

Rural Urban Migration in Kosovo

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Abstract

Humanity has gone through a very long road of development since vague antiquity up to nowadays. It was a very long and complicated way. Population migrations in early XXth century and the second half of the XXth century, as both inside and outside countries has significantly increased. Migrations mainly, currently represent a multidimensional spatial, social, economic, demographic, and political problem, determined by a large number of factors, often conditional and complex. Migrations as a phenomenon are manifested due to unequal social, economic, natural and political conditions. Migrations of population in almost every country of the world have become uncontrollable process of quantitative and qualitative evolution of the population. They took an important place in Kosovo after 1970 and especially after 1999, caused by social, economic, political, motives and so on, as well as associated by different social, demographic, and economic effects. Therefore, through the use of observing, analytical, statistical and comparing, methodologies, the study highlighted the motives and effects of rural-urban migration in Kosovo, and finally gives some conclusions and recommendations. Among the main motives that lead to rural-urban migration in Kosovo are as following: Poor living conditions in rural areas, including road infrastructure, services, education, unemployment, no application of agriculture, etc. Meanwhile, the migration effects are: abandonment of homes, uncultivated lands, brain drain, the postponement of marriage, aging of rural population etc.

Keywords: migration, rural, urban, motives, effects, social, economic, political

1 Introduction

The first definitive migrations within state borders have begun in European countries following the classic industrial revolution, when urban - industrial centers were established as attractive centers to rural - agrarian population, such as in England and later in other countries of the European continent and outside it (Islami, H., 2005: 255). As it is actually known, based on different studies from scholars that the vast majority of the people of the world today, taken as ethnic communities do not live with their own grandparents resided rather than their first predecessors. For example, the American continent with over 700 million people, is permanent in overwhelming proportions of people of European, Asian and African origin who moved there during 3-4 last centuries, not to say that many of them fled from Europe or other continents in XIX - XX century (Tirta, M., 1999: 13). Interstate migrations have caused mix of ethnicity, race, religion etc. let's take the example of the former Yugoslavia where the number of those who had moved from their own birthplace is estimated to several millions: in 1961: 6,884,305 or 37.0%, in 1971: 8,235,985 or 41.0% of the total population, and in 1981, the population that moved from the homeland is around 9.2 million or 41.0% (Islami, H., 1985: 97). Yet, in Kosovo, about 1/3 of the total population has emigrated abroad in three or four last decades. Meanwhile, in terms of internal migration inside Kosovo, apart from the total population of 1,739,825 persons registered in the census (April 2011), of which 517,992 thousand people or about 30% of them had migrated at least once. Migrations are increasingly determinant to social and economic transformations causing multilateral social, demographic and economic consequences to emigrating countries, but they have also the positive aspect, such as bringing innovation and cultural transformation. On the other hand, they can be viewed in two perspectives (positive and negative) for immigration countries. Migration's process has never been unplanned and spontaneous, but it has been always caused by different factors, especially social, economic, environmental and political factors. The last one, especially in Kosovo during the 90s and earlier, had a major impact on population movements.

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The issue of migration and development has been recently paid much attention not only by international organizations, but also by academic and political circles. But, if you analyze the situation some years ago, we realize that this topic is not new, but it has been in political and scientific agendas since 1960s. Actually, the debate on migration and development has tended to swing back and forth like a pendulum from progressing optimism in 1950s and 1960s, up to pessimism and structuralist and neomarxist skepticism during 1970s and 1980s, to more nuanced views affected by the new economy of labor migration, approaches of "living" and then the national (trans-national) turn to studies of migration of the 1990s (Haxhikadrija, A., 2009: 11). Multidimensionality and complexity of spatial and socio vertical migrations of population require deep social, economic, religious, political, and other studies, in terms of time and spatial migration. There is a lack of sociological studies regarding the literature in the field of rural-urban migration in Kosovo. Although there studies on migration in historical and demographic view have been conducted, still remains too much to be done at both quantitative and qualitative perspective. Therefore, the objective of the study is the internal migration in Kosovo, with special emphasis on the recent period (after 1999), without leaving aside the overall analysis of rural-urban migration by their retrospectives, motives and effects. So, by reviewing the literature and the use of appropriate methodology, this study aims to give an answer to two questions: What are the main causes that have led to rural-urban migration? And what are the main effects of rural-urban migration in Kosovo?.

2. Data and Methodology of Study

The existing literature in the field of rural urban migration has been used to conduct this study. Documents on rural-urban migration in Kosovo are available mainly in terms of demographic and historical perspective, but it is a lack of studies in sociological aspect and moreover lacks the statistical data according to demographic structures and in the context of time and space, which hinder detailed analyses. The following methods are used in this study: observation, analytical, statistical and comparing method. A questionnaire served to conduct the study which consists of 11 questions. Firstly, the questions are generalized, social status, age, gender, residence, etc., to continue afterwards with professional questions about the motives and effects of migration. Taking into question and hear the stories of respondents about the causes and effects of individual and family migration, we have reached more thorough understanding of the theme of rural-urban migration in Kosovo. In this study are included families who have migrated from the countryside to the city - the head of the family. So, the questionnaire was conducted with the head of the family. The sample is half planned and total 25 interviews were conducted with different social and demographics structures. The purpose of the questionnaire was the inclusion in the study of all regions (7 of them) of Kosovo, with a focus on identifying the motives and effects of rural-urban migration in Kosovo.

3. General Overview about the Rural-Urban Migration

There are migrations of population since ancient times. The migrations have evolved in different periods of times until nowadays. As in early genesis of migration, namely the nomadic population period is concerned about short time distance movement "day by day", unplanned and on foot movement from day to day, have already changed the form and content. In contemporary times, migrations have taken new form of movement; the movements are largely planned, long distance and the use of vehicles and technologies that enable longer spatial migrations within a short time. Considering the rural-urban migration in Kosovo, they occurred continuously since the earliest times and moreover the time when they occurred for the first time cannot be defined, due to the fact that, as mentioned above, the migrations are continuous processes in time and space. However, in any society are the stages of the rise and fall of social, economic, political development, etc., which in one form or another determine the movement of people from one place to another one. In Kosovo, until the second half of the XX-th century, about 60% of the population was illiterate and agrarian as well. This means that the population has been dependent to the land cultivation through classical tools and means that, in most cases, hampered migration to the flat areas or in more developed (urban) areas. Such a situation disabled the migration of population from rural to urban areas following World War II, and in particular to the end of the war in Kosovo (1999), when the life became more dynamic generally. During this time the education and health system had a progress, as well as the heavy industry mainly in the urban, suburban and newly established urban centers, establishment of administration etc. such changes attracted mid and high qualified workers from the village which had a consequence of leaving the land uncultivated by the rural people.

Currently, according to official data (Statistical Agency of Kosovo), the agriculture sector employs about 20% of the total number of employees in Kosovo. These data indicate the social and economic transformations that happened during 3-4 last decades. On the other hand, the progress of the education and health system, big industrial enterprises, urbanization of cities and along with them the expansion of other sectors, continued until the late '80s. During 80s, with disintegration of Yugoslavia and obtaining Kosovo autonomy from the Serbian occupation, life had stagnated and the situation seemed even more regressive. In the early 90s the Serbian authorities violently closed educational and health system, and thus the Albanians workers were dismissed. Other development processes in the country had taken a regressive direction. During the 90s, there were minimum conditions for existence of the majority Albanian population. This period is known as a survival one, or for many Kosovar families this period is known "between life and death". During these years, besides the poverty, the majority Albanian population has been constantly tortured, beaten, maltreated, imprisoned, and executed regardless of age or gender, thus forcing the Albanian population unwillingly flee their homes, to migrate firstly in Europe and then far away to America.

There was a stagnating and regressive period to Albanian population during '90s. In this period, the Albanian population had three alternatives to:

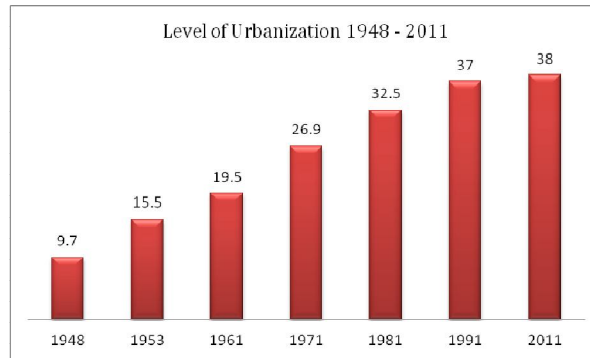
1. Accept the constitutionality,
 - a) accept Serbian laws, and citizenship
 - b) Accept Kosovo as Serbian land, as the Serbian chauvinist circles called "Cradle of Serbia" or "Heart of Serbia",
 - c) fired from work considered as a traitor of Serbian state, thus Albanians have been persecuted, imprisoned and executed;
- 2) Albanians emigrated illegally abroad to avoid punishment on the one hand and seek employment on the other hand, in order to provide the minimum of household existence, as well as support the country, and
- 3) Cultivate the land and connection to the land, particularly rural families who owned land, in order to provide minimum for the family existence.

In that period (during '90s), it was not discussed about migration of rural - urban population, on the contrary there were families that migrated from city to village, in order to avoid the violence by Serbian military and police forces. This hard social, economic and political situation continued up to 1998 - 1999 when the war started in Kosovo. But what happened after 1999?! At the beginning of the XXI century, as the country was liberated in 1999, following the changes in the political system led to the rural-urban migrations. This period is known as the period of "demographic boom", where the total population movements and especially the rural-urban migration intensified nationwide. Rural-urban migration of the population have become every day, where those who had the opportunity to migrate, they did it. Migration occurred from rural to urban areas and small towns or small suburban centers to large urban centers (Pristina, Prizren, Peja, Gjakova, Ferizaj, Gilan and South Mitrovica), especially in the capital of Kosovo - Pristina, and they happened uncontrolled by the respective institutions. Rural-urban migration in Kosovo still continues but with a slower trend.

4. Characteristics of the Population and Rural-Urban Migration

The rural population of Kosovo is young. Today the average age is around 26-28, while the population over 60 years is about 6-8%. In 1953 the urban population accounted for 15.6%, 32.4% 1981 and 1991 (estimate) about 36% in the overall population. Until 1948 the number of urban population was about 71,000, in 1991 increased to approximately 730,000 inhabitants. In the period 1953 - 1981 the urban population increased to 388,300 inhabitants or 306.9%, while in the period from 1953 to 1991 around 600,000 or around 480%. It is estimated that currently between 45-50% of Kosovo's population lives in the city (Islami, H., 2005: 387). Let's take for example the capital of Kosovo - Pristina, where, as both in demographic and physical aspect had a huge increase for a relatively short period. Urban space built in 1970 was about 948 hectares, in 1999 about 1,693 hectares and in 2010 marked a growth (expansion of the city) records around 4662 hectares. Expressed in percentage from 1970 to 1999 is indicated an increase of 78.59%, while from 1999 to 2010, the city expanded to 175.37%. On the basis of this analysis resulted that for 30 years (1970-1999) Pristina had not a growth in physical - urban terms compared to its growth only the last decade (1999-2010) (Gollopeni, B., 2013). Physical expansion of urban areas and urban population growth happened as a result of migration.

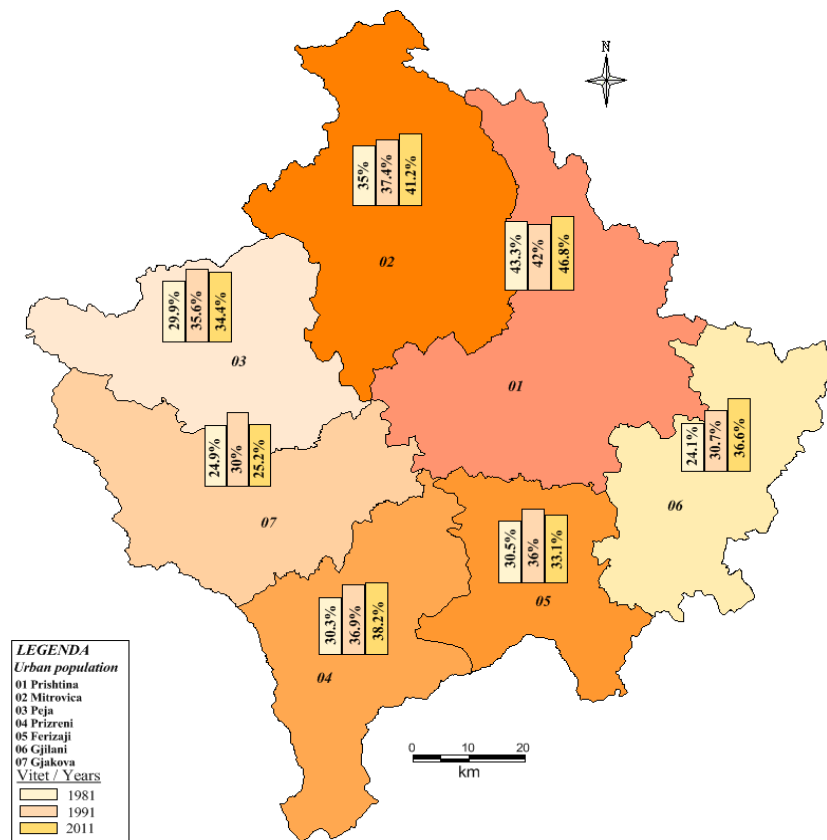
Graph 1: The Urban Population in Kosovo by Time Periods (1948-2011)



Source: Censuses for time period 1948-1981; for 1991 (estimate) Pushka, A., and for the 2011 census (2011, KSA).

Based on available data, apart from the total number of Kosovo's population, about 40% live in urban areas, while about 60% live in rural areas. However, as we mentioned above, as if all those who have migrated had registered new address, it is assumed that Kosovo will have about 45% urban population. The largest number of national migration (migrated from the municipality) in ratio to the number of the residents had as follows: Kamenica, the total resident population of 36,085, out of them 10,815 or 30%, the municipality of Shtpce with 22.4% and Obilic 22.7% with the population had migrated from municipality, and was resettled in other municipalities of Kosovo. Of the total population that had migrated within the national borders, from a municipality to another (196,429 inhabitants) Pristina had the most benefits with about 45,905 inhabitants, or about 23.1%. then, Prizren municipality with 7.98%, Ferizaj 6.79%, Gjilan 5.31% and Fushe Kosovo 4.74% had benefited from immigration from other municipalities of Kosovo (KSA 2014: 57). When analyzed in detail internal (regional) migration, then we realize that Pristina region has mostly a positive balance, whereas regions with a negative balance are: Peja, Ferizaj and mostly Gjakova. See the map;

Map 1: The Share of Urban Population by Region in Kosovo and Time Periods (1981 – 2011)



Years with most immigrants in Pristina were 1999 with 9.8% then 6.5% in 2000 and by 6.0% of arrivals in Pristina in 2010 (KSA, 2014). Regarding the socio-demographic characteristics, the rural-urban migration primarily affects young ages (students, businesses, etc.), Families with average and above-average income and some cases are families with low income (poor families) which being unable of rebuilding or building a house in the village already demolished by the war, have migrated to the city being temporarily sheltered in any public or private building, at their relationships and in special cases even temporarily occupying public and private property. Regarding the gender ratio of internal migration in general, 27% of men have migrated and 73% of female. Such a big difference considering the gender ratio is a result of family reunification and Kosovar culture where women while married lives in the family of the boy and the family reunion has had an impact on female dominance in internal population movements.

5. Depopulation of Rural Settlements

Kosovo's territory is very small geographically, therefore the spatial differences in socio – demographic aspect are generally significant. There are yet no distinctions between town and village, by way of clothing, nutrition, communication etc.. The village (rural settlement) in the classical sense no longer exists. Kosovo counts 1,469 dwellings apart of which 38 of them are administrative - municipal centers (2013), while others are rural settlements. Until 2000, Kosovo consisted of 30 administrative (municipal) centers which were urban ones, but the decentralization process established 8 other administrative municipal centers - (Junik, Mamusha, Hani i Elezit, Ranilug, Partesh, Gračanica, Kllokot and Novoberda). The latter, on the basis of their development and operation, they more resemble a rural residence than a functional urban center. Kosovo has the youngest population belonging to the progressive type, with extended base of the pyramid, with gender balance, with high birth rate, but the trend is the decline, reduced mortality, population migration and rural-urban migration. Most of the settlements in Kosovo are older than a century from their establishment, except of some neighborhoods quarters established later. Another characteristic of the settlements is that most of them belong to the concentrated and intense type but with a tendency of distribution or expansion in the new period (after 2000). In dense type of settlement has been also affected by the culture and traditional mindset, to be closer brother to brother or cousin to cousin, and so on. Characteristic of rural settlements is the fact that more than two tribes live in the same settlement (for example; Gashi, Shala, etc.), with different ethnic and religious background, where, with the exception of the Serbian population, especially after 1990s, interpersonal relations are very well in most cases.

Another feature of traditional peasant family is the fact that despite the dense settlements and differences aforementioned, in most cases, families do not create marriage within the same settlement (village), in order to retain the inter-human and family relations. During the last war in Kosovo ('99), when most of rural settlements (villages) were ruined by the Serbian occupation thus violently deporting the majority Albanian population from their homes across the border of Kosovo. After the liberation of the country ('99), the Albanian population returned back to their home country but, in the absence of adequate support from the newly established institutions of the country as well as the limited budget, the lack of infrastructure necessary for life and lack of perspective, resulted that a considerable number of rural families do not return home, but they moved to city. However not only towards the cities, they migrated to even longer and distant urban centers of Kosovo. Although, there were some investments in rural areas in recent years by local institutions and international investors, rural-urban migration trends towards the major urban centers are the target of many families and especially the youth. Regarding the types of rural-urban migration, there are several types of migrations such as voluntary, violent, daily, temporary, permanent, regional and international migrations. Rural-urban migrations began in the XVIII century, occurring in industrial and developing countries. Today, many developed countries have experiences of massive rural-urban migration.

Seeking countries with optimal life conditions affected certain forms of people movement. Since technical - technological development, human mobility has become more intense and voluminous. The population growth plays also a substantial role in both balance and misbalance. The faster population growth is, the slower is economic development, and the faster comes up misbalance and the phenomenon of internal migration. Based on this regularity, regions with high birth rate almost always or in most cases are emigrant areas. These areas are characterized by high degree of renewal of the population, low level of education and qualifications, with high participation of the agricultural population of the rural economy and rural character as well as great households members, etc. (Pushka, A., 2000: 275).

These (rural) areas mainly face the absence of proper economic infrastructure, lack of commercial buildings, high agricultural density, low income per capita, etc., similar to rural areas in Kosovo. Migrations are permanent phenomenon of population movement and are essentially associated to social, political and economic developments changes. At the time of former Yugoslavia, political - social factors have been very present and have contributed significantly to the migration of the population. Spatial movements of intensive population already presented are the dominant form of rural-urban and external migration. Especially free type migrations of short distances respectively caused by economic motives, but mostly are known mass of workforce movement in different directions, especially those from the undeveloped region to those developed ones. Internal migration of the population especially the depopulation of rural settlements, mountainous settlements take place significantly on the overall development. Many villages were diminished in number of population, and some remote rural settlements were emptied. The population migrated to urban centers mainly towards regional centers, specifically to the capital of Kosovo, Pristina. The large numbers of small settlements apart from the total of 1,469 in Kosovo, according to 1981 census, 634 settlements were with less than 500 inhabitants, apart from 500-1000 inhabitants were 426 and from 1000 to 2000 were 292 settlements, while with more than 2000 inhabitants were 93 settlements. However, with only from 1 to 199 residents were more than 15% of settlements, or about every six settlement.

In 2011 there is a total of 488 settlements with less than 301 inhabitants per residence and 50 depopulated settlements. Uninhabited and small settlements lie mainly in the hilly areas and in the outskirts of Kosovo, which with their economy and infrastructure presented and represent a potential and continuous source for the rural exodus. Between the two world wars, due to homogeneous economic structure of the village, the exodus was less expressed, while during the communist period were made very little investment in infrastructure and economic development, and post-war period marked the greatest intensity of rural exodus in Kosovo (Basha, T., 2013). The concentration of economic activities such as industrial and other become more attractive to the numerous large workforce in the villages, but the modern mechanism and techniques in agriculture turned the workforce to seek work outside agriculture and village. The number of non-agricultural population in rural areas of Kosovo has been constantly increased (and that from 54,868 in 1953 to 586,804 people in 1981, or 596.8%) (Islami, H., 2005: 359). Whereas now (2011) marked a record increase where only about 20% of the total population is engaged in agriculture. These developments contributed to the movement of population to urban centers, transforming the daily and weekly migrants into permanent migrants.

6. The Motives of Rural-Urban Migration

Different authors have developed deterministic and probabilistic models in order to explain local and regional migrations, for instance: Zipf's gravity model, improved model of gravitation, Lor's model, the push-pull model, the optimal location model (Liu model), a basic model of optimal location of Lori Seasted, psychological models of Simon Herbert, Brown's and Moo, regression analysis models, etc. (Pushka, A., 2000: 277). However, similar patterns cannot be used at different times, spaces and population structures to prove the authenticity of the results. There is no unifying model that can be used in all countries for different situations. From an economic standpoint, the fundamental factor of population migration is economic development, the development of productive forces, namely the development of the industry. Previous studies (Pushka, A., and 2000: 276) have identified many variables that determine internal migration (within the region), as:

- The degree of (un) employment,
- The amount of income,
- The rate of population growth,
- The level of general and vocational education,
- (In) sufficiency of housing,
- Reduction of certain natural resource or increase – decrease of the price of agricultural land,
- Alienation from social environment,
- Better (worst) living conditions,
- Changing the socio-cultural environment,
- The economic, political hindrances,
- Distance from the desired center, contacts, information, etc.

Migration motives are different, what is a required using suitable model to come up accurate findings. In addition to economic factors the population migrations are also affected by natural-geographic factors which mostly determine the social - economic development also influencing the demographic conditions, respectively migration of population during certain periods of development (EUP, 1970: 3). Overall multi-dimension, time and space analysis is required following the review and scientific interpretation of the causes of rural-urban migration. Studies and analyzes have pointed out two concepts taken from Anglo-Saxon literature and wider with frequent use throughout the scientific and academic world as comprehensive and are universal for all environments, which are suitable for the case:

a) Push Factors and

b) Pull Factors

Push factors are: worse living conditions, unemployment, poverty, natural disasters, political factor (violence), etc., who push society seek better option for life. While pull factors are: for better living conditions, education, employment, family reunification, etc. Both of these factors have had an impact on the rural-urban migration in Kosovo. The difficult social and economic situation, lack of infrastructure (roads, water and sewage systems, electrical energy, the destruction of homes by the recent war, the configuration of the terrain and other factors), are the main push factors which incites the population to migrate. On the other hand, the best conditions for life (employment, education, infrastructure, etc.) in the city, attracted society to migrate to urban areas. Change of birth place and the difficulties faced, the specific motivations which relate entirely to the lives, dreams and desires, passions and aspirations that they feel that they have not come true in the place where they stayed for a different time period, or for a part of their lives, and seek to achieve elsewhere. Reasons and motivations that have driven people to constantly move from one place to another one, to be directed towards a country which fulfils the desires, reason or motive of the movement, are the most important elements affecting the entirety of their migration movements. Depending on such conditions people decide whether to move elsewhere or will stay in the same place. Affected by these and other strong reasons they decide in favor or against migration (Axhemi, S., 2007: 153). Many researchers have pointed out that the primary factors of migration are economic and natural factors. Lack of good living conditions, housing, education, employment, etc., led to seek solutions through migration. Many Kosovo citizens seeking for better life migrated from rural to urban areas. Mountainous rural settlements are increasingly losing population by migration. Abandonment (depopulation) of rural settlements has taken off since 1970s, when big industrial enterprises opened in Kosovo which mainly located in urban or suburban areas, business, educational centers etc., however, migrations intensified especially after 1999 and continue in the future as well.

Unfavorable economic basis due to limited social, economic, natural and great agrarian density conditions in these regions is the main factor that led to such migrations. Agriculture and farming development, based on extensive use of natural resources do not provide sufficient conditions for life of the population which naturally grows, while non-agricultural activities, especially industry in municipal and urban centers cannot absorb all measures of agricultural surplus of rural population (Islami, H., 1985: 105). Migration as a whole are a result of people's efforts to find a better place to live, material conditions and sources of income. They have never been developed without any particular reason or have been forced by the difficult living conditions and motivated for a better life. Migrations are constant processes to follow society through certain stages of development. According to the census of 1981, 41% of the people of ex - Yugoslavia changed their place of birth. Meanwhile, in terms of internal migration in Kosovo, apart from the total population of 1,739,825 people registered in the census (April 2011), of which 517,992 people or about 30% of them had experienced at least one migration. The motives of the rural-urban migration in Kosovo are general and individual. Migration motives can be classified as follows:

a) The political situation - as a result of the war (1999) and large losses in men and material goods, has been caused the urban rural migration of a part of the population. As a consequence of the war, many residential facilities, manufacturing technique - agriculture, businesses and other goods have been destroyed, whereof the population of this area was dependent, thus making the rural population seek the perspective elsewhere other than rural areas. Such a situation has led many households to settle in urban areas (city) initially as temporary migrants and later as permanent migrants.

Last War (1999) had took place mostly in rural areas, yet destroying the goods and material, thus extremely impoverished households in this area. Opportunities to build and rebuild homes first and foremost, to start their entrepreneurship were limited for many households, making so many households initially resettled in urban areas to their relatives, and in some cases even temporarily occupied several public and other property. One such a luck had also H.B. 38 year old from Suhareka residing in Prizren, since his house had been ruined by Serb forces, thus it was easier for him to migrate to the city than to return to the village and rebuild the new home, says H.B.

b) Lack of infrastructure - including roads, water supply, sewerage, educational, health, cultural services etc., in most rural settlements caused the migration of population to urban centers or urban areas (city), seeking for a better life. During an interview with A.P. 36 year old from Podujevo residing in Pristina, he said that the lack of roads, electricity, and depopulation of settlement from many families led us to move from our village to the city looking for a better life.

c) Uncultivated agriculture and its sectors – a considerable part of the population has left the land uncultivated and the agriculture undeveloped for a relatively short time, turning to seek work in other sectors of the economy (construction etc.), outside the rural residence. During 80s - 90s, about 80% of the total population was agrarian population, where almost all households kept even a cattle. Even in less developed urban areas were such households dealing with agriculture. This situation changed completely after 2000. The respondent B.G. 49 years old from Kamenica residing in Pristina says: before (2000) we dealt with farming and agriculture, we had a normal life, after 2000 children were educated and did not want to deal with agriculture, they could not find a job through their profession in (Kamenica), thus we must migrate he says.

d) Concentration of industry and businesses in urban and suburban centers - employment issue led the population to immigrate to more developed urban areas. Migration as a process is intensified in density in economically developed regions. Population moves constantly from underdeveloped - passive areas towards developed centers, thus causing densities. Let's take the example of Pristina city, due to intense immigration, urban population density was increased to about 400 inhabitant / 1km², etc.

dh) Education process - quality in urban schools was significantly higher than in rural areas, this resulted that many families to migrate to urban areas only to have their children educated in schools with higher quality. Thereafter student migration, where many young people with the aim of attending university studies, initially migrated on an individual basis until they are well educated and obtained a higher intellectual and professional education, then they get employed and began a new life, creating family, so they were transformed to permanent migrants. There was no kindergarten in our village, we had to go to work, we had no other family member to care about the children, hence were had to move to the city expressed the couple A.K. from Malisheva residing in Pristina. Meanwhile, G.M. couple from Peja outskirts residing in Peja expressed as follows; no courses are organized in the village including professional courses (English and other professional ones), we as parents began to think that our children could not progress in school, we found the choice to migrate to the city and since, because we work in Peja as well, then we decided to migrate.

e) Uneven spatial development - social division of labor, higher income (higher salary) in urban areas, uneven population growth, in some places there is a surplus of workforce and some other have absence of it, unbalanced development of modern industry and technology, education system and other public services have led many people to migrate. During an interview of I. Sh. from Rahovec residing in Pristina, he states as follows: I was at university, when I graduated I was employed and I had no perspective to return back in Rahovec, so I decided to rent a flat and after that I created my family. Meanwhile, other migrant R.H. 50 years old, from Decani, residing in Pristina, here is the decision to migrate he says. He says that he traveled around 8 years, every day from Decani to Pristina, about 200 km a day, I was tired from the trip and more from urban traffic where more than 2hours route I pass to work and 2h to go back home simply bored by the journey and I decided to make a long-term solution in Pristina (buy a flat). In Decani I could not find a job in my profession and earn as much income as in Pristina, so I was somehow forced to change the settlement (migrate). During the interviews conducted with respondents, it was realized another very important fact. In the transition period in which Kosovar society was going through, persons who have been working and living in large urban centers, particularly in Pristina, enjoyed a special reputation in society in general. The facts presented above, prove that the most developed centers are the immigration ones, and the less developed or underdeveloped are the emigration centers.

In conclusion, the motives of the rural-urban migration, the population near the main roads is more mobile than the population that is 10 kilometers away and more. The population living in the localities over 10 km away from main roads decides definitely to move than migrate every day.

7. The Effects of Rural-Urban Migration

Rural-urban migration is associated with different effects to immigration and emigration society. Various studies have shown that young population or the population of working age is principally involved in migration and tends more to migrate seeking a better life. The age at which a person decides to migrate is usually after 20 years and the first 50 years, respectively, after completion of high school or university, or after having a family and raise children ready for education, especially when they are at the secondary and high education (Pushka, A., 2000: 295), thus, enabling the emergence of very serious problems especially for emigrant society. So, firstly gaps in the population able to work are created, enabling demands for work, and secondly, the lack of younger age creates misbalance of gender and age of the population. Various studies show that men usually migrate more than women do, this happened also in Kosovo, where most of the population migrating from rural to urban areas belongs mainly to male gender², bringing thus surplus in the number of females in rural areas, which will result obviously is a gender misbalance. In such situations is also decreased the number of marriages, and increases the average age at marriage, which is accompanied by the decrease in the number of births, thus triggering the decline of population growth. Characteristic for the rural-urban migration in Kosovo is the fact that we do not have to do with elderly population or old population in rural areas, because it is a young population throughout the country and still largely are seen the consequences of migration from village to town in the majority population, although the trends are in favor of demographic aging. As a result of migration, the rural population has lost two very important categories of society, the qualified one and those who generate new working places and give life to the village, thus having adverse effects on rural social life accordingly, because more and more village is getting poorer. Then, we are dealing with a population which recently (before '99s) was largely agrarian, which at this time has dropped the agriculture leaving it uncultivated, thus rural land left uncultivated, and with its increasing trend. The phenomenon of uncultivated land led greatly to the reduction of livestock which, before '90s, almost each family kept livestock in order to provide their living.

Currently, the reduction of livestock is a result of migration on the one hand, but also the great transformations that occurred during the recent years in rural family. Another feature of rural migration is also the depopulation of rural areas leaving homes empty. On the other hand, the rural-urban migration caused various negative effects even to immigration country, respectively for urban settlement. Urban demographic growth is associated with numerous demands for housing, which consequently led to increase the sales price and rental of housing, as well as the competition in the labor market was increased which, consequently has decreased the price of work. It also came to a mix of different cultures in this case the urban - rural consequently has also often led to social conflicts and criminality, the density of urban traffic, pollution, and noise were increased, as well as the lack of infrastructure and other public services, as a consequence of which were not associated by relevant functional urbanization etc. In the absence of proper consolidation of public institutions, the city and the urban suburb are accompanied by illegal constructions thus causing an urban chaos. Also, bringing a culture of traditional construction (house with other associated facilities), yards surrounded by high walls, etc. We are also dealing with clash of urban and rural cultures and mindset. A very important indicator is that still many families that migrated from the country of origin (permanent residence) have not given up from there. They hold the immovable property, keep the identification address of residence origin, as well as visit it once or twice per month, etc. This shows how difficult it is moving from one residence to another and adaptation to the new environment. These are some of the negative effects that have followed the rural-urban migration in Kosovo, which are common but that in no way end up here, for what is recommended to be researched in detail.

8. Conclusions

Based on comparative methodology, statistical, observation and analyze in retrospective, we can conclude that rural-urban migration in Kosovo began in the '70s with the establishment of heavy industry in urban and suburban centers, public university in Pristina, centralized administrative, creating a better infrastructure etc.

² In this case does not enter (not a part) migration for family reunification.

However, rural-urban migrations have marked a significant progress especially after 2000s, where as a result of the demolished houses, the destruction of agricultural and other technology, as well as other goods from the last war in Kosovo (1999), many families had migrated to urban settlements, being sheltered as refuge to their relatives initially, rented or occupied public and private property. On the other hand, many rural families migrated in searching of a better life. Currently, about 45% of the total population is assumed to live in urban areas.

Among the most appropriate theories to explain the reasons or motives of rural-urban migration in Kosovo are: push - pull factors model and identification variables that influence population to migrate within the region. As driving factors and attractive factors have influenced the movement of the rural population but, it should be mentioned that the lack of policy and strategy for rural development by the institutions of the country, the lack of sufficient investment in the primary sector, has made the rural population not to see perspective and unique solution for a better life (employment, higher wages, qualified education, public services closer and lower cost, better infrastructure etc.). Most respondents stated that the main reasons that have fed them to migrate are: the lack of infrastructure and poor infrastructure (roads, schools, medical services, electricity, etc.), lack of jobs (unemployment too higher in rural areas), waiver of agriculture, the destruction of homes by the latest (1999), and insufficient investment in rural areas by local institutions led the population to migrate to urban areas seeking for a better life. As a result of rural-urban migration was significantly increased the urban density, price for rent of apartments in the city, cost of apartments for sale, traffic jam, clash of urban rural cultures, increased crime, illegal constructions and urban chaos, great competition in the labor market and urban unemployment, etc. While the effects of migration to rural areas are as following: the uncultivated land, inhabited houses left empty due to depopulation, rebalance of the socio-demographic structure and uneven economic development.

8.1. Recommendation

To stop or reduce rural-urban migration, it is recommended: the country's institutions needs to create favorable conditions for rural areas, the creation of new jobs, development of proper policies, especially for agriculture, launching an attractive program for attracting foreign investments, providing vocational training to prepare youth especially for female for the labor market, investments in physical infrastructure as well as providing favorable rural loans. Implementation of these recommendations, can positively affect stopping or reducing the migration from village to city.

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