research of in-migrations impact. However, in order to preserve the time context set for this PhD Study, this section shall rely on recent findings concerning negative consequences of RIM.

2.5.1. Economic impact of rural in-migrations

'In-migration appears to be a source of entrepreneurial talent and capacity'

EC (2007, p. 15, p. 20)

The main research focus, when it comes to RIM, up to 2006, dealt with their impact on the social component of living in the rural environment (Bosworth 2006). In this context, a lot of attention was dedicated to the impact of 'gentrification' on creating a new identity of rural areas and extrusion of indigenous population (Bosworth 2006, p. 4 by citing Gilligan 1987, and Savage et al. 1992). However, when it comes to the attitude of indigenous entrepreneurs, Bosworth emphasises that despite certain views on the sense of vulnerability, there are also local entrepreneurs who see the impact of RIM on the local economy as very significant and positive.

A number of studies have suggested that rural economy development steps have been seeking a more innovative and creative approach than their urban counterparts. There are many reasons for this, but competitiveness of urban areas compared to the rural, in almost all aspects including human, financial, infrastructural and administrative resources, are stated as basic ones. The nature of the comparison can be affected by the characteristics of samples and the areas from which they are taken.

In terms of this type of migration trend's impact on rural communities, literature often attributes a dual role to RIM (Kalantaridis, 2010), namely: (1) as those who introduce innovation and new opportunities, and (2) as 'catalysts' of urban-rural relations that reduce the intensity of urban-rural imbalance (p. 418).

Smith too, in his study on gentrification, believes that in-migrations create a positive economic effect on territories they take place in (1979a, b, 1982, 1996, whose views were synthesised in Phillips 2005, p. 478). Smith believes that in-migrations can be observed as 'productive investment of capital' or as 'the result of cycles of disinvestments and investment of capital'.

Bosworth (2006) defines the hypothesis according to which RIM change the economic picture not only when it comes to their contribution in creating new jobs, but also when it comes to the type of the economy. By his statements (p. 6) RIM contribute to economic diversification. This author additionally believes that, owing to the capital of networks they bring along, rural in-migrants contribute to a greater degree of integration of economic activities in the host territories within the external economic context and strengthening of urban-rural ties.

Other findings also confirm the thesis on the impact of in-migrations on creating new economic niches with strongholds in endogenous resources. One of the examples studied is the work of Gkartzios and Scott (2015). These authors have departed from Ray's (2001, p. 16) interpretation of position of culture in neo-endogenous development of territories that are able to recognise and exploit own cultural differences. Ties between culture and economy, as authors established, the literature rarely explores. Even if scholars do that, they, in most cases assess small and isolated communities that lack knowledge on endogenous cultural values. These two authors have additionally departed from the conclusions of other scholars (Stockdale et al. 2000; Bosworth and Atterton 2012; Argent et al. 2013, p. 97) on high potential of in-migrants to contribute to local communities with own resources not only in demographic sense, but also economically, socially and culturally. Gkartzios and Scott (2015) conclude that, particularly under the influence of economic crisis, in-migrants are not only those who contribute to the 'distribution of cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1986, p. 47) by involving and creating new economic ideas based on cultural aspects. They actively participate in exploitation of found cultural capital in territories they move to.

Kalantaridis (2010), by referring to several authors, bases these influential roles on capital, both economic-financial and social – 'networks, norms and trust' (Boxelaar, Paine & Beilin 2007, p. 259), and on information rural in-migrants bring into local communities.

Some authors, however (Stockdale and Findlay 2004; Bosworth 2006; Stockdale 2006), go a step further and qualify this type of migration as precursor for rural economic development, or, even for rural revival (Boyle 1995, p. 65), and linking of rural and global economy (Reley & Moxey 2000; Kalantaridis & Bika 2006).

The literature reviewed, which explores economic impacts of in-migrations, is focused the most on the contribution of in-migrants to rural entrepreneurship and creation of new jobs for rural population. The results of some studies claim that the positive impact of entrepreneurship started and managed by in-migrants on employment is lacking.

Agarwal, Rahman and Errington (2009, referring to Lowe & Talbot, 2000) explain this claim with traits of in-migrant rural entrepreneurship. It is small in scale and remains mostly at the level of self-employment. Therefore, considering the multidimensional influence of entrepreneurship, the authors attribute a far greater significance to social consequences of this type of entrepreneurship, rather than economic. 'Many [rural enterprises] are established by relative newcomers', claim Agarwal, Rahman and Errington (2009. p. 317). Hence, to contribute to rural development, in-migrant entrepreneurship should be viewed selectively, while political support should be redirected from support to founding new companies to support in employment and support to companies with growth potential.

In case of less attractive areas of Scotland, a positive impact of in-migration on the endogenous rural development also seems limited (Stockdale 2006). Namely, as the author claims, rural in-migrants bring a relatively limited educational capital; they rarely create new jobs, and show very limited entrepreneurial traits.

However, even in their earlier papers, Babb et al. (1992) reviewed entrepreneurship as the area for mobility to and from rural areas. These authors, in studying psychological traits of entrepreneurs in rural areas and comparing them with psychological traits of entrepreneurs in urban areas started from the premise that if there are no differences, there should be no obstacles for entrepreneurship migration from towns to villages, and vice versa. The authors have established that the analysed basic psychological traits of rural entrepreneurs in no way differ from the traits of urban entrepreneurs. Therefore, at least in this respect and at the individual

level, when drawing a parallel with urban entrepreneurship there should be no significant impediments in fostering entrepreneurship in rural areas (through rural policies) and raising competitiveness.

Based on literature findings, Stockdale claims (2006), in-migrations (including return migrations) that bring human capital of diversified skills (referring to Dean et al. 1984; Brown 2002, p. 17), including entrepreneurial skills (referring to Keeble & Tyler 1995), can be considered as catalysts of necessary changes that would make rural areas more prepared for the application of the endogenous development model.

Bosworth (2006, referring to Stockdale & Findlay 2004, Halfacree 1994, Moxey 2000, Keeble et al. 1992) emphasises a strong impact of RIM on the intensification of rural entrepreneurship and employment and job creation.

Infrastructural improvements in rural areas, especially in terms of transport and communication infrastructure, increase the level of attractiveness and generate the so-called group of long distance in-migrants (Boyle 1995, p. 65; Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 134). The OECD Report (2006, p. 13, 22) states that improvements in road infrastructure have contributed not only to a greater 'willingness to travel longer distances' (Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 132) and the trend to move and commute, but also to creating new business opportunities and new jobs by moving the economy into rural areas (cases of England, France, Holland).

Participation of in-migrant entrepreneurs in the total number of entrepreneurs and their capacity for employment creation in rural areas of England is significantly high, according to many authors synthetised by Kalantaridis (2010 by citing previous research Keeble & Tyler 1995; Raley & Moxey 2000; North & Smallbone 2002; Kalantaridis & Bika 2006). The number of in-migrant launched businesses amounts to more than half, and in some case even more than two thirds of the overall rural entrepreneurial entities. However, also in this case Kalantaridis states territorial differences. Entrepreneurs in the less-developed territory that are rural in-migrants, when compared to indigenous entrepreneurs, tend to be older at the moment of business start-up, with the same low level of education, and given the company's size, the same low employment capacity.

Despite the capital rural in-migrants bring, they can hardly be linked with the creation of new jobs for others in the community to which they came (Stockdale 2006). Unlike Stockdale, summarising the findings presented by Bosworth in his paper published the same year (2006),

based on which it can be concluded that the contribution of RIM to rural economy, particularly in less attractive areas, is significant. The characteristics of the micro businesses that are owned by rural in-migrants can be, according to this author, classified as follows: (1) they contribute to the creation of jobs - 40% employ at least one additional person, (2) they contribute to the diversification of the rural economy – in relation to the agriculture and fisheries, they create two-and-a-half times more jobs and 40% of the total non-agricultural micro businesses is owned by rural in-migrants; (3) they contribute to the creation of business units with more employees than micro business owned by local entrepreneurs; (4) they show a higher level of interest in growth, and (5) have a wider and more diverse social, trade, and other economic relations, both internally within the territory, and externally – regionally and supra-regionally.

Similarly, the results of the research project involving ten case study rural remote areas in four countries also speak in favour of the positive contribution of in-migration to the intensification of rural entrepreneurship (EC 2007). According to these results, characteristics of companies founded and managed by in-migrants are different from companies that are managed by indigenous entrepreneurs. Almost all in-migrant enterprises are by their size either micro or small, craft or family, and in a number of cases, managed by highly educated individuals. Areas of in-migrant start-ups are 'distribution and consumer services, agriculture, manufacturing and construction' (Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 129) with a significant focus on introduction or creation of innovations. Most in-migrants bring 'management' experience to entrepreneurship acquired before relocation (EC 2007, p. 115).

Stockdale (2006, p. 355, referring to Phillips 1998), also points out that rural in-migrants belong to 'professional and managerial service classes'. Referring to former findings of other researchers (Granovetter 1985; Malecki 1997; Jack et al. 2002; Atterton 2005; Local Futures 2005), Bosworth (2006) states that the main entrepreneurial benefits of rural in-migrants in relation to domicile entrepreneurs encompass stronger and wider social and economic ties and new business ideas. These features are certainly an indicator that local economy and host territory can benefit from RIM (Bosworth 2006) and participate significantly in endogenous development (Stockdale 2006).

EC Report (2007) makes a clear distinction between groups within in-migrant population, as well as Agarwal, Rahman and Errington (2009). Namely, due to personal capital they bring into communities they move to (education, social and business networks) in-migrants originating from urban environments are more conducive to entrepreneurship than in-migrants originating

from rural areas. On the other hand, entrepreneurship developed after moving contributes to in-migrants integration in rural communities.

Noting that the existing literature on rural studies does not give a clear overview, Kalantaridis (2010) seeks answers on preconditions of impact of introduced capital to penetrated territories and communities in migration theories. Similar to the classification of negative implications of RIM found in literature (Székely 2013), by analysing this theoretical framework Kalantaridis points out three quantitative and qualitative factors that directly impact the degree of economic and entrepreneurship influence on in-territories, namely: (1) the intensity of migration; (2) socio-economic characteristics of migrants; in relation to their age and employment status: retirement and pre-retirement migration (referring to Cross 1990; Salant et al. 1997; Beyers & Nelson 2000); prime working and child rearing age migration (referring to Champion & Shepherd 2006); green migration (referring to Jones et al. 2003), expatriate migration (referring to Stone & Stubbs 2007); as well as migration involving members of ethnic minorities (referring to Levie 2007), and (3) characteristic of the in-territory, such as for example, the distance from the urban centre – direct proximity and pronounced or typical rural character positively correlate with the intensity of RIM entrepreneurial capital, whereas the distance from the urban centre or rural areas with industrial past are negatively correlated with the RIM intensity.

The assumption therefore, based on these considerations, is that the form of rural entrepreneurship, including the modalities of involvement and influence of in-migrants to the development of entrepreneurship, strongly correlates with the characteristics of the environment in which these two processes take place (EC 2007).

2.5.2. Rural in-migrants involvement in agriculture

Agriculture is still the main employer in rural areas, and as such, plays an important role in managing the development process (Agarwal, Rahman & Errington 2009). The role of in-migrants in agriculture, however ‘is not addressed in the literature to any degree’ (Sutherland 2012, p. 569). I have made the same observation.

By studying the literature I found no paper exclusively dedicated to studying the relationship between, and the role of in-migration in agriculture. Instead, the ratio of in-migration and agriculture is mainly contextualised through other topics such as: the attractiveness of regions with more intensive agricultural production, ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ impacts of in-migration

on the economic position of agriculture, and the relationship of agriculture and in-migrations in the context of economic crisis.

Analysing the relationship between the intensity of agricultural production and migratory balance, Bryden et al. (2011), conclude that the population density of regions with more intensive agricultural production, due to a larger share of arable land, is lower compared to regions with lower intensity of agricultural production. These regions, however, show better economic performance (measured in GDP and jobs). Consequently, the author point out, these regions offer a better quality of life and record positive migratory balance trends.

There are also different views. Furguit (1994) and Johnson (1990) (presented in Dahms & McComb 1999,) have come to the same conclusion that those rural territories in the United States with economy dependent on the 'resource extraction or agriculture' do not experience growth but rather a decline in in-migrations intensity. Conversely, those rural territories that are characterised by other values (nature, tourism resources, etc.) are becoming more attractive and recording a larger number of newcomers.

OECD (2006, referring to OECD 2006, Territorial Review of France) presents an almost identical claim that regions with traditional agricultural production, as opposed to regions with diversified economies, still experience an evident population decline largely caused by the out-migration, and more challenging economic conditions.

The level of interest and involvement of in-migrants in agriculture and agricultural activities, as observed in the literature, can be treated as an economic and socio-cultural specificity that varies from context to context. Literature deals with potential 'negative' impacts of in-migrants on agriculture and productive assets, such as land, but also on traditional farmers.

In the context of England, says Key (2013), one of the most important results of in-migrations is the change in economic structure. Namely, traditional sectors of rural economy, especially agriculture, are declining and being replaced with service sector and new rural businesses – primarily ITC and tourism.

Opening the issue of separating the 'agricultural gentrification' phenomenon from rural gentrification, Sutherland (2012) suggests potential impacts of primarily cultural capital of in-migrants on these segments. She believes that modern post-productivity policies stimulate in-

migrations and 'pluriactivity' of in-migrants' households members and members of indigenous rural households.

Pluriactive households are active farming households. This is also suggested by the definition offered by Sutherland (2012, p. 570 quoting Ilbery & Bowler, 1998, p. 75):

> Pluriactivity refers to the generation, by farm household members, of income from on-farm and/or off-farm sources in addition to income obtained from primary agriculture. Thus it involves both farm diversification and other gainful activities.

However, the scope of activities in agriculture and the contribution of pluriactive in-migrants to the development of agriculture in the host community are limited. In Ireland, for example, pluriactive farmers do not intend to generate income from agriculture (Kinsella et al. 2000, described in Sutherland 2012, p. 572). Pluriactivity that is chosen as a non-necessity for farmers (p. 570) treats agriculture as a hobby with a recreational character, while the land is used for non-agricultural purposes.

In addition, the presence of in-migrants and their different cultural, social, and economic values stimulate gentrification 'from within the existing farm household' by transforming traditional farmers into 'gentlemen farmers'. These farmers have little in common with traditional farming and more intensively move their capital into 'off farm investments' (Sutherland 2012, p. 570). Phillips (2015, p. 233) also claims that in-migrants 'make use of high cultural markers', that cause a change in the system of evaluation of local resources of an area that becomes 'unproductive or marginal to agrarian capital' (Phillips 2005, p. 479).

At the same time, agriculture can attract in-migrants, or as the author calls them, 'new entrants to farming' (Sutherland 2012, p. 569), which also show traits of pluriactivity.

In studying 'positive' relations between agriculture and in-migrations, some authors have opposed the 'classic' uniform model of experiencing RIM as a phenomenon generated by the 'bourgeois' class that is searching for 'rural idyll', thus changing the rural area and suffocating the traditional rural economy.

This too was the intention of Halfacree (2014) when he described the participation of in-migrants in agriculture. Halfacree (2014, p. 518, referring to Halfacree, 2006b) notes that even

within the ‘lifestyle’ of motivated migrants, there are those who seek own changes and harmonisation with preserved rural idyll. He calls this group of migrants ‘back-to-the-land’ migrants who seek ‘radical [vicissitude of] lifestyle’ (Gkartzios 2015, p. 847).

According to Wilbur (2014, p. 1), the modern ‘agrarian transition’ that is the result of global problems generates ‘back-to-the-land’ movers as new seekers of different lifestyle. The need for a new lifestyle surfaced as a result of dissatisfaction with life in the city, especially in the domain of consumption values. Lifestyle is no longer linked with only ‘pleasure’ (Burnley, 1996, p. 73, quoted in Dahms & McComb 1999, p. 131) and rural idyll, but also with the ability to ensure well-being of families in terms of food safety, self-sufficiency, resilience to the crisis and environmental protection. Back-to-the-land migrants, furthermore, often do not uphold urban social and economic norms, but rather they change and adapt them to the new framework in the place of resettlement.

Halfacree (2014, p. 519) points out that due to global changes and increased need for labour, agriculture becomes an in-migration pull factor. In Western European countries these are often international RIM of entire families or the so-called ‘default counterurbanisation’ (Gkartzios 2015, p. 848). Often in this case migrants remain permanently settled in communities they came to.

The economic crisis in some social contexts changes the perception of agriculture among indigenous urban population. In searching for possible answers to the economic crisis, the study conducted among citizens of the two largest Greek towns (as requested by the Greek government) showed interest of more than half of young people and unemployed urban residents to move to rural areas and interest in agriculture-related occupations (Gkartzios 2015).

2.5.3. Social impacts of rural in-migrations

Referring to own previous papers (Milbourne, 2004a, 2004b), Milbourne points out that RIM not only change the economic traits of rural areas, but also establish new social and cultural patterns in communities and change the content of social infrastructure (Phillips 2015, referring to proposals by Cloke et al. 1998, p. 179).

Many rural in-migrants are richer compared to the indigenous rural population (Milbourne 2014, referring to Phillips 2002) thereby contributing to a better image of rural poverty. However, these differences at the same time, the author points out, only deepen social

stratification and social exclusion. Methods and level of in-migrations contribution to the social inclusion and exclusion in the literature examined are usually handled through consideration of interclass relations.

Cloke and Little (1990, p. 164 in Phillips 2005, p. 478) also believe that changes in rural communities due to in-migrations are actually the consequence of class vibrations, by referring to these migrations as 'class-dictated population movements'. Shucksmith (2012) argues that such consideration of class interactions 'has been largely absent from rural studies since 2000' (p. 390).

The first consideration of class differences between in-migrants and indigenous rural population was made by Smith and Phillips (2001, presented and synthesised by Shucksmith 2012). Smith and Phillips point out that the degree and manner of inclusion of in-migrants in new, rural social context varies depending on the group of in-migrants. Thus, for example, a 'new middle class' with its characteristics and capital brought into rural communities changes the conception of rurality. This class necessitates the adjustment of rural supply, especially rural services, to their urban needs. The new middle class often shows slight interest in involvement in social activities and insists on social divisions. Therefore, concludes Shucksmith (2012, p. 392), 'rurality itself become a vehicle for increasing and storing inequality'.

There is also another 'class' of in-migrants that Smith and Phillips identify based on their professions – artistic, craftsmen and teachers. This class has a different form of social interaction in the rural community – care for neighbours, employing own capital for the sake of the community – which is determined by the reasons for the relocation.

Other authors too deal with social stratification caused by in-migration. Hoggart (2007) refers to previous findings in the literature that presented the views of farmers (Littlejohn 1963, p. 143; Page 1974, p. 167) and farm workers as the most mobile section of the rural society, or as he says, ones who have the largest potential to participate in out-migrations (Williams 1963; Newby 1977). Hoggart (2007, p. 306) raises questions on the role of in-migrations on: changes in relationships between classes in rural society, urban-rural exchange between classes and the presence and representation of working classes which are in the 'traditional' sense mostly tied to agriculture.

In analysing the statistical data for England and Wales, Hoggart (2007, p. 310) notes that 'rural population is comprised of significant urban residential experiences and linkages'. In-

migrations contribute to the urban-rural changes in the representation of certain classes and professions. The middle class, which is largely formed as a result of in-migration, dominates the rural class distribution, 'which shifts rural politics and development narratives' (Gkartzios 2015, p. 847, referring to Murdoch et al. 2003).

This class redistribution, says Key (2013), changes the ageing characteristics of villages. RIM or 'gentrification of rural areas' (p. 252) is one of the major causes of ageing of villages and social exclusion of older rural population, but also youth. Namely, referring to Hardill and Dwyer (2011), Key states that RIM whose intensity is particularly observed in the first decade of the 2000s, have contributed to faster growth of the rural population, and, due to the age of newcomers, to the ageing of the English countryside. The high-income newcomers have with their intensity by promoting a different lifestyle form contributed to social conflict in rural communities.

One of the conflicts concerns housing of high-income in-migrants and indigenous working class (Hoggart 2007) and indigenous young people (Milbourne 2007). Increase in real estate prices and housing costs (Sutherland 2012) instigated out-migrations of these rural population categories. Another conflict occurred with older rural population. In-migrations contributed to the sense of isolation of the older, economically weaker, and culturally overpowered older villagers who remained in their communities.

Literature shows completely different conclusions. Hoggart (2007) presents that 'proportionately more low-income households are rural in-migrants than rural residents, with significantly more moving into rural areas to escape poverty' (p. 306, quoting Goodwin and colleagues 1995, p. 1254 and Chapman and associates 1998, p. 23).

Hoggart (2007) shows indications of the phenomenon's regional dimension that is recorded in literature as a housing conflict between in-migrants and local rural population (excluding some regions that do not strictly follow these regional patterns). The results of his research on migratory tendencies of classes show how the exchange of high-income and low-income migrants, regardless of their urban or rural origin, follows the same pattern. Namely, urban high-income movers move toward rural regions with not only higher, but also with registered increase in real estate prices. Low-income urban, but also low-income rural migrants move differently – toward rural regions with lower real estate prices that have recorded either a stagnation or decrease in prices. High-income rural out-migrants move toward urban centres or

in the same direction as high-income urban migrants. On the other hand, in comparison with the working class from urban areas, rural working class is more mobile and decides easier to change the place of residence and migrate to other rural or urban settings.

Hoggart's (2007) research results testify on regionally different, but observed overall – absolute increase in the share of working class in rural areas in the time dimension. There are two possible reasons for that. The first is in a more intensive urban to rural working class migration when compared to rural to urban movements for the same social class. One fourth of today's rural working class in these two UK countries originates from urban centres (p. 311). Hoggart with this finding demystifies the UK-specific myth in which urban to rural migrations are exclusively middle-class migrations. However, the author points out that social mobility should not be forgotten. One portion of urban migrants who were in their place of origin members of the middle class, accept, for different reasons working class-specific occupations.

In-migrants often have an important role in social activities of communities in remote rural areas to which they have moved to, and they initiate and develop social entrepreneurship by assuming the role of community's animator (EC 2007, p. 195).

As illustrated in subsection presenting economic impact of in-migrations, some authors (Kalantaridis 2010) believe that the intensity (number) of RIM conditions the development of entrepreneurship. According to him, the contribution of rural in-migrant human capital to the ability to use external resources and market is significant. Accordingly, the intensity of entrepreneurship directly correlates with social capital (measured by the level of education and social networks) the rural in-migrants brought in with them. Personal, human connections and networks present, therefore, the core of economic cooperation processes between specific groups as well as territories.

However, one of the greatest advocates of this theory is certainly Robert Putnam. He defines social capital as 'features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (Putnam 1995, p. 67). Social capital is 'perceived as a central factor in the formation of human capital' (Stockdale, 2004 p. 168, referring to Coleman 1988). Putnam has brought to light a fact that most American economists have largely ignored – that humans and their relationships are underpinning all economic activity. The fact that human elements are excluded is very significant in the light of Putnam's work, demonstrating that the basic stability and viability of all structures in society depends on

personal relationships. Putting this into context of modern political tendencies Stockdale (2004) adds, 'Human and social capitals [as well as the creation of opportunities for this to be used] are [equally important] central components of endogenous development' (p. 168, 189). On the other hand, rural out-migrants, after having lived in cities/towns, believe that 'social capital remains stronger within rural, rather than urban, areas' (Stockdale 2004, p. 189).

Considerations by Stockdale (2006) of potential benefits of RIM depart from political and development tendencies supported by the endogenous development model. For the endogenous development model to produce desired results, she turns to considerations presented by other authors (Coffey and Pole`se 1984; Terluin 2003; Aghion and Howitt 1998) that set social (Stockdale 2004, p. 168) and human capital, knowledge and skills, especially entrepreneurship and 'entrepreneurial skills' of population as the deciding factor of innovative endogenous development. However, in addition to the quality human capital, Stockdale (2006, p. 356) points out that 'for the endogenous development approach to be successful, sufficient human capital is required'.

Focusing on rural out-migrants Stockdale (2004) emphasises that migrants, by wanting to build a 'new identity' (by getting education, acquiring new cognitive and business experiences) introduce irretrievable changes into their personalities. On the other hand, higher level of education and greater knowledge implies greater social capital in the form of newly created networks and relations, which are, as emphasised 'key pre-requisites for successful endogenous development' (p. 169). Following the same logic, it can be presumed that rural in-migrants seek to build a new identity in the new environment.

Education is one of the key factors for improving the quality of human capital. Therefore, as Stockdale claims (2006, p. 356), it remains relatively unclear how to overcome disagreements between aspirations to strengthen human capital in rural areas, and to, at the same time, overcome the fact that strengthening this capital is only possible if people leave rural areas (2004, p. 188).

2.5.4. Negative consequences of rural in-migrations

Apart from the impact on social stratification described in the subsection 3.5.3, in studying the literature some more specific references to negative implications of in-migrations found in contemporary Eastern European authors is noticed. I found that these findings may be of particular importance for reaching the objectives set within this Study.

While suburban areas of large cities face aggressive remodeling (European Environment Agency 2006, 2016) of their territory and changes in their capital (Székely 2013, citing Falťan 2010), remote and isolated rural areas remain even more remote and communities within even more isolated. Thus isolated rural areas become more sensitive to change and 'different', especially when it comes to different values in all the aspects brought in by newcomers.

Potential conflicts between the indigenous communities and rural in-migrants may be of different nature and reliant on several factors. One of the important factors examined by literature refers to the number of rural in-migrants and the degree of their concentration.

In the case described by Székely (2013) a large and concentrated in-migrant rural community may create social and spatial stratification of the community. Interests of these communities may diverge. Thus, local authorities in making decisions on meeting the interests of either one or the other part of the community are placed in a highly disadvantaged position. Moreover, by taking into account the urban context in which they have received or continue to receive education, work, or exercise their social and business connections, rural in-migrants often have the lead when it comes to lobbying resources and advocating own interests. Also, often low (or incompatible with the needs and habits) social and business opportunities of rural in-migrants contribute to strong ties with the place of origin and/or the nearest urban area. Consequently, their participation in resolving day-to-day mutual problems of the community remains low, and hence rural in-migrants' social, economic and human capital is of no use for the development of the community and the area they have settled in.

New political environments, such as the EU, can be, at the same time, perceived as both the trigger of, and responsible for negative implications of in-migrations on rural communities (Székely 2013). By stating this claim, the author refers to the observed inter-ethnic problems faced by cross-border rural in-migrants as the main obstacle to a more intensive and sustainable process of homogenisation of newly founded rural communities.

Some negative aspects of suburbanisation pointed out by Székely (2013, referring to Podolák 2010 and Hrdina 2010) can also apply to the phenomenon of RIM. This author has summarised and divided all negative influences into two large groups.

The first one refers to environmental impact. Poor public transportation and habits of immigrated population intensify road transport due to daily communication of the newly settled

with urban areas (work related needs, education, culture, etc.). Also, a change in land use and transformation of agricultural land into construction land is an irreversible process.

The second large group of negative influences of in-migrations pertains to the level of social homogeneity. The newcomers are mostly from social classes that differ from social classes found in local communities.

This segregations and non-use of what in-migrants can offer to the community they moved to lead to marginalisation, isolation and non-assimilation, as stated by other authors too (Boxelaar, Paine & Beilin 2007, p. 269).

Additionally, RIMH that are often physically separated and distant from neighbours do not contribute to their integration.

In addition to the elaborated negative implications of RIM, the research course is clear in its intention to articulate positive influences RIM have on rural communities.

2.6. Governance and rural in-migrations

> *In a context where most European rural areas still suffer from ageing and depopulation, policies must be developed to secure not only the cessation of out migration but also the fostering of the opposite trend (counter-urbanisation).*
>
> *EC (2007, p. 15)*

By advocating evolutionary attributes of governance, Assche, Beunen and Duineveld (2014) state that entering of particular system by a new member alters a path of the system, inevitably. System is driven by new drivers; actors emulate each other and form new relations.

Irrespective of relatively limited intensity, RIM, especially in case of less attractive areas, tend to be treated as 'increasingly significant component of population change with important implications for [policy decision makers and] policy formulation [at all governmental levels] in the countryside' (Bosworth 2006, p. 4 quoting Countryside Agency 2004, p. 14).

Many scholars speak about the importance of policies and their contribution to RIM. Dahms and McComb (1999, p. 133) conclude that policies, regardless of the level at which they are defined, are one of six main 'inducers or deterrers' of in-migrations. Bosworth (2006, p. 3) notices a more active presence of policies in this phenomenon and claims that 'retention of

existing population and attracting in-migrants are seen as important [policy] strategies in facilitating growth.'

In addition to the support to the endogenous development model, it is as important that policies stimulate and build territorial capital that is able to mobilise in-migrations. Seeing that RIM increase 'demand for rural services' (Stockdale 2006, p. 364), less attractive areas can particularly profit from RIM (including returnees). Even more so, according to Bryden (2008), net migration should be the main indicator of development policies' success, and especially rural development policies. He explains this position with the fact that nowadays in most rural areas in Europe, especially isolated and remote rural areas, managing human resources deeply 'depends on positive net in-migrations' (OECD 2006, p. 22; Bryden 2008, p. 10). Sustainable and strong rural communities require not only management of own human contingent. Bryden's view is that it is important to evaluate what contributes to the sense of a better quality of life and to find ways to attract new inhabitants, especially young ones.

The literature notes contradictions in policies, which, on one hand advocate the endogenous rural development model, while on the other fail to sufficiently consider demographic political measures (Stockdale 2004, 2006). In quoting political documents (Scottish Executive 2000, p. 3, and rural White Paper DETR 2000), she notes the trend in which authorities in Scotland and England address demographic issues with increased monitoring of rural in-migrations' effects and simultaneous neglect of rural out-migrations. This makes sense only if rural in-migrants are individuals skilled in creating new ideas for a change (Stockdale 2006, reffering to Jones 1999), and if they are entrepreneurs. On the other hand, she underlines, strategic objectives of the government that intend to increase the share of highly educated population in a certain time dimension, conjoined with the lack of highly educated services in rural areas (OECD 2006), can only contribute to rural out-migrations.

Stockdale (2006) also, in using demographic and migratory trends as an argument, advocates the thesis that the strict divide between exogenous and endogenous development models of rural areas is out-dated. This is important, as pointed out, particularly from the modern European policy perspective. This policy represents an endogenous development model, and as such is not able to intervene in all three types of migrations, namely rural in-, out- and return-migration, all of which are equally important for rural revival. Also, it is very important to implement exogenous practice, through policies, to raise the level of attractiveness of territories

and thus create preconditions and framework for return and settlement of new residents in poorly inhabited areas (Stockdale 2004).

Policies, however, should not only be directed toward the 'retention of existing' and 'attraction of new', but also toward integration of those settling in or returning. '[Rural] Policy orientation towards collaborative approaches' (Boxelaar, Paine & Beilin 2007, p. 259) is becoming more prominent. The new rural governance concept which advocates partnerships as a contemporary and only successful management model and 'power to' instead of 'power over' Goodwin (1998, p. 10), sees as model for not only overcoming in-migratory conflicts between different social and economic groups, but also as a tool for mutual integration and joint action. Also, as Goodwin says, newly arrived groups are also new service classes that require new 'institutions or agencies', so from the governance perspective it is additionally important to understand the ways of managing new needs and new services.

'All of this, in turn, feeds into, for example, the OECD (2006) calling for a 'new paradigm' for rural development policy' (Halfacree 2014, p. 516). Local authorities may play a significant role in this. This statement is supported by the OECD report (2006), where the increasing importance of sub-national players in rural development was emphasised.

For this reason many researches, especially in the Eastern European research milieu, which is still missing a national statistical research support, started their RIM research with local authorities as those who are the closest to the local context and with whose help they can most efficiently identify the intensity and traits of in-migratory movements.

LG estimate that rural in-migratory movements, in general, contribute to the development and upgrading of rural capital (Székely 2013, referring to the research results of Gajdoš et al. 2010). Namely, the survey involving 158 municipalities in Slovakia has shown that LG estimate that migrants, mostly younger families, contribute to social revitalisation of communities they moved to, by bringing in education, new skills and interests, but also new social networks. In addition to human and social capital, rural in-migrants with new and different forms of economic behaviour, higher incomes, and stronger impulse for local economic development bring about economic changes. Finally, these authors conclude, rural in-migrants tend to be, based on LGs' perception, either well or very well accepted by the local community.

Experiences of other countries suggest that it is in LGs' interest to motivate all newcomers to formally register at the address they settled in (Székely 2013). Namely, LG funding in some

countries (Slovakia in Székely's case) deeply correlates with the number of inhabitants in the territory of LG.

Looking at the legal framework of the Republic of Serbia – the Law on Local Government Finance in Serbia, the recommendations are identical. Namely, LG funding in the Republic of Serbia deeply correlates with the number of inhabitants in the territory of LG. When it comes to the so-called own source revenues (property tax, local administrative fees), residents directly participate in financing tasks and competences of LG, while on the other hand, in terms of shared revenues (income tax, inheritance and gift tax, and property transfer tax), LG receive back from the national level approximately 80% of the total mass of collected tax. The population and the number of children (determined based on the number of facilities and classes in primary and secondary education, and the number of children and facilities in the direct child care) comprise 80.7% of the total criteria for the volume of transfers from the national level. This means that LG with rural characteristics – lower population, the elderly and explicit demographic erosion remain financially weak, with fewer opportunities for local economic development and reduced overall attractiveness. While the ways in which LG motivate the newcomers to register their residence in their territory have made some positive results (access to limited education resources, building family homes and so on, Székely 2013), in the Serbian case, there are almost no cases of LG that are specifically and directly focused on solving this issue. Indirectly, LG articulate the place of residence as a general criterion for funding support through local budgets – programmes intended to support agriculture and rural development, entrepreneurship, civic associations, etc.

Motives for relocation, when government induced (local and/or national) are generally not an upshot of a 'romantic' view of the rural idyll. Motives, in this case, mostly rest in the calculation of the price of housing and the distance from the town/city and important social services (Székely 2013, referring to Šveda 2011).

2.7. Return rural in-migration

By studying literature findings I have established that the research course, when it comes to socio-economic impact of migrations to rural areas is quite divergent and that researchers can hardly speak about one migratory direction (for example, in-direction), without at the same time considering the other (out-direction).

Depicting the theoretical context of rural out-migrations, Stockdale (2004) suggests that the research focus involving rural out-migrations went from negative consequences (abandoned communities) to the positive ones (to migrants themselves and/or communities, if those who have migrated from the community returned to that community). By systematising the literature, she has classified the research course into four main categories: (1) migration decision, primarily with young people; (2) socio-economic impact of migrations on the donor community; (3) socio-economic implications of migrations on migrants themselves, and as a special focus, (4) return of rural out-migrants to rural communities from which they have departed a while ago and their influence on further development of these communities. In later work, however (2006) Stockdale studies return migrations and sets them within a context of RIM.

Stockdale (2004) concludes that return migrations are very sporadic and that rural out-migrants, regardless of the issues they detect (primarily when it comes to housing and social inclusion) are content with their decision to move away. At the same time, they significantly more seek to successfully integrate into new urban communities rather than to return to their communities of origin. Return is often interpreted as a failure. This is particularly noticeable with categories of rural out-migrants who were motivated by education or employment.

Other researchers too notice the importance of this type of RIM. Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012, p. 492), considering the RIM motives, as a separate, fourth category of motives, systematise the so-called motives for migrants' return to rural areas of their previous residence as 'return to the rural migration'. These motives are founded, according to Niedomysl and Amcoff (2011, quoted in Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker 2012) and Jones (2003), in social motives, thus differentiating this group of migrants from those rural in-migrants who have moved from urban to rural areas for the first time.

When it comes to the impact of return migration on the economic development of the host territory, but also about the reverse influence of the territories' development on the decision to return, the findings and conclusions in literature are quite diverse.

Rural return-migration in the Netherlands more often occurs in more attractive and richer rural territories (Elbersen 2001, quoted in Bijker, Haartsen & Strijker 2012). Rural communities with recorded more intensive out-migrations in Scotland at the same time experience a larger share

of non-qualified and highly qualified population categories as opposed to their share in the population contingent of the neighbouring urban settlements (Stockdale 2004).

In terms of the return-migrants' profiles, the literature shows just as different findings. Ireland records mostly international rural return-migrations of mostly young, educated and working population (Jones 2003). Research results in Scotland indicate that highly qualified category is at the same time often the category of returnees (Stockdale 2004). Return migrants are of economically active age, and motives are, as in the case of other categories of rural in-migrants, very similar and mostly tied to personal motives and employment (Stockdale 2006). When it comes to their economic status, or income, Stockdale (2004) says, they are less paid for the same work compared to their urban counterparts, but still have an advantage relative to the local population. This category's contribution to creating new jobs is fully lacking. The author lists examples of difficult integration of returnees in their original communities.

Jones (2003), using the example of a district in Ireland (where most respondents' said their motives for return were family related, rather than economic), concludes that the intensity of return-migrations is quite dependable on the economic development of the country itself, and the territory they have returned to. Namely, developed territories can offer returnees what they are used to, to continue their careers without limitations. Stockdale (2006) also arrives at the similar conclusion and asks what is to occur first, an exogenously led development that will represent a pull factor for migrations and thus contribute to the endogenous development, or should it be expected that RIM are to take place independently from exogenous factors and contribute to the endogenously developed competitive rural territories.

Return-migrants' perception of rural areas' advantages relative to urban ones does not significantly differ from ways described by rural out-migrants (Stockdale 2004). Life in rural communities is perceived as life that is more responsive to human needs, especially in terms of the vicinity of the nature, human relations, and the sense of security or opportunities to produce your own food for the family.

3. Geographical context

3.1. Rural conditions – an overview of Serbian context

The Republic of Serbia (Kosovo*[1] excluded) has a total of 4,709 settlements. Classification indicators for urban and rural settlements remain undefined. The settlements in Serbia have been, since the 1981 Census and based on the so-called legal criterion, divided into 167 'urban' and 4,542 'other' settlements. Of the total 7,186,862 residents, 40.56% live in 'other' settlements. In respect of the population, over 80% of settlements are settlements with less than 1,000 inhabitants (SORS, 2011 Population Census).

Demographic projections for Serbia remain negative regardless of whether they are being prepared by the official government statistics or as scientific and research projections. In relation to the present, Serbian population is in every forecast set to decrease in numbers over the next thirty years. At best, Serbian population in a scenario involving high fertility and zero migration balance is expected to decrease by approximately 260 thousand (SORS, 2011). Otherwise, a scenario involving steady fertility and mortality rates in line with current trends will produce the most intensive depopulation. In that case, by looking at the 2011 Census as a reference point, the population will over the next thirty years decrease by approximately one million, or by as much as 30% over the next five decades (Penev 2014, p. 698).

Rural-urban imbalance in demographic trends is very prominent in Serbia. The average age in rural areas is 43.6 years. In 2010, ageing index was 1.30, compared to 0.94 in urban communities (SORS, 2011 Population Census), while 82.5% of communities experienced negative natural growth. Demographic projections for rural population and rural areas, as expected, are even more negative, taking into account the described trends this Serbian population category is facing.

Urban–rural differences in the developed world, in terms of modernisation and lifestyle (Dahms & McComb 1999) are less and less pronounced.

Rural areas in Serbia feature poverty, regional and urban-rural development imbalance, migrations, depopulation, low level of local initiatives and resulting loss of human, natural and cultural heritage, and increasing vulnerability of rural population.

[1] * This designation is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSCR 1244/1999 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo declaration of independence.

The age and educational structure of rural labour is less favourable than in the remaining population - as much as 68.9% of all illiterate persons aged 10+ in the Republic of Serbia lived in rural areas (SORS, 2011 Population Census). Information accessibility, including formal and non-formal education is at a lower level in rural areas compared to their urban counterparts.

Unemployment among economically active population exceeds that in tertiary sector, while the employment rate in primary agricultural sector is high compared to it. Uncompetitive position of rural labour with regard to its size, educational attainment, acquired skills and age structure impose severe constraints to taking a more innovative approach to rural development. Financial and business sectors are generally weaker in rural areas. Rural infrastructure is underdeveloped and insufficiently functional.

The Government has also referred to the facts on absolute poverty in the period 2011–2013 (SIPRU, 2014). It delineates the share of poor population as twice as high in rural areas, as opposed to urban ones. In 2013, 12% of rural population suffered from absolute poverty, compared to 6.3% in urban areas. The holdings between 1 and 5 hectares in size experienced stronger impact of the economic crisis (SIPRU, 2011). According to the 2012 Agricultural Census, more than 76% of holdings belonged to this category, which is similar to the EU where close to 70% of all farms have less than 5 hectares of agricultural land (EC, 2013). Moreover, the most common type of holdings in Serbia is family farms with up to 2 hectares of agricultural land (48.2% of the total number, accounting for more than 9% of agricultural land).

3.2. Study areas

3.2.1. Background

The reviewed literature strongly argues that characteristics of RIM deeply correlate with characteristics of the territory in which they take place (Section 3.3). The authors however, depending on research objectives define different criteria for selecting and comparing territories subject to research. The criteria mostly relate to in-migration intensity, degree of remoteness, demographic changes, migration, language and culture (Stockdale 2006), distance (in km driving) from urban centres (Dahms & McComb 1999), attractiveness (Bijker et al. 2012) and its more specific subsequences like economic attractiveness (Kalantaridis 2010), tourism attractiveness (Dahms & McComb 1999) etc.

Degree of remoteness was taken as a criterion in the case of Babb and Babb (1992). They included both categories of territories in their research, namely: (1) territories that are closer to

urban centres so the urban-rural ties are stronger. Rural areas' residents and rural in-migrants can cross certain distances to do business in town, while on the other hand, urban population is a significant market for goods and services produced in the countryside; (2) isolated territories that are not only physically remote from urban centres, but also characterised by weak transportation and social ties with urban areas. This positive correlation between the isolation of peripheral rural territories and the lesser level of attractiveness of these territories for potential in-migrations, should be however, observed with caution. In-migrants are intentionally moving to more isolated rural communities to distance themselves from urban life assumptions as much as possible (Boyle 1995).

Attractiveness measured by the gradation of 'rural idyll' has also directed selection of SA. As mentioned by Kalantaridis (2010), 'rural idyll' is the key feature of regions that attract a larger number of socio-economically more advanced rural in-migrants. Unlike regions with this feature, regions with industrialisation legacy and more accessible regional urban centres attract a smaller number of rural in-migrants with weaker socio-economic performance, and their primary motive for relocation is finding a solution to the existing problem in urban areas and/or an integral part of the retirement plan (Dahms & McComb 1999).

In contrast to these 'general considerations', the authors often rely on specific criteria that are adapted to the national context. In defining less attractive territories in the case of very densely populated Netherlands, Bijker et al. (2012, p. 492) for example, followed three criteria: (1) population density – less populated territories are less attractive; (2) Dutch perception of the most rural territory of the Netherlands – the most rural territories (as perceived by residents) are the least attractive ones, and (3) real estate prices, house prices primarily – in less attractive territories real estate prices are lower. Rather than RIM intensity, which, by referring to the findings of other authors (Argent et al. 2007; McGranahan 2008), is commonly used in such studies, the authors perceive the real estate price indicator as a more suitable indicator for the Netherlands.

3.2.2. Selection of the study areas

Due to deficiencies in monitoring RIM in the national systems relying on the intensity of this type of migrations was neither possible in defining a sample, nor as a criterion for measuring the level of attractiveness of territories and ultimately for selecting SA. Screening of RIMH showed that majority of households was identified in two SA, SBD and ZAD. This however,

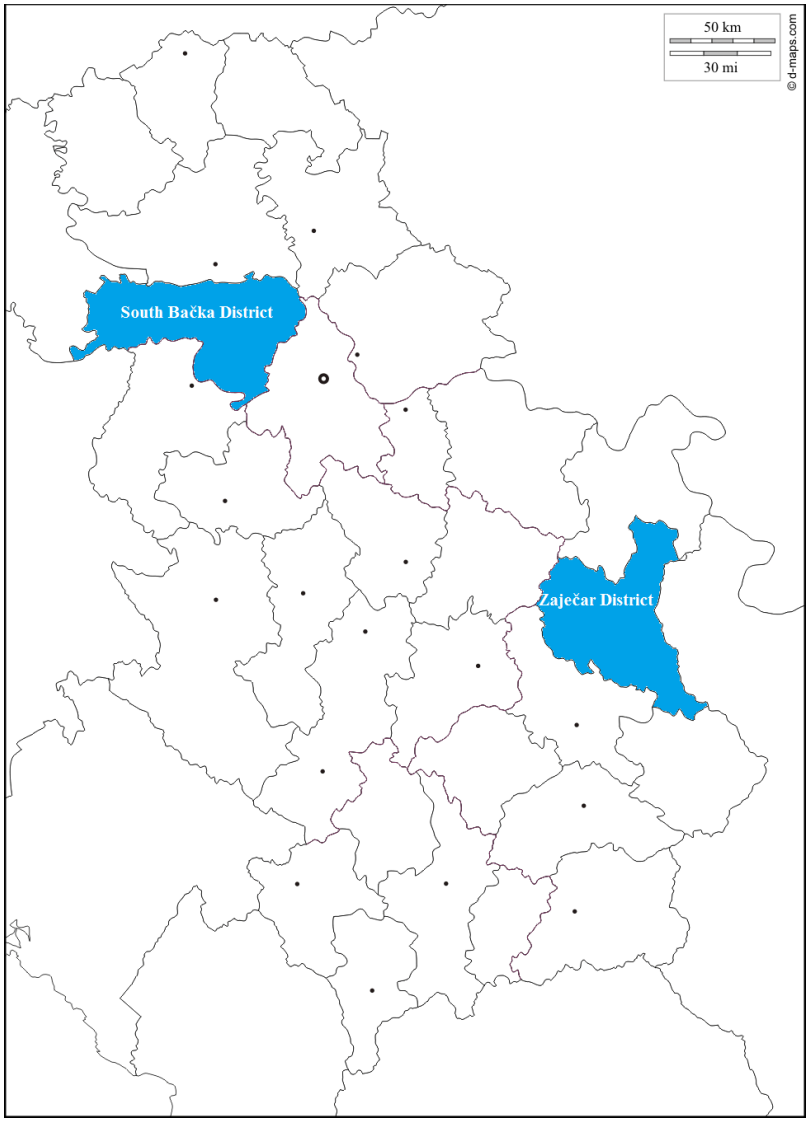
happened by accident. The screening in the case of this Study was not intended to measure the intensity of RIM to select SA, but rather as a tool for sampling hard-to-reach rural in-migrants.

In defining the criteria for selecting the territory, I was guided by recommendations derived from the literature, though adjusted to the national context, and the level of available data.

Criterion 1: 'Compatibility of administrative units' (Kotevska et al. 2015, p. 66)

In order to meet the objectives of the research, the study was conducted at the district level, by excluding the Belgrade District and selecting two administrative districts, namely SBD and ZAD (Map 1).

Map 1: Study areas



Source: Authors' adaptation based on
http://d-maps.com/carte.php?&num_car=27581&lang=en

The selected SA comprise two administrative (Regulation on Administrative Districts No. 15/2006) and two statistical units, NUTS 3 that do not belong to the same statistical unit at NUTS 1 and NUTS 2 levels. Pursuant to the Regulation on the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics, Nos. 109/2009 and 46/2010, SBD belongs to the North Serbia (NUTS 1) and Vojvodina (NUTS 2) statistical units. ZAD is included in the Southern Serbia (NUTS 1) and Southern and Eastern Serbia (NUTS 2).

> Districts (Serbian: Окрузи, Okruzi), officially called administrative districts (управни окрузи, upravni okruzi) are the administrative units of Serbia, comprising several municipalities and/or cities each. They are defined by the Government of Serbia's Enactment of 29 January 1992. Districts are regional centers of state authority and they do not have any form of self-government. They run affairs in the name of the Government. There are 29 districts in Serbia (7 in Vojvodina, 8 in Šumadija and Western Serbia, 9 in Southern and Eastern Serbia and 5 in Kosovo and Metohija). The only part of Serbia that is not part of any district is the territory of the City of Belgrade which has a special status, very similar to that of a district. Every districts has its seat in the largest city of the district. (‘List of districts of Serbia’ n.d.)

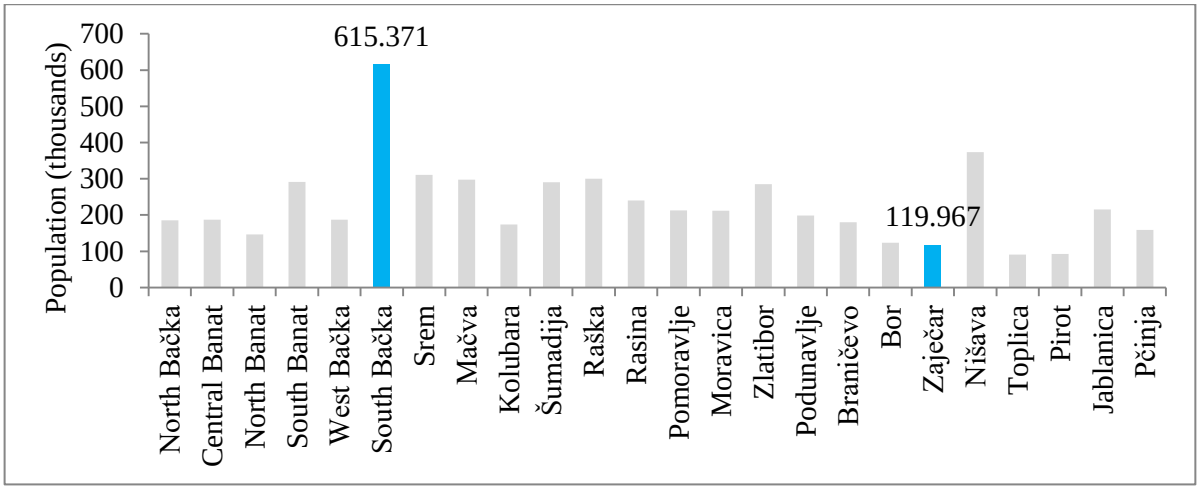
Criterion 2: ‘Selected territories differ in demographic characteristics’

Comparing the number of population as per eight Censuses delivered periodically from 1948 to 2011, the rise of the number of urban population is notable at national level: according to the 1948 Census, urban population’s share in the total population of Serbia was 26%, whereas in the 2011 Census this share increased to nearly 60%.

Assessing the difference between selected SA was based on five demographic indicators: (1) population; (2) share of rural population (other settlements) in the total population; (3) population density; (4) total absolute increase in population; and (5) migration balance.
The values of demographic indicators for SBD and ZAD are very different.

SBD, with the exception of Belgrade District, is the district with the largest population that is five times greater than the population in ZAD. At the same time, ZAD, along with Toplica and Pirot districts, is the district with the lowest population (Graph 1).

Graph 1: Population, districts

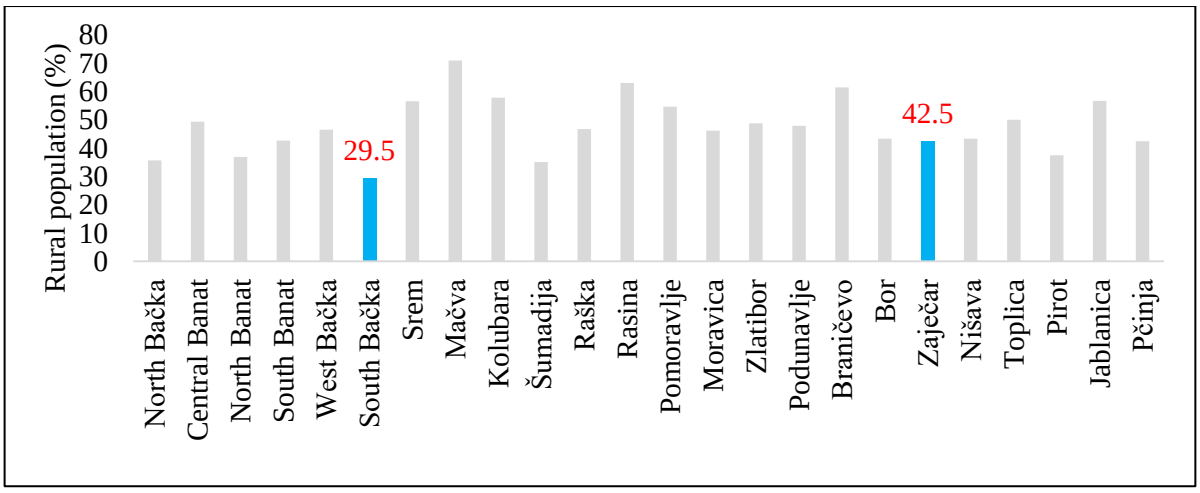


Source: SORS, 2011 Population Census

Urbanisation trend rapidly accelerated from early 1970s. SBD experienced a somewhat milder rise in urban population ranging from 54% in 1948 to 70% in 2011, whereas in the same period urban population in ZAD has increased more than fourfold: from 13% in 1948 to almost 58% in 2011. In regards to total population, since the 1971 Census, ZAD is experiencing continuous negative population trend similar to the national level, while SBD is characterised by the continuous increase from the 1948 Census to date.

Concurrently, SBD registered the lowest values in terms of rural population's share in the total population. In ZAD, however, 42.5% of the population lives in rural settlements (Graph 2). It is evident that areas with the highest share of rural population also have the fewest inhabitants.

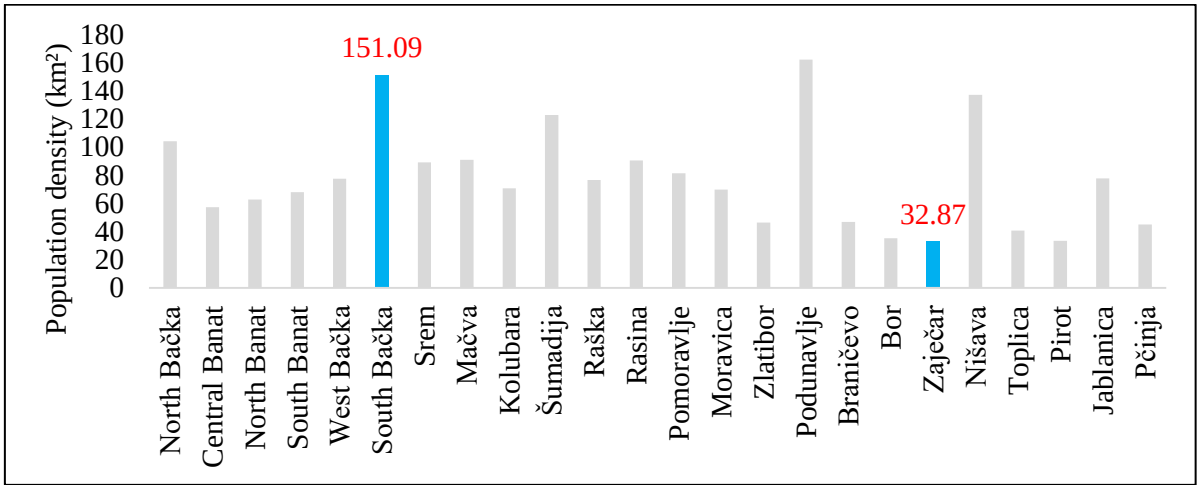
Graph 2: Share of rural population in Serbia, districts



Source: SORS, 2011 Population Census

In terms of population density, the North Bačka District, besides Podunavlje, is the most densely populated district (Graph 3). Simultaneously, ZAD is the district with the lowest population density in Serbia that is 4.5 times lower than that in North Bačka District.

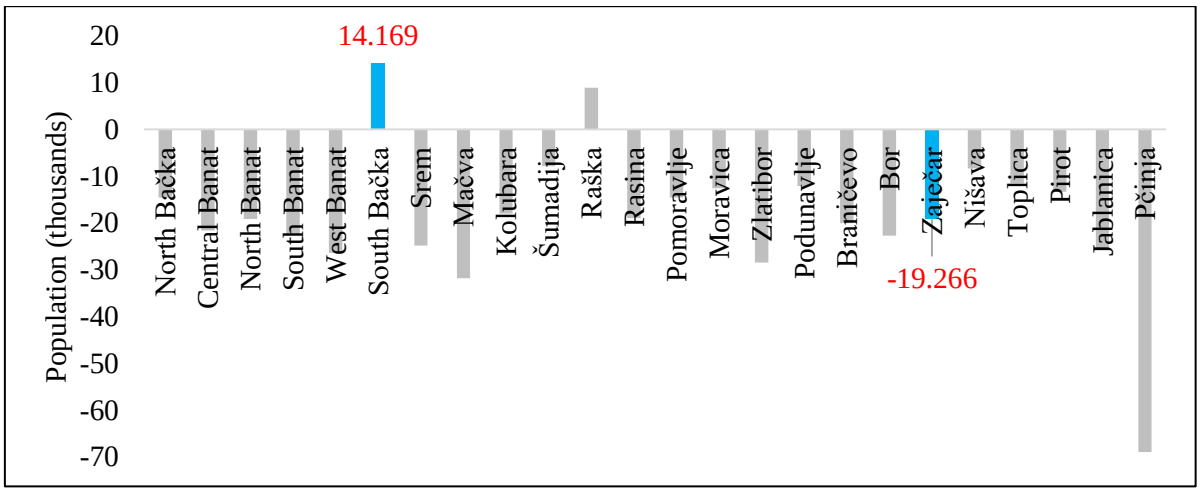
Graph 3: Population density in Serbia, districts



Source: SORS, 2011 Population Census

Apart from Belgrade, the absolute increase in population, compared to the last census, was recorded in only two other districts in Serbia, namely SBD and Raška District. In parallel, ZAD recorded a drop in the absolute population that is far greater than the increase experienced by the North Bačka District by more than five thousand inhabitants (Graph 4).

Graph 4: Total absolute population increase in Serbia, districts

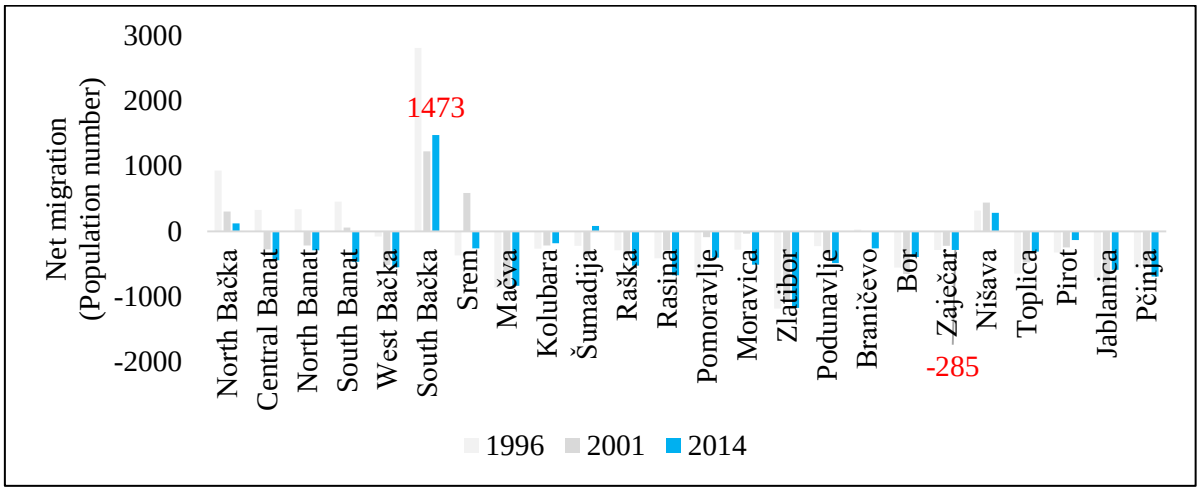


Source: SORS, 2011 Population Census

Finally, when it comes to migration balance values (net migration), the data available to the SORS recorded positive net migration values in two districts (excluding Belgrade). One of them is SBD, with far more positive net migration values. According to the latest data from 2014,

SBD recorded 1,473 more district in-migrants than out-migrants. In 2014, 1,576 people moved to ZAD, but at the same time 1,861 residents moved out from the district (Graph 5).

Graph 5: Net migration in Serbia, districts



Source: SORS, 2011 Population Census

3.3. Comparative overview of study areas: South Bačka District and Zaječar District

SBD is situated in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (VR - NUTS2 level region, total of 7 districts) and borders Croatia, while ZAD is part of the SESR (NUTS2 level region, total of 9 districts) and borders Bulgaria.

Diverse natural resource base, regional accessibility and outer cultural impact have influenced gravely their socio-economic development throughout history and shaped their positioning nowadays. Targeted SA occupy similar share of the Serbian territory, 5.19% (SBD) and 4.67% (ZAD), though they significantly differ in the number and types of settlements (Table 2). While urban settlements occupy approximately 37% of the SBD territory, in ZAD they account for only 5%.

Although covering a similar territory, population and density figures at SA level are more than 5 times higher in case of SBD than in case of ZAD. Share of urban population is also significantly higher in SBD (70.40%) than in ZAD (57.45%). ZAD exhibits extreme differences in population density, namely approximately 156 inhabitants/km² in urban, and only about 15 inhabitants/km² in other settlements. In regards to male/female population at SA level, the ratio is approximately 51% male to 49% female, similar to the ratio in urban and other settlements of both SA. The most numerous age group in both SA was that between 25 and 64.

Table 2: Study areas profile

Indicator		SBD	ZAD
Area (km²)	Total	4,026	3,624
	Other	2,632	3,430
Total area of RS (%)		5.2	4.7
Number of settlements	Total	77	173
	Other	61	168
	Less favoured areas	15	0
Population (Number)	Urban	433,723	69,035
	Other	181,648	50,932
Household (Number)	Urban	163,221	24,003
	Other	60,432	18,442
Household members (Number, mean)	Urban	2.65	2.87
	Other	2.99	2.76
Age structure by settlement type (%)			
Children under 15	Urban	70.0	65.6
	Other	30.0	34.4
Households members 15<=x<25	Urban	69.3	64.7
	Other	30.7	53.3
Households members 25<=x< 65	Urban	71.0	62.0
	Other	29.0	38.0
Household members over 65	Urban	69.8	40.8
	Other	30.2	59.2
Education (%)*			
Without school; Incomplete primary education		2.1; 7.8	2.6; 20.7
Primary education		18.6	24.7
Secondary school (3-4 years)		52.0	40.8
College (2 years); University (4 years)		5.4; 13.9	4.8; 6.2
Economic activity (%)			
Active, Inactive		42.8; 57.2	42.9; 57.1
Dependency ratio (%)		133.8	132.9
Enterprises, total (Number, %)		33,851	3,409
Entrepreneurs		67.9	81.3
Micro; small & medium-sized		28.3; 3.6	15.6; 3.0
Large enterprises		0.2	0.1
Agricultural holdings (Number)		31,866	16,690
Family agricultural holdings		29,784	16,552
Registered agricultural holdings		14,485	8,584
Available land (ha)		420,939	174,437
UAA (%)		68.1	48.5
AH size by UAA (ha)		9.0	5.1
Rate of poverty risk %		25.7	21.2
GINI coefficient (interval 0 to 100)		36.8	34.5
Relative gap of poverty risk %		8.8	6.9

Source: SORS 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, Government of RS: RS IPARD Programme 2014-2020, Annex 4 & Annex 5.1; SBRA 2014, WB & SORS: Evaluation of poverty by method of poverty

As opposed to a consistent urban/rural ratio of approximately 70-30% for all population age groups, in ZAD almost 60% of population over 65 resides in rural areas. Consequently, the average age of population in rural areas of ZAD is much higher (51.5) than in those of SBD (41), or the national average (43.6 for rural areas, and 42.2 for general population). According to the latest Census of 2011, minorities account for approximately 21% of the population of SBD, and only about 8% in ZAD.

The most common level of education among population over 15 for both SA is the same as at the national level, namely secondary school level. The most significant differences include the share of SAs' population 1) that was either without school or had not completed primary education (10% in SBD, and over 23% in ZAD); and 2) population with a degree (14% in SBD, and just over 6% in ZAD).

Households in both SA experience similar trend in terms of the number of household members: approximately 50% of all households are one- and two-person households. The average number of household members is 2.74 for SBD, while this value is slightly higher for ZAD - 2.82, given the higher percentage of households with 5, 6 and more members.

According to the 2012 Agricultural Census, 5% of all AH in Serbia are situated in SBD. On the other hand, only 2.6% of all AH in Serbia are situated in ZAD. ZAD has a significantly lower share in total available land and UAA of Serbia than SBD, and utilises less than half of its available land, as opposed to SBD that is slightly above the national average with over 68%. The average size of AH by UAA is somewhat similar to the national average, while in SBD it is well above. In both target SA, over 99% of the total number of AH are family farms, with a share in UAA of approximately 76% in SBD and 86% in ZAD, similar to the national average. However, even though AH owned by legal entities and entrepreneurs constitute a small share in AH ownership breakdown at the national level, 12% of all AH owned by legal entities and almost 10% owned by entrepreneurs in Serbia are located in SBD.

In SBD, the most numerous were AH with 1-2 members regularly employed, which is significantly above the national average with approximately 84%. Compared to that, ZAD exhibits a share of three- and four-person AH that is twice as high and the above national average share of five- and six-person AH of almost 5%.

Both SA have the same dependency ratio (approximately 43% of active, and 57% of inactive population), with a share of active population somewhat above the national average (41.3%).

The noticeable difference in the share of particular groups of inactive population largely results from a slightly higher share of younger population in SBD, and significantly higher share of elderly population in ZAD.

According to the available data for 2014 (SBRA), there were 10 times more companies registered in SBD than in ZAD. Overall, the data indicates a significantly lower economic activity in ZAD, which is supported by the official statistics on earnings in 2015, where average net salary in SBD and ZAD was 47,445 RSD and 36,716 RSD respectively, while the national average amounted to 44,432 RSD. In 2015, business development and creation of a favourable environment was additionally supported by different national and regional development incentives amounting to approximately 6.5 billion RSD in SBD, and only 561 million in ZAD (SBRA, 2015).

In terms of income sources, over 60% of households in SBD live on salaries earned in non-agricultural sectors and pensions, while in ZAD almost 70% of households live on pensions and mixed incomes. Some 57% of rural population in SBD relies on income from non-agricultural sectors and mixed incomes, while in ZAD almost 80% live on their pensions and mixed incomes.

Population in ZAD is at a significantly higher risk of poverty than that in SDA, though GINI index is quite similar for both SA (Table 21).

SA development level, calculated as the value of GDP per capita in LG in relation to the national average, points to significant differences in current socio-economic situation in SA (Table 3).

Table 3: Study areas by development level of territorial units (Local Governments)

Development level of LGs	RS	SBD	ZAD
Above national average	20	4	0
80-100% of the national average	34	4	1
60-80% of the national average	47	4	2
Below 60% of the national average	44	0	1
Group of devastated areas	19	0	0

Source: Government of RS: *Law on Territorial Organisation of RS (Official Gazette No. 129/2007 & 18/2016)*

According to the official data on implemented investments for 2012, disparities among SA are quite noticeable. SBD share in total implemented investments at the national level was approximately 10%, and rose to as much as 55% (mining). ZAD share in the total national

investments implemented, on the other hand, was as little as 0.39%, and reached nearly 4% in one sector only, health care and social protection (Table 4).

Table 4: Study areas by implemented investments

Share in total investments in Republic of Serbia (%)	SBD	ZAD
Total	9.8	0.4
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	14.9	0.3
Mining	55.8	0.5
Processing industry	4.5	0.5
Energy, gas and steam supply	8.9	0.2
Water supply and waste water management	17.6	0.4
Construction	5.6	0.2
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles	13.5	0.5
Transportation and storage	27.3	0.0
Accommodation and hospitality industry	0.7	0.1
Information and communication	7.3	0.0
Financial and insurance activities	3.26	0.0
Real estate activities	5.9	0.0
Science, innovation and technical development	6.5	0.4
Administrative and support services	1.0	0.0
Public administration and compulsory social security	1.5	0.8
Education	9.7	0.2
Health care	10.5	3.7
Arts, entertainment and recreation	3.8	0.1

Source: SORS, 2012, 2013

Both SA have a relatively good internal road network and good access to international transport lines: Pan-European Corridor 10 (highway), and Corridor 7 (Danube River) are passing through SBD; ZAD has a fairly good connection to Corridor 10 as well. Also, both districts have a good motorway links to neighboring countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, and Croatia).

In regards to basic public infrastructure, ZAD exhibits a lower performance than SBD in the availability of public water-supply system to the households. In both SA, households still experience limited access to public sewerage network and consequently, to waste water treatment plants. ZAD is far behind the national average, with around 53% of households connected to the public water-supply network.

In terms of available educational institutions offering different levels of education relative to the number of particular age group of population, their needs are far better met in SBD than in ZAD. The gap in ZAD is especially big in terms of secondary and higher education offer, which

is partially mitigated by several branch offices of different private colleges and faculties operating in SA. Compared to SBD, ZAD also has a modest offer of public cultural institutions.

Health services are fairly available in both regions, although most of the major hospitals and specialised health care institutions are situated in administrative centers of SA (Novi Sad and Zaječar). There is one medical doctor for every 315 persons in SBD, and 412 persons in ZAD, while the national average is 1 medical doctor/343 persons (SORS, 2012, 2013).

The entire territory of both SA is covered in terms of operational social work centers. Both SA have a lower share of social security beneficiaries in the total population (SBD 6.46%, ZAD 7.60%), when compared to the national level (8.14%). The table 5 depicts the level of infrastructure and amenities in two selected study areas.

Table 5: Study areas by infrastructure and amenities

Indicators	RS		SBD		ZAD	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Roads (km)	44,612		1,336		1,596	
Water-supply network (km)	40,934		5,826		807	
Households connected to water-supply network	2,092,755	84.12	219,842	98.30	37,247	87.75
Sewerage network (km)	15,939		1,574		256	
Households connected to sewerage network	1,481,513	59.55	141,274	63.17	22,519	53.05
Constructed dwellings/1,000 inhabitants	2.1		2.4		0.4	
Phone lines/1,000 inhabitants	36		37		37	
Kindergartens	2,411		178		34	
Primary schools	3,473		109		93	
Secondary schools	497		16		4	
Colleges	58		3		1	
Universities and academies	130		19		1	
Cinemas	93		5		3	
Museums	140		12		2	
Theatres	89		11		1	

Source: SORS, 2011, 2012, 2013, Office for cultural development studies of RS

4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

Smith (2007) offers a critical review of the methodological approach to contemporary research on population changes in rural areas. Modern research, to be epistemological in character, often generalises findings even when they are obtained within narrow and specific territorial contexts. Contemporary authors, as Smith points out, pay little attention to explaining the specifics of micro-geographic context as case studies, and rarely take into account the existing general, national statistics, and in turn, resort to qualitative research methods.

Smith reminds me of the views expressed by Cloke (2006) that current research trend has contributed to the theory of population movements in understanding the multidimensionality of specific consequences in a particular territory. But also, he says, that methodological approach reduced the inferential capacity of research findings, by referring to it as 'less judgemental, less totalising, less certain, and sufficiently relaxed' (p. 208).

According to Milbourne (2007), early developed and accurate statistical monitoring in many countries on out- and in- population dynamics in rural areas and their demographic, socio-economic and spatial characteristics, is in fact the root of early researchers' interest for the respective topic, in general. This chronology of methodological approach where contemporary qualitative method was built on a statistical and quantitative base facilitates the implementation of recommendations provided by Smith.

However, as Smith says (2007, p. 277), it seems that the strict divisions between rural and general research on population movements are obsolete in the contemporary research community, further substantiated by a worthy example of theoretical contribution provided by Stockdale.

On the other hand, the allegations contained in former sources give some priority to case studies. Dahms and McComb (1999) in an attempt to explain the purpose of the case study also refer to Cloke, though to this author's earlier work (1985). In the respective paper Cloke claims that events in a given territory surpass statistical findings. Other scholars even go a step further (Harper 1991; Champion & Watkins 1991, referred to in Dahms & McComb 1999). These authors cast doubt on the validity and reliability of generalisations in drawing conclusions from general statistical sources, but also find case studies that are indeed focused. Therefore, as suggested by Dahms and McComb, consideration of territorial factors when analysing and

presenting conclusions is essential in selecting a case territory. It is desirable for the territory to be sufficiently representative in its content and size, but also sufficiently limited to allow identifying and exploring territorially specific in-migration factors.

To overcome the potential problem of limiting this complex topic with sharp and exclusive methodological approach, Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012, p. 492) also suggest including qualitative research methods. By using the example of the analysis of motives for RIM in less attractive territories, these authors claim that by insisting on, for example, selecting one most important motive for RIM, the role of the territory itself can be underestimated, regardless of whether it is a territory of origin or a territory of destination.

4.2. Baseline methodological questions

Any research requires distinguishing and clearly defining phenomena, processes and data. Phenomena and processes comprise objective reality. In this PhD Study, of course, I have also taken into account the considerations of other authors.

Kalantaridis (2010), for instance, focuses on definitions of two the most important and closely related determinants: (1) rural character (population density and settlements' structure) of the territory in which the research was conducted, and (2) study unit.

In setting up research boundaries of this PhD, few initial questions and dilemmas were identified concerning the characteristics of the observed territories and unit that determine its definition that is the most beneficial for reaching the aim of the study.

How to overcome the problem of the lacking rurality definition? Universal and universally accepted definition of rurality does not exist (Bogdanov & Stojanović 2006), and 'definition of rural areas differs among countries' (Bogdanov, Meredith & Efstratoglou 2008, p. 8). The Republic of Serbia is lacking definition of its rural areas based on standard indicators of rurality used internationally.

The literature nevertheless offers solutions in such or in cases where the definition does not add to the research purpose. Instead of following the ways of defining rurality in accordance with international criteria, or as it is found in Anglophone literature, Gkartzios and Scott (2015, p. 847) note that '[when] there is some difficulty using a clear-cut dichotomy of urban and rural spaces, well-embedded in academic and policy discourses' scholars should opt for country specific terminology determinants for rurality. This way, according to the authors, this field of

research that generally intends to examine urban-rural relations, connections and impacts, adopts the context that contains historical and cultural determinants of these relations, connections and impacts.

An alternative solution to the lack of definition of rurality in Serbia I found in the way Dahms and McComb (1999, p. 129) defined counterurbanisation: 'counterurbanisation is considered to be the redistribution of population from urban to rural areas and the movement of urban populations from larger to smaller places'.

By following the literature suggestions, I decided too to use an identical, immanent research method that is determined by the research topic in a way that reflects the Serbian context and local understanding of the research subject. That is why it is decided on the content of the RIM definition as shown in the section 1.3.

How to define a study unit? An essential step in defining a case or a study unit was rationalisation of the research process. Study limits were defined, namely the depth and the scope of this PhD research by providing the answer to the question what is to be studied, and what it is not (Baxter & Jack 2008). It is of crucial importance early on in developing a research strategy and framework to define clear criteria for determining the association or non-association with the observed group in order to overcome potential problems in working with specific and, in this case, hard-to-reach population categories, and increase the number of those taking part in the study (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015).

Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) build on experiences from previous studies that have, for example, instead of simple designations used descriptive and stratified determinants for the association with the research category. This PhD study employs the same method for differentiating several sub-categories of the observed group of rural in-migrant households.

As shown in the Literature review chapter, the section 2.2, the authors use different determinants for rural in-migrants.

Kalantaridis (2010), by referring to the former research practice, sets a study unit according to the origin, and in accordance with this criteria, divides rural entrepreneurs in two main categories, namely indigenous entrepreneurs or those born in the researched territory, and those who are in-migrant entrepreneurs. The author under indigenous entrepreneurs treats: those who were born in the territory and those who have spent years in that territory when they were

founded. The author allows this category to migrate within the researched territory and out for the purpose of education and work, but they have to return to the territory. The decision to not differentiate between those who are returnees and those who have never left the researched territory the author explains with a relatively small number of those included in the study, and the fact that there are no data on reasons and length of stay outside of the territory. The author places all newly settled entrepreneurs, regardless of their geographic or ethnic origin in the second category of newcomers, for the same reason (limited number of interviewed entrepreneurs).

In defining rural in-migrants (section 1.3), I have decided to apply different experiences displayed in the literature that correspond to the local context.

What is the status of households in relation to the registration of domicile/residence of households' members in accordance with the national legal framework? As with other authors it is important to determine the basis for treating a person as a rural in-migrant, or treating a household as a RIMH. The question is whether the relevant basis applied should be (1) the so-called legal basis of definition, by which a rural in-migrant person is a person that has declared the change of residence at the Ministry of Interior in Serbian case, or should (2) the observed group also include households whose members have been living 'for a while' in a village, either permanently or temporarily, but have not, however, reported the change of residence to the Ministry for some reason (to retain the more favourable status in the health care system, avoid paying higher property taxes or property income taxes, re-registration fees, etc.).

Rural in-migrants frequently do not dare to formally renounce their former place of residence, subsequently creating a number of other administrative changes (Šimon 2014). Quite contrary, they often give themselves time to adjust before instituting new administrative frameworks (Székely 2013). In favour also is the practice of EU countries in preparing the population Census where contingent of permanent residents is established based on Statement of intent signed by a person stating that he/she intends to stay for the next year in the country where the census was made.

Seeing all these experiences, that in this case the observed unit is in the 'Hidden' category, that the first step was to identify observed units, and since the formalities are still not in correlation with the actual situation, the definitions in this study recognised not only the formal status but also the actual situation in the field.

What is the time period when the migration occurred that is relevant for reaching the targeted aim of this study? Examined literature offers various reasons for setting the time frame for observing or considering a certain phenomenon. To illustrate own reasons, I have singled out several findings.

'Migration research is hampered by memory-recall difficulties' (Stockdale 2004, p. 174; 2006, p. 358). By taking this argument into consideration methodological recommendations of this author is applied. She (by referring to the experiences and conclusions of Halfacree & Boyle 1993) emphasises the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative techniques. It is described as a possible way to minimise the possibility of forgetfulness to reach more objective research results. In addition, some authors (Bijker, Haartsen & Strijker 2012, p. 493) add that setting time frames for observing a certain phenomenon when selecting a sample, and observing the phenomenon is important for preventing respondents' oblivion.

Due to the fluctuating nature of in-migrations confirmed in the Western literature, not only in terms of intensity, but also in terms of the quality of this phenomenon, Dahms and McComb (1999, p. 134) suggest setting timelines to examine in-migration 'agents'.

Comparing the characteristics and modalities of involvement in rural economy, the EC Report (2007, p. 218) concludes that in-migrants who have moved in the last ten years tend to be more active in developing entrepreneurship than those who migrated prior to this period.

Furthermore, I have also limited the time period for selecting the sample and observing its characteristics to minimise the risk of oblivion and avoid subsequent rationalisation of attitudes of respondents on the history of their migration. Moreover, bearing in mind the migratory consequences of political developments in Serbia and the wars in the territory of states constituting former Yugoslavia until 2000, the observed period in this study shall refer to last fifteen years, the period from 2001 onward, when Serbia has prepared its Census 2002.

4.2.1. Challenges and limits

The literature dealing with the topic of hidden and vulnerable groups illustrates quite well aggravating factor for researchers – 'distrust' in research benefits, or even belief in the harm from results the group that was subject to research may experience (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015). The authors elaborate risks for participation of these groups in studies as detected by the literature. These risks are mostly of social nature and concern the loss of social status and reputation, or the loss of privacy.

Distrust. Early on in the research a greater degree of distrust was observed in households that have: (1) used incentives to purchase property through governmental incentives – competitions of the IGE-APV; (2) expected support from decision-makers, but received none; (3) been continuously, before this study a subject of interest of others, primarily the media. The main risk in all cases listed by contacted households had to deal with privacy and prejudice of others.

Following the literature recommendations (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, referring to suggestions of Corbie-Smith, Moody-Ayers, & Thrasher 2004), transparency and honesty were used in this study to overcome this potential obstacle. Each contacted household was asked if they want to receive objectives and technical details of the study via e-mail (institutions that will use the results, the method and the time for publishing results, the name, position and contact information of researcher etc.).

Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) have found suggestions in the literature (Sullivan & Cain 2004) that go a step further and propose involving respondents in all research steps, including interpretation of findings and verification of their credibility.

The sensitivity of doing research with these and similar hard-to-reach population groups is contained in the research topic itself (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, referring to Sydor 2013) and questions that often inquire about the reasons that make them hard to reach.

This study too, in aiming to verify motives and the level of satisfaction with a personal decision to relocate, and to estimate the socio-economic profiles after relocation and interaction with others, is not devoid of sensitivity that could be the reason for reduced households' readiness to participate in the study. Overcoming potential mistrust in the research process is ensured by respecting the fundamental ethical principles of the research process – confidentiality and anonymity (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015).

Methodological techniques and methods applied in this study however, as in case of other studies involving hard-to-reach groups (Stockdale 2006) leave little room for full anonymity. Namely, the methodology that entails direct sampling, snowball and similar methods implies identifying all respondents by some other party (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, referring to Berg 1988; Sutherland & Fantasia 2012) – either by other respondents or other stakeholders – in this case, LG, IGE-APV, the media. Despite limited anonymity in identifying RIMH, the confidentiality of collected information on households and positions of respondents is fully ensured with complete anonymity in interpreting research findings.

Thus, one of the biggest challenges faced was answering the question - How to communicate with respondents? Members of the observed group are usually unfamiliar with the content of official terms and definitions. Consequently, the respondents are not able to place themselves into categories offered by these definitions.

For differentiation purposes, for example, for two categories recognised by the SORS – namely households and family farms, official definitions have been transformed into series of multi-layer questions. Only answering these questions can offer a clear response on whether the study included a household and a farm. The similar example is differentiating categories by origin – returnees or newcomers. In this case too, the criteria have been developed and again, transformed into questions. Answering these questions gives me an idea on whether the RIMH in question is a returning or a newly settled one.

The name of the unit or group being examined for the purpose of this PhD Study was one of the important prerequisites for recognising, including and retaining respondents in the research process. When naming the research group it was very important to me to have the clarity and acceptability of linguistic formulation.

Namely, by appointing a target group, especially in the case of a hard-to-reach population, the researcher must invite the group members to self-identify and make out whether or not they are the subject of this research. It is very important that both the researcher and the group use the same language, and as Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) say, that they recognise themselves as the category appointed by the researcher, without adding a sense of 'stigma' (p. 4). The way to identify oneself may depend on several factors: ethnic, racial and religious affiliation, cultural milieu of origin, age, level of education, etc., as pointed out by these authors in referring to the literature.

In this PhD Study, a similar challenge is encountered. Namely, while conducting survey, the term rural 'in-migrant' households is avoided. In this specific case, there was a particular problem with self-identification of returning households that did not view themselves as migrant but rather as households that have moved from a town to the countryside. For this reason, in conducting survey, the term 'in-migrant household' was replaced with the term 'resettled household'.

4.3. Sampling

Sampling rare, hard-to-reach or hidden social groups or population categories and 'identifying potential participants within that population' is one of the most important challenges (Kalton 2001, p. 5; Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, p. 2) any researcher in this field can face.

Many population studies are conducted by using a small population 'subset' of the general population (Kalton 2001, p. 491). The author points out that depending on the level of monitoring and the type of data about some specific population group, it is also possible to apply standard sampling methods by developing a special sampling framework. However, if a specific population set is not being monitored, then specific sampling techniques must be prepared and applied. The efficiency of standard sampling methods is, in this case, questionable, and the results are uncertain.

Referring to several sources published between 1997 and 2005, Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) and Faugier et al. (1997, referring to Blanken et al. 1992) repeat the finding that random sampling or probability sampling is unmanageable when dealing with hidden or hard-to-reach population categories, as the coverage of these categories is insignificant. The reasons may be different (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, p. 1) – 'social or physical location and/or isolation, vulnerability', and consequently, readiness and willingness to participate in the study or seclusion in general social categories.

To reach the aim of their research, many researchers have in this case resorted to flexibility in designing the research method, and finding, as Kalton (2001, p. 500) states, an acceptable 'compromise' between strict scientific form of methodological framework and practicality.

Kalton (2001, p. 492) presents a list of 11 methods used for sampling rare populations, specifically: 'special lists; multiple frames; screening; disproportionate stratification; multiplicity sampling; snowballing; adaptive sampling; multipurpose surveys; location sampling; cumulating cases over several surveys; and sequential sampling'. Furthermore, the author in his paper deals with three most commonly used sampling techniques: (1) disproportionate stratification; (2) screening in the context of area sampling, and (3) location sampling.

Disproportionate stratification is used in cases when hidden population is concentrated in certain pockets of general population that are treated as strata. Screening with area sampling,

as a sampling method applied in most national censuses, also finds its application in research studies on rare populations. However, application of this sampling technique in rare population research studies calls for particular attention regarding three crucial questions (Kalton 2001): (1) Is the rare population territorially equally distributed in the general population?; (2) Is territorial distribution of rare population in the general population unequal with higher concentration in certain territories?; (3) Is territorial distribution of rare population in the general population uneven with many territories without rare population?

'Significant territory without rare population' – the application of this method in screening a territory may be very useful when it is possible to identify geographic strata without the presence of rare population early on in the research, since that allows simply excluding these strata from further research (Kalton 2001). However, when impossible to identify these geographic units early on in the research, the efficiency of research itself may become questionable. In that case, Kalton (2001, p. 497) reminds us of proposed application of the 'Mitofsky-Waksberg random digit dialing scheme for telephone surveys (Waksberg 1978)' offered by Sudman (1972, 1985). This scheme entails randomly selecting one or more elements in a certain geographic area at the very beginning (in terms of this study that would be a rural household) and checking, in a phone interview whether or not it belongs to a rare population (RIMH for instance). If it does, screening continues until it reaches a desired sample. If the phone interview determines that a contacted element does not belong to an observed unit the sampling stops and that geographic stratum becomes excluded from further sampling framework.

Considering the fact that RIM phenomenon, including both the intensity and characteristics of the phenomenon and RIMH as the basic units of this PhD study have not been studied so far in Serbia, claims about rural in-migrants' concentration or deconcentration in certain strata of the population and/or territories early on in the research would be reduced to mere presumptions.

Recommendations derived from previous experiences, synthesised by Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) were applied in case of this PhD study and the so-called multiple strategy and a combined sampling method employed to ensure the representativeness of the sample and to avoid its homogeneity and bias.

Sampling technique employed is in its nature: (1) intentional, purposive sampling; (2) partial – biased sampling, and (3) driven sampling – chained through lists or derived rapport and respondent driven sampling, snowball sampling (Gkartzios 2015).

There is a frequent criticism regarding sampling that is managed by respondents themselves, such as snowball method. Namely, the sample in which respondents represent 'the first layer' of the snowball and have a hard time distinguishing something that is in a certain segment different from them, the sample is often too homogenous (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, p. 6). Consequently, next layers of the snowball often reflect the 'previous layer's bias'. Additionally, Stockdale (2006, p. 358) states that the snowball method, in migration studies, carries the risk of identifying only those who have 'successfully' retained their old, or built new socio-economic ties, and are therefore, easier to spot.

'Derived Rapport' or lists often prepared by those monitoring hard-to-reach population groups (associations, organisations, local institutions and government) may also show a certain bias (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, p. 6 referring to Meyer & Wilson, 2009).

Despite the drawbacks, researchers working with hard-to-reach population categories often claim that mentioned sampling techniques have no alternative and 'may be the only feasible methods available' (Faugier et al. 1997, p. 792).

Such sampling was based on characteristics that were at the same time both targeted and flexible in terms of time and space. To avoid one of the most important pitfalls recorded in literature in geographically specific sampling – uniformity of sample's characteristics – two completely different geographic territories that represent and define different traits of the RIM migratory movements, were selected (Section 3.2).

4.3.1. Screening

The primary purpose of rare population screening, in addition to preparing and completing a research sample, is to classify members belonging and those not belonging to the observed unit (Kalton 2001). Classification can be more or less complicated depending on basic characteristics of the observed unit.

Screening, in this PhD Study, included three separate steps.

In the first step, a pre-screen questionnaire was designed and distributed to LG. I took into account experiences of other scholars who used the 'pre-screen questionnaire' to determine the appropriateness of research on hard-to-reach categories (Ellard-Gray et al. 2015, p. 4; Šimon 2014, p. 125; Bijker et al. 2012, p. 493). Among other objectives (subsubsection 5.5.2.1), the main objective of this step was to map out the territories with the most pronounced intensity of RIM.

The second screening step involved identification of study units, namely RIMH in the territory of Serbia. In identifying RIMH two sampling methods are used.

The first method used was 'Derived Rapports' or household lists. Household lists were received from six sources:

1 LG that participated in the pre-screen questionnaire (34 LG) were asked to compile a list of RIMH, out of which only three provided the lists (Negotin, Knjaževac and Dimitrovgrad);

2 IGE-APV. The official request was sent on 31 May 2016. List of households was requested from the IGE-APV, as well as the general information (name and contacts) of beneficiaries of grants to married couples in the territory of AP Vojvodina for the purchase of rural households. I asked for the data of those households who originate from urban areas or from municipal centers of settlements belonging to the statistical category of other settlements. Positive answer was received on 2 June 2016, along with the list of households.

3 The media (two TV stations – Radio Television of Serbia and Radio Television of Vojvodina represented by 7 journalists);

4 Volunteer network Worldwide Opportunities on Organic Farms (WWOOF, Wilbur 2014, p. 2);

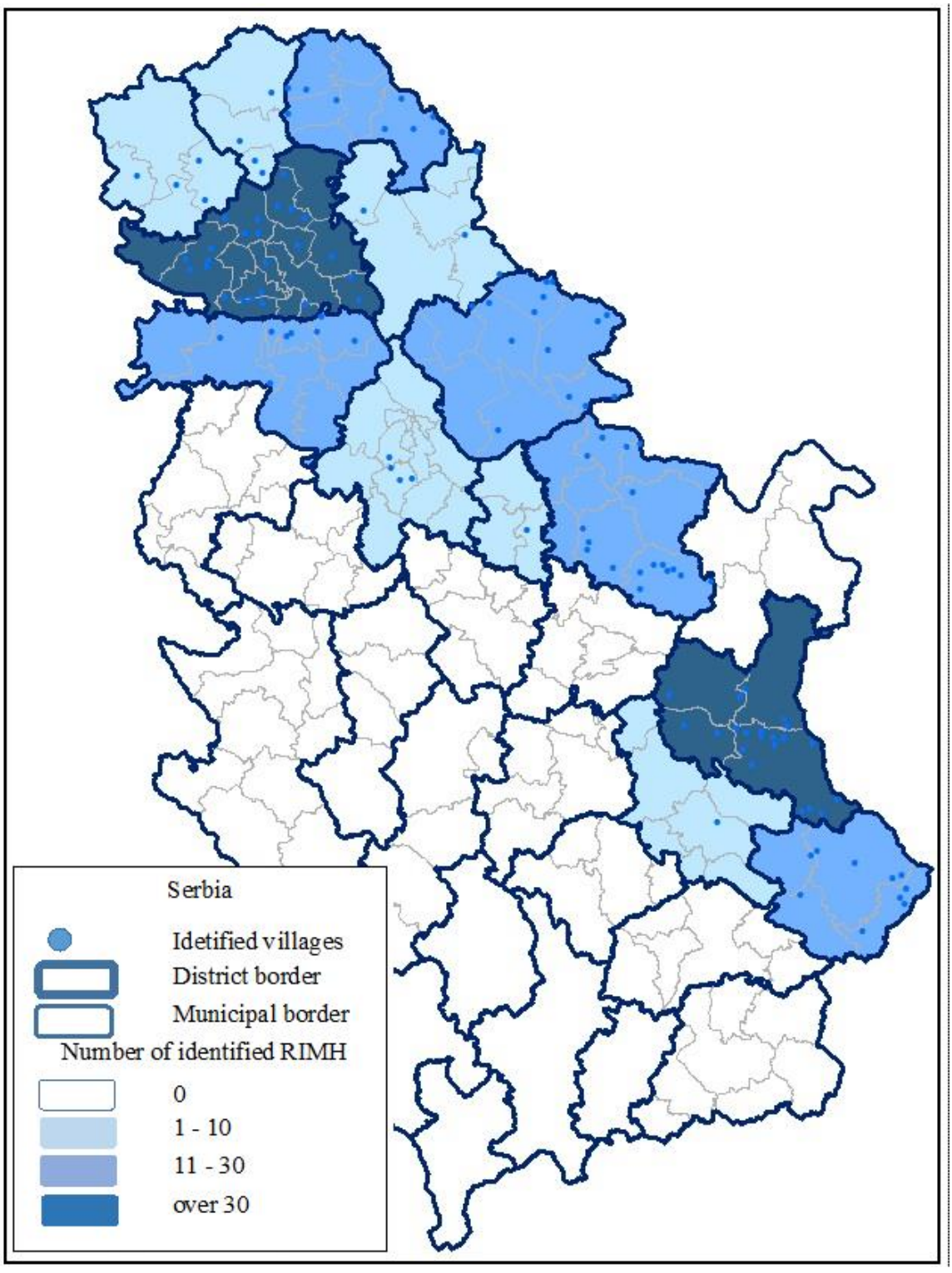
5 Five regional development agencies ('Eastern Serbia' – Zaječar; 'Braničevo-Podunavlje' – Požarevac; 'Srem' – Ruma; 'Šumadija and Pomoravlje' – Kragujevac; 'Podrinje, Podgorina and Rađevina' – Loznica);

6 One farmers' association - Vojvodina's cluster of organic agriculture.

The second applied method in identifying rural in-migrant households was the snowball method within the sample of households identified in lists of households.

Identification of RIMH using the two methods lasted until 10 August 2016. A total of 210 households were identified. Majority of households were identified in two SA, SBD and ZAD, namely 86 (Map 2).

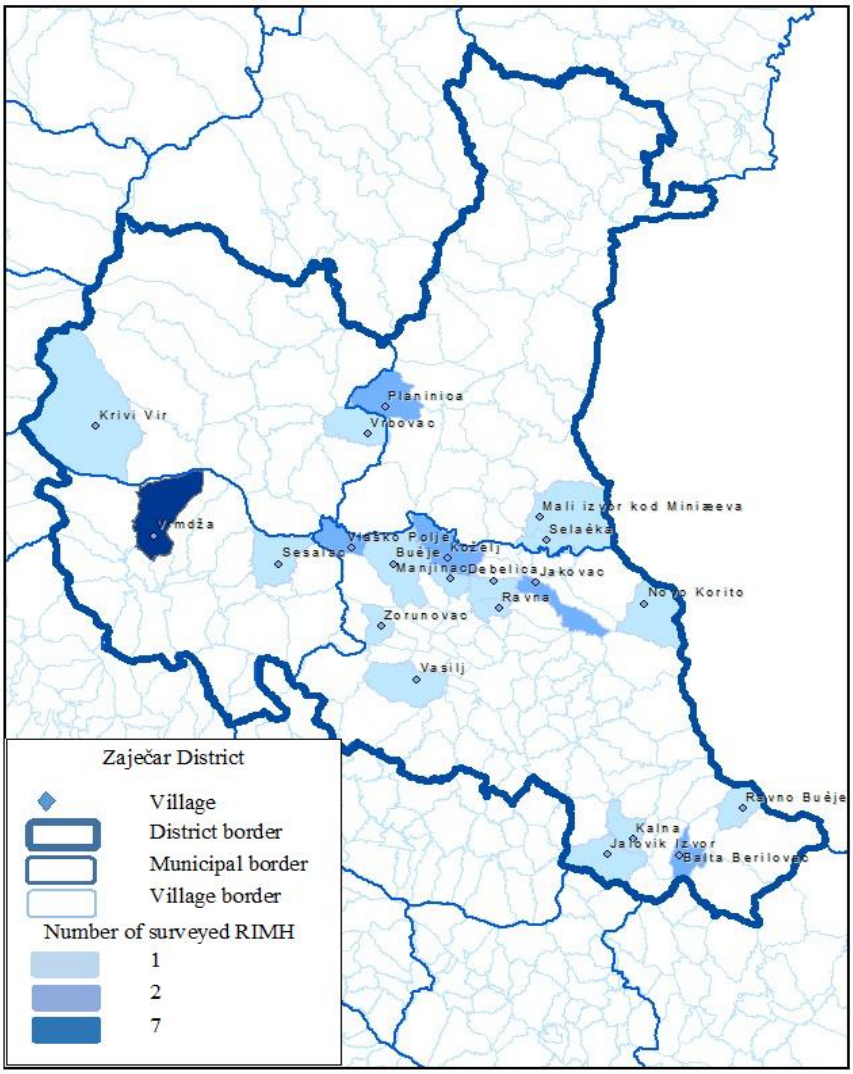
Map 2: Identified territories in Serbia with rural in-migrant households



Source: GIS model processed using a licensed ArcGIS for Desktop Basic Software 9.6

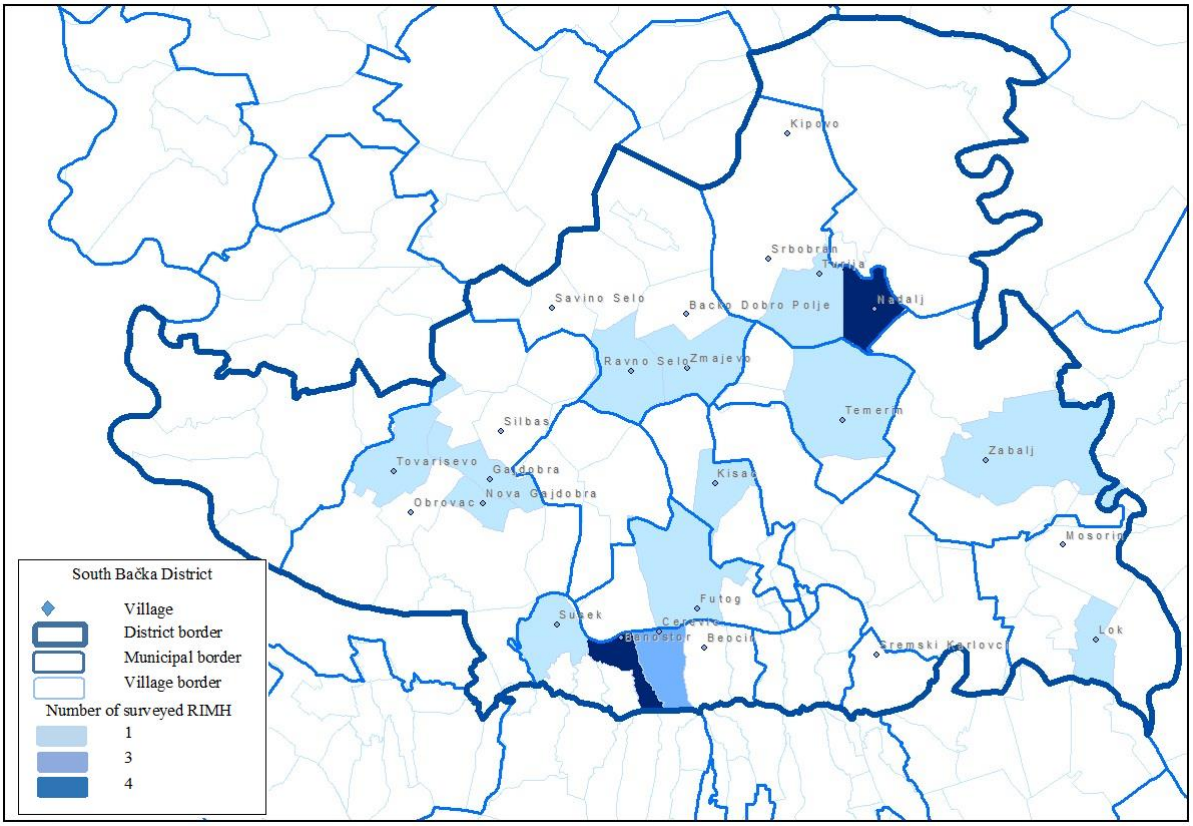
In the final or third step, in phone interviews with 86 households in selected territories of ZAD and SBD, households that meet the parameters set in the definition of rural in-migrants are identified. To obtain answers to the questions raised in this PhD Study, a survey was implemented covering a total of 74 persons (study units), representing 74 holdings selected to the sample (sampling units), equally distributed in two observed territories: SBD and ZAD. Randomly selected household members aged 18 and over were surveyed.

Map 3: Villages in Zaječar District with surveyed rural in-migrant households



Source: GIS model processed using a licensed ArcGIS for Desktop Basic Software 9.6

Map 4: Villages in South - Bačka District with surveyed rural in-migrant households



Source: GIS model processed using a licensed ArcGIS for Desktop Basic Software 9.6

4.4. Research methods

There are research methods that provide information on various phenomena, on ways of their occurrence, their scope, their properties and impact, or on links between phenomena. Those are the methods applied to investigate phenomena in real and objective worlds.

However, the phenomena explored in this PhD study include those found in the subjective household respondent's subjective states, phenomena related to thought, beliefs, feelings or moods. The science has developed appropriate research methods for those phenomena, and we used the methods that allow to find out what people think, how they feel, or how they evaluate certain situations and relationships they take part in or think about. These are the methods for researching people's attitudes. Studying human attitudes toward certain phenomena and relationships between people, or relationships between people and their environment is essential for research field comprised by this PhD Study. The most important methods used for

obtaining information about people's attitudes are observation methods, interviews, surveys and questionnaires.

Results of deliberation on desired research, results of theoretical work, formulated hypotheses to be tested in a research framework, and collecting data as a practical activity are all linked by the importance of objective reality. In this PhD Study I started from the statement that the hypothesis can never be the only conceivable idea of reality based on available theories and experiences. Other hypotheses, that reflect case circumstances, may be plausible too. Therefore, irrespective of the amount of certainty in its accuracy, I was aware that they must be verified against real facts.

That required researchers to explore the case and collect data that represent sensory reflection of reality or symbolically registered facts of reality of the study case. Data collection links scientific research and reality in order to verify the accuracy of a theory, by testing the hypotheses based on reality. The theory determined the facts that are of interest for this research and circumstances in which the data is to be collected (Soldić 2015).

Therefore, the aim of this research opted for employing a combination of two methods: (1) a case study, and (2) a survey.

4.4.1. Case study

Compared to other methods, the strength of the case study method is its ability to examine, in-depth, a 'case' within its 'real-life' context.

Yin (2004, p. 1)

A case study is used as method to collect data if the aim is to dispose with data on the system, phenomena, and to arrive to inductive conclusions based on them. This does not exclude the option of making deductive conclusions if data is collected for a large number of representative case studies.

Case studies for collecting information are, however, primarily descriptive studies (Wilbur 2014; Baxter & Jack 2008). They usually use one or two examples of a given event to draw attention to the similarity of situations. Research case studies' main function is to help identify issues and select types of measurements before the main test. The primary disadvantage of this

type of research is that sometimes, initial results may appear convincing enough to make conclusions, and in that sense one should be careful.

Preparing a case study for the purpose of this PhD work required a systematic, well prepared, and methodologically based observation and data recording. This method was interesting to me in two respects. It can be used as method for data collection, but also as method for rendering conclusions to a problem.

Studying the literature, a case study most commonly applies observation and interview methods, but does not exclude the use of other appropriate methods. For us, it was defined as an empirical research strategy that explores RIM in Serbia in a real life context of two case territories. Research in this case may include studies on one or more research subjects; it may include quantitative evidence; rely on multiple sources of evidence, or use previous knowledge about the investigated problem (Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight 2001). Also, this method may be based on any combination of quantitative and qualitative data.

In population studies, when choosing a subject for the case study, researchers may use results obtained from the sample (Kalton 2001). The sample to be used for this purpose may be random or intentional if the case study wants to include cases that are in some way unique (that is to say, extreme, deviant or atypical) that would significantly contribute to explaining the examined problem. Specific cases contained in the random sample often reveal more information than the potentially representative random sample. A case study is based on the comprehensiveness of the case, phenomenon or situation (Kohlbacher 2006), for which the collected data ought to determine the following: (1) describe the research subject, cause, environmental factors and data evaluation; (2) identify the issue; (3) develop possible solutions, and (4) elaborate and present a proposal for resolving the issue.

Maintaining the research focus requires setting case boundaries. The literature offers helpful suggestions on ways to ‘place boundaries on a case’, as referred to by Baxter and Jack (2008, p. 546). These authors synthesise the suggestions of other authors on ‘how to bind a case: (a) by time and place (Creswell 2003); (b) time and activity (Stake); and (c) by definition and context (Miles & Huberman 1994)’.

In setting the objectives of the Study and determining the case, i.e. setting the limits of what I am to observe and what not to observe, and defining the observation unit and selecting the territory the research is to be conducted in, I upheld the above suggestions.

4.4.2. Survey

Survey, as data collection method in research, is used independently or in combination with another method and gathers information on respondents' opinions and attitudes. The survey means asking questions of a certain type, to a well-defined group of people, with the aim to obtain truthful answers for researchers (Šomođi 2004).

The survey represented a phase in a complex research process conducted within this PhD, where first the problem is defined, the objective set, hypotheses formulated, variables and indicators defined and only then and based on the aforementioned, appropriate survey questions are prepared. Using the survey as described, it was assumed, should produce data that are completely suitable for making relevant conclusions. If data collection is not founded on theoretical background, it is unimaginable to have that data filled in later work with theoretical content. These were the rules I followed in the research on this Thesis.

In selecting survey as a data collection method, I was guided by the general principle that its application can gather opinions on a small number of issues, of interest to a larger population or the entire population in a society. Meaning, the survey is more dedicated to external and short-term general attitudes and opinions on the issue in certain population's focus at the time of research.

There are different definitions of a survey, of which the Moser's (1962, referred in Šomođi et al. 2004, p. 157) seems like the most appropriate for the purpose of this PhD study, 'The survey is a technical procedure for collecting factual material by combining statistical sampling method with interviews and questionnaires.'

The survey, thus, in the broader sense represents a data collection method with questions. Questions about variety of items can be asked in a variety of ways.

The practice, therefore, differentiates: (1) survey in the narrow sense; (2) interview that will be considered in the context of collecting opinions, and (3) testing that requires special consideration.

Survey in the narrow sense is a written data collection on respondents' opinions and positions from a representative sample using questionnaires, and as opposed to the observation method, it requires more time.

The survey in social sciences is the most frequently applied data collection method. Survey in the case of this work serves as a method of exploration. Moreover, it happens that after collecting a vast amount of data both the problem and the hypothesis crystallise. However, the survey is also applied as a verification method for collecting data that serve to test the truthfulness of the hypotheses.

The survey has numerous roles in this PhD study through which data on experiences, opinions, attitudes, beliefs, feelings, characters and value judgements of RIMH are collected. The survey provides information on past events and information on plans of RIMH for the future. Sometimes it is quite difficult or almost impossible to observe people's behaviour or learn about their direct experiences in certain situations. Survey's advantage in this particular case is also in the fact that it was economical, as it could gather a large amount of data in a short period of time, therefore significantly reducing research costs.

This method uses a survey questionnaire to collect data to be analysed by using various analytical methods. Survey as method calls for precisely defining the population that is to be surveyed in the first place, and then simple, clear, unambiguous and non-leading questions, and if possible, not very many them. Questions in this case were asked in writing by using a printed or electronic questionnaire, or verbally, in an interview, either directly or by phone.

This method is reliable as much as the information collected therewith. In some cases, the reliability of information can be complete, but in most cases the capacities of this method are limited at best. I was aware that survey's value is limited because information gathered therewith depend on respondents' honesty and their ability to answer those questions. Answers can sometimes be incomplete, false, one-sided and subjective, and in some cases respondents won't even fill out survey questionnaires. Nevertheless, if the researched problem is appropriate, if the questions are well formulated and the sample is representative, with targeted data collection and the appropriate data analysis, the survey can provide useful facts.

4.5. Data collection

Collecting data constitutes the first phase in any research – it is observation that can either be complete or partial. Complete observation means including all units in the mass, whereas partial observation enables drawing conclusions on characteristics of the entire mass based on certain number of selected units, or a sample. This PhD study employed partial observation, i.e. appropriate sample.

That directed me towards a method for data collection that will be of assistance in setting up experiential links between ideas, events and processes that are the subject of research. Data relating to the rural in-migrants' features, migration characteristics (return migrations vs. counterurban migrations), distances, key forces in decision-making processes (both, push and pull migratory forces), and socio-economic experiences in host community were obtained using a 'multi-method approach' (Stockdale 2006, p. 358).

Since the data is to be true, data collection methods have been selected carefully. The variables that are defined in this Study can be both qualitatively and quantitatively variable values.

In the case of this PhD study two types of data are employed: (1) secondary, and (2) primary data.

4.5.1. Secondary data collection

Secondary data represent data collected by other researchers or institutions. The past is composed of series of events and the preserved data about those events may be useful for verifying certain current hypotheses. Using such data and using previous results arrived at by other researchers can produce significant conclusions about the phenomenon that is the subject of the research.

For the purpose of this PhD study, secondary data were collected from the SORS, Department of Demography. On 28 March 2016, a request for secondary data was submitted which related to immigrant population by type of settlement, and net migration by type of settlement. On 5 April 2016, positive response to the request was received. Type of data issued – (1) Internal migration 1996 – 2014 by municipality/city; (2) Population by migratory characteristics, by municipalities/cities (continued); (3) Migration – Census 2011 – from another settlement of the same municipality; from other municipality from the same district; from other districts; from the former Yugoslav republics; from other countries.

Another source of secondary data that I felt could contribute to this research was the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia. A request for secondary data on 27 July 2016 is submitted. The requested information was on the number of registered and cancelled residences in the past 15 years by settlements. I have received a negative response on 9 August 2016 with the explanation that the Ministry keeps no such databases that classify that type of data by settlements.

4.5.2. Primary data collection

Primary data are collected using selected data collection methods, and they are, after being processed, used to verify the set hypotheses.

Primary data are collected through the field research, by using two survey questionnaires and telephone interviews.

4.5.2.1. Survey Questionnaire 1

The main intentions of the questionnaire 'Mapping of urban-rural migration – Form for LG', (Annex 1) were to: (1) map territories with the observed RIM phenomenon (Dahms & McComb 1999); (2) preliminary examine LGs' perceptions of the RIM characteristics (Šimon 2014; Székely 2013) and (3) explore the role of LG as the closest government level in contributing to this phenomenon's perception as well as intensity (Dahms & McComb 1999).

A questionnaire with 13 questions regarding researched issue was distributed on 30 March 2016. The questionnaire was distributed to e-mail addresses of 100 LG (out of 167 LG in Serbia), members of the Agricultural and Rural Development Network of Serbia, established by the SCTM. LG constituting the Agricultural and Rural Development Network have prepared the annual local Agriculture and Rural Development Programmes where they have defined own support measures for developing agriculture and rural areas. These LGs' programmes have been approved and monitored by the competent Ministry in accordance with the *Article 13 of the Law on Agriculture and Rural Development*.

The questions listed in the questionnaire were divided into three sections. The first section included general questions prompting information on: the total number of rural settlements in the territory of a municipality or town; number of rural settlements with identified rural in-migrant households; average distance of rural settlements from the municipal centre, as well as on the source of this information.

Information on RIMH covered the second section of the questionnaire. Collecting information within this section included information on: the number of households that have settled in rural settlements since 2001; the urban settlements origin of RIMH; the share of individual categories from urban settlements of migrated households, and the share of family farms in the total number of households that have migrated from urban settlements.

The third section of the questionnaire included questions on the role of LG in managing RIM processes. Information received in this section must primarily clarify whether or not the LG encourages return to rural settlements and resettlement of rural areas. Should the answer be affirmative, the next question would be whether that incentive or support is regulated under any LG document. The next information that describes LG activities is defined with a question whether or not LG financially encourages the return to rural settlements and resettlement of rural areas. Should the answer to this question be affirmative, the following question is to provide information: on the number of in-migrant households that have used that assistance, and on the budget share of support in the overall LG budget.

Until 15 April 2016, a total of 35 LG units filled out the questionnaire. Additional eight LG have responded by e-mail and highlighted the missing data, whereas five municipalities stated that they will send the completed questionnaire in the 'near future'. However, five LG failed to send the completed questionnaires.

After content analysis and significant statistical discrepancies, the questionnaire from the City of Belgrade was excluded from the final sample. The processed sample, therefore, was limited to 34 LG, of which seven are in the territory of Vojvodina, and 24 territorially belong to Central Serbia.

4.5.2.2. Telephone interviews

Studying the literature lent some useful information on the expediency of telephone interviews and the increased efficiency of the process in this and similar studies.

Kalantaridis (2010) follows previous methodologies used in similar studies dealing with the comparison of in-migrants and indigenous peoples, and applies extensive field research. When designing research methods, the author starts from the official data containing details on 674 registered companies that he could find on the day of research in the territory subject to research. As the author states, a relatively modest number of study units prompted the decision to conduct a study by carrying out interviews with the largest possible number of companies' owners. All companies that were officially recorded in the database were contacted by phone and invited to participate in the phone interview implemented using a structured questionnaire. More than one third of those contacted took part in the study. The author explains the validity of the research sample with the comparison of the achieved response rate and the degree of respondents' participation in previous studies, through studies conducted via post and directly, or face to

face. Additionally, the author compared characteristics (namely the size and sector) of those companies that reacted positively to the invitation to participate in the study in the first round and those that did not want to participate in the study.

Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) in their work discuss the literature that concerns not only challenges in sampling, but also challenges in motivating potential research participants to be a unit of the sample (recruitment experiences). These scholars underline the importance of telephone contacts in preventing four main aspects dealt with in the literature that may affect respondents' willingness and level of participation in the research from this category: (1) designation/group name usually derived from the group's main characteristics; (2) lack of trust in research's purpose; (3) perception of risk brought by research, and (4) limitations in respondents' resources.

The following views encountered in the literature helped me design the structure of telephone interviews. Basic questions were defined depending on the level of complexity of characteristics that early on in the research classify the observed unit as the one belonging to a rare population group. More questions suggest a greater possibility of error in classification. I have taken into account the fact that the so-called positive errors in misclassifying a certain unit in a group belonging to a rare population that is the focus of my research can be corrected in the survey as next phases of the research.

The purpose of the telephone interviews conducted with 86 households in two SA was to establish direct contact with identified RIMH to prevent potential barriers between researchers and respondents and to collect qualitative primary data on the sample of RIMH. In addition, the use of telephone interviews aided the following: (1) identification of the final sample of RIMH; examination of the compatibility between characteristics of households identified from the lists of households and those identified with the snowball method with traits included in my definition of RIMH; (2) informing respondents about the objectives and content of the research, and (3) checking their willingness to participate in the research.

The duration of the telephone interview was, on average between 10-15 minutes per household. The interviews were semi-structured and included the following elements: (1) the presentation – of the researcher and his research and professional background, the purpose of the call and the source of contact; (2) the question on self-identification, or whether they see themselves and members of their household as rural in-migrants; (3) the presentation of basic socio-

economic characteristics of interviewed households, the factors that motivated their decision to move and the satisfaction with their decision to move; (4) the question on the willingness to participate in the survey; (5) if the respondents were willing to participate – the survey structure presentation (required time and content).

When it comes to resources, Ellard-Gray et al. (2015) by referring to Bonevski et al. (2014) primarily focus on time as resource and greater possibility that participation in the research will be less of a priority in relation to other obligations at the time provided for their participation.

The strategy developed for the needs of this PhD study considered this limitation as well. To overcome these issues, the research participants were in the initial telephone interview offered a choice between three ways for filling out the questionnaire: (1) by e-mail; (2) with an interviewer, in this case with a researcher in a direct visit to the household; or (3) in a phone interview. If a contacted household selected e-mail participation, the choice of when to fill out the questionnaire depended on the person filling it out within the given timeframe of 24 days. In remaining two interviewing methods, when the questionnaire was filled out directly in a visit to the household or by phone, the visit/phone interview was announced by phone and the time of visit/call and interview agreed with the household.

The question of whether they can recommend a similar household was the last question in a telephone interview.

In addition, as Kalton (2001) points out, it should be kept in mind that the prevalence of non-response in the screening phase is far greater when rare/hidden populations are involved than when dealing with general population. Following the interview, a total of nine households have refused to participate in the survey, and three households were not eligible.

4.5.2.3. Survey Questionnaire 2

The main objective of the second questionnaire, 'Survey on households that have moved or resettled from towns to villages' (Annex 2) was to collect objective facts that will contribute to finding an answer to research questions in this PhD Study. Characteristics of RIM, with special attention devoted to the analysis of economic and agricultural characteristics of RIMH, ways of their involvement in rural economy, and their relationship with other factors such as factors that have served as a migration motive were in a focus of field survey. In order to obtain a clearer picture of the nature and quality of RIM, types of connections established with the

community to which they migrated have been explored. The territorial dimension of the nature of this process is verified by comparing the two SA - two administrative districts.

The survey lasted two months. The questionnaire was distributed on 20 August 2016, and the last household was interviewed on 20 October 2016. The survey covered a total of 74 households out of 86 identified in two study areas, that met the criteria contained in the definition of RIMH and at the same time expressed their willingness to participate in the survey.

The questionnaire consisted of 49 questions segmented within four sections of the questionnaire. The entire questionnaire included 16 questions formulated as the multi-level Likert-type item scale, from 1 to 5, from 1 to 6, and from 1 to 7, depending on the observed phenomenon.

The first part included 10 questions relating to the general data on households that have moved to, or returned from towns to villages (household members' gender, age, completed education, current employment status, level of agricultural training, computer literacy, knowledge of at least one foreign language, and occupation). This section listed questions on characteristics of households' move (perception of belonging to a community to which they moved to, whether they have officially changed their address of residence after their move, the time that has elapsed from the moment they moved to the village, the amount of time they spend at the household's property during the year, and the distances RIMH cross during their move).

The level of economic impact of RIM on the host local communities, but also the involvement in the rural economy can be discovered by examining a number of indicators (Stockdale 2006). In this research, the impact and the involvement of respondents in rural economy in the second part of the questionnaire is examined.

The second part of the questionnaire included 16 questions the answers to which should provide insight into the socio-economic characteristics of RIMH. A special interest was to distinguish, based on this group of questions, the role of agriculture and the role of other economic activities that are being performed on migrant households' farms. Questions about farms' size, structure, method of use of available land, number and categories of livestock, and quantity of agricultural machinery made up the first part of the second portion of the questionnaire. In determining socio-economic characteristics of rural in-migrants of interest for the study, I decided, after telephone interviews, to exclude from the questionnaire questions on the amount of monthly income (Bijker, Haartsen & Strijker 2012), as they have turned out to be sensitive for

respondents. Instead, I focused on questions regarding the sources of income divided into sources of income by origin, more specifically generated on the household / farm or outside the household, and generated from agricultural or non-agricultural activities. Besides information on the structure and origin of income, the second section of the questionnaire applied also focused on the use of subsidies for agriculture and rural development from the budget of the Republic of Serbia and the registration status of farms in the Register of Agricultural Holdings.

Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012) have noted flaws in previous studies regarding the influence of the territory that accepts rural in-migrants on the very intensity and characteristics of this phenomenon. To compensate for deficiencies and complete the picture, the authors refer to Van Dam (2000) and Bolton and Chalkley (1990), and propose certain methodological solutions (p. 492-493). First of all, as pointed out, it is important to make a clear research push and pull distinction and verify the reasons for leaving urban areas and reasons for relocating to a specific rural territory. The answers to these questions and motives, according to these authors, vary considerably.

I felt that in the absence of experience regarding this type of research in Serbia, it would be practical to follow literature findings and apply listed suggestions. The third portion of the questionnaire included six questions aimed at examining the motivating factors that prompted a household to make a decision to move. Interviewed households assessed the significance of possible reasons for selecting a specific village they have moved, or returned to. Unlike Bijker, Haartsen and Strijker (2012), the questionnaire suggested a set of potentially motivating factors in terms of the decision to move from the settlement of origin to the settlement of relocation. The third portion of the questionnaire included questions on the family's quality of life after the move, and reasons and accountability for potential discontent with the village life.

The fourth section of the questionnaire included 17 questions for observing the intensity and types of involvement in the rural economy and the society. The questions in the fourth section related to the origin of the financial capital and the way of investing in property during move; the characteristics of participation in the food, agricultural products and inputs market, and involvement in private businesses, business or social associations. Additionally, households, by answering questions from this section presented their views on the quality of life compared to their neighbours and other village residents; on the quality and types of relations with neighbours and other village residents, and reasons for potentially poor relationships.

The questionnaire did not include direct questions such as questions on origin or the place of birth of household membersthat would suggest differentiations between two categories; newcomers and returnees. Nevertheless, certain migration characteristics, such as motivating factors to move and motivating factors to move to a specific settlement offer an indirect inference on household's origin, or on whether a household belongs to one or the other group of rural in-migrants.

The survey was conducted by 'combining various survey methods' (Statistics Canada 2010, p. 37-54; Janićijević 2014):

1. Self-Enumeration – Computer-Assisted Self Interviewing (CASI) - via e-mail;
2. Interviewer-assisted method using both, Paper and Pencil Interviewing (PAPI) and computer-based – Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI): (a) Personal (face to face) and (b) by phone.

The survey response rate was approximately 81% or 60 households. The largest number of households was surveyed by e-mail – 62%, while the number of households surveyed by two other interviewer-assisted survey methods is almost identical, namely, 20% surveyed by personal (face to face) method, and 18.3% surveyed by phone.

The most common sources of contacts of households that responded to the survey included other households (31.7%), the IGE-APV (25.0%), and LG (16.7%). Households identified with the assistance of the media participated in the surveyed sample with 15%, those identified with the assistance of regional development agencies participated with 6.7%, and those identified with the assistance of producers associations participated with 5%.

Collecting data during scientific work always involves a certain measurement. Measuring allows to get to know the value of qualitative and quantitative indicators. Therefore, measuring is quantification of properties (Petz 2012). Accordingly, I was aware that measurements and classification may discover some new features of certain phenomena and new dimensions in links between phenomena.

4.6. Processing collected data

In planning and implementing a survey, it was essential to process the obtained data with appropriate methods of mathematical or statistical analysis. Data from the Survey Questionnaire 1, 'Mapping of urban-rural migration – Form for LG', and the Survey

Questionnaire 2, ‘Survey on households that have moved or resettled from towns to villages' was processed using a licensed Dell Software (2015) Statistica 12.6.

The fact that data is collected to test the set hypotheses also defined methods I used for processing that data. Analysing data processing results showed me whether or not the set hypotheses are proven or rejected.

The purpose of statistical methods in this research is to arrive at conclusions on features of the observed RIM movements, examine different presumptions, estimate specific values, forecast the state and the level of the phenomena, and others.

The data collected in the research described in this Thesis was processed using the following statistical methods: (1) descriptive statistics method, and (2) inferential statistics method.

Descriptive statistical analysis includes methods for collecting, arranging and illustrating data to be analysed, as well as methods for defining certain parameters relevant for describing behaviours of observed characteristics. Generally speaking, those parameters can be divided into three main groups:

1. Mean values
2. Variability parameters
3. Shape parameters

The following statistical indicators have been calculated to determine and describe some basic characteristics of the observed variables, namely:

1. Relative frequency - structure
2. Average value ($\overline{X}$)
3. Extreme values (minimum and maximum)
4. The median (Me)
5. The mode
6. The coefficient of variation (Cv)

Conclusions so derived tend to be non-generalizable, in other words, they pertain exclusively to the analysed empirical data (Shayib 2013).

Inferential statistics methods are based on a sample (portion of either real or imaginary basic set). Application of inferential statistics methods delivers conclusions on the main set in general, with certain probability.

Differences in respondents' attitudes based on different variables for each particular hypothesis, or based on other feature were identified in the case of this PhD survey with the Chi-Square $\chi 2$ test (Bosworth 2006, p. 10; Kalantaridis 2010) and the Mann – Whitney *U* test.

The Mann-Whitney U test is applied when a hypothesis on equality of two basic sets based on random samples derived from those sets are tested. This test is also applied for samples where features are measured with an ordinary scale. Performing the test in this case starts by creating a variation sequence that implies that the values of these two samples are connected into a new sequence with n + m members (Šošić 2006). The presumption is that $n \leq m$. For a large sample, the value of W is given by:

$$W^* = \frac{W - n(n+m+1)/2}{\sqrt{(nm(n+m+1)/12)}}$$

The Chi square $\chi 2$ – test was introduced by Karl Pearson and is also referred to as the Pearson's test. It is mostly used for categorical data. Test's basis is a comparison between the achieved experimental frequency and expected theoretical frequencies. Test of homogeneity examines the assumption that RIM migrant populations in this case or groups are, with respect to some criteria, homogenous. The observation unit is unit r from which n scale samples are taken.

Each unit of each sample may be classified in a c number of categories. Data are shown in the contingency table r×s. Null hypothesis is that all probabilities in the same column are identical, or that populations are homogenous. Statistical test is given by:

$$T = \sum_{i=1}^{r} \sum_{j=1}^{l} \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$$

The obtained value is compared with the critical value from chi-square distribution tables for the degree of independence (r-1)(l-1). Null hypothesis shall be accepted if the T value is lower than the grid value.

The statistical tests were applied in order to determine territorial differences in the observed characteristics of respondents and RIMH. The normality of the observed numerical variables was examined using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (K–S test), and it preceded the application of said tests.

The t-test examined the presence of territorial differences in the distance between the city/town from which households moved out and the village they moved to; the distance between the nearest municipal centre and the village of relocation, and the distance between the nearest seat of the administrative district and the village of relocation, simply because these numerical characteristics do not significantly diverge from the normal distribution.

Assessment of importance of individual factors for relocation was conducted by using the five-level Likert-type item scale. The complexity of RIM factors and the evaluation of their importance were kept in mind (Baláž et al. 2016). The survey, therefore, didn't limit the method for assessing individual factors. Instead, the surveyed households were allowed to assign the same grade to different factors. Territorial differences in motivating factors for RIM were also examined using the Mann–Whitney *U* test.

Defining the existence of links and impacts between the researched phenomena employed regression analysis (set of statistical procedures for testing a form of dependence between two or more characteristics) and correlation analysis (set of statistical procedures for testing the degree (strength) of dependence between two or more characteristics (Kleinbaum 2008).

The simplest form of regression is a simple linear regression when two phenomena with certain correlation are observed simultaneously, where the linear function can be well adjusted to the original values of the characteristics, meaning there is a straight line (Darlington 2016). Simple linear regression is an expression of the following function:

$$\hat{Y} = a + bX_i$$

In the above equation, $\hat{Y}_i$ is the estimated or expected value of dependent variable Y_i for a given value of independent variable X; X_i is the independent variable; a and b are regression parameters.

Proceeding from the fact that regression analysis is usually applied on samples from the finite or infinite basic set, the significance of its results becomes questionable. Knowing to what

extent the values of parameters calculated on the basis of the sample match the values of the corresponding parameters of the basic set is of practical importance. Significance of calculated parameters of the assessed model can be derived from statistical tests performed on the basis of standard error parameters.

Inference on the parameter **a,** and regression coefficient **bj** is derived using the **t**-test. The significance of the assessed model is verified by applying the variance regression analysis method, or the **F** – test (Verbeek 2008).

The applied **regression analysis** intended to test the dependency and links between variables in the defined hypotheses. The aim of regression analysis is to enable the consideration of expected values of the dependent variable based on the given independent variable, and to illustrate the deviation or error in individual values in relation to the expected ones. The prediction precision depends on the extent of the error.

The most familiar modelling example is a linear regression model that presumes that the dependent variable is constant. However, the resulting (dependent) variable in this PhD study is discreet with two or more possible values. This situation is seen in many studies when the dependent variable signifies a presence or absence of a certain trait. The standard analytical method applied in this case is the logistic regression model that was applied in testing the third defined hypothesis.

Logistic regression allows testing models for predicting categorical outcomes with two or more categories. Predictive (independent variables) can be categorical, constant, or a combination of both in the same model. On the other hand, the dependent variable in the logistic regression model is discreet, usually binary, and in some instances, with more than two categories.

If the dependent variable is binary, as in the hypothesis subject to logistic regression, and if its outcomes are designated with 1 (success) and 0 (failure), the distribution of Y is defined with probabilities $P(Y = 1) = p$ of success and $P(Y = 0) = 1 - p$ of failure. The model for binary dependent variable is defined as follows:

$$p(x) = \alpha + \beta x.$$

This equation is also referred to as the linear probability model, as success probability changes linearly depending on the x or values of the independent variable. Parameter β represents the

change in probability for a single change of x. When analysing causal results, the linear probability model is defined as follows:

$$\hat{p}(x) = \hat{\alpha} + \hat{\beta}x,$$

Evaluation of parameters in the said model is obtained with the maximum credibility method.

The relationship between $p(x)$ and x is usually non-linear. The same change for x can have minor influence if the probability $p(x)$ is close to 0 and 1, than when the value is in the middle of the interval. Mathematical function of this method is given in the following formula:

$$p(x) = \frac{e^{\alpha+\beta x}}{1 + e^{\alpha+\beta x}}.$$

The appropriate logistic regression model based on the previous formula can be expressed as follows:

$$\log\left(\frac{p(x)}{1 - p(x)}\right) = \alpha + \beta x$$

When $\beta > 0$, $p(x)$ increases with the increase of x, and when $\beta < 0$, $p(x)$ decreases as x increases.

The statistical nature of the defined hypothesis assumes formulating and testing to determine whether independent variables in the model are significantly tied to the resulting or dependent variable. Therefore, after evaluating the coefficient, their significance is tested. The answer received using this procedure concerns the question whether the model that includes a variable provides more information on the dependent variable than the model that excludes that variable.

The Wald test that links coefficients with their standard errors was used to test the significance of the tested model's coefficient. The Wald test represents a quotient of the evaluated maximum credibility of $\hat{\beta}$ coefficient with its standard error SE, with statistically the approximate standard normal distribution N(0,1) under the hypothesis $H_0: \beta = 0$ (Scott 2001). If the tested probability is p>0.05 then the initial presumption is accepted and the conclusion is that the observed variable is insignificant, meaning it does not contribute to explaining the behaviour of the dependent variable.

If the testing initially assumes a set involving a larger number of potentially independent variables, a significant question in the application of the regression analysis is the choice of

variables to be included in the model. The criteria for including variables in the model can vary from one problem to another and from one scientific discipline another. Building a statistical model includes an aim to create a model with as few variables as possible that still explains the dependent variable (David 2013). The explanation for minimising the number of variables in the model used is in the fact that the resulting model will most likely be numerically more stable and more generalisable. If more variables are included in the model, the evaluation of the standard error becomes greater and the model becomes more dependent on the registered data.

One of the most frequently used methods for selecting independent variables is the Stepwise Logistic Regression method or the 'step-by-step' method. The application of this method has enabled an efficient selection of independent variables that will comprise the model, in order to more precisely predict the dependent variables.

The qualification table has summarised the results of the fitted logistics regression model. It is the result of cross-examination of the resulting variable with the dichotomous variable whose values are derived from the evaluated logistics probabilities (Tabachnick 2013). The accuracy of the evaluated model was tested using the qualification table. In developing the qualification table it was necessary to define the decision level against which to compare each evaluated value. The most commonly used value is s = 0.5, the same value is applied here.

The analysis in the case of this PhD Study considers and presents two other phenomena, namely sensitivity and specificity. Model sensitivity is a percentage share of units with the examined trait accurately recognised by the model. The specificity or distinctness of a model is a percentage share of units that lack the examined trait, accurately recognised by the model.

Correlation analysis involves a procedure that determines the statistical indicator of the strength of statistical dependence between phenomena. The standard measure of statistical dependence strength with quantitative variables is a Pearson correlation coefficient, while the rank of variables, or variables that deviate from the Normal distribution, as measures of statistical dependence, are most often determined with the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (Tabachnick 2012).

4.7. Sample description, respondent and rural in-migrant household profile

Sample's socio-economic profile was presented based on the following: (1) respondents' characteristics; (2) RIMH characteristics, and (3) basic information on the move.

In terms of gender structure, 65% of respondents were men (Table 6). Female respondents were more common in SBD (40%) as opposed to ZAD (30%). The age structure of respondents varied between the ages of 30 and 60, with 68.3% of respondents under the age of 50. In terms of territorial dispersion, a clearly more favourable respondents' age structure was recorded in SBD, with 63.3% of respondents under the age of 40.

Table 6: Respondent profile

Respondent profile	SBD	ZAD	Total
Age (Mean)	38.8	46.4	42.6
Male (%)	60.0	70.0	65.0
Education (%)			
Primary education	0.0	10.0	5.0
Secondary school (3-4 years)	63.3	40.0	51.7
College (2 years); University (4 years)	10.0; 26.7	13.3; 36.7	11.6; 31.7
Economic activity (%)			
Active. Inactive	96.7; 3.3	90.1; 9.9	93.3; 6.7
Employed person (private, state, etc.)	46.7	40	43.3
Private business (employer, self-employed)	20.0	16.8	18.4
Individual farmer	16.8	10	13.3
Unemployed person	13.3	23.3	18.3
Student/pupil; Unpaid member of household	0.0; 3.3	3.3; 6.6	1.7; 5.0
Occupations (%)			
Agriculture	20.0	6.7	13.3
Other	70.0	90.0	80.0
Unknown occupation	10.0	3.3	6.7

The largest number of respondents completed four-year secondary education. A half of respondents in ZAD, and slightly more than one third of respondents from SBD completed education above the secondary level.

The majority of respondents are currently either employed by an employer of any given ownership structure (43.3%) or involved in a private business (18.4%). The share of individual farmers is also noteworthy (13.3%). Observed regionally, there are no larger discrepancies among respondents in terms of share of those working for an employer and those running a private business. However, the respondents who were also the employers were recorded solely in SBD. Compared to SBD, ZAD recorded a greater portion of those unemployed, and a smaller portion of those who have declared themselves as individual farmers.

The most represented occupations among respondents were engineers, staff associates, or technicians (26.7%). Occupations in the field of agriculture (farmers, forestry workers,

fishermen, etc.) were more commonly present among respondents in SBD (six) than in the ZAD. On the other hand, more prevalent professions in ZAD included professionals and artists.

The respondents were also the ones making daily decisions on the household organisation in 90% of cases. Six respondents confirmed that they on equal grounds with another member of their household decide on household organisation.

Surveyed RIMH in total had 198 members, of which 108 in the SBD and 90 members from RIMH in ZAD.

Looking at the number of RIMH members, the most predominant were the RIMH with two (36.7%) and four members (31.7%), with observable differences between the two examined territories. Four- and more member RIMH in SBD comprised more than half of the sample from this district. Two-member RIMH were predominant in the territory of ZAD (46.7%).

The dominant age of members in the household structure is the working age (78.5%). The average age of members in the observed RIMH was 33.1, or median value of 32 years, with more favourable values in SBD.

Both genders were equally represented, with nevertheless a greater share of males in ZAD.

In terms of educational structure of persons over 15, the greatest segment included those with completed four-year secondary education (54.9%). The share of those with completed college, university or an academy amounted to 33.4%. ZAD recorded a more significant share of persons with completed only primary education, but also those with completed higher or high education as opposed to SBD.

More than half (59.0%) of RIMH members were active in economic terms, with higher dependency ratio values in SBD than in ZAD. Among those who were inactive, the largest segment included children under the age of 15, particularly in SBD (27.8%). Employment in a private, state-, or otherwise owned company was the most pronounced form of economic activity of RIMH members (30%). Overall, 11.4% of members in surveyed RIMH perform activity in the private businesses. Agriculture employs 6.6% of economically active individuals, without any significant discrepancies between the surveyed areas. Unemployment is recorded in the case of 11% of RIMH members, of which two thirds were registered in ZAD.

61.7% of surveyed RIMH confirmed that their household members have officially changed their place of residence after the move (Table 7).

Table 7: Rural in-migrant household profile

Household profile		SBD	ZAD	Total
Households; Household members (Number)		30; 108	30; 90	60; 198
Age (Mean)		27.1	40.3	33.1
Age structure (%)				
	Children under 15	27.8	4.4	16.1
	Households members 15<=x<25	8.3	11.1	9.6
	Households members 25<=x< 65	62.0	75.7	68.9
	Household members over 65	1.9	8.8	5.4
	Ageing Index	0.07	2.0	0.33
Male (%)		48.1	53.3	50
Number of RIMH members (%)	2	26.7	46.7	36.7
	3-4	53.3	46.7	50.0
	5-7	20.0	6.6	13.4
Education (%)				
	Primary education	5.4	17.5	11.7
	Secondary school (3-4 years)	61.7	48.8	54.9
	College (2 years); University (4 years)	4.1; 28.8	10.0; 23.7	7.2; 26.2
Economic activity (%)				
	Active, Inactive	54.6; 41.7	63.4; 32.1	59.0; 37.0
	Dependency Ratio	76.4	50.6	62.7
Occupations (%)**				
	Agriculture	19.4	8.1	13.2
	Other	80.6	91.9	86.8
	Formal residence changed	43.3	80.0	61.7
	Months in the village, 6<=x<12; 12	0.0; 100.0	27.7; 73.3	13.3; 86.7

*Except children under 15; **All economically active persons aged 15 and over who perform occupation, as well as for unemployed persons who used to work

The analysis of the total time spent on the rural farm in a year indicates that the sample included the majority of households whose members stay on their farm throughout the year (85.7%).

The knowledge of agriculture in both districts relies on agricultural experience gained through practice, while 11.2% of economically active individuals actually obtained some form of formal education in agriculture.

Most members of surveyed RIMH are computer literate (68.2%), and most speak at least one foreign language (51%), with slight differences between the observed territories.

The share of skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers among economically active individuals, when looking at the type of work the members of surveyed RIMH perform, was predominant in SBD with 13.2%. Among surveyed individuals there was observably the largest number of engineers, staff associates and technicians (21.2%). Among active individuals,

professionals and artists comprised 17.8%, of which 68.2% came from ZAD. The distribution of certain occupations by districts was quite uniform.

Households' structure by sources of income indicated a strong diversification of income sources in RIMH in two SAs (Table 8).

Almost one half (48.3%) of RIMH generate income from agriculture, hunting and fishing. The second most significant source of income included salaries earned in the private and public sectors. Entire households' or individual members' private businesses as a source of income counted in 26.7%, with the equal share of RIMH per district generating this type of income.

Almost a third of RIMH listed agriculture, hunting and fishing as main sources of income. On the other hand, salaries earned in the private sector and earnings from households' or their members' businesses, as the main source of income, were equally represented in the sample (with 22% respectively).

Some sort of income is generated by 75% of surveyed RIMH on the household, while one third of them generates the entire income on the household itself. Consideration of the entire sample showed that the share of on-household generated income in the overall income participates with less than 40%. The results of descriptive statistics showed that in their livelihood strategies RIMH in ZAD rely more heavily on the on-household generated income.

The analysis of the structure of on-household generated income by the type of activity showed that 53.3% of RIMH generate income from agricultural activities. 20% of RIMH earned their full income on their household and entirely from agricultural activities.

In 48.3% of RIMH, non-agricultural activities constitute a part of the structure of on-household generated income. In 20 households, of which two thirds were from ZAD, more than half of earnings generated on the household came from non-agricultural activities.

The share of individual agricultural and non-agricultural activities in income generated in each of the two categories, expressed as mean values, only further substantiates the diversification of income sources.

Table 8: Rural in-migrant households' Livelihood Sources

Sources of livelihood		SBD	ZAD	Total
Households' structure by source of income (%)				
All sources	Agriculture, hunting and fishing	36.7	60.0	48.3
	Regular salaries and wages	46.7	35.0	40.9
	Other social insurance receipts	16.7	0.0	8.3
	Private business	26.7	26.7	26.7
	Pensions	13.3	23.3	18.3
	Other	23.3	20.0	21.7
Main source	Agriculture	20.0	43.3	31.7
	Non-agriculture	80.0	56.7	68.3
On-households income structure* (mean; median)				
On-household in overall income structure		4.0; 5.0	2.9; 3.0	3.5; 3.0
Agriculture		2.7; 2.5	2.9; 3.0	2.8; 3.0
	Field cropping	3.6; 4.5	3.8; 4.0	3.8; 4.0
	Fruit growing	4.6; 5.0	3.2; 3.5	3.6; 4.0
	Vegetable cropping	4.0; 5.0	3.3; 3.0	3.7; 4.0
	Animal husbandry	3.0; 5.0	3.7; 3.0	3.5; 4.0
Non-agriculture		2.8; 3.0	2.9; 3.0	2.8; 3.0
	Milk processing	1.0; 1.0	4.2; 5.0	3.7; 5.0
	Fruit and vegetable processing	5.0; 5.0	3.8; 5.0	4.3; 5.0
	Tourism	2.5; 2.5	3.3; 3.0	3.2; 3.0
	Contractual work, agricultural services	2.5; 3.0	1.9; 2.0	2.1; 2.0

*('1'=100%; '2'=70<=x<100%; '3'= 50<=x<70%; '4'= 20<=x<50%; '5'= 0<=x<20%)

Agricultural resources of the vast majority of observed RIMH (76.7%) exceed the limits set by the definition of agricultural holding. Other RIMH were not agricultural holdings. They engaged in agricultural production on less than 0.5 ha of land and/or with an inadequate number of heads of certain livestock types or none at all.

Classifying rural in-migrants' farms according to their size as did Davidova et al. (2013, referred to in Popović 2014, p. 11) to small (less than 5 ha of UAA), medium-sized (5 ha to 20 ha of UAA) and large holdings (20 ha of UAA or more), it is observed that 56.2% of farms fall under the category of small holdings, and around 12% under large holdings.

Average (10.1 ha) and median (0.7 ha) values suggest the small size of rural in-migrants' farms. According to ownership characteristics, the structure of total available land of all analysed RIMH is dominated by private ownerships (95.6%), while the remainder represents 'net' rented land (leased/rented).

Available land structure is dominated by arable land (423.1 ha or 70.7%). The share of forest areas in the total available land is 16.3%. RIMH do not farm 4.2% of the total available land.

By analysing the UAA structure, it is established that: arable land is prevailing in all RIMH (29.9% of UAA), of which kitchen gardens account for 24.9%, and tilled fields and market gardens for 75.1%. Permanent crops are the next prevailing category with a share of 21.5% of UAA. Meadows and pastures have a 19.3% share in the UAA.

Of the total number of observed households, 30% do not own any arable land, 51.7% of RIMH do not have permanent crops, while 65% do not have meadows and pastures in their UAA structure. Availability of arable land per household member (0.68 ha/person) suggest stable food sustainability of RIMH.

The share of RIMH with animal husbandry is 58.3%. Looking at the both SAs, 13.3% of RIMH breed cattle, of which a half has up to 4 heads. The largest number of registered cattle heads per RIMH was 63. 31.7% of RIMH breed pigs, and a half of them have up to 4 pigs. The largest registered number of pigs per RIMH was 75. Sheep and goats are bred by 30% of RIMH. In the structure of RIMH that breed cattle, the fewest own horses and donkeys. Of the total number of RIMH with recorded activities in cattle breeding, 88% keep some type of poultry. Beehives and bees are found in 16.7% of households. The largest registered number of beehives was 500. Two RIMH breed pedigree dogs.

Less than half of all RIMH own agricultural machinery (46.7%), of which 85.7% own a tractor, and only one in most cases. 60.7% of RIMH own a two wheel tractor, one in most cases. 75% of RIMH own tractor mounted implements. Only one household has a total of ten tractor mounted implements. 10.7% of RIMH have a harvester or a corn picker, whereas only one has a fruit picker.

The number of RIMH that has registered, and the number of those that has not registered their farm in the Register of Agricultural Holdings is about the same – 48.3% of registered as opposed to 51.7% of unregistered farms.

The Table 9 depicts the features of farms owned by RIMH in two selected SA.

Table 9: Rural in-migrant farm characteristics

Households' agricultural profile		SBD	ZAD	Total
Family agricultural holdings (%)		70	83.3	76.7
Registered agricultural holdings (%)		43.3	53.3	48.3
Agricultural area (mean; median, ha)				
Total available		4.4; 0.7	15.6; 9.4	10.1; 0.7
Utilised		4.3; 0.7	11.5; 6.0	7.9; 2.5
	Kitchen garden	0.8; 0.2	1.1; 0.5	1.0; 0.3
	Arable land	4.7; 1.3	3.9; 2.0	3.9; 2.0
	Meadows and pastures	1.5; 1.5	5.9; 2.9	5.4; 2.0
	Fruit and berry plantations	0.8; 0.5	5.8; 2.0	4.4; 1.5
	Vineyards	6.0; 5.0	0.2; 0.2	4.6; 3.0
	Wooded area	0.5; 0.5	4.9; 3.5	4.7; 2.8
Structure of households, utilised agricultural area (%)	0<=x<2.0	29.8	10.5	40.4
	2.0<=x<5	8.8	7.0	15.8
	5<=x<10	5.3	12.3	17.6
	10<=x<15	0.0	5.3	5.3
	15<=x<20	1.8	7.0	8.8
	20<=x	3.5	8.8	12.3
Livestock Breeders (% of households)		28.3	30.0	58.3
Livestock number (mean, median)	Cattle	5.5; 5.5	13.7	11.6; 3.5
	Pigs	6.3; 7.0	9.1; 4.0	8.2; 4.0
	Sheep and Goats	44.7; 28.0	16.8; 15.0	27.7; 15.0
	Horses, Donkeys	2.5; 2.5	3.3; 2.0	3.0; 2.0
	Poultry	74.2; 35.0	57.2; 50.0	65.7; 42.5
	Beehives, Bees	149.5; 47.5	29.8; 14.0	75.5; 25.5
Agricultural machinery and equipment owners (% of households)		36.7	56.7	46.7

Over 96% of RIMH purchase food and agricultural products in some form. At the same time, 51.7% of RIMH participate in the food and agricultural products market as sellers (Table 10). The number of RIMH that sell is larger in ZAD, and the number of RIMH that purchase food and agricultural products is larger in SBD.

Out of total RIMH that sell food and agricultural products, 16.1% sell everything they produce. More than half of produced outputs are sold by 77.4% of RIMH that participate in sales of food and agricultural products. On the other hand, 25% of RIMH produce agricultural products for own purposes only. Irrespective of not selling agricultural products, these RIMH regard production for own purposes as contribution to own income. There are no significant territorial differences in the number of RIMH per category in terms of volume of produced food and agricultural products.

The sales method analysis for most agricultural products in the past year shows that rural in-migrants who participate in the market as sellers use multiple sale channels simultaneously. More than half of RIMH sell their products to resellers. The most distinct sales channels include direct sales at the farm (mostly to consumers from towns), in local green markets, and as home delivery to consumers in town. No RIMH sells their products to cooperatives.

Territorial differences are observable in ways in which RIMH sell their agricultural products. RIMH in SBD are more active in direct sales at the farm, in town trade centres, and in sales to neighbours. Comparatively observed, RIMH in ZAD more engage in direct and home delivery sales to consumers.

Table 10: Rural in-migrant households' market participation

Market - food, agricultural products, inputs	SBD	ZAD	Total
Food and agricultural products			
Sellers (% of households)	23.3	28.3	51.7
Sales volume*	2.5	2.7	2.6
Channels (% of households)			
On-farm, mainly to urban consumers	42.9	33.3	37.5
Green markets in urban centres	35.7	33.3	34.4
Shops in urban centres	42.9	0.0	18.8
Home-delivered to urban consumers	21.4	33.3	28.1
Resellers	57.1	61.1	59.4
Neighbours and other village residents	28.6	5.6	15.6
Customers (% of households)	50.0	46.7	96.7
Purchase volume*	3.2	3.5	3.3
Channels (% of households)			
Urban stores and green markets	96.7	92.0	94.5
Rural stores	46.7	8.0	29.1
Neighbours and other producers	63.3	88.0	74.5
Purchase of inputs (% of households)			
From urban areas	66.6	87.5	77.1
From rural areas	33.4	12.5	22.9
Agricultural pharmacies	75.0	79.2	77.1
Suppliers	20.8	4.2	12.5
Regular suppliers	12.5	8.3	10.4
Self-produced, except energy	16.7	4.2	10.4
Exchange in kind	12.5	12.5	12.5

*('1'=100%; '2'=70<=x<100%; '3'= 50<=x<70%; '4'= 20<=x<50%; '5'= 0<=x<20%)

Purchasing of more than half of the required quantity of food and agricultural products has been confirmed by 46.6% of RIMH, of which 22.2% purchase (mostly from SBD) all necessary amounts. The largest number of RIMH purchases a certain share of products from neighbours, other farmers, and from local green markets. RIMH usually purchase food and agricultural products in town stores (36.2% of RIMH) and in village stores (31.0% of RIMH).

Territorial differences are evident in the purchase channels used. A significantly larger number of RIMH from SBD purchase food and agricultural products from village stores. Significantly more RIMH from ZAD, however, rely on neighbours and other farmers in the village when purchasing food and agricultural products.

Most RIMH (77%), especially in ZAD, purchase farming inputs in towns.

One third of the observed households were involved in some sort of private business. RIMHs' involvement in entrepreneurial activities was somewhat more intensive in the territory of ZAD compared to SBD (Table 11).

Table 11: Characteristics of rural in-migrant households' businesses

Enterpreneurship, Number		SBD	ZAD	Total
Entrepreneurial households		9	11	20
Business seat in	Urban	1	3	4
	Rural	8	8	16
Household members employed		15	21	36
Structure of households by employed members	1	5	4	9
	2	2	5	7
	3	2	1	3
	4	0	1	1
Employees from neighbouring households		38	4	42
Structure of households by employees from neighbouring households	1	1	0	1
	2	2	0	2
	4	1	1	2
	5	1	0	1
	8	1	0	1
	16	1	0	1

Entrepreneurial RIMH not only conduct their business in the village, but 75% of entrepreneurial RIMH also have the seat of their private business in the village. Of 11 RIMH in ZAD that were involved in some sort of private business, three households had their business seat in the town. In case of RIMH from SBD, only one had a registered business seat in the town.

A total of 36 members of surveyed RIMH were involved in entrepreneurship. Private business affairs for more than half of households take form of a family business with two or more employed family members. The largest individual category, however, are self-employed entrepreneurs: single person operations. Other households, however, with a larger number of members that are involved in the private business, belong to the category of micro or small companies.

A half of the surveyed RIMH dealing with private business employed village residents. Private businesses founded and run by RIMH employed 41 rural residents, non-household members. Of the total of eight households that employ their neighbours or other village residents, six employed more than two, and two households employ four residents each. Two surveyed households employed a total of 24 village residents. The largest share of employment from outside the household took place in micro and small enterprises of RIMH from SBD (37 employed village residents).

RIMH involvement in business and social associations is relatively low. Overall, 18.3% of RIMH were involved in business associations, namely 23.3% from SBD, and 13.3% of RIMH from ZAD. There is a somewhat larger presence of RIMH that participate in social associations. Out of total sample size, 38.3% of RIMH, particularly from SBD participate in civic associations, sports clubs, cultural, religious and art societies or other forms of social cooperation. The quality of participation and the role taken in the association was also the subject of interest when examining RIMH that are active in business and/or social associations. RIMH or their members rarely initiate business or social associations. Six surveyed RIMH, namely their members, were founders, or, in case of four RIMH, presidents of associations. These RIMH are in most cases active members of the association they belong to.

A significant characteristic in studying RIM is the distance RIMH cross during their move (Bijker et al. 2012, referring to Walford 2007). The distance RIMH cross during their move was observed three-dimensionally: (a) from the settlement they moved away from to the settlement they moved to; (b) from the settlement of relocation to the closest settlement with the municipal seat, and (c) from the settlement of relocation to the town with the administrative district seat.

Out of 60 surveyed households, 55 have moved from towns in Serbia, while five migrant households previously resided abroad (Australia, Italy, Germany, USA and Austria) (Table 12).

The attempt to objectively perceive the relocation distance called for the analysis of the average distance between the town the RIMH moved away from and the village they moved to for: (1) all observed households, including households that had come from abroad, and (2) households that had migrated within Serbia.

The average distance between the towns RIMH moved away from and villages they have moved to for all observed households was around 600 km. The minimum distance a RIMH crossed in its move from the town to the countryside was 7 km, and the maximum distance was 15,500 km.

Table 12: Rural in-migration distances

Distance from urban settlement (Mean, km)	SBD	ZAD	Total
Origin			603.7
Origin*	33.7	119.2	77.3
Municipal seat	11.8	21.0	16.4
Regional centre	28.0	48.4	38.2

*55 households that have migrated from within Serbia

The average distance between the towns RIMH moved away from and villages they have moved within Serbia was around 77 km. The minimum relocation distance was 7 km, and the maximum relocation distance was 425 km. The distance between towns they moved away from and villages they moved to for half of surveyed RIMH was less than 31 km.

The distance for 20% of RIMH between the closest municipal centre and the village of relocation was 12 km. The largest distance in the surveyed sample between the closest municipal centre and the village of RIMHs' relocation was 45 km. The average distance between the closest district seat and the village of RIMHs' relocation was 38.2 km, and the longest distance was 75 km.

The overview of financial resources RIMH used for RIM in Table 13 suggests that the largest number of households (86.7%) used own sources, and incentives (almost half of surveyed RIMH). Information on the way of investing funds suggests that all included RIMH invested funds for various purposes. The largest number of RIMH invested funds in house refurbishment (73.3%) or purchase of property (56.7%). Households that have returned to a family farm they had inherited or received as a gift from a third party invested additionally into those farms.

In terms of the structure of investments in economic activities, the survey results suggested that investments in agriculture doubled the investments in entrepreneurial activities.

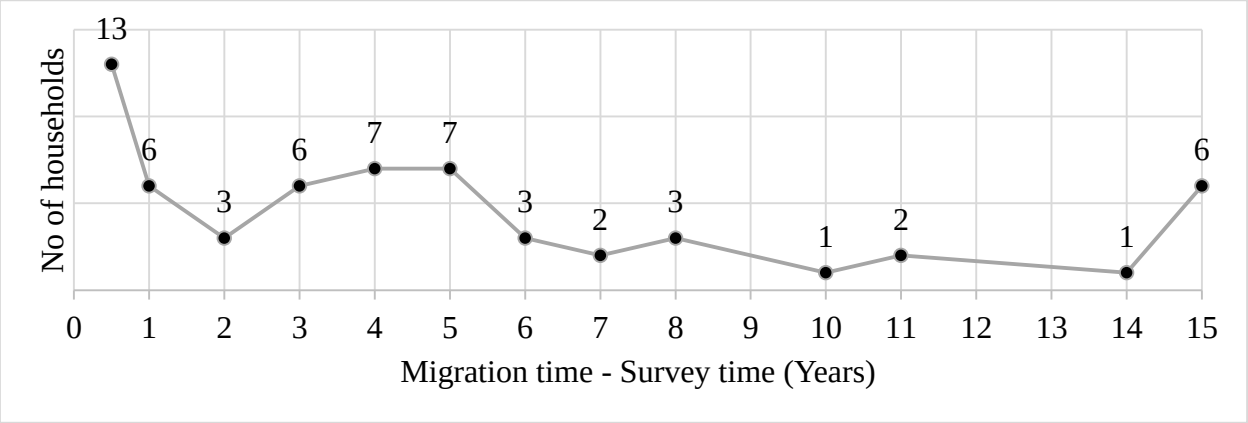
43.3% of surveyed RIMH used incentives from one or more sources in the last five years, mostly through provincial government institutions and the Ministry of Agriculture and local government. At the same time, more than half of RIMH had not used incentives for agriculture and rural development in the last five years, mostly because they didn't even try. 24.2% of RIMH, however, that had not used incentives so far, do not have the intention to do so at all.

Table 13: Rural in-migration funding

Characteristics (% of households)	SBD	ZAD	Total
The origin of financial capital invested in the household			
Own funds	80.0	93.3	86.7
Credit	46.7	10.0	28.3
Loans from relatives / friends	33.3	16.7	25.0
Government incentives	80.0	16.7	48.3
Inheritance, additional funds invested	10.0	13.3	11.7
Source of incentive			
Ministry	20.0	10.0	15.0
Autonomous Province of Vojvodina	50.0	0.0	25.0
Local Governments	6.7	30.0	18.3
Donors	3.3	0.0	1.7
Fund investment method			
Purchase of property	58.8	41.2	56.7
House renovation	43.2	56.8	73.3
Agriculture	43.8	56.2	53.3
Private business	56.2	43.8	26.7
Method of fund investment in agriculture			
Farm buildings	23.3	16.7	20.0
Agricultural machinery and equipment	26.7	40.0	33.3
Agricultural land	20.0	33.3	26.7
Innovation of agricultural activities	36.7	13.3	25.0
Land cultivation	53.3	16.7	35.0
Activities related to environment and renewable energy sources	10.0	10.0	10.0
Facilities intended for private business	20.0	10.0	15.0
Machinery and equipment for private business	16.7	3.3	10.0
Education and trainings	10.0	13.3	11.7
Other	3.3	20.0	11.7

47 RIMH relocated more than a year ago (Graph 6). The majority of RIMH have been already living in their place of relocation for an average of 5 years (62%), while the representation of those who moved more than 10 years ago is significantly lower, or 19%. Thirteen RIMH moved less than a year ago. All 13 households, however that have moved less than a year ago from the survey date were at the same time RIMH that have migrated permanently.

Graph 6: The time since relocation



5. Results

5.1. Mapping of rural in-migration

The average number of rural settlements in observed LG is 29, and varies between a minimum of 4 villages in the municipality of Apatin, and a maximum of 106 registered rural settlements in the municipality of Prokuplje. LG have shown a considerable variability in the number of rural settlements, as documented by the variation coefficient of 70.2 % (Table 14).

Table 14: Rural in-migration from the perspective of Local Governments

The main RIM features obtained based on the questionnaire		Values
Rural settlements within one LG (Mean, Median, CV)		29.0; 24.0; 70.2
Rural settlements with identified RIMH (Mean, Median, CV)		13.0; 12.0; 79.9
Distance of rural settlements from the municipal centre (Mean, Median, CV)		13.0; 12.0; 30.7
LG with distance of rural settlements from the municipal centre (km, %)	5<=x<10	13.3
	10<=x<15	50.0
	15<=x<20	26.7
	20<=x<25	10.0
LG with number of RIMH that have migrated since 2001 (%)	0<=x<500	85.2
	500<=x<1000	11.1
	1500<=x<2000	3.7
LG with share of urban settlement origin RIMH (%)	≤30	19.0
	30-60	23.0
	≥60	19.0
	100	39.0
LG with share of urban origin categories: 'returning'; 'newcomers'; 'half-half'; 'economic'; 'family farms' (%)	0<=x<20	50.0; 31.8; 27.3; 40.0; 37.0
	20<=x<40	30.0; 40.9; 40.9; 35.0; 26.0
	40<=x<60	5.0; 9.1; 18.2; 20.0; 0.0
	60<=x<80	10.0; 13.6; 4.5; 0.0; 11.0
	80<=x<100	5.0; 4.5; 9.1; 5.0; 26
Source of data: neighbourhood community offices; Ministry of Interior; other (%)		87.0; 8.7; 4.3
LG with regulated RIM incentives (%)		68.2
LG with incentives for RIM (%)		64.7
LG with number of RIMH that use financial support for in-migration (%)	0<=x<20	55.6
	20<=x<40	22.2
	40<=x<60	11.1
	60<=x<80	11.1
RIM incentives in the budget of LG (Mean, CV)		4.4; 92.5

Calculated basic descriptive indicators suggest that of the total number three LG (Arilje, Loznica and Osečina) have no rural settlements with identified RIMH. In LG with identified RIMH, the number of rural settlements to which those households have migrated to varies significantly (Cv= 79.9 %), and on average amounts to 13. The median value of this feature (Me = 12) shows that in half of LG with identified RIMH, the number of rural settlements is less than 12, while in the other half of LG, households have migrated to more than 12 rural settlements.

The average distance of rural settlements from the municipal centre in observed LG is 13 km. The largest clustering of rural settlements around the municipal centre was recorded in the municipality of Paraćin, where the average distance is only 5 km. On the other hand, the greatest average distance between rural settlements and the municipal centre of 22 km was recorded in the municipality of Svilajnac.

The distance between rural settlements and municipal centre in most LG is anywhere between 10 and 15 km, i.e. in approximately 50% of cases. LG with rural settlements located between 20 and 25 km from the municipal centre were least represented (10%).

Neighbourhood community offices (Serbian: kancelarije mesne zajedince), Ministry of Interior, and other sources were listed as sources of identifying data that actually keep this type of information. Results show that in most LG (20 of them) neighbourhood communities are the sources of identifying data. Determined values of the structure of identifying data sources in LG show that in 87% of cases those sources are neighbourhood communities. Ministry of Interior as a source of information is significantly less represented (8.7%), while the share of other sources is minimal (4.3%). In 32.4% LG identifying data were obtained by combining data from all three possible listed sources.

Out of 34 LG, 27 have recorded RIM. The number of RIMH that have moved since 2001 exhibits an extremely high variability. The minimum number of five RIMH was registered in the municipality of Svrljig. The maximum recorded number was recorded in the municipality of Obrenovac (one of the Belgrade City municipalities), about 1,500 RIMH. The local government's structure, based on the number of RIMH that have moved since 2001 indicates that in most settlements approximately 500 households in-migrated. Those LGs account for 85.2% of the overall number of observed LG.

A significant piece of information on RIMH is also the percentage of households that have migrated from urban settlements. From a total of 26 LG that have indicated the origin of RIMH, in 10 of them all migrated households originate from urban settlements. In six LG, between 30% and 60% of RIMH came from urban settlements. Less than 30% of RIMH from urban settlements were recorded in five LG. Also, in five other, more than 60% of households migrated from urban settlements.

Information on the share of certain categories of RIMH that have migrated from urban settlements adds to the explanation of the urban-rural migration phenomenon. The first listed category included returning RIMH. This category of RIMH was recorded in 20 observed LG. These types of migrant households, in the majority of LG in which they were registered, comprise up to 20% of all RIMH. The share of returning RIMH ranging between 20 – 40% was recorded in 6 LG. In other words, returning households in 80% of LG in which they were registered, participate in the total number of migrated households with up to 40%.

The second category of RIMH that have migrated from urban settlements included newcomers. Newcomers were registered in the territory of 64.7% LG. This category of households in the total number of migrated households participates with up to 40%, considering that share was recorded in almost 73% LG with registered in-migrant households.

The next analysed category of RIMH that have migrated from urban settlements included the so-called 'half-half' RIMH. Just like previously described category, this one too is present in 64.7% LG. Likewise, the structure of LG by looking at the share of this category in the total number of RIMH is very similar as in the case of newcomers. A specific trait for this category is the information that all registered RIMH in the municipality of Rača, namely 34 of them, are 'half-half'. Economic RIMH, as category of RIMH that have migrated from urban settlements, are present in 20 LG. In 95% of LG, the share of this category of RIMH is up to 60%.

Other categories of urban origin RIMH participate with typically up to 20%, and are present in only few LG. The exception is the municipality of Žabari in which all recorded RIMH that have migrated from urban settlements, namely 91 of them, are categorised as other.

Important piece of information describing migrated households is the share of family farms in the total number of RIMH that have migrated from urban settlements. Share of family farms in the overall number of RIMH that have migrated from urban settlements was recorded in 58.9% LG. Structural values indicate that in 37% of LG, the participation of family farms in the overall

number of RIMH is up to 20%, while in 5 LG or 26%, the participation of family farms is up to 40%. Representation of LG in which participation of family farms is very high and between 80-100 % is also very significant. Almost all RIMH (97%) in the municipality of Dimitrovgrad are family farms.

The third section of the questionnaire included information on activities of LG in managing RIM processes. Results of the defined structure show that in the overall number of observed LG, 64.7% do encourage return and resettlement of rural settlements in their territory. An important question is whether the support for resettling rural settlements is regulated. Resettlement of rural settlements, in LG that encourage it, is regulated by an act in 68.2% LG, while 31.8% LG that encourage resettlement of their rural areas have no associated legislation of any kind.

The important question in observing the LG encouragement for returning to, and settling in rural settlements, is whether or not LG financially encourages these processes. Information on financial support of LG in the in-migration process and significant impact of possible financial support on the decision of a family household or farm to move into the territory of a LG is given in results shown in Table 14. The results show that of 64.7% of LG that support the in-migration process, 59% realise that support as financial support.

$\chi 2$ – test indicates that the impact of financial support on the decision of a RIMH to move to the territory of a LG is of statistical relevance.

Table 15: Impact of Local Governments' financial support on the rural in-migration, Chi-square test

	Statistics: Encourages RIMs (No) x Financial incentives (No)		
	Chi-Square	df	P
Pearson Chi-square	10.72500	1	.00106
M-L Chi-Square	14.48438	1	.00014
Spearman Rank R	.5700877	t=3.8634	.00053

That could prompt almost 41% of LG that do not financially support the settlement processes, to find a way to provide financial support seeing that support is a substantial driver in making a decision where to settle a family household (Table 16).

Table 16: Local Governments according to financial support for rural in-migration

	Summary Frequency Table			
	Encourages RIMs	Financial incentives		Row Totals
		Yes	No	
Yes	1	13*	9	22
Row %		59.09*	40.91	
No	2	0	12*	12
Row %		0.0	100.0*	
Count	All Groups	13	21	34

*Counts >10

The established number of RIMH that have used financial support in migrating to rural settlements of a municipality raises several interesting questions. Previously, it was established that 38.2% LG financially support in-migration in their rural settlements. Information on this trait show that mentioned support is being utilised in 84.6% LG that financially support RIM. The structure of LG, according to the number of RIMH that use financial incentives, is shown in Table 14. The provided structure leaves out municipalities of Obrenovac and Prijepolje as atypical cases, or outliers, which deviate considerably from the majority of established data. In the municipality of Obrenovac, 2,000 RIMH have reportedly used financial incentives, while only 1,500 have actually settled. In the LG of Prijepolje, there were 120 migrated family households, but financial support was utilised by 916. The rest of LG have generally financially supported RIM of up to 20 households. In two LG, the number of RIMH that have used financial incentives in the process of in-migration ranged between 20 and 40 households. Also, there were two LG with more than 60 recorded RIMH that received financial assistance during in-migration in rural settlements.

By observing the ratio between RIMH and RIMH that have used financial incentives in most LG the obtained value exceeds 100%. This indicates that a significantly greater number of RIMH use financial incentives than actually settle in a rural settlement of some local government.

A significant piece of data for LG that encourage return to rural settlements is the budget share of support in the overall local government's budget. Submitted information shows that the average budget share of financial support for return to rural settlements in the overall local budget amounts to 4.4%. The minimum budget share of financial incentives for return to rural settlements in the overall local budget was 0.33%, in the municipality of Osečina. The

maximum allocation of funds for incentives for RIM was recorded in municipalities of Paraćin and Svilajnac, with the budget share of 10% in the overall local budget (Table 15).

5.2. Hypothesis 1

The results of the Mann–Whitney *U* test that was used to examine territorial variances in general respondents' characteristics (Table 17), showed no statistically significant differences in the gender and age structure of respondents in SBD and ZAD. Also, the respondents' level of education, employment, and agricultural training and their occupations in the observed SA were at the approximately similar levels without significant statistical differences.

Table 17: Territorial differences in respondents' characteristics, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Characteristics	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	p – probability obtained from test
Sex	1	1	0.505860
Age	35.5	41.5	0.668107
Education level	3	3.5	0.870811
Employment status	2	3	0.277190
Qualifications in agriculture	3	3	0.329178
Occupations	5	3	0.325196

*$p<0.05$ – significant difference; ** $p<0.05$, and $p<0.01$ – very significant difference

The respondents in the observed regions considered themselves and members of their households as residents of villages they moved to, as there were no statistically significant differences in their responses to this question (Table 18). Statistically significant territorial differences were found in issues related to the official change of address in the Ministry of Interior. Most RIMH that had moved from towns to villages in SBD changed their address of residence (80% RIMH), while most RIMH in ZAD did not do so (56.7% RIMH).

Statistically, very significant differences between the observed SA exist in terms of the time RIMH members spend in the village during the year. In SBD, RIMH mostly spend the entire year in the village, while in ZAD, the majority of surveyed RIMH spend more than six, and less than 12 months in a year in the village.

Table 18: Territorial differences in integration characteristics of rural in-migrant households, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Characteristics	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	p – probability obtained from test
Affiliation with the new community	1	1	0.657381
Official change of residence address	1	2	0.014711*
Time spent in the village (months/year)	3	2	0.002651**

*p<0.05 – significant difference; ** p<0.05 and p<0.01 – very significant difference

A statistically very significant territorial difference was observed in all three RIMH relocation distance types followed in this work: (1) the distance between the urban centre and the village of relocation; (2) the distance between the closest municipal centre and the village of relocation, and (3) the distance between the closest seat of the administrative district and the village of relocation (Table 19). The testing considered only RIMH that have migrated within Serbia. The observed distances were significantly greater in ZAD than in SBD.

Table 19: Territorial differences in relocation distances, t – test

Distance from urban centre (km)	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	t-value	p – probability obtained from test
Origin**	33.74	119.25	-3.47871	0.001015**
Municipal seat	11.80	20.97	-4.33855	0.000058**
Regional centre	28.00	48.37	-4.83252	0.000010**

*p<0.05 - significant; ** p<0.05 and p<0.01- very significant difference

The K–S test results of normality showed that the age of respondents, the farm structure by categories, the UAA structure, and the total number of livestock by livestock categories significantly differ from normal distribution.

The significance of territorial differences in terms of the farm size as expressed by the size of available land, UAA size classes, farm structure by category, and UAA structure was assessed using the Mann–Whitney *U* test. The results of the performed test (Table 20) indicated statistically significant differences between the observed SA in terms of size of the available and used land. The average median value of available and used land in ZAD is much higher than the average area of the same categories of land in SBD. Significant differences by categories of available land between the districts were observed only in households with between 2 and 5 ha of available land. The largest farms of this category in terms of their UAA were located in SBD.

Territorial differences in the UAA structure were discovered only in terms of the area under orchards, with significantly larger areas under orchards observed in ZAD than in SBD. It should be noted that even though the average size as reported by the median value, in terms of certain surveyed characteristics shows significantly different values, it is the number of RIMH observed for a specific characteristic that predominantly influenced the manifestation of statistically significant differences and the variability of values for that characteristic.

Table 20: Territorial differences in size and structure of rural in-migrants' farm, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Characteristics	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	p – probability obtained from test
Total available land	0.7	9.4	0.000485**
Utilised land	0.7	6.0	0.001723**
Farm structure, utilised agricultural area (%)			
0<=x<2.0	0.16	0.52	0.612178
2.0<=x<5	4.0	2.7	0.049611*
5<=x<10	8.4	8.1	0.863466
10<=x<15	15.0	15.5	0.973270
20<=x	27.5	54.1	0.530959
Kitchen garden	0.2	0.5	0.064725
Arable land	1.3	2.0	0.533417
Meadows and pastures	1.5	2.9	0.280911
Fruit and berry plantations	0.5	2.0	0.034151*
Livestock Breeders	1	1	0.824496
Cattle	5.5	3.0	0.404657
Pigs	7.0	4.0	0.482900
Sheep and Goats	28	15	0.751256
Horses, Donkeys	2.5	2.0	0.563703
Poultry	35	50	0.645764
Beehives, Bees	11.5	47.5	0.393769

*p<0.05 – significant difference; ** p<0.05 and p<0.01 – very significant difference

The results of the Mann–Whitney *U* test in examining territorial differences in the average number of farms that keep livestock and in the total number of livestock by livestock categories indicated that animal husbandry as an agricultural activity in both districts is at the similar level, since there were no statistically significant differences in the observed characteristics recorded. Here is also noted that the differences for certain categories of livestock (horses and donkeys, beehives) were examined on the basis of a small number of farms that keep this type of livestock.

There were significant statistical differences observed between SBD and ZAD in terms of major sources of RIMH income (Table 21). The main source of income in SBD included earnings from the private sector, while in ZAD the main source of income included agriculture, hunting and fishing. A significant difference between the districts was also in the share of on-household generated income in the overall household income. The share of on-household generated income in the overall household income in ZAD ranges between 50 - 70% and is higher when compared with SBD, where it is less than 20%.

Table 21: Territorial differences in the characteristics of rural in-migrant households' involvement in the rural economy, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Characteristics	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	p – probability obtained from test
Main source of income	2	4	0.010859*
On-household generated income in the overall income structure	5	3	0.045547*
Agriculture	2.5	3	0.555526
Field cropping	4.5	4	0.872780
Fruit growing	5	3.5	0.046535*
Vegetable cropping	5	3	0.662521
Animal husbandry	3	4	0.513891
Organic crop production	4	4	0.648504
Non-agriculture	3	3	0.924886
Fruit and vegetable processing	5	5	0.371094
Processing of other products	2	5	0.029672*
Tourism	2.5	3	0.479501
Contractual work, agricultural services	3	2	0.215926
Sellers (food and agricultural products)	2	1	0.309701
Sales volume	2	2	0.691410
Use of incentives	2	1	0.041162*
Reasons for not using incentives	1	2	0.970147
Registered agricultural holdings (%)	2	1	0.505860
Involvement in private business	2	2	0.657381
Households members active in private business	1	2	0.695895

*p<0.05 - significant difference; ** p<0.05 and p<0.01- very significant difference

The share of on-household generated income in the total RIMH income, originating from agricultural activities in both SA is at the similar level, meaning there are no statistically significant differences between them. No differences were observed with regard to the participation of on-household generated income in the total household income originating from non-agricultural activities.

Territorial differences in terms of share of certain agricultural activities in the total income from agricultural activities were also examined. The results of the test performed show that districts significantly differ based on the share of income generated from fruit growing in the overall agricultural on-household generated income. The share of income from fruit growing in ZAD is significantly higher than in SBD.

In terms of the share of certain non-agricultural activities in the overall income from non-agricultural activities, statistically significant differences between SA were recognised in the income generated from processing of other agricultural products. This activity in SBD participates with over 70%, while the same activity in ZAD participates with less than 20% in total RIMH income from non-agricultural activities.

There were no statistically significant differences in sales and volume of sales of own agricultural products between the districts.

Statistically significant territorial difference was discovered when observing the use of incentives. Households in ZAD mostly use incentives from the Ministry, while in SBD, the ones used are mostly provincial government's incentives. There were no significant differences in reasons for not using incentives between two districts.

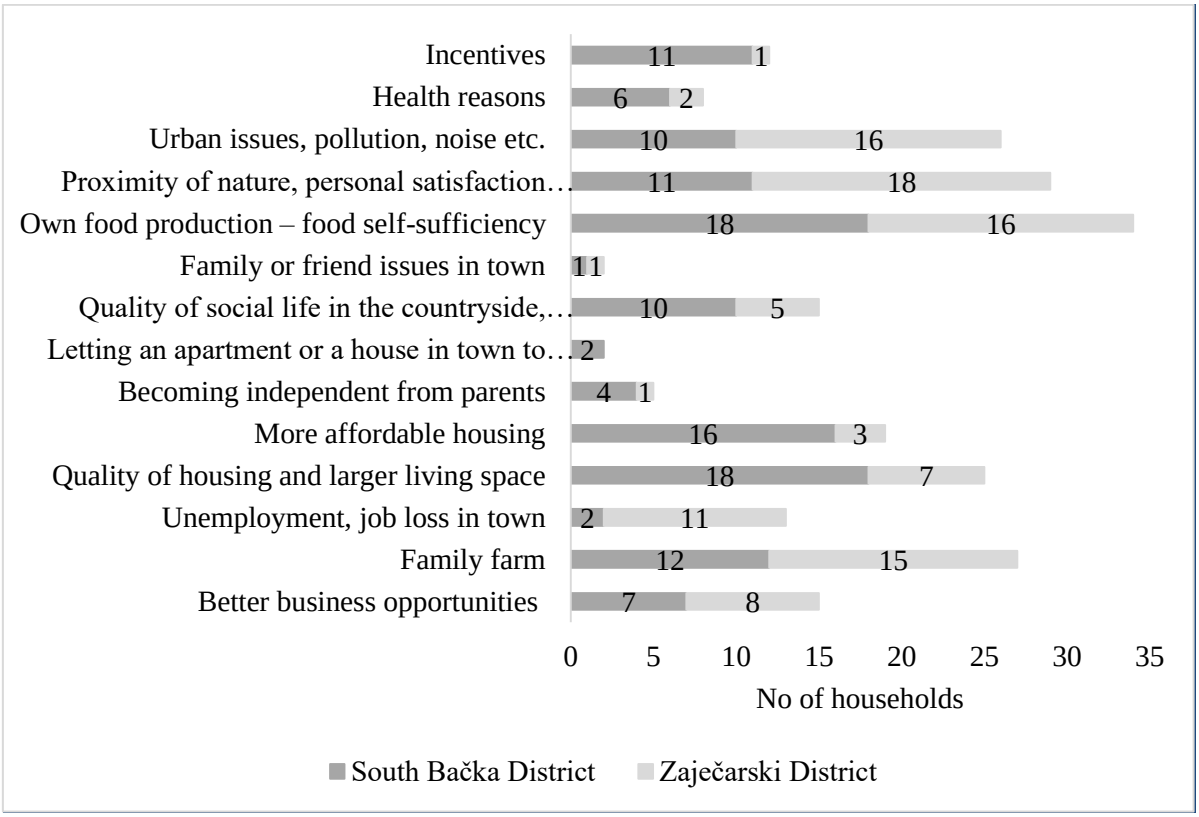
In terms of the number of registered AH in the Register of Agricultural Holdings, no significant territorial differences were identified. There were also no significant territorial differences in terms of RIMH involvement in private businesses and the number of RIMH members active in private businesses.

The analysis of primary RIM factors and differences between the two selected territories simultaneously provide an answer to 'Why have RIMH decided to move away from towns and/or return to countryside'.

In answering this question, the results obtained within the third section of the questionnaire served as guidance. The first set of questions aimed to examine the general factors that led the households to decide to move away from towns to countryside. In order to additionally verify the attractiveness of a specific village of choice for relocation (Bijker et al. 2012), surveyed households have assessed the importance of possible reasons for selecting the specific village.

Graph 7 and graph 8 show the summarised assessment of the specific factors' importance, that were seen as the 'most important' and 'very important' for RIMH in two SA.

Graph 7: Territorial differences based on the importance of rural in-migration factors



Two pull ('Greater business opportunities in the countryside' and 'Family farm') and one push economic factor ('Unemployment or job loss in the town') were observed within the first group of relocation factors.

The comparison of the two analysed territories clearly showed that economic factors represent stronger motivators for RIMH relocation in ZAD. Slightly more RIMH in ZAD (26.7%) than in SBD (23.3%) see business opportunities in the countryside as the 'most important' or 'very important' pull factors for their move. However, when it comes to the other two economic factors, the differences in their impact on the decision to move significantly increase between the holdings from the observed two territories. Family farm represents the most important pull factor for 44.8% households from ZAD. Half as many households from SBD (23.4%) assessed the same factor as the most important. 'Unemployment or job loss in the town' is regarded as a far more significant push factor for RIM in ZAD. As many as 36.7% of surveyed households in this district treat this factor as either 'most important' or 'very important'. On the other hand, in SBD, as few as 6.7% of households saw this factor as important, while not one household believes that this was, and is the most important reason for their move. On the contrary, 79.9% of surveyed households from SBD, compared to 56.7% from ZAD, regard this factor as unimportant.

Another group of the analysed motivating factors for RIM included housing factors, namely two pull factors (‘Quality of housing, larger living space’ and ‘More affordable housing’) and two push factors (‘Becoming independent from parents’ and ‘Letting an apartment or a house in town to children’).

Unlike economic factors, housing factors, pull factors in particular, were regarded as more significant for motivating RIMH in SBD. The quality of housing and larger living space was the most important factor for their move in 30% of households in SBD. In the case of ZAD, this factor was the most important for only 6.9% of surveyed households. Over five times more surveyed households from SBD (53.4%) assessed cheaper housing as the most important or very important influence on their decision to move. Only 10.2% of households from ZAD regarded ‘More affordable housing’ in the same way. Although insignificant factor for two thirds of households in SBD, becoming independent from parents, to a lesser or greater extent, motivated the rest of the households to move to the countryside. Only two households in ZAD considered this push factor as ‘important’ or ‘very important’. Letting the apartment or house in town to children was not the most important migration factor for any surveyed household, regardless of the territory. However, two households in SBD evaluated this factor as very important, and four households in ZAD saw it as somewhat important or important.

The observed social factors for RIM included one pull factor (‘Quality of social life in the countryside’ and ‘Proximity of friends and family’), and one push factor (‘Family or friend issues in town’).

The quality of social life and proximity of family and friends was the most important or very important factor for 33.4% of in-migrants from SBD. The number of RIMH in ZAD that saw this factor as the ‘most important’ or ‘very important’ was less by half. The influence of family and friend issues on the decision to move was stated by only two households, one from each observed district.

Environmental factors that motivated the relocation were in most cases assessed as the ‘most important’, ‘very important’, or ‘important’. The survey asked the households to assess the importance of two pull factors (‘Own food production – food self-sufficiency’ and ‘Proximity of nature, personal satisfaction, and the need for change’) and one push factor that motivated their in-migration.

Although highly rated in the entire sample, the results of the analysis and the assessment of the most important and very important factors showed that environmental factors more significantly influenced rural in-migrants in ZAD. 'Own food production – food self-sufficiency' was assessed by as many as 56.6% of households in the total sample (18 households from SBD, and 16 households from ZAD) as the 'most important' or 'very important' factor for move. Still, 6.6% of households from ZAD, and 16.7% of households from SBD believe this factor is 'not important at all'. The proximity of nature, personal satisfaction and the need for a change was the factor that differently influenced households' move in two observed districts. This was the 'most important' factor for almost half of surveyed households in ZAD (14 in total), and for 6 households from SBD. The same difference between the observed territories was noticed in households' assessment of this factor as completely unimportant. Only one household from ZAD and five households from SBD saw this factor as completely unimportant. Urban issues, as push factors, had the 'most important' or 'very important' influence on the decision to move for 61% of surveyed households (16 households in ZAD, and 10 in SBD).

Health reasons were also assessed as factors for relocation. Most surveyed households (45.8%) believe health reasons are an unimportant motive for relocation. Eight households assessed this motive as the 'most important', or 'very important' for relocation. 10 households in ZAD saw this motive as an 'important' factor for relocation, and one each saw it as the 'most important' or 'very important'. 9 households in SBD believe the health reasons were the 'most important', 'very important', or 'important' for their move from the town to the countryside.

Surveyed households also saw relocation incentives as insignificantly important motive for relocation. 34 of them or almost 62% gave this assessment regarding relocation incentives as a motive. In ZAD, as much as 92% of households assessed incentives as unimportant motive for relocation. This motive was somewhat more important in SBD, given that 17 out of 30 surveyed households saw it as the 'most important', 'very important', or 'important' motive for relocation.

However, the Mann–Whitney *U* test showed that the importance of factors that motivated the RIM in the observed districts is at the similar level (Table 22). Statistically significant differences were found when observing pull factors such as the 'Quality of housing and larger living space' and 'More affordable housing', and very significant differences were registered

for the push factor ‘Incentives’ as the reason for relocation. RIMH from SBD rated these factors as being more important than did RIMH from ZAD.

Table 22: Territorial differences based on the importance of rural in-migration factors, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Motivating factors	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	p – probability obtained from test
Better business opportunities	4.5	3.5	0.569221
Family farm	3	2	0.529205
Unemployment, job loss in town	5	5	0.056497
Quality of housing and larger living space	2	3	0.001571*
More affordable housing	2	4	0.003188*
Becoming independent from parents	5	5	0.083906
Letting an apartment or a house in town to children	5	5	0.682266
Quality of social life in the countryside, proximity of family and friends	3	3	0.065785
Family or friend issues in town	5	5	0.831899
Own food production – food self-sufficiency	2	2	0.830255
Proximity of nature, personal satisfaction and the need for change	3	2	0.086347
Urban issues, pollution, noise etc.	3	2	0.258660
Health reasons	4.5	4	0.715943
Incentives	3	5	0.000374**

*p<0.05 - significant difference; ** p<0.05 and p<0.01- very significant difference

13 pull factors and one push factor, divided into six categories, were considered as reasons for selecting a specific village to which surveyed households will move. Compared to results of the factor analysis that generally motivated RIM, there are dissimilar variances between the observed territories in terms of RIMH relocation village of choice.

26.7% of households from SBD, and 20% from ZAD believe that having a village with good business opportunities is the ‘most important’ or ‘very important’ attracting factor.

Conversely, 53.3% of surveyed households in ZAD were encouraged to move by the family property in the village of relocation. In SBD, however, 43.3% of RIMH saw these factors as ‘most important’ or ‘very important’ in their choice of a relocation village.

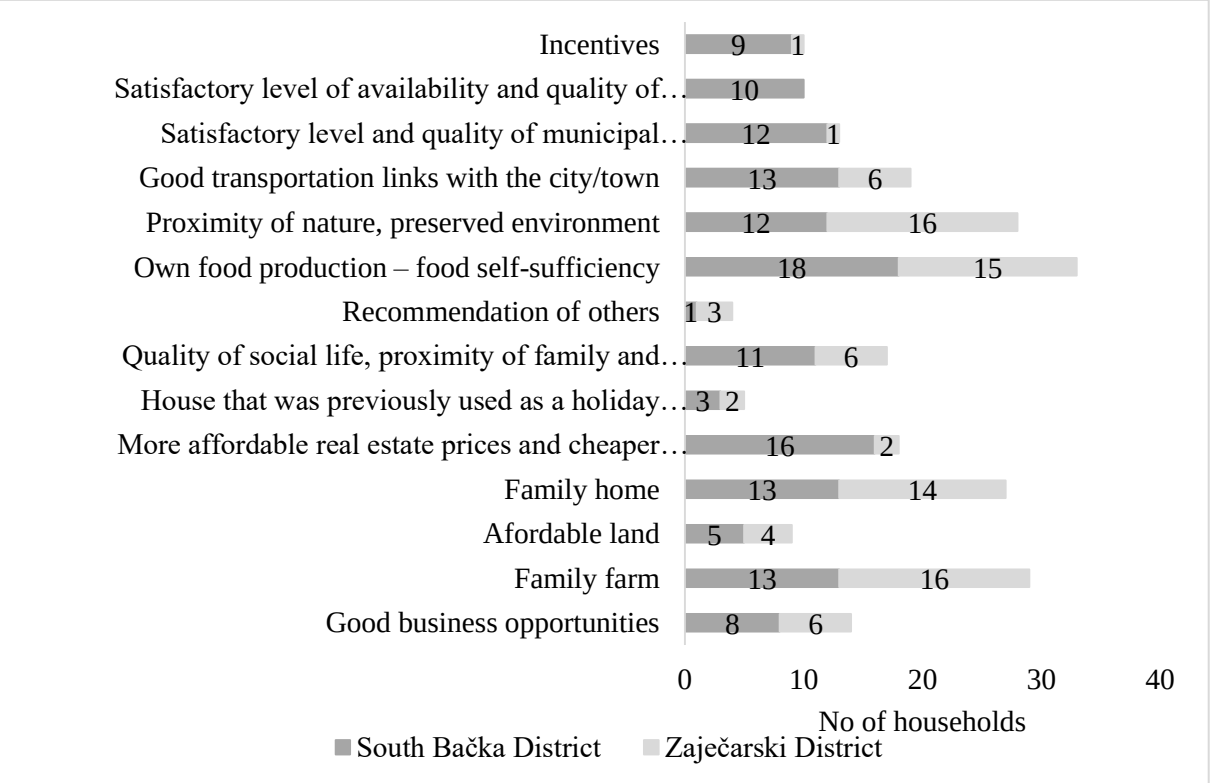
Differences between territories were observed in terms of the importance of pull factors ‘More affordable real estate prices and cheaper housing’. While more than half of RIMH in SBD

selected a village of relocation based on the price and quality of residential facility ratio, only two RIMH in ZAD did so based on this factor.

'The quality of social life and the proximity of family and friends', observed territorially, half as many households from SBD see this factor as the 'most important' or 'very important' for selecting their village of relocation.

Environmental reasons for relocating or returning to a village of choice, were generally, as in the assessment of general motivating factors for RIM, evaluated as 'most important', 'very important', or 'important'. Noticeable were also identical territorial differences in the assessment of individual pull factors that motivated the choice of the village of relocation. Majority of RIMH that selected a village of relocation based on three infrastructural factors came from SBD. Five RIMH assessed incentives as the 'most important' reason for relocation to a selected village, and all five were from SBD (Graph 8).

Graph 8: Territorial differences based on importance of reasons for selecting a village



Statistically very significant differences were recorded when examining the following motivating factors for selecting a specific village, namely: 'More affordable real estate prices and cheaper housing', 'Good transportation links with the city/town', 'Satisfactory level and quality of municipal infrastructure', 'Satisfactory availability and quality of public services',

and ‘Incentives’ (Table 23). The reasons stated for selecting a certain village were seen by households from SBD as ‘very important’ and ‘important’, while households from ZAD saw them as unimportant for selecting a specific village.

Table 23: Territorial differences based on importance of reasons for selecting a village for in-migration, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Characteristics	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	p – probability obtained from test
Family farm	3.5	1.5	0.969764
Good business opportunities	3.5	4	0.595649
Afordable land	5	5	0.682266
Family home	5	4	0.395843
More affordable real estate prices and cheaper housing	2	5	0.003267**
House that was previously used as a holiday home or a second home	5	5	0.524254
Quality of social life, proximity of family and friends	3	3	0.394353
Recommendation of others	5	5	0.309701
Own food production – food self-sufficiency	2	2	0.542704
Proximity of nature, preserved environment	3	2	0.400075
Good transportation links with the city/town	3	5	0.001415**
Satisfactory level and quality of municipal infrastructure	3	5	0.000071**
Satisfactory level of availability and quality of public services	3	5	0.000010**
Incentives	3	5	0.000058**

*p<0.05 - significant difference; ** p<0.05 and p<0.01- very significant difference

There were no statistically significant differences between the two observed SA in terms of the assessed current quality of living after the move (Table 24). Respondents in both districts believe they live better after the move.

Table 24: Territorial differences in the assessment of the current quality of living after in-migration, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Characteristics	SBD (median)	ZAD (median)	p – probability obtained from test
Assessment of the current quality of living after relocation	2	2	0.988204

*p<0.05 - significant difference; ** p<0.05 and p<0.01- very significant difference

5.3. Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis was defined to examine whether, and how RIM motivating factors in two observed territories correlate with the relocation distance.

The correlation-regression analysis of the RIM motivating factors and the RIM distance was applied to test the second hypothesis. Motivating factors were observed as factors that influence the distance RIMH cross during relocation. The distance was in this case, derived for each observed SA individually. Motivating factors for relocation included a total of 14 reasons for relocation that were divided into economic, housing, social, environmental and health reasons and incentives. The distances RIMH cross during their move were observed as shorter or longer distances for the observed SA.

Rank correlation determined that relocation distances for RIMH in SBD were considerably predisposed by environmental motivating factors, more specifically, the 'Food self-sufficiency' pull factor and the 'Urban issues, pollution, noise' push factor (Table 25). The distances in ZAD that RIMH cross during their move were largely tied to economic, environmental, and health motivating factors.

Table 25: Spearman rank correlation between relocation distance and relocation motivating factors

Motivating factors	Distance	
	SBD	ZAD
Business opportunities	0.1399	0.5991**
Family farm	0.1823	0.6169**
Unemployment, job loss	0.2589	0.4464*
Housing quality	-0.3091	-0.2797
More affordable housing	-0.1089	0.0174
Becoming independent from parents	-0.3286	-0.3017
Letting an apartment or a house in town to children	0.1522	0.1522
Quality of social life	-0.1896	-0.1598
Family or friend issues	-0.0454	-0.2097
Own food production – Food self-sufficiency	-0.3654*	-0.4636*
Proximity of nature, personal satisfaction, and the need for change	0.01221	-0.7117
Urban issues, pollution, noise	-0.5205**	-0.6030**
Health reasons	-0.1394	-0.4848*
Incentives	-0.0896	0.2045

* Significant correlation; ** Very significant correlation

The correlation between the value of the dependent variable, in this case the distance RIMH cross during their move, and the value of explanatory variables or motivating factors, was understood based on the Logistic regression (logit) model since the dependent variable is dichotomous as it assumes only two values, 0 for a shorter distance and 1 for a longer distance. Variables to be included in the model were selected using the Stepwise method involving all 14 listed reasons for relocation. The resulting model in SBD included only 'Urban issues, pollution, noise' as a statistically significant variable, or the most significant reason or push factor for relocation (Table 26).

Table 26: Regression between relocation distance and relocation motives in South-Bačka District

N=30	Logistic regression (logit) N of 0's: 12 1's: 18 Dep. Var: Distance Loss: Max likelihood Final loss: 15.467056560, Chi2(1)=9.4466 p=.00212	
	Const.B0	'Urban issues, pollution, noise'
Estimate	-2.551	1.065
Standard Error	1.209	0.421
t(28)	-2.111	2.528
p-level	0.044	0.017
-95%CL	-5.027	0.202
+95%CL	-0.075	1.928
Wald's Chi-square	4.455	6.392
p-level	0.035	0.011
Odds ratio (unit ch)	0.078	2.901
-95%CL	0.007	1.224
+95%CL	0.928	6.877
Odds ratio (unit range)		70.851
-95%CL		2.244
+95%CL		2236.513

$$\text{logit}\,[\hat{p}(x)] = -2{,}551 + 1{,}065x$$

Seeing that $\hat{\beta} = 1{,}065 > 0$, the probability of a greater relocation distance grows with the increase in motivation of RIMH influenced by the 'Urban issues, pollution, noise' factor. The positive correlation between the selected motivating factor and the probability of a greater relocation distance was additionally confirmed by the Wald test results ($p = 0{,}035 < 0{,}05$).

The *'Sensitivity'* model representing a percentage share of units with the examined characteristic accurately recognised by the model provided a platform for observing the said accuracy. In this analysis, the model accurately classified 83.3% of RIMH that were motivated by the 'Urban issues, pollution, noise' factor to cross shorter distances during their move. The

model has also recognised 58.3 % RIMH that cross longer distances due to the same reason (Table 27).

Table 27: Classification of study units' recognition in Souh-Bačka District

Observed	Odds ratio: 7.0000 Percent correct: 73.33%		
	Pred. 1.000000	Pred. 0.000000	Percent correct
1.000000	7	5	58.33333
0.000000	3	15	83.33334

The application of the Stepwise method for selecting variables singled out 'Family farm' as a dominant reason and motivating pull factor for RIMH relocation in ZAD. Values given in Table 28 allowed observing the influence of this motive on the distance households cross during their move.

Table 28: Regression between relocation distance and relocation motives in Zaječar District

N=30	Logistic regression (logit) N of 0's: 16 1's: 13 Dep. Var: Distance Loss: Max likelihood Final loss: 13.456316302, Chi2(1)=12.979 p=.00032	
	Const.B0	'Family farm'
Estimate	-2.734	0.797
Standard Error	0.996	0.257
t(27)	-2.745	3.102
p-level	0.011	0.004
-95%CL	-4.778	0.270
+95%CL	-0.691	1.324
Wald's Chi-square	7.536	9.621
p-level	0.006	0.002
Odds ratio (unit ch)	0.065	2.218
-95%CL	0.008	1.309
+95%CL	0.501	3.757
Odds ratio (unit range)		24.198
-95%CL		2.940
+95%CL		199.142

$$\text{logit}\,[\hat{p}(x)] = -2{,}734 + 0{,}797x$$

The positive value of the examined parameter with the selected motive ($\hat{\beta} = 0{,}79 > 0$) suggests that RIMH in ZAD will cross greater distances if they are returning to a family farm. Wald test results ($p = 0{,}006 < 0{,}05$) further confirm the significant positive influence of this motive on the relocation distance.

The considered model precisely classified 84.6% of RIMH that cross longer relocation distances during their move if owning family property (Table 29), as well as 81.3% of RIMH that for the same reason cross shorter relocation distances.

Table 29: Classification of study units' recognition in Zaječar District

Observed	Odds ratio: 23.833 Percent correct: 82.76%		
	Pred. 1.000000	Pred. 0.000000	Percent correct
1.000000	13	3	81.25000
0.000000	2	11	84.61539

We have noticed that specific territorial differences in RIM motivating factors occur when dealing with RIMH that have migrated from a shorter distance ('less-distance' RIMH).

To confirm this observation, households in each SA that have crossed relocation distances shorter than the average relocation distance in one or the other SA are separated. Out of 60 surveyed RIMH, 37 have migrated from a distance shorter than the average. In SBD there were 20 such RIMH, and in ZAD there were 17 RIMH.

Less-distance RIMH were largely influenced by economic and housing factors. There were no statistically significant differences observed between territories in terms of 'social' and 'environmental' RIM factors in less-distance RIMH. The illustration of the Mann–Whitney *U* test (Table 30) excludes information on these two groups of factors.

The results of the Mann–Whitney *U* test showed a significant statistical difference between SA in assessing the importance of 'Family farm' and 'Unemployment, job loss in the town' factors as relocation motives. These two factors were statistically more significant for RIMH in ZAD than for RIMH in SBD.

Inter-territorial differences were also observed in terms of 'housing' factors that motivate less-distance RIM. The results of the Mann-Whitney *U* test show that the quality of housing and cheaper housing in the countryside were very important motivating factors for relocation in the case of less-distance RIMH in SBD, while RIMH from ZAD saw these factors as either important or somewhat important.

Table 30. Territorial differences in primary motivating factors of less-distance rural in-migration, the Mann–Whitney *U* test

Migration factors		SBD Me (n=20)	ZAD Me (n=17)	p – probability obtained from the test
Economic	Business opportunities	4.5	3	0.099825
	Family farm	3	1	0.021896*
	Unemployment, job loss	5	2	0.019732*
Housing	Quality	2	3	0.001102*
	More affordable	2	4	0.009470*
	Becoming independent from parents	5	5	0.202867
	Letting an apartment or a house in town to children	5	5	0.513994
Health reasons		4	5	0.308326
Incentives		3.5	5	0.017157*

* $p < 0.05$

5.4. Hypothesis 3

In testing the third hypothesis, it was considered whether respondents' age and level of education, as well as relocation motives as independent variables, influenced RIMH involvement in the rural economy.

The involvement in the rural economy was measured using 10 dependent variables: (1) the most important sources of income; (2) share of on-household generated income in the overall income; (3) share of income generated from agricultural activities in the overall on-household generated income; (4) share of income generated from non-agricultural activities in the overall on-household generated income; (5) involvement of the household or its member in some sort of private business; (6) characteristics of the private business (the number of employed neighbours and other village residents); (7) share in sales of food and agricultural products; (8) the volume of produced outputs' sales; (9) used sales channels for outputs, and (10) financial investments at the time of relocation.

The relationship between dependent variables with characteristics of respondents and in-migration motivating factors was considered using the correlation analysis or the values of the Spearman's Rank-order Correlation Coefficient. The tables containing correlation analysis results list only independent variables that indicate statistically significant correlation with the observed dependent variables. Since the correlation analysis results indicate the difference in

statistical relevance of links between certain independent and dependent variables, the results were illustrated in separate tables for SBD (Table 31) and ZAD (Table 32).

Some of the distinctive links between the observed variables in SBD indicate that the main source of income was notably associated with two pull economic motivating factors, namely ‘Better business opportunities in the countryside’ and 'Family farm’. In terms of RIMH in SBD, there are also significant correlations between the main source of income of RIMH and two housing pull motivating factors for relocation, namely ‘Quality of housing’ and ‘Cheaper housing’.

The share of on-household generated income in the overall income is tied to the same economic and housing factors that motivated relocation, as is the main source of income, but also with the ‘Incentives’ push factor. RIMH reliance on agricultural or non-agricultural sources of income in the overall household income also significantly correlates with relocation motives. There is a link between non-agricultural sources of income and ‘Incentives’ as motivating factors. Agricultural sources of income generated on the household statistically significantly correlate with three motivating pull factors, ‘Family farm’, ‘Quality of housing’, and ‘Quality of social life’, and one push factor ‘Becoming independent from parents’.

Involvement of households or their members in some form of private business was considerably tied to the RIMH idea of ‘Better business opportunities in the countryside’ and ‘Incentives’ as motives for relocation.

The investment method significantly correlates with the respondents’ age, but also with the ‘Better business opportunities in the countryside’ and the ‘Incentives’ (Table 31).

Table 31: Spearman Rank Order Correlations between respondents' characteristics and motivating factors for rural in-migrations and ways of involvement in the rural economy, South-Bačka District

Variable		Age	Motivating Factors						
			Business opportunities	Family farm	Quality of housing	More affordable housing	Becoming independent from parents	Quality of social life	Incentives
Income source	Main source	0.2663	-0.5332*	-0.4319*	0.4162*	0.5093*	0.2712	-0.1653	0.3414
	On-household	-0.3134	0.5593*	0.5493*	-0.5137*	-0.6009*	-0.1616	0.3280	-0.5136*
	Agriculture	-0.2412	0.5321	0.5732*	-0.6652*	-0.5429	-0.5880*	0.6113*	-0.3732
	Non-agriculture	-0.2842	0.3473	0.1097	-0.4601	-0.4159	-0.2329	0.0602	-0.7773*
Involvement in private business		-0.1852	0.4350	0.1462	-0.2511	-0.1769	-0.2007	0.1768	-0.3615*
Size (No of employees)		-0.2000	0.1482	0.5282	0.3493	0.2346	-0.4861	0.4432	0.1734
Output sellers		-0.1083	0.4870*	0.5330*	-0.3237	-0.5112*	0.0922	0.1822	-0.3521
Sales volume		-0.1549	0.2215	0.0695	-0.5467*	-0.1979	-0.3348	0.1998	-0.2420
Sales channels		-0.0575	0.3950	0.2963	-0.0372	-0.1201	-0.2663	0.0685	0.2281
Fund investment method		-0.4747*	0.5251*	0.3449	-0.1790	-0.4182*	-0.2920	0.1392	-0.7060*

*Marked correlations are significant at p<.05000

The main source of income of RIMH in ZAD statistically significantly correlates with the economic pull factor ‘Family farm’, but also with the environmental pull factor ‘Proximity of nature, personal satisfaction, and the need for change’.

There was also an evident correlation between the share of agricultural income in the overall on-household generated income originating from agricultural activities and the economic motivating factors ‘Family farm’ and ‘Unemployment, job loss in the town’. The share of agricultural income for RIMH in ZAD correlates with all three environmental factors that motivated RIMH move. The share of non-agricultural income in the overall household income, however, statistically significantly correlates with the perception of village as an area that offers greater business opportunities, but also with ‘Family farm’ and ‘Proximity of nature, personal satisfaction, and the need for change’ factors.

The involvement of households or their members in some sort of private business significantly correlates with respondents’ age, education level, environmental, and health motives.

The share of RIMH that participate in the sale of market surplus correlates with economic and environmental relocation motives.

The way in which RIMH in ZAD invest funds during their move correlates with the motivating factors for relocation, i.e. whether the move was motivated by ‘Family farm’, ‘Quality of social life’ or ‘Proximity of nature, personal satisfaction, and the need for change’ factor (Table 32).

Table 32: Spearman Rank Order Correlations between respondents' characteristics and motivating factors for rural in-migrations and ways of involvement in the rural economy, Zaječar District

Variable		Age	Education	Motivating Factors							
				Business opportunities	Family farm	Unemployment, job loss	Quality of soc. Life	Food self-sufficiency	Proximity of nature…	Urban issues..	Health
Income source	Main source	0.0620	0.0605	0.3063	0.3937*	0.1882	0.0017	-0.2988	-0.4011*	-0.2968	-0.1096
	On-household	0.3090	0.0953	0.0626	-0.1852	0.1398	-0.1211	0.0061	-0.1859	-0.1629	-0.2351
	Agriculture	0.1856	0.2855	0.0799	0.5404*	0.6355*	-0.0262	-0.4944*	-0.7694*	-0.5367*	-0.2400
	Non-agriculture	0.1806	-0.0901	-0.5093*	-0.6858*	-0.3204	0.3067	-0.2106	0.6218*	0.3260	0.2833
Involvement in private business		0.4839*	-0.4292*	-0.0538	-0.3423	-0.3432	0.0364	0.1027	0.4510*	0.3945	0.3794*
Size (No of employees)		-0.2629	-0.1969	-0.4068	0.1741	0.1343	0.4891	-0.0942	-0.1725	0.4421	0.4680
Output sellers		-0.0680	0.2839	0.5155*	0.5685*	0.3696*	-0.1789	-0.2183	-0.6387*	-0.4985*	-0.4647*
Sales volume		-0.0434	0.2823	-0.2138	0.4634	0.6590*	-0.0692	-0.4393	-0.3046	-0.1680	0.0091
Channels		-0.0510	-0.4279	0.3696	-0.2758	-0.2683	-0.1188	0.2044	0.1013	0.0197	-0.0436
Fund investment meth		-0.1222	0.1542	0.2895	0.6021*	0.3410	-0.3826*	-0.1770	-0.4490*	-0.3619	-0.2613

*Marked correlations are significant at p<.05000

The results of the conducted regression analysis indicate only two statistically significant links in SBD. The first statistically significant link was detected between the share of on-household generated income in the overall income and the factor of 'Incentives' that motivated the move. The second statistically significant link was detected between the involvement of households or their members in some sort of private business and the 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' motivating factor.

Stepwise regression separated 'Incentives' as the most significant relocation factor influencing the share of on-household generated income in the overall income. The results of the examined logistical regression model of these two variables are shown in Table 33.

Table 33: Regression of share of on-household generated income in the overall income and incentives in South-Bačka District

N=21	Logistic regression (logit) N of 0's: 13 1's: 8 Dep. Var: On-household income Loss: Max likelihood Final loss: 9.576738697, Chi2(1)=8.7567 p=.00309	
	Const.B0	'Incentives'
Estimate	-4.432	1.121
Standard Error	1.851	0.467
t(27)	-2.395	2.400
p-level	0.027	0.027
-95%CL	-8.306	0.143
+95%CL	-0.559	2.098
Wald's Chi-square	5.735	5.760
p-level	0.017	0.016
Odds ratio (unit ch)	0.012	3.067
-95%CL	0.000	1.154
+95%CL	0.572	8.152
Odds ratio (unit range)		88.523
-95%CL		1.774
+95%CL		4417.105

$$\text{logit}\,[\hat{p}(x)] = -4{,}432 + 1{,}121x$$

The positive value of the examined parameter with the independent variable ($\hat{\beta} = 1{,}121 > 0$) indicates that the increase in the significance of 'Incentives' as the RIM motivating factor correspondingly increases the share of on-household generated income in the overall income of the household. The examined model accurately classified 87.5% of households that will more likely generate the overall income on the household as the significance of incentives as motivating factor for their move increases (Table 34).

Table 34. Classification of study units' recognition and links between the rural in-migation motivating factor 'Incentives' and the share of on-household generated income in the overall income, South-Bačka District

Observed	Odds ratio: 38.500 Percent correct: 85.71%		
	Pred. 6.000000	Pred. 1.000000	Percent correct
6.000000	11	2	84.61539
1.000000	1	7	87.50000

The evaluated logistic regression model (Table 35) indicates the presence of statistically significant link between the involvement of the household or its members in some sort of private business and the evaluated significance of the RIM factor 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' in SBD.

Table 35: Regression of the rural in-migration motivating factor 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' and the involvement in private business, Zaječar District

N=30	Logistic regression (logit) N of 0's: 9 1's: 21 Dep. Var: Business involvement Loss: Max likelihood Final loss: 15.418144865, Chi2(1)=5.8156 p=.01589	
	Const.B0	'Better business opportunities in the countryside'
Estimate	-1.46	0.675
Standard Error	1.07	0.304
t(27)	-1.36	2.222
p-level	-3.65	0.035
-95%CL	0.74	0.053
+95%CL	1.85	1.297
Wald's Chi-square	0.17	4.939
p-level	0.23	0.026
Odds ratio (unit ch)	0.03	1.963
-95%CL	2.09	1.054
+95%CL		3.657
Odds ratio (unit range)		14.864
-95%CL		1.235
+95%CL		178.853

$$\text{logit}\,[\hat{p}(x)] = -1{,}46 + 0{,}675x$$

The value of the examined parameter ($\hat{\beta} = 0{,}675 > 0$) indicates that RIMHs' belief in greater business opportunities in the village as motivation for their relocation will increase the likelihood of that household or its member becoming involved in some sort of private business.

This model accurately classified 55.5% of RIMH that were involved in some sort of private business (Table 36), with far greater accuracy in classifying those that will not engage in any form of private business (90.5%).

Table 36: Classification of study units' recognition, motivating factors of 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' and the involvement in private business, Zaječar District

Observed	Odds ratio: 11.875 Percent correct: 80.00%		
	Pred. 1.000000	Pred. 2.000000	Percent correct
1.000000	5	4	55.55556
2.000000	2	19	90.47619

The conducted regression analysis for ZAD respondents extracted a significant link between the share of sale of produced outputs and the RIM motivating factor 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' (Table 37).

Table 37: Regression of the rural in-migration motivating factor 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' and the share in the sale of outputs, Zaječar District

N=29	Logistic regression (logit) N of 0's: 9 1's: 21 Dep. Var: Output Sales Loss: Max likelihood Final loss: 14.917431593, Chi2(1)=8.6612 p=.00325	
	Const.B0	'Better business opportunities in the countryside'
Estimate	4.360	-1.038
Standard Error	1.671	0.410
t(27)	2.609	-2.531
p-level	0.015	0.018
-95%CL	0.932	-1.879
+95%CL	7.788	-0.197
Wald's Chi-square	6.809	6.407
p-level	0.009	0.011
Odds ratio (unit ch)	78.234	0.354
-95%CL	2.539	0.153
+95%CL	241.891	0.822
Odds ratio (unit range)		0.016
-95%CL		0.001
+95%CL		0.456

$$\text{logit}\,[\hat{p}(x)] = 4{,}36 - 1{,}038x$$

The evaluated model indicates that the intensification of business opportunities in the village will decrease market surplus ($\hat{\beta} = ' - 1{,}038 < 0$). Presumed explanation of this link assumes that

if RIMH that believe in 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' as the main motivating pull factor for relocation, they will have a lower tendency to engage in agricultural production.

The evaluated model accurately classified 83.3% of RIMH that sold own agricultural products, as well as 63.6% of households that did not do so, further indicating the significant accuracy of the model itself (Table 38).

Table 38: Classification of study units' recognition, motivating factor 'Better business opportunities in the countryside' and the share in the sale of outputs, Zaječar District

Observed	Odds ratio: 8.7500 Percent correct: 75.86%		
	Pred. 2.000000	Pred. 1.000000	Percent correct
2.000000	7	4	63.63636
1.000000	3	15	83.33334

Fund investing method of RIMH in ZAD is significantly linked with the 'Family farm' motivating pull factor. The evaluated regression model so indicates (Table 39).

Table 39: Regression of the motivating factor 'Family farm' and investment method after the move, Zaječar District

N=24	Logistic regression (logit) N of 0's: 9 1's: 15 Dep. Var: Method of investments Loss: Max likelihood Final loss: 8.824882266, Chi2(1)=14.105 p=.00017	
	Const.B0	'Family farm'
Estimate	3.694	-1.006
Standard Error	1.367	0.338
t(22)	2.701	-2.975
p-level	0.013	0.007
-95%CL	0.858	-1.708
+95%CL	6.530	-0.305
Wald's Chi-square	7.297	8.850
p-level	0.007	0.003
Odds ratio (unit ch)	40.200	0.366
-95%CL	2.358	0.181
+95%CL	685.269	0.737
Odds ratio (unit range)		0.018
-95%CL		0.001
+95%CL		0.295

$$\text{logit}\,[\hat{p}(x)] = 3{,}694 - 1{,}006x$$

The model has accurately classified 86.7% of households with reported lower investments in agriculture if they moved from the town to the countryside because they owned family property (Table 40).

Table 40: Classification of study units' recognition, motivating factor 'Family farm' and investment method after the move, Zaječar District

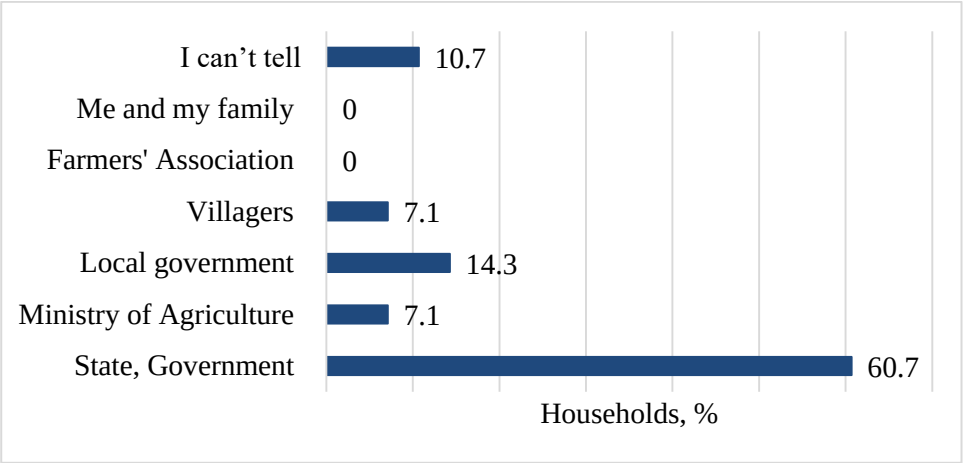
Observed	Odds ratio: 52.000 Percent correct: 87.50%		
	Pred. 3.000000	Pred. 1.000000	Percent correct
3.000000	8	1	88.88889
1.000000	2	13	86.66666

To answer the portion of the third research question on the way of involvement and assimilation in the social context of the community they moved to, RIMHs' attitudes on the following are examined: (1) the current quality of life after the move; (2) reasons and responsibilities for possible dissatisfaction with the quality of life after the move; (3) quality of life compared to their neighbours and other residents; (4) quality and type of relationships with neighbours and other residents, and (5) reasons for possible segregation of indigenous population in communities with rural in-migrants as newcomers.

The results suggest a high percentage of satisfaction with migration among surveyed households. As many as 83.3% of respondents believe their quality of life improved with the move, of which as many as 46% believe their quality of life is far better.

Inadequate agricultural and rural policy is what strongly or for the most part influences poor quality of life of RIMH. The second important reason for dissatisfaction with the current quality of rural living is the unsatisfactory availability and the quality of public services (education, health care, culture, sports, etc.). The largest number of households believes the most responsible for dissatisfaction are state institutions or governments, both central and local. Households do not perceive their own role in their dissatisfaction with the quality of life after their move (Graph 9).

Graph 9. Responsibility for dissatisfaction of RIMH with rural living



Seeing that some RIMH said they currently live worse than before the move, the next question was whether they would return to the town. Other RIMH that were satisfied with the current quality of life after the move, in addition to those that were dissatisfied, answered this question. Only one RIMH said they would return to the town. This four-member household from SBD is the beneficiary of the grant for married couples in the territory of the AP Vojvodina for purchasing village homes with kitchen gardens.

Most RIMH believe they live better than the indigenous population. More than half of surveyed RIMH (59.3%) see the quality of their life as better. The quality of relationships with neighbours and other village residents was also highly rated. Over 96% of surveyed RIMH believe those relationships are good.

The most frequent relationships with neighbours and other rural residents are of social nature, without any business ties. A total of 76.7% of RIMH said such relationships are frequent, very frequent, or most frequent. The second most frequent relationship type between RIMH and indigenous households is the assistance in daily households' farm chores. 46.7% of RIMH said they frequently, very frequently, or most frequently enter into relationships with rural residents and neighbours to purchase food. The most important differences between migrated and indigenous population that can impact the degree and the quality of integration in new communities RIMH see in mutual lifestyle and value systems differences, and consequently, in mutual distrust. Accordingly, the emphasised differences concern perceptions and the importance of issues concerning the environment, farming method, differences in education or culture and mentality, and differences in the economic status.

Table 41: Rural in-migrant households' assessment of the quality of life after the move/return

Assessment of life after in-migration (mean)	SBD	ZAD	Total
Quality of life*	2.27	2.33	2.30
Compared to indigenous neighbours*	3.47	2.86	3.17
Reasons for dissatisfaction with the quality of life **			
Lack of jobs and finances	3.20	3.17	3.18
Unprofitableness of agricultural production	3.25	3.40	3.33
Rural and agricultural policy	2.00	2.29	2.18
Transportation links with the city/town	3.25	2.80	3.00
Municipal infrastructure	2.75	3.17	3.00
Public services (access and quality)	2.80	3.17	3.00
Depopulation	4.25	2.71	3.27
Quality of relationship with indigenous neighbours***	1.79	2.17	1.98
Frequency of certain types of relationship with indigenous neighbours			
We help each other with farm chores	2.27	2.54	2.40
We pay for non-agricultural services	3.52	3.55	3.54
We pay for agricultural services	2.86	3.87	3.38
We rent machinery from locals	3.13	3.89	3.53
We borrow machinery from locals	3.56	4.00	3.80
We employ locals in our private company	1.71	3.00	2.00
We buy food	3.00	2.94	2.98
We rent our machinery	5.00	5.00	5.00
We lend our machinery	3.71	3.15	3.35
We sell agricultural products that we produce	2.82	4.33	3.14
We sell non-farm services	2.00	3.67	3.25
We sell on-farm, non-agricultural services	2.00	4.00	3.33
We sell on-farm agricultural services	1.00	0.00	1.00
We cooperate on issues of concern for the community	3.60	3.38	3.49
We get together, no business ties	2.55	2.82	2.68
Frequency of reasons for dissatisfaction with the relationship with indigenous neighbours****			
Economic status	4.33	4.00	4.14
Education level	4.33	2.75	3.43
Culture and mentality	3.67	3.00	3.29
Ethnicity and religion	5.00	5.00	5.00
Prejudices and distrust of village residents	3.33	4.00	3.71
Prejudices and distrust of in-migrants	4.00	4.50	4.29
Lifestyle and value system	3.00	2.60	2.75
Differences in farming method	3.67	4.75	4.29
Differences in attitudes about the environment	2.67	3.20	3.00
Bad experience in business cooperation	3.33	4.50	4.00
Bad experience in cooperation on issues of concern for the community	3.00	4.50	3.86

*('1'=much better; '2'=better; '3'=somewhat better; '4'=same; '5'=worse; '6'=much worse);
**('1'=100%; '2'=70<=x<100%; '3'=50<=x<70%; '4'=20<=x<50%; '5'=0<=x<20%);
('1'=very good; '2'=good; '3'=good, but sporadic; '4'=no relations; '5'=poor; '6'=very poor); *('1'=most frequent; '2'=very frequent; '3'=frequent; '4'=exists; '5'=rarely)

6. Conclusions

Despite a great need for finding a new niche in deliberation of rural revival, in-migration and its possible role therein has not been assessed in Serbia until now.

This can partly be viewed as a result of the fact that Serbian statistical context is missing monitoring the movement of population based on typology of settlements. In addition to the aforementioned, there is no population register in the Republic of Serbia (ISS, SORS 2014). Having in mind these facts this study is characterised by idiographic rather than 'nomothetic-led' approach (recommended by Smith 2007, p. 277). Despite the data shortcomings, rural out-migrations were analysed within innumerable research frameworks in Serbia, whilst **the information on RIM is missing** entirely.

Methodological approach applied in this Study, particularly in the part pertaining to sample identification, suggests that **rural in-migrants do not represent a visible category of population, and that the intensity of this migration type is still rather low in Serbia**.

Gkartzios (2013, p. 165) points out that 'knowledge and research on counterurbanisation is spatially selective', intending primarily to highlight national specificities. However, the results of the research presented in this PhD Study support this view also within the national context, between the two observed SA. That is the reason why one of the four research questions raised in this Study - 'Do in-migrants' characteristics, motivations, and strategies to get integrated differ depending on the diversity of study areas?', was treated as a 'cross-cutting' issue in discussing the final conclusions.

6.1. Who, in the case of study areas in Serbia are in-migrants?

Analysis of demographic and socio-economic characteristics of RIMH suggests that **young (mean age of 32) and relatively educated families (more than 33% of them with a degree), originally from towns in Serbia (91.7%) migrate to rural areas of the two studied territories**. Participation in activities requiring higher education is higher compared to participation in activities typical for low-level education profiles. Of the total number of household members, majority is computer literate (68.2%), and speaks at least one foreign language (51%), with slight differences between the observed territories. Both sexes are equally represented in the households, and the share of households with two and more members amounts to 63.4%.

Households that migrated to the villages of SBD were on average 13 years younger than those that migrated to the villages of ZAD. Nearly one third of household members in SBD are children under 15 years of age, which influences the dependency ratio for this district (76.4% compared to 50.6% in ZAD). In terms of the number of household members, households with four and more members account for more than half of the sample from the territory of SBD, whereas in ZAD two-person households constituted nearly 50% of the sample.

However, persons with college or university level education were two and a half times more common in the households migrating to the villages of ZAD than in those of SBD. On the other hand, persons with formal education in the field of agriculture, implying either graduation from agricultural high school or a degree in agriculture, were more numerous in SBD.

No significant differences between the two districts were observed in the structure of sectors in which active persons are employed. Nonetheless, higher share of unemployed persons among active persons is recorded in ZAD (16.3%), compared to 9.0% of unemployed in SBD.

When it comes to the type of work performed, skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers and the like were two times more common in SBD, whereas professionals and artists were two times more common in ZAD.

Taking into consideration only those who have migrated from Serbian towns, RIMH have migrated from an average distance of 77 km. When relocating, they more tend to invest their own money and incentives, rather than to take some form of a loan for the refurbishment of houses, purchase of property and agricultural activities. **Territorial differences can be observed already at the time of relocation.** When compared to the villages of SBD, households of ZAD cross up to three times greater distances to relocate to villages which are more isolated and distant from municipal and regional urban centres. They use their own funds for relocation, whereas households of SBD tend to rely more on the budget support from some level of government, credits and loans.

On average, majority of households have been residing in their place of relocation for 5 years (62%). The vast majority (86.7%) have moved there permanently, and spend the entire year on their property. At the same time, more than 60% of households and their members have formally registered the change of address.

Almost 56.2% of RIMH farms fall under the category of small holdings, and around 12% belong to the category of large holdings. **Average size of rural in-migrants' farms is 10.1 ha**,

dominated by private ownerships of the available (95.6%) and arable land (423.1 ha or 70.7% of available land). The structure of UAA suggests that arable land is prevailing (29.9% of), of which kitchen gardens account for 24.9%, and tilled fields and market gardens for 75.1%. Availability of arable land per household member (0.68 ha/person) suggest stable food sustainability of RIMH.

The share of rural in-migrant households with animal husbandry is more than half (58.3%), while the share of those with agricultural machinery and equipment is less than half (46.7%).

6.2. Why did rural in-migrants decide to move or return to rural areas?

There are different reasons that prompt the decision of RIMH to move from a town to the countryside.

However, looking at the entire sample of households in both SA, it might be concluded that **environmental factors were assessed as most important, very important or important by all rural in-migrants, regardless of whether they are newcomers or returnees in one or another SA**. The possibility of food self-sufficiency is the most important pull factor for RIM for more than a half of households. The need to change urban lifestyle, being close to nature, and urban problems as a combination of push and pull factors have strongly motivated slightly less than half of RIMH.

There are obvious differences in the motives to in-migrate between the two categories of RIMH, namely returnees and newcomers. Returnee households or households that return from towns to their family estates, mention precisely their family property as the basic factor that motivated the in-migration. This factor is often associated with the loss of a job in the town. On the other hand, factors relating to housing, cheaper and better housing, and larger living space were more likely to motivate newcomers. Particularly in the case of households in SBD, housing factors are most often equally valued as well as associated with incentives as a push factor for RIM.

One fourth of households considered that rural areas offered greater business opportunities and better social environment, respectively.

Very similar factors motivate rural in-migrants when making a decision regarding the village of resettlement. Environmental factors, especially the possibility for food self-sufficiency and rural environment are equally important for both newcomers and returnees. Nonetheless, when

choosing the village of relocation, those who migrate for the first time consider as most important or very important the factors pertaining to housing, i.e. price and quality of property and housing unit, but also proximity and connection with urban centre, and quality and availability of infrastructure and public services. For returnees, these factors are often not that important. The direction of their migration is usually determined by the location of their family farm or house, and new business opportunities in an environment in which they are devoid of the need to invest from scratch.

Nevertheless, **territorial specificities pertaining to reasons and factors that motivate RIM emerge as a basic conclusion.**

The share of returnees in rural in-migrant population in ZAD is 53.3%, and they are more numerous than in the other SA (44.3%). For returnees, 'family farm' is the most important pull factor, whereas 'Unemployment or job loss in the town' represents the most important push factor of in-migration for 36.7% of households in ZAD, and 6.7% in SBD. On the other hand, more than half of households in SBD, as newcomers, are significantly more motivated by factors that concern cheaper housing (53.4%). Five times less households in ZAD assess this pull factor as the most important. Also, having in mind that the families in SBD are younger and with more children under the age of 15, 'becoming independent from parents' as a push factor has motivated one-third of newcomer households in SBD to in-migrate. Households of SBD were more motivated by social factors. In the other district, households were more motivated by environmental factors, particularly the need to be closer to nature, to change their lifestyle and to overcome urban problems. It is important to underline the differences in the position of 'incentives' as motivating factor for rural in-migration. In SBD, this pull factor was assessed as 'most important', 'very important' or 'important' by more than half of households (almost all newcomers), whereas in ZAD it was assessed as irrelevant factor for RIM by almost all households.

When it comes to territorial differences in choosing a specific village for relocation of surveyed households, the most important pull factors concerned the proximity of urban centres, 'Good transportation links with the city/town', and availability and quality of infrastructure facilities (municipal infrastructure and public services). In SBD, for a household to resettle in a certain village it is far more important that the village has good transport links with the town, and that the level and quality of infrastructure facilities and public services are satisfactory.

6.3. How did they become involved in the life of the community they moved to?

Participation of active and employed persons is higher compared to that of inactive and unemployed. Among inactive persons, children under the age of 15 were the most numerous. However, the number of self-employed labour in private business or agriculture is smaller than the number of employees in companies, irrespective of the ownership type.

Agricultural sector does not participate significantly in the employment of RIMH members. Nonetheless, **majority of RIMH generate income from agriculture, hunting and fishing** (48.3%), and from salaries and wages in public (41.7%), and/or private sector (40.0%). At the same time, **agriculture is the main sources of income for one-third of RIMH**. **Four-fifths of RIMH generate some sort of income within the households. The income earned at the household is dominated by that originating from agricultural activities.**

One third of RIMH is involved in private business, which is either micro or small business in its characteristics, registered and conducted in the village of relocation, and providing employment for a total of 78 persons (58% are village residents, not members of the household). At the same time, private business is the main source of income for 21.7% of RIMH. **Young and educated RIMH are usually the ones engaged in private business.**

Nevertheless, **the way in which RIMH are involved in rural economy is territory specific, dependent on the factors that motivated migrations, and on general demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the household head.**

The differences in agricultural profile between RIMH in two SA is significant. It can be observed in the way of initial investments are made at the time of relocation. Households of ZAD tend to invest more in initiating and expanding the scope of agricultural activities. Conversely, in the other SA the households invest less in agriculture, and more in the purchase of residential houses and private business. However, when observing the RIMH that invest in agriculture, it can be noted that households of SBD tend to invest more in innovation of agricultural activities, while those in ZAD invest more in the purchase of land and agricultural machinery.

Household structure according to the size of available land is also significantly more favourable in ZAD, where 40% of holdings have 10 or more hectars of UAA. At the same time, utilised agricultural area of 46.7% households in SBD does not exceed 0.5 ha.

Territorial differences in the level of agricultural activity are borne out by the position of agricultural activity in the structure of total and main income of RIMH. Upon relocation, agriculture becomes the main source of income for almost half of RIMH in ZAD, and for one-fifth of RIMH in SBD. 43.3% of RIMH in SBD generate income outside the household, in the town and through salaries and wages. Compared to this, 6.7% of RIMH in ZAD do not generate income within their households. Agriculture is the most important source of income generated within the RIMH of ZAD. For slightly more than a half of households in this district, and for under one third in SBD which generate income within the household, more than 50% of this income comes from agriculture.

In general, households that are more active in agriculture and have 3.6 times larger UAA have migrated to the villages of ZAD. Nevertheless, the differences between SA in regards to the way of involvement in rural economy and importance of agriculture are multidimensional. Returnee households of ZAD crossed shorter distances to move; they generate higher level of income within the household, and are more active in agriculture compared to the newcomer households in the same district that have crossed longer distances to resettle. In SBD, RIMH that were motivated by housing factors and in-migration subsidies have crossed shorter migratory distances; their income is generated in urban environment (commuting), mostly through salaries and wages. If their income is generated within the household, then the income comes from private business.

More than half of RIMH is involved in the output sales market (food and agricultural produce), of which majority (62.5%) sell more than 70% of their production using multiple sales channels at the same time.

The quality of relations with neighbours and other village residents was rated as very high. Most frequently these relations with neighbours and other village residents relate to socialising, without business relations, help with daily household farm's tasks, purchase of food from locals, and cooperation on issues of concern for the entire community. In general, **RIMH do not see big differences in relation to indigenous population of communities to which they have returned**. However, the RIMH that face more difficult integration in the new community consider this to be the consequence of mutual differences in the lifestyle and value system, level of education, cultural patterns, mentality, differences in economic status and experience of mutual cooperation on business and social activities.

6.4. Key policy implications and recommendations

Serbia needs to invest further in improving the social and economic conditions in rural areas, and in particular in the more remote rural areas facing depopulation and alarming out-migration and depopulation trends. Investing in the broader rural economy and rural communities is vital for the increase in the quality of life in rural areas, via improved access to basic services and infrastructure and a better environment. Thus, it is crucial that authorities understand the needs and aspirations of all its communities in terms of policy formulation, and reviewing, as well as advocating their interests.

As it is shown in this PhD Study, rural in-migrants are considered as an important and integrative part of the rural communities they have migrated to. Rural in-migrations, thus, provides a base for focusing policy debates, and potentially future policy developments, gaps and contradictions in policy planning, delivery, and the relative policy sensitivity to the potentials and needs of this 'new' sequence of a rural community.

It means that the policies should not be designed just to assess and identify the issues present, but also offer guidelines and recommendations for overcoming or improving the existing situation in mintoring and supporting rural in-migration phenomenon. Highlighting the problems that in-migrants face, as well as measures taken or not taken by decision makers to resolve these problems, can lead to changes in the rural communities situation and their active involvement in the process of endogenous self-development.

The greater attention to place-based polices puts the focus on the role of local governmental entities, not only to design but also to implement such policies (OECD, 2006). Transferring the role of leadership at the local level to local authorities themselves allows public policies to be implemented in ways that make sense locally. This may represent a step forward and an opportunity for increasing awareness at the local and national level on the role of in-migrants. In addition, it raises potentials for endogenous development, placing rural dwellers, including in-migrants, in a position to use their own resources for local development processes and leading to exchanges and capacity-building.

Essentially, rural in-migrants are cast as the catalysts of change through collective, neo-endogenous action. However, comparison between two SAs in this Study leads to the conclusion that this certainly implies new social relations within the community, and especially in those communities in which such changes are most needed, but most challenging, as well.

Making rural areas more attractive also requires promoting sustainable growth and generating new employment opportunities, particularly for young people and women, as well as facilitating the access to up to date information and communication technologies. Economy diversification towards non-agricultural activities, assistance for off-farm activities, and strengthening the links between agriculture and other sectors of the rural economy play an important role, looking from the perspective of RIMHs' socio-economic characteristics.

Level of satisfaction with the decision to migrate is very high, and can contribute to the productive endogenous development. Better and much better quality of life in the new environment compared to the urban environment of origin was reported by 83.3% respondents, and with respect to the indigenous population by 59.3% of RIMH. Reasons behind the viewpoint about lower quality of life compared to the period before the relocation include inadequate agricultural and rural policies, unsatisfactory level of availability and quality of public services (education, health care, cultural and sporting events etc.), lack of people in the village, infrastructure facilities in the village, quality of the existing infrastructure, feeling of isolation and poor transport links with the town, and finally, lack of jobs and finances. However, only one RIMH stated that they would return to the town again.

I would like to conclude this chapter with the following quotes of the respondents:

'I am grateful for the beautiful scenery and unparalleled view of the forest surrounding my property. This is more than a village...' (Marijan, Sesalac - Zaječar District, 4 October 2016);

'It is just wonderful having uncle Mita for a neighbour, having him bid you good morning simply because it's customary.' (Dragana, Vrmdža - Zaječar District, 16 July 2016);

'Our house is not perfect; there is still a lot to do to make it as we want it to be. But it's ours and for us it's the most beautiful... Our yard and the street, it's simply unparalleled. For the first time I can afford letting my children play outside (they often end up having lunch at our neigbhbour's place), because I know everyone is looking after them' (Marija, Tovariševo - South Bačka District, 9 September 2016);

'I am overjoyed to be able to pick tomatoes from my garden in the morning before breakfast, and serve it to my children... And there is still plenty to share with my neighbours' (Dragana, Nova Gajdobra - South Bačka District, 12 September 2016).

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Appendices

Appendix 1 –Questionnaire 1, 'Mapping of urban-rural migration – Form for LG'

Questionnaire distribution date: 30 March 2016

Questionnaire distribution method: Standing Conference of Towns and Municipalities

Dear colleagues, please read the Questionnaire carefully, including definitions found on the last page of the document.

The questionnaire comprises three parts. *The first part* relates to general or the so-called identification data on settlements belonging to the 'other' type of settlements, in accordance with the current statistical typology of settlements. *The second part* contains questions pertaining to the number of family households that have moved to 'other' settlements as of 2001, and the category to which they belong. *The third part* relates to the role of local government in managing the rural in-migration processes.

The data obtained through this Questionnaire will be used solely for scientific and research purposes, and will not be published individually. Management of the collected data is subject to the provisions of the Law on Personal Data Protection ("Official Gazette of RS", No. 97/2008, 104/2009 – as amended, 68/2012 - Decision of the Constitutional Court and 107/2012).

Form of publication of the data processing results: PhD Thesis - *Rural in-migrations in Serbia - An assessment of social and economic implication on rural communities*

Place of publication: University of Bologna, Italy
Expected time of publication: May 2017

Name of the scientific and research institutions that will be using the data:
Faculty of Agriculture, University of Bologna, Italy
Faculty of Agriculture, University of Belgrade

Full name and professional references of researchers who will be using the data:
Branislav Milić, PhD candidate, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Bologna, Italy,
Dr Matteo Vittuari, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Bologna, Italy,
Prof. Dr Natalija Bogdanov, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Belgrade

Thank you very much for your valuable contribution! In case of any doubts or questions in relation to this survey or its content please contact Mr. Branislav Milić at the e-mail address listed herein below. Please send the completed questionnaire no later than 11 April 2016 to the following e-mail addresses: branislav.milic@studio.unibo.it and Sladjana.Grujic@skgo.org

I.	**Identification data (IP):**		
IP 1	Municipality/town (name):		
IP 2	Total number of rural settlements in the territory of a municipality		
IP 3	Number of rural settlements with identified rural in-migrant family households		
IP 4	Data source:	IP 4.1 Local neighbourhood community office	
		IP 4.2 MoI	
		IP 4.3 Other (please specify):	
IP 5	Average distance of rural settlements from the municipal centre (km)		
II.	**Information on migrated households (PD):**		
PD 6	Number of family households that have moved to rural settlements since 2001 :		
PD 7	Urban settlement origin of the migrated households:	PD 7.1 All migrated family households	
		PD 7.2 ≥ 60%	
		PD 7.3 30 – 60%	
		PD 7.4 ≤ 30%	
PD 8	Share of certain categories of family households that have migrated from urban settlements (%)	PD 8.1 Returning family households (members of the family household have returned to the family property and spend the entire year there)	
		PD 8.2 Migrant family households (members of the family household do not have a prior relation to the settlement, they have purchased a property and spend the entire year on the household)	
		PD 8.3 "Half-half" family households (household members spend ≥50% of their time during the year on the household, and the remaining portion of the time in urban settlements)	
		PD 8.4 Economic family households (household members carry out an economic activity on the property, but do not stay there)	
		PD 8.5 Other categories not specified here (please specify):	
		PD 8.5.1 Category 1:	
		PD 8.5.2 Category 2:	
		PD 8.5.3 Category 3:	
PD 9	Share of family farms in the overall number of family households that have migrated from urban settlements (%)		
III.	**Information on activities of local governments (PLS):**		
PLS 10	Does your local government encourage return to rural settlements and/or their resettlement?	Yes	
		No	
PLS 11	If the answer to the question (10) is affirmative, is this support regulated under any local government document?	Yes	
		No	
PLS 12	Does your local government provide financial encouragement for return to rural settlemenets and/or their resettlement?	Yes	
		No	
PLS 13	If the answer to the question (12) is affirmative, please specify the number of family households that have used the financial support.		
PLS 14	If the answer to the question (12) is affirmative, what is the budget share of this support in the overall local government budget (%)?		

Appendix 2 – Questionnaire 2, 'Survey on households that have moved or returned from towns to villages'

Questionnaire distribution date: 20 August 2016

Dear respondent, please read all sections of the questionnaire carefully.

Following the basic objectives of the survey, this questionnaire has been structured in four sections. *The first section* relates to general, or the so-called identification data on the households that have moved to, or returned from towns to villages. Additionally, this section contains questions about relocation characteristics (When? Where from? Where to? etc.) *The second section* contains questions the intention of which is to enquire about households' socio-economic characteristics, with a special focus on the role of agriculture and other economic activities carried out on the farm. *The third section* section aims at investigating the motives leading to the decision to relocate. In addition to general motives for relocation, this group of questions also contains questions pertinent to the verification of reasons for selecting a specific village, and finally, the degree and quality of satisfaction and dissatisfaction of households with their decision to move or return to the countryside. *The fourth section* of the questionnaire deals with the intensity and types of involvement in rural economy and the society of households subject to this research, and the types and dynamics of relationships established with the areas of relocation.

The data obtained through this Questionnaire will be kept confidential. They will be used solely for scientific and research purposes, and will not be published individually. Management of the collected data is subject to the provisions of the Law on Personal Data Protection ("Official Gazette of RS", No. 97/2008, 104/2009 – as amended, 68/2012 - Decision of the Constitutional Court, and 107/2012).

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Faculty of Agriculture, University of Belgrade

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Thank you very much for the time taken for this questionnaire!

If you have any doubts or questions regarding this questionnaire, manner of its completion or the research and its contents, please contact Branislav Milić at the following e-mail address branislav.milic@studio.unibo.it or by phone 063 8427 471.
In case of an e-mail survey, please send the completed questionnaire no later than 12 September 2016 to the following e-mail address: branislav.milic@studio.unibo.it

Date of the survey/ completion of the questionnaire		
Survey method *(Please indicate the appropriate number)*	1 E-mail	
	2 Interviewer, directly	
	3 Interviewer, by phone	
Contact origin. *(To be completed by the interviewer)*	1 Other household	
	2 Local government	
	3 Provincial Gender Equality Institute	
	4 Regional development agency	
	5 Media	
	6 Farmers' associations	

GENERAL INFORMATION (OP)

OP 1	Name and surname of the person surveyed	
OP 2	Is the respondent also the one making daily decisions on the household organisation?, *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*	

OP 3 Household members, *(Please indicate the appropriate number, Information about the person surveyed are completed under 1)*

Household member's number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
OP 3.1 Sex, *1 Male, 2 Female*									
OP 3.2 Age, *(Please enter the age)*									
OP 3.3 Last completed level of education**									
OP 3.4 Current employment status***									
OP 3.5 Level of agricultural training****									
OP 3.6 Computer literacy, *1 Yes, 2 No*									
OP 3.7 Knowledge of at least one foreign language, *1 Yes, 2 No*									
OP 3.8 Occupation*****									

** **Level of education**:
1 Without school
2 1-3 grades of primary school
3 4 grades of primary school
4 5-7 grades of primary school
5 Primary school (8 grades)
6 2-year secondary school
7 3-year secondary school
8 4-year secondary school
9 Specialisation after secondary school
10 2-year college
11 College/university/academy

*** **Status**:
1 Employed (in a company)
2 Employer (employs at least one person)
3 Self-employed
4 Individual farmer
5 Unemployed
6 Student/ pupil
7 Child under 15
8 Retired
9 Disabled person
10 Unpaid member of the household
11 Other inactive person

****Level of agricultural training**:
1 Person not active in agriculture
2 No knowledge of agriculture
3 Experience gained by practice
4 Training courses in the field of agriculture
5 Completed secondary agricultural school
6 Completed college or faculty of agriculture

*****Occupation**:
1 Managers, officials and legislators
2 Professionals and artists
3 Engineers, staff associates and technicians
4 Administrative clerks
5 Service and trade-based occupations
6 Farmers, foresters, fishermen and related
7 Craftsmen and related occupations
8 Plant & machinery operators, fitters, drivers
9 Simple occupations
10 Military occupations

OP 4	Do you consider yourself and members of your household residents of the village you moved to? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*			[ ]
OP 5	OP 5.1 Household address	OP 5.1.1 Municipality		[ ]
		OP 5.1.2 Village		[ ]
		OP 5.1.3 Street		[ ]
		OP 5.1.4 House number		[ ]
	OP 5.2 Where did you move from?	OP 5.2.1 Municipality		[ ]
		OP 5.2.2 City or town/municipality		[ ]
	OP 5.3 Was the change of address (residence or domicile) registered with the MoI? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*			[ ]
OP 6	How much time has elapsed from the moment you moved or returned to the village? *(Please indicate)*	OP 6.1. Years		[ ]
		OP 6.2. Months		[ ]
OP 7	How much time do you spend at the household's property during the year?, *(Please indicate)*	1 Less than 6 months		[ ]
		2 More than 6, less than 12 months		[ ]
		3 12 months		[ ]
OP 8	The distance between the city/town you moved away from and the village you moved / returned to. *(Please enter the distance)*			[ ] km
OP 9	The distance between the closest municipal centre and the village you moved / returned to. *(Please enter the distance)*			[ ] km
OP 10	The distance between the closest seat of the administrative district and the village you moved / returned to. *(Please enter the distance)*			[ ] km

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE HOUSEHOLD (SEP)

SEP 1	SEP 1.1 How much land do you have available? *(Please indicate the total area)*			[ ] ha
	SEP 1.2 How much agricultural land do you use? *(Please enter the area)*	SEP 1.2.1 Kitchen garden		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.2 Tilled fields and market gardens		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.3 Meadows and pastures		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.4 Orchards		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.5 Vineyards		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.6 Nurseries, glasshouses, greenhouses		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.7 Forests		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.8 Fishponds		[ ] ha
		SEP 1.2.9 Other		[ ] ha
	SEP 1.3 How much agricultural land do you have available, but do not use it? *(Please indicate the area)*			[ ] ha
SEP 2	Do you keep livestock? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*			[ ]
SEP 3	If you do, how much? *(Please indicate the appropriate numbers)*	SEP 3.1 Cattle		[ ]
		SEP 3.2 Pigs		[ ]
		SEP 3.3 Sheep and goats		[ ]
		SEP 3.4 Horses and donkeys		[ ]
		SEP 3.5 Poultry, all types		[ ]
		SEP 3.6 Rabbits		[ ]
		SEP 3.7 Beehives		[ ]
		SEP 3.8 Other		[ ]
SEP 4	Do you own agricultural machinery (machinery and equipment)? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*			[ ]

SEP 5	If you do, what machinery and equipment? *(Please indicate the appropriate numbers)*	SEP 5.1 Tractor	
		SEP 5.2 Two-wheel tractor	
		SEP 5.3 Truck/van	
		SEP 5.4 Tractor mounted implements (ploughs, disc harrows etc.)	
		SEP 5.5 Harvester, corn picker	
		SEP 5.6 Fruit picker	
		SEP 5.7 Milking machines	
		SEP 5.8 Specialised machines (dredgers, tanks, woodworking machines, cold storages, dryers etc.)	
		SEP 5.9 Other	

SEP 6	Please designate all sources of your household's income in SEP 6.1 and choose the one you think is your main source of income in 6.2. *(Please indicate the appropriate answers)*		
	SEP 6.1 All household's income sources	Possible sources of income	SEP 6.2 Main sources of income
		1 Earnings in public sector	
		2 Earnings in private sector	
		3 Other social security receipts	
		4 Agriculture, hunting and fishing	
		5 Private business of the household / household member	
		6 Pensions	
		7 Income from abroad	
		8 Property income	
		9 Donations and gains	
		10 Consumer and investment loans	
		11 Other (please specify)	

SEP 7	Please assess the share of your on-household generated income in the overall household income. *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
	100 %	Over 70%	50-70%	20-50%	Up to 20%	No share

SEP 8	On a scale of 1 to 5, please rate the share of your on-household generated income in the overall household income in relation to its origin. *1= 100 %; 2= Over 70%; 3= 50-70%; 4=20-50%; 5= Less than 20%*	
	SEP 8.1 From agricultural activities	SEP 8.2 From non-agricultural activities

SEP 9	On a scale of 1 to 6, please rate the share of individual agricultural activities in the overall income from agricultural activities (referred to in SEP 8.1). *1= 100 %; 2= Over 70%; 3= 50-70%; 4=20-50%; 5= Less than 20%, 6=No share*		
	SEP 9.1 Field cropping		
	SEP 9.2 Fruit growing		
	SEP 9.3 Viticulture	SEP 9.3.1 Grapes	
		SEP 9.3.2 Wine	
	SEP 9.4 Animal husbandry	SEP 9.4.1 Meat	
		SEP 9.4.2 Milk	
	SEP 9.5 Mushroom farming		

	SEP 9.6 Vegetable cropping	
	SEP 9.7 Horticulture	
	SEP 9.8 Production under shelter (glasshouses and greenhouses)	
	SEP 9.9 Forestry	
	SEP 9.10 Medicinal herbs	
	SEP 9.11 Organic farming	
	SEP 9.12 Other	
SEP 10	On a scale of 1 to 6, please rate the share of non-agricultural activities in the overall income from non-agricultural activities (referred to in SEP 8.2). *1= 100 %; 2= Over 70%; 3= 50-70%; 4=20-50%; 5= Less than 20%, 6=No share*	
	SEP 10.1 Meat processing	
	SEP 10.2 Milk processing	
	SEP 10.3 Fruit and vegetable processing	
	SEP 10.4 Processing of other agricultural products	
	SEP 10.5 Power generation from renewable energy sources	
	SEP 10.6 Wood working	
	SEP 10.7 Forestry-related activities	
	SEP 10.8 Tourism	
	SEP 10.9 Handicrafts	
	SEP 10.10 Fish farming	
	SEP 10.11 Contract work – agriculture related services	
	SEP 10.12 Contract work – non-agriculture related services	
SEP 11	Did you sell your own agricultural products? *(Please indicate the appropriate number)*	**1** Yes
		2 No

SEP 12	If you were selling your agricultural products, please assess the volume of your sales in relation to the overall quantity produced. *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
	100 %	Over 70%	50-70%	20-50%	Less than 20%	Subsistence farming

SEP 13	Did you use agriculture and rural development incentives in the last five years? *You can select multiple answers. (Please indicate the appropriate answers)*			
	SEP 16.1 Yes, incentives given by		SEP 16.2 No	
	1 The Ministry		**1** We have tried	
	2 Provincial Government		**2** We will try	
	3 Municipality		**3** We have no intention	
	4 Donors		**4** We don't need them	
SEP 14	Is your farm registered with the Register of Agricultural Holdings? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*			
SEP 15	Is your household/ household member involved in some sort of private business? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*			
SEP 16	If your household/ household member is involved in some form of private business, how many employed household members are there? *(Please indicate the number)*			

RELOCATION MOTIVES (M)			
M 1	On a scale of 1 to 5, please rate the importance of possible reasons for your relocation / return. *1= Most important; 2= Very important; 3=Important; 4=Somewhat important; 5= Not important*		
	M 1.1 Economic	M 1.1.1 Greater business opportunities in the countryside	
		M 1.1.2 Family farm	
		M 1.1.3 Unemployment, job loss in the town	
	M 1.2 Housing	M 1.2.1 Quality of housing and larger living space	
		M 1.2.2 Cheaper housing	
		M 1.2.3 Becoming independent from parents	
		M 1.2.4 Letting an apartment or a house in town to children	
	M 1.3 Social	M 1.3.1 Quality of social life in the countryside, proximity of family and friends	
		M 1.3.2 Family or friend issues in town	
	M 1.4 Environmental	M 1.4.1 Food self-sufficiency	
		M 1.4.2 Proximity of nature, personal satisfaction, and the need for change	
		M 1.4.3 Urban issues, pollution, noise etc.	
	M 1.5 Health reasons		
	M 1.6 Incentives (local government, provincial government, national institutions, donors)		
M 2	On a scale of 1 to 5, please rate the importance of possible reasons for selecting the particular village of your relocation / return. *1= Most important; 2= Very important; 3=Important; 4=Somewhat important; 5= Not important*		
	M 2.1 Economic	M 2.1.1 Family farm	
		M 2.1.2 Good business opportunities	
		M 2.1.3 Cheaper land	
	M 2.2 Housing	M 2.2.1 Family home	
		M 2.2.2 More affordable real estate prices and cheaper housing	
		M 2.2.3 House that was previously used as a holiday home or a second home	
	M 2.3 Social	M 2.3.1 Quality of social life, proximity of family and friends	
		M 2.3.2 Recommendation from others	
	M 2.4 Environmental	M 2.4.1 Food self-sufficiency	
		M 2.4.2 Proximity of nature, preserved environment	
	M 2.5 Infrastructure	M 2.5.1 Good transportation links with the city/town	
		M 2.5.2 Satisfactory level and quality of municipal infrastructure (roads, water supply, sewerage, etc.)	
		M 2.5.3 Satisfactory availability and the quality of public services (education, health care, culture, sports, etc.)	
	M 2.6 Incentives (local government, provincial government, national institutions, donors)		

M 3	How do you and your family currently live after the move / return? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*						
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
	Much better	Better	Somewhat better	About the same	Worse	Much worse	I can't tell
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
M 4	If you currently live worse or much worse, please rate on a scale of 1 to 5 the degree of the enumerated reasons' influence on your dissatisfaction with rural living *1= Extremely influential; 2=Very influential; 3= Influential; 4= Slightly influential; 5 = Not at all influential*						
	M 4.1 Lack of jobs and finances						☐
	M 4.2 Agriculture	M 4.2.1 Unprofitableness of agricultural production					☐
		M 4.2.2 Inadequate agricultural and rural policy					☐
	M 4.3 Infrastructure	M 4.3.1 Poor transportation links with the city/town					☐
		M 4.3.2 Unsatisfactory level and quality of municipal infrastructure (roads, water supply, sewerage, etc.)					☐
		M 4.3.3 Unsatisfactory availability and the quality of public services (education, health care, culture, sports, etc.)					☐
	M 4.4 Lack of people, empty villages						☐
	M 4.5 Other, please specify						☐
M 5	In your opinion, who is the most responsible for your dissatisfaction with rural living? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*						
	1 Government	☐	**4** Village residents				☐
	2 Ministry of Agriculture	☐	**5** Farmers' associations				☐
	3 Municipality	☐	**6** Me and my family				☐
	7 I can't tell						☐
M 6	If you currently live worse or much worse, would you return to the city/town? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*						☐
INVOLVEMENT IN RURAL ECONOMY AND THE SOCIETY (URED)							
URED 1	Please indicate the origin of the financial capital invested in property during relocation (invested in house refurbishment and/or purchase of land). You can select multiple answers. *(Please indicate the appropriate answers)*						
	1 Own funds						☐
	2 Credit						☐
	3 Loan from relatives / friends						☐
	4 Incentives (local government, provincial government, national institutions, donors)						☐
	5 Inheritance, but additional funds were invested						☐
	6 Inheritance, but no additional investments were made						☐
	7 The house was previously used as a holiday home, and we had no additional investments						☐
URED 2	What were the funds referred to in M1 used for? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer, multiple answers possible).*						
	1 Purchase of property						☐
	2 House refurbishment						☐
	3 Farm buildings						☐
	4 Purchase of agricultural machinery and equipment						☐
	5 Enlargement of property and purchase of land						☐

	6	Innovation of agricultural activities	
	7	Land cultivation	
	8	Activities related to the environment and renewable energy sources	
	9	Facilities intended for private business	
	10	Purchase of machinery and equipment intended for private business	
	11	Education and trainings for activities I am currently involved in	
	12	Other, please specify	
URED 3	Do you buy agricultural products? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*		
URED 4	If you do, to what extent? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*		

1	2	3	4	5
100 %	Over 70%	50-70%	20-50%	Less than 20%

URED 5	If you buy agricultural products, where do you mostly buy? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*	1	In town stores
		2	From local green markets
		3	In village stores
		4	From neighbours and other farmers
URED 6	If you were selling your agricultural products, where did you mostly sell in the last year? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*	1	On the household, mostly to consumers from towns
		2	At local green markets
		3	To resellers
		4	To cooperatives
		5	To town stores
		6	I do home delivery to consumers in town
		7	To my neighbours and other village residents
		8	To village stores
URED 7	Where do you purchase farming inputs? ⇩ *(Please use X* ⇨ *to indicate your answer)*	URED 6.1	In the city/town
		URED 6.2	In the village
	1	Agricultural pharmacy	
	2	Suppliers	
	3	Regular suppliers	
	4	We produce inputs ourselves, except energy	
	5	We produce inputs ourselves, including energy	
	6	Exchange in kind	
	7	Other, please specify	

URED 8	Land lease	URED 8.1 Do you rent land? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*		
		URED 8.2 If you do, what area? *(Please indicate the area)*		ha
		URED 8.8 Do you lease land? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*		
		URED 8.4 If you do, what area? *(Please indicate the area)*		ha

URED 9	If your household/ household member is involved in private business, where is the seat of this private business? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*	1 In the city/town	[ ]
		2 In the village	[ ]
URED 10	If your household/ household member is involved in some form of private business, how many village residents do you employ? *(Please indicate the number)*		[ ]
URED 11	Is your household/ household member involved in any business association, such as cooperatives, farmers' association or some other form of business association with village residents? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*		[ ]
URED 12	Is your household/ household member involved in any social association, such as citizens' association, sports clubs, cultural, religious and art societies and other forms of social cooperation with village residents? *(1 Yes, 2 No, please indicate the appropriate number)*		[ ]
URED 13	If your household/ household member is involved in business or social associations, what is your/their role therein? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*		
	Founder [ ]	Head of one of the association's bodies	[ ]
	Chairperson [ ]	Member of one of the association's bodies	[ ]
	Secretary [ ]	Active member	[ ]
	Passive member		[ ]

URED 14	How do you and your family currently live when compared to your neighbours and other village residents? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*						
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
	Much better	Better	Somewhat better	About the same	Worse	Much worse	I can't tell
	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

URED 15	How do you see you relationships with your neighbours and other village residents? *(Please indicate the appropriate answer)*						
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
	Very good	Good	Good, but sporadic	No relations	Bad	Very bad	I can't tell
	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

URED 16	If you have assessed your relationships with your neighbours and other village residents as very good or good, please rate on a scale of 1 to 6 the frequency of relationships with other residents of the village you moved to/ returned to. *1= Most frequent; 2= Very frequent; 3= Frequent; 4=Existing; 5= Rare; 6=Non-existing*	
	URED 16.1 We help each other with the household's farm chores	[ ]
	URED 16.2 We pay for the non-agricultural services provided by village residents	[ ]
	URED 16.3 We pay for the agricultural services provided by village residents	[ ]
	URED 16.4 We rent agricultural machinery from residents for a fee	[ ]
	URED 16.5 We borrow agricultural machinery from residents free of charge	[ ]
	URED 16.6 We have employed village residents in our private company	[ ]
	URED 16.7 We purchase food from village residents	[ ]
	URED 16.8 We lease our agricultural machinery to village residents for a fee	[ ]
	URED 16.9 We lend our agricultural machinery to village residents free of charge	[ ]

	URED 16.10 We sell our agricultural products to village residents	
	URED 16.11 We sell our non-agricultural products to village residents	
	URED 16.12 We provide services not related to household chores to village residents for a fee	
	URED 16.13 We provide services related to household chores, but not related to agricultural activities to village residents for a fee	
	URED 16.14 We provide services related to household chores and related to agricultural activities to village residents for a fee	
	URED 16.15 We cooperate on activities of concern for the community	
	URED 16.16 We socialise, but have no business ties	
	URED 16.17 Other, please specify	
URED 17	If you do not have established relationships with your neighbours and other village residents, or if you have assessed them as bad or very bad, on a scale of 1 to 5 please rate the degree of importance of reasons for such an assessment *1= Most important; 2= Very important; 3=Important; 4=Somewhat important; 5= Not important*	
	URED 17.1 Differences in economic status (incomes)	
	URED 17.2 Differences in educational status	
	URED 17.3 Differences in culture and mentality	
	URED 17.4 Ethnic and religious differences	
	URED 17.5 Prejudices and distrust of village residents	
	URED 17.6 Prejudices and distrust towards village residents	
	URED 17.7 Differences in lifestyle and values	
	URED 17.8 Differences in farming methods and processes	
	URED 17.9 Differences in views concerning environmental issues	
	URED 17.10 Bad experience in immediate business cooperation	
	URED 17.11 Bad experience in cooperation on activities of concern for the community	
	URED 17.12 Other, please specify	

Thank you very much for your valuable contribution to this research!