MIGRATION AS A FACTOR IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL MUNICIPALITIES - THE CASE OF NORTH MACEDONIA

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ABSTRACT

Spatial population mobility is a demographic process that has a serious cause and consequential link with several factors including socio-economic development. Migration as an integral part of human life has been quite intense. Due to the significant differences in the level of development and living conditions between rural and urban areas in North Macedonia, the migration from rural to urban was most pronounced, especially in the past.

The changes that took place in the second half of the last century in terms of spatial redistribution of the population have led to serious transformations in the rural area, and thus to an increased disparity in the domain of spatial, regional, economic, functional, demographic and sustainable development.

This paper focuses on the relocation of the population from and to the Macedonian rural municipalities in the period 2005-2018. The permanent demographic discharge of the rural area has serious implications for the current and future balanced and planned development of the country. Unless appropriate measures are taken, rural areas affected by emigration will be found at a disadvantage, as the outflow of populations means an open road to stagnation and decline in the rural economy itself and at the same time, means jeopardizing the sustainable functional development of more rural areas. This has far-reaching economic, functional and demographic problems that will appear on a national level.

In the paper are analyzed the scope and structure of migration from rural municipalities in order to identify which ones are most exposed at risk, the transformation that has taken place in the population number and to predict possible directions for their future development.

Keywords: migration, population, settlements, rural municipalities, functional development

INTRODUCTION NOTES

The desire of the population towards better living conditions, higher living standard, seeking opportunities for better personal and professional development and more, are just some of the many reasons that encourage the population to leave the existing place of residence and move elsewhere. In the overall trend of spatial population mobility, special attention is given to the research of migration movements occurring in rural areas. This is significant because until now a large part of the migration, especially emigration was occurring exactly from the rural settlements. In the past, in the sixties and seventies of the

last century, the intensive industrialization and urbanization were the reason for the significant migration process of the rural population in the country. In this period, according to the vital statistical method, the rural areas marked a negative net migration of over 175,000 people [8], resulting in the redistribution of the population in urban settlements and their surroundings and obvious growth of urban settlements [3], [4]. In the period 1971-1981, this wave of internal migration was less intense, primarily because most of the rural population had already moved from the villages to the cities. [8].

In conditions of agrarian overpopulation, poor economic conditions, insufficient infrastructure, and institutional equipment; the rural environment was the one from where the transfer of the population to non-agricultural areas took place. It meant direct outflows and permanent loss of significant demographic potential from those areas but also a demographic weakening of future generations.

In addition to the negative demographic changes, the economic, functional and physiognomic transformations of the rural area were unavoidable, regardless of whether they were considered as emigration or immigration areas in the analyzed period.

Given the fact that migrations have a large influence on the demographic and functional shape of the settlements and areas where they take place, and they also determine occupations, rural lifestyles, peasant status, development directions, it is inevitable that they will be constantly monitored and studied.

So far, significant attention has been paid to migration, and today it is a real challenge to research the latest migration processes and changes taking place in the rural areas.

Until now, migrations have been the subject of many geographical research project like the one on the territorial displacement and population characteristics of the Skopje Valley, Panov (1971) [22], about the significance of the demographic change between depopulation and immigration zones by examples from SR Macedonia, Panov (1976) [23], Daskalovski's papers on rural migration processes in the Skopje valley (1993) [7], demographic development of the population in the Republic of Macedonia during the twentieth century (1995) [6], immigration and urban population development in the Skopje valley (2001) [9], [10], a paper about the internal migratory movements and the (no) opportunities for sustainable development in the Republic of Macedonia (Apostolovska Toshevska, Ljakoska, 2016) [2], about the Skopje region in the focus of internal migration (Apostolovska Toshevska, Madjevikj, Ljakoska, 2017) [4], a research on the functional development of the settlements (Madjevikj, Apostolovska Toshevska, Ljakoska, 2019) [19], paper about the rural exodus in the municipality of Kichevo (Ljakoska, Madjevikj, 2017) [17], and many more.

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to a better and qualitative understanding of the latest migration processes in rural areas. More precisely, the findings of the latest migration trends for the period 2005-2018, presented in the paper are the basis for determining the situation, the specifics of the migration movements and for defining specific activities to improve them.

The obtained data should emphasize the need for observation of the changes in the demographic space and the role of migrations in its delineation in time; to provide guidance on specific activities by appropriate scientific, specialist and expert teams that will actualize the problem of the existence of a rural municipality at a local, regional and national level and their overall sustainability and need for integrated spatial planning. Simultaneously, these data and analysis are intended to point out the necessity of joining policymakers and institutions in the intent to meet the challenges in the area of migration, since migration flows directly influence and define demographic trends.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

From a methodological point of view, the differentiation of the municipalities as rural and urban; is made depending on the status of the settlement which is determined by the location of the head office of the municipality, depending on whether it is an urban or rural settlement. Specifically, when separating the municipalities that have the status of rural municipalities was consulted appropriate legislation literature on administrative changes and the Territorial Organization of Local Self Government [27]. All of this is done based on the territorial organization since 2004 and the changes in the territorial organization applied in 2013 when four rural municipalities become part of the municipality of Kichevo with a head office located in the city of Kichevo. These amendments directly reduced the number of rural municipalities. Taking into consideration the administrative-territorial organization of the country, we should mention that 37 out of now existing 80 municipalities have the head office set in a rural settlement which is 46.2% [2].

The spatial scope of the research refers to the municipalities whose headquarters is a rural settlement, i.e. there is no settlement with the administrative status of a city within the municipality. In the process of data analysis was considered only data for municipalities which at the time had the status of a rural municipality.

Due to the lack of data on migration by settlements, as the smallest territorial units, from a methodological point of view, it is not possible to analyze migrations trends that would cover all rural settlements in the country.

The research period 2005-2018 was chosen because of the unified methodology of classifying migration data. It is impossible to analyze and compare the data by municipalities for the previous period due to the different territorial organization and the latest legislative changes related to this issue.

The paper research focuses on internal migrations in rural municipalities that are defined as migrations within state borders. For their processing and obtaining specific conclusions were used quantitative mathematical, statistical and demographic methods, as well as social statistical immeasurable methods and social knowledge.

The primary data sources are statistical data from the State Statistical Office, in particular the publication Migration and other statistical data [14], where data are published at the municipality level. The data are obtained from the applications for emigrated and immigrated persons received from the regional units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the country. The data collection takes place monthly, which helps monitoring any changes in the residence of the citizens of North Macedonia, as well as changes in the movement of residence and foreigners.

Secondary data sources include published scientific and expert papers on migration by domestic and foreign authors, i.e., scientific and expert geography literature, but also literature from other related scientific fields such as sociology, economy, etc. For the purpose of this research was consulted the work of contemporary theorists and scholars which focus is in the field of migration and whose contents in any way point out the interconnectedness of migration and development from various aspects.

RURAL MUNICIPALITIES AND INTERNAL MIGRATION MOVEMENTS

Associatively, rural space is referred to as an "agrarian nature reserve", as an "antipode to urban centers" [12], a source of the cheap labor force for industry development and city growth [11], as "what is not urban, isolated, cut off, stale" [18], or as "the space

behind" [25], [18], though there are "broader and more complex forms and contents" [12] and associates alternatives to living and working choices, a source of natural resources, a place for rest and recreation, a future and a criterion for the development of a society. Since rural municipalities are forms of territorial-administrative organized rural settlements in the rural area, all terms regarding the rural area, make a parallel to the rural municipalities.

The past records absence of adequate and in-time development and integrative spatial planning policies which have maintained or made the urban and rural dichotomy more visible in terms of economical, functional and social living conditions. Agriculture as primary branch of economy in the rural environment has been neglected for a significantly lower rate of growth than the industry, without the investment and care about the sale of agricultural products, while on the other hand, other economy sectors were more attractive because of the reliable personal income, with health and pension insurance, better status and personal opportunities and benefits for the family [24]. Towards emphasis on the unattractiveness of the rural area living conditions, also contributed the "etymological, geographical and social and cultural factors in the form of ideological and political influence that led to a various change of the village and the peasant, with a negative connotation and degenerative changes, with an existing degradation of agriculture as occupation, degradation of the status and lifestyle of the peasant [12], [21], [20].

The personal reasons for migration, which are different for each individual, are further influenced by the fact that "psychological factors are the switch that activates all others" [24]. This has contributed to the outflow of rural populations towards cities, unfavorable demographic trends, unfavorable labor market conditions, human capital, economic dysfunction and social exclusion in many rural municipalities. Much of the inadequate care of rural areas in the past century has been replicated in the present, suggesting that village, rural space and its structure, "neither theoretically nor in social actions should be differently directed towards development than the rest of the society" [13].

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to the existing administrative-territorial organization in North Macedonia, 37 municipalities have registered headquarter in a rural settlement. They cover 8,964 km² or 34.9% of the country. Considering the population estimates from 2018, there are inhabited by 390,810 persons, that compared to 2005 (when additional four municipalities were considered as rural, with an area of 790 km² and a total population of 26,829 inhabitants; later merged to the municipality of Kichevo) means a decrease of 3.1%. If we compare the population number only in these 37 municipalities, we will notice an increase of 3.8%.

In this period, in 18 municipalities was recorded population growth which represented 75.5% of the total population living in rural municipalities in 2018.

At the same time period some of these rural municipalities such as Studenichani (25.78%), Arachinovo (18.3%), Zhelino (11.73%), Zelenikovo (10.79%), Lipkovo (7.1%), and Chashka (7.7%), recorded significant population growth. This population growth is largely a result of the natural increase, and in the rural municipalities, it was 1,025 people only in 2018, or about two-thirds of the natural population increase in the country which counted for 1,606. The population growth in some municipalities comes as a result of the enlarged birth rate pattern that is characteristic for the Albanian and other

Muslim population present in these municipalities⁶, or as a result to their closeness to the city of Skopje (eg. Ilinden, Petrovec), that have been affected by significant functional and infrastructural development in the past few years, which made them attractive. Anyhow, this does not mean that some of the population does not move to the neighboring urban municipalities, but the existing conditions are favorable for their demographic vitality and overall sustainability.

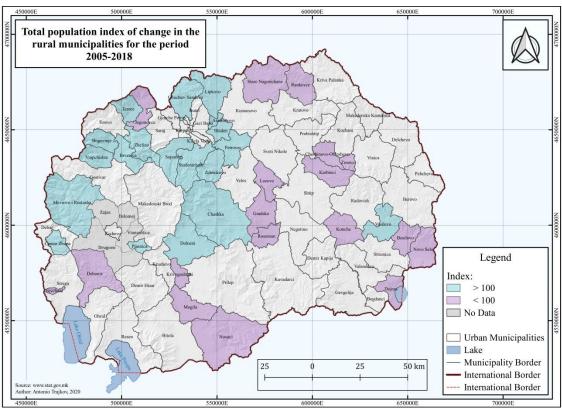


Figure 1. Total population index of change in the rural municipalities for the period 2005-2018

In 2018, the number of citizens who have changed their place of residence within North Macedonia was 8,146 and was by 28.6% lower compared to 2005. The data analysis on rural municipalities showed that in the same period the total number of immigrated citizens decreased by 22.4%. Migration at the state level is constantly dominated by intermunicipal migration, so in 2018, 6,132 people moved to another municipality, while 2,014 citizens moved from one place to another in the same municipality. What characterizes the analyzed period the most is that the number of citizens who have moved from one municipality to another decreased by 33.9%, i.e. it follows the decreasing trend of migration.

⁶ In 2018, the crude birth rates and the natural increase rates in these municipalities were as follows: Studenichani 21.8‰, 17.4‰; Arachinovo 17.4‰, 12.9‰, Zhelino 12.0‰, 7.4‰, Zelenikovo 19.8‰, 10.8‰; and Chashka 16.6‰, 10.1‰, [26].

Table 1. Migration flows of the population in North Macedonia

Internal migration	2005	2010	2018	Number of emigrants 2018/2005 index				
Republic of North Macedonia								
Immigrated/emigrated citizens of the Republic of North Macedonia								
Inter-municipal	81.34	81.93	75.28	66.06				
Other place - same municipality	18.66	18.07	24.72	94.60				
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	71.39				
Rural municipality								
Immigrated c	itizens of the l	Republic of N	orth Macedon	ia				
Inter-municipal	77.05	83.30	75.73	76.23				
Other place - same municipality	22.95	16.70	24.27	82.02				
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	77.56				
Inter-municipal								
from urban municipality	76.08	78.51	75.55	75.70				
from another rural municipality	23.92	21.49	24.45	77.91				
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	76.23				
Emigrated ci	tizens of the R	Republic of No	orth Macedoni	a				
Inter-municipal	79.69	84.40	81.03	89.27				
Other place - same municipality	20.31	15.60	18.97	82.02				
Emigrated in new municipality								
in urban municipality	79.54	80.18	82.14	92.19				
in new rural municipality	20.46	19.82	17.86	77.91				
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	89.27				

Source: [14]

Interesting is the situation with the internal migration to and from the rural municipalities that are the focus of this research. The number of citizens who immigrated to the rural municipalities from all the municipalities in the country in 2018 was 1,039 and was 23.8% lower than in 2005. However, their share of inter-municipal migration in the country increased from 14.7% in 2005 to 16.9% in 2018. This figure refers to the immigrations in the rural municipalities from settlements that were in another municipality, that is, the immigration from other rural municipalities with a total of 254 persons included, as well as from the municipalities with a city headquarters with 785 immigrated citizens. Within the rural municipalities, a total of 587 citizens from rural municipalities moved in, out of which, 333 citizens changed their place of residence in settlements within the same municipality. This indicates that overall, the larger number of immigrants in rural municipalities comes from urban municipalities. The only disadvantage is the opportunity to analyze migration by the type of settlements in order to see the scope of immigration from urban towards rural areas.

In 2005 the numbers were slightly higher i.e., 1,037 citizens immigrated from urban municipalities, and 326 from other rural municipalities; 406 moved within the same rural municipality. This situation is a result of the current demographic and socioeconomic processes that affect the spatial mobility of the population.

Compared to immigration, the process of emigration is much more characteristic for rural municipalities, so in 2018 the number of emigrated citizens was 1,755 or 12.2% less than in 2005, but their share in the total emigrants included in internal migration is more than 20%. From the total number of emigrated citizens, 1,422 persons have moved to another municipality, i.e. 23.2% of the emigrated persons from the rural municipalities in the country (of the total 6,132 emigrated citizens, involved in the internal migrations in the country), while 333 citizens have moved to a settlement within the same rural

municipality. A total of 1,168 citizens from rural municipalities moved to a municipality with a headquarter set in a city, while only 254 citizens moved to another rural municipality, indicating a growing interest for settlements outside the rural municipalities.

The number of immigrated citizens in the rural municipalities from other municipalities fluctuated, so it decreased by 34.1% in the period 2005-2010, then started to grow and increased by 15.7% in the period 2010-2018, but as we have already mentioned, it is still lower compared to 2005. The largest increase in immigration was recorded in the municipalities of Tearce and Centar Zhupa.

In 2018 compared to 2005, in relative terms, the number of immigrants from other municipalities remained unchanged only in the municipality Konche, it increased in 11 rural municipalities (Tearce, Centar Zhupa, Mavrovo - Rostusha, Debarca, Vrapchishte, Bogovinje, Bosilovo, Lozovo, Studenichani, Chucher Sandevo, etc.), and decreased in all other municipalities, with the highest values recorded in the municipality of Lozovo. In 2005, the highest immigration rates were recorded in Lozovo, Petrovec, Rankovce, Gradsko, Zelenikovo and so on, while in 2018, in Debarca, Vasilevo, Bosilovo, Karbinci, Novaci, etc.

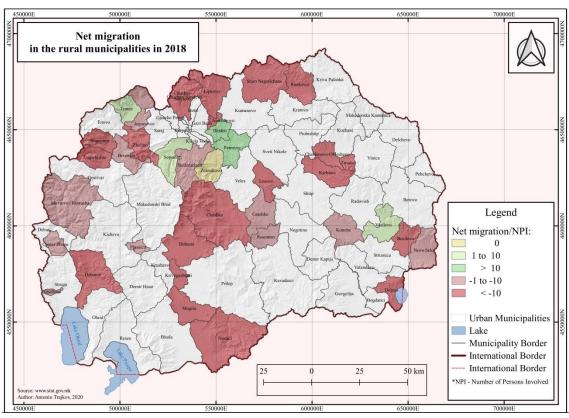


Figure 2. Net migration in the rural municipalities in 2018

The number of emigrated citizens from 2005 to 2018 increased in 14 municipalities, with the largest index of change in the municipalities Zhelino, Vrapchiste, Vevchani, Zrnovci, etc., while it remained the same or decreased in the other municipalities. Compared to the total population number, the higher emigration rate was recorded in the municipalities Lozovo, Zelenikovo and Rankovce in 2005 and the municipalities Novaci, Rankovce, Debarca and Karbinci in 2018.

A more realistic picture of migration in the municipalities is the comparison between immigrants and emigrants. In 2005, due to the higher number of emigrated citizens, 27 rural municipalities had a negative net migration, while their number increased to 31 municipalities in 2018. The municipalities Vasilevo, Ilinden, Petrovec, Sopishte, and Tearce had a positive net migration, while the municipality Zelenikovo had zero net migration. It should be noted that in 2005, 2010 and 2018 the only rural municipalities with a positive net migration were Ilinden and Sopishte in the Skopje valley, while the net migration in the municipalities Petrovec, Vasilevo and Tearce fluctuates in a positive or negative direction.

Migration movements have shown that all rural municipalities are affected by the emigration process, regardless of the population number. But the consequences are greater in smaller municipalities that are rapidly losing their already declining population, and the situation is further exacerbated by the negative natural increase.

The migration process indicates selectivity by population sex and age. In the structure of the immigrated citizens, in terms of sex, there is an evident increase in the share of women, which on a national level exceeds 70% in all the years, and in the rural municipalities exceeds 80% in the last ten years. In rural municipalities, the share of male immigrants is many times lower than the one of female. This speaks to the much higher mobility of the female population in the internal migration, from one municipality to another mainly due to marriage or employment. This sex-selective migration in favor of the female population is positively correlated with the socio-economic development and the higher rate of active women, as well as the structure of the urban economy that demands a particular workforce and affects sex selectivity [28].

Table 2. Immigrated/emigrated citizens of North Macedonia, by sex, 2005-2018

Tuble 2. minigrated england of North Macedonia, by Sex, 2003-2010										
	North Macedonia			Rural municipalities						
Year	ar Immigrated/emigrated citizens		Immigrated citizens			Emigrated citizens				
	Total	male	female	Total male female			Total	male	female	
2005	9282	2608	6674	1363	293	1070	1593	347	1246	
%	100	28.1	71.9	100	21.5	78.5	100	21.8	78.2	
2010	5961	1580	4381	898	157	741	974	194	780	
%	100	26.5	73.5	100	17.5	82.5	100	19.9	80.1	
2015	6266	1616	4650	1045	159	886	1045	159	886	
%	100	25.8	74.2	100	15.2	84.8	100	15.2	84.8	
2018	6132	1630	4502	1039	159	880	1422	294	1128	
%	100	26.6	73.4	100	15.3	84.7	100	20.7	79.3	

Source: [14]

In the total inter-municipal migration movements in the country, the most numerous are persons aged 30-64 years, followed by those aged 15-29, with slightly lower share. The trend of decreasing of the youngest age group and the increased participation of persons older than 65 is very notable. In the inter-municipal migrations, most dominant are people aged 15-29, with a share of 62.6%. This indicates that migration has affected people in the most favorable years, i.e. working and reproductive age population, which is extremely important for the demographic and economic sustainability of the municipalities.

The elderly population has less participation in migration than expected. The increase of the old population in rural areas causes the phenomenon of agricultural sensitization and the inability to cultivate the agricultural land. In conditions when there is no opportunity

to supplement or change the rural economy, there are no preconditions for the development of the municipality.

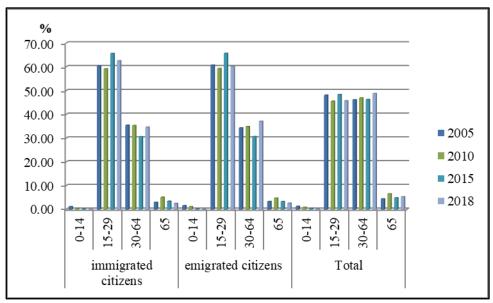


Figure 3. Immigrated/emigrated citizens of North Macedonia, by age, 2005-2018

Regarding the marital status of the immigrants, they are dominated by married persons with a share of 83.2% of the total number of immigrants in the rural municipalities. The situation is similar with the emigrated citizens, with a share of 76.2%.

Table 3. Immigrated/emigrated citizens of North Macedonia, by marital status, 2010-2018 (%)

	year	unmarried	married	widowed	divorced	unknown	total
North	2010	17.8	72.6	3.3	5.6	0.7	100
Macedonia	2018	14.8	76.1	2.5	5.6	1.0	100
Rural	2010	20.9	70.6	3.0	4.4	1.0	100
municipalities	2010	10.4	02.2	1.0	•		100
immigrated citizens	2018	10.4	83.2	1.3	3.8	1.2	100
Rural	2010	31.4	61.7	2.6	3.5	0.8	100
municipalities							
emigrated	2018	17.4	76.2	1.2	3.7	1.6	100
citizens							

Source: [14]

The most common reason for moving is marriage and then the family reasons, which suggests that people who already have a family have decided to leave their home and move to another that offers better living conditions. Single and unmarried persons are second in a row, with a share of 17.4% of the emigrated from rural municipalities. Analyzed data suggest that divorced persons show greater mobility compared to the category other.

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Table 4.	Immigrated/emigrated	citizens of North	Macedonia, by reason	for migration.	. 2010 and 2017 (%)

	year	employment	marriage	family reasons	education	other	total
North	2010	5.7	48.2	30.9	0.6	14.6	100
Macedonia	2017	6.4	51.5	25.9	0.5	15.7	100
Rural	2010	2.1	66.3	21.7	0.1	9.8	100
municipalities immigrated citizens	2017	1.5	71.9	15.9	0.2	10.6	100
Rural	2010	3.5	63.5	25.1	0.4	7.5	100
municipalities emigrated citizens	2017	3.0	63.3	22.2	0.2	11.3	100

Source: [14]

According to the educational attainment, more than half of all citizens included in the immigration and emigration process in 2018 had completed secondary education. In 2010 the number of emigrants with completed primary education that moved to rural municipalities was the same as the one of those that had completed secondary education. The rural municipalities are places where a large share of the educated population comes from, but in the absence of an alternative to maintain the educated population, a lot of people decide to move.

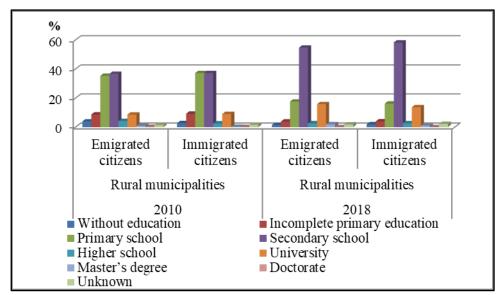
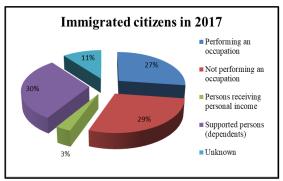


Figure 4. Immigrated and emigrated citizens according to educational attainment, 2010 and 2018

More than half of the emigrated persons included in internal migrations are active, but there are also a large number of those who are not performing an occupation or belong to the category of supported persons.



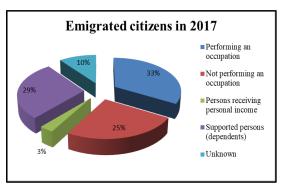


Figure 5 and 6. Immigrated/emigrated citizens of North Macedonia, according to activity and occupation, 2017

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

Supporting the social and economic development of rural municipalities, improving the quality of life and raising the living standard of the population in rural municipalities can be a factor in stabilizing and diverting migrations and encouraging daily and circular migration, as migrations need to be considered as an opportunity for overall development. It is well known that daily migrations of the labor force are of great importance for the economy of the place where these migrants live and work (e.g., creating new utility values, where they work, solving labor needs, not burdening the city with a number of problems, and consuming personal income in the places where they live, they reduce the agrarian overpopulation, transfer experiences from more developed areas, etc.). This way, "they play an important role in the spatial development of a particular territory and, to a certain extent, help to reduce disparities in the development of individual areas of the whole territory" [16].

Recognizing and supporting the desired paths of migration aims to reduce the unfavorable consequences as migrations have always been and will remain the drivers of social change.

In the present circumstances, there is a need to model future directions and define a set of proposals and measures of migration policy (at a local, regional and national level) that would be part of the country's population policy. In defining the guidelines and measures it is necessary to start from the most important reasons for the population migration (push factors) that are mainly related to the economy (unemployment, unfavorable socio-economic situation, cost of the labor force, etc.), but also reasons related to the everyday problems and needs of citizens such as the need for education, health care, accessible and quality public services, etc.

Activities should start at the local level. The degree of social and economic heterogeneity in the local government is proportional to the condition and status of the municipality and the population satisfaction, and quantitatively and qualitatively shapes the migration flows.

In order to overcome the present conditions can be identified more attractive factors for retaining the population (pull factors): developing comparative advantages of rural areas, modernization of agriculture [15], changing the monofunctional character of the rural area and enriching the rural economy with location and distribution of industrial facilities [1] to domestic and foreign investors, encouraging the development of other activities in the tertiary and quarterly sectors, etc. This initiates the process of "diversifying social structures and intensifying the social dynamics of rural areas" [25]. Knowing the natural-geographic characteristics of rural municipalities, a specific alternative for the

demographic revival of rural areas is encouraging the so-called eco-villages as an opportunity for better life of the social strata who are poor and on the socio-economy margin [5] or inhabiting a non-agricultural population with different social and property structures, a practice that exists in developed countries as a way of revitalizing rural areas [25].

Other actions should be directed to a different functional network of settlements. Possibility to strengthen the functional structure of individual rural settlements and grow into centers, development poles, gravity centers that will provide conditions for revitalizing the rural area. They would be a counterbalance to the immediate urban center that does not emit sufficient developmental impulses that would unite the entire local territory, thus shifting the territory from an urban-center-concentrated into a decentralized model [12].

A different administrative-territorial organization is inevitable, driven by the needs of the indigenous rural population, and not by the economic justification of the municipality. The existence of individual rural municipality should be understood as a "state investment" in the demographic and economic strengthening of a particular rural area, which also contributes to the security enhancement.

In the series of measures that are causally conditioned, it is necessary to change the collective social attitude towards the village and living there. Towards changing the valuation of life in the countryside according to Defilipps (2005) [11], a contribution has been given by to the degradation of the quality urban living, the tendency to return to nature and easier access to rural areas. This means opening a new dimension of rural area perception as an asset, not as a disadvantage for personal and social development.

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