

Urban-rural Migration and Migrants' Successful Settlement in Korea*

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The Republic of Korea, South Korea, was an agricultural country similar to other East Asian countries until the 1950s. As in other developed countries, rural agricultural surplus labor in Korea moved into urban areas for jobs. However, since the late 1990s, urban population movement to rural areas began to be observed and drew policymakers' attention. Thus, this study aims to describe the trend of urban-rural migration in Korea and identify the factors influencing migrants' successful settlement. Korea's urban-rural migration appeared 20 years later than western developed countries and the number of migrants is increasing. Economic and demographic factors and individual preferences are closely related to this trend. To investigate factors influencing successful migration, this study analyzed a data set collected from a nationwide sample of urban-rural migrants. This study argues that personal characteristics, non-economic motives, community life, and government supports are key factors associated with successful migration.

Keywords: urban-rural migration, successful settlement, community life, migration motive

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Introduction

During the process of industrialization, rural-urban migration was a common phenomenon. In Europe and the United States, it took place after the Industrial Revolution in the 1860s and the urbanization phase lasted by the end of the 1950s (Hosszú 2009). Since the late 20th century, there has been a phenomenon of rural population growth in western developed countries. A new population movement from urban areas to rural areas called 'urban-rural migration', which was not explainable by previous classic migration theories such as Ravenstein's "law of migration" and Zelinsky (1971)'s "the hypothesis of mobility transition". To probe the new population change, many scholars have studied urban-rural migration using various terms: "desurbanization" or "desurbanisation" (Van den berg 1982; Vartiainen 1989); "counterurbanization" or "counterurbanisation" (Dahms and McComb 1999; Halliday and Coombes 1995; Spencer 1997; Leeson 2002; Jensen-Svendsen 2007); "urban-rural migration" (Nivalainen 2003), "population turnaround" (Fuguitt 1985), "rural repopulation" (Stockdale, Findlay and Short 2000), "nonmetropolitan turnaround," "rural rebound," "rural renaissance," "amenity migration" (Arnon and Shamai 2010).

Korea¹ also experienced unprecedented urbanization during the process of economic development from the 1960s. Rural agricultural surplus labor moved into urban areas for jobs². Consequently, urban areas accommodate over 80 percent of the total national population in the 1990s (Kwon and Jun 1990; Statistics Korea 2000). Unlike the precedent migration, a new migration from urban to rural areas started³ since the late 1990s, which has appeared in western developed countries since the 1970s (Mitchell 2004). The economic crisis in 2008 caused by the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers led to many urban workers losing their jobs. Some of these unemployed went back to their rural hometowns to make a living. Some urban workers moved to rural areas to seek an alternative rural life. After all, urban-rural migration became an important social issue in Korea as more than 10 thousand households have been moving from urban to rural areas since 2010.

The recent urban-rural migration has caused significant population

¹ This study will use "Korea" to refer to "South Korea" in the rest of the paper.

² In Korea, urban area is populated and usually economically non-agriculture based, whereas rural area is populated with less than 50 thousand residents, and economically agriculture based

³ This study employs the term, "urban-rural migration," defined as a population movement from urban area to rural area.

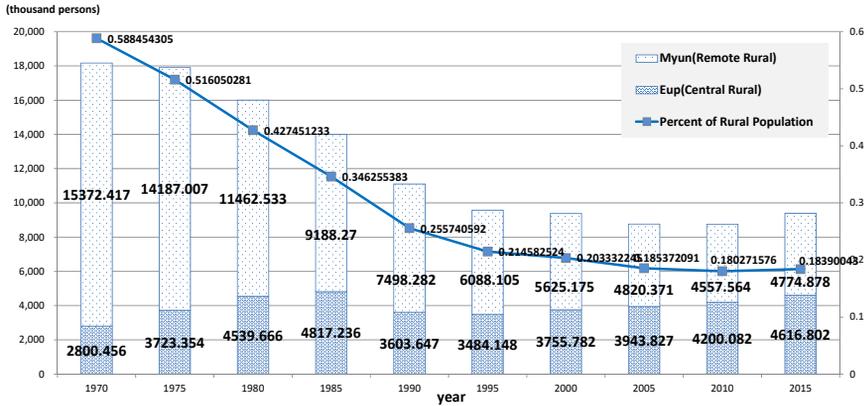
changes in Korea rural areas, where older population is growing dramatically. Since migrants are relatively young, they become practical work forces who can replenish a deficiency of labor in farming. They are regarded as human capital in rural areas because of their various job experiences and networks in urban areas. Therefore, successful settlement of urban-rural migrants drew attention from government policymakers in terms of agricultural and rural development. Korea government has enacted urban-rural migration laws and implemented policies to support urban-rural migrants' settlement.

Thus, this study aimed to investigate factors influencing urban-rural migrants' successful settlement. To elucidate the importance of migrants' settlement in rural areas, this paper elaborated the recent migration trend during industrialization in Korea. We also reviewed migrants' features and motives to build our own model for successful migration. Specifically, this study identified what factors affected rural migrants' perception of successful migration using the Korea Rural Economic Institute (KREI) and National Institute of Agricultural Sciences (NAS)'s survey of urban-rural migrants. In 2014, the KREI and NAS jointly constructed an urban-rural migrant survey system called Korea Urban-rural Migrants Settlement Study (KUMSS), which was designed to survey urban-rural migrants for five years (2014-2018).

Research Context: Urban-Rural Migration Trend in Korea

Korea's rural population has continually declined during its industrialization period. Recently, however, the decrease in rural population has eased, and in some areas, the rural population has increased. Korea was an agricultural country similar to other East Asian countries until the 1950s. After liberation from Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945) and Korean War (1950-1953), the rural population of the Korean peninsula was more than 70 percent of the total population. When the economic development strategy, the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of Korea⁴, began in the 1960s, migration of rural residents to cities began to expand (Park 2000). In 1970, the rural population accounted for 58.5 percent of the total population (Figure 1). In the 1970s and 1980s, many rural residents moved to cities in search of jobs,

⁴ The plan was to increase wealth of South Korea mainly by changing import substitution industrialization to export-oriented growth. South Korea had seven five-year plans from 1962 to 1997 (Park 2007).



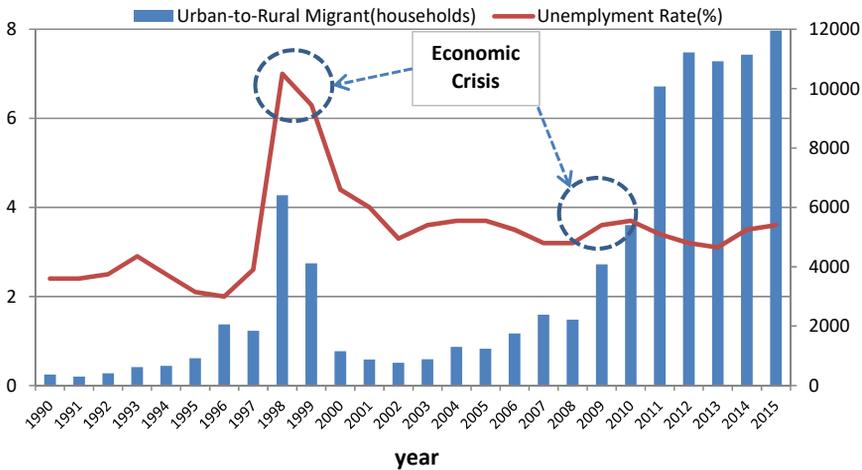
Source: Statistics Korea (1970-2015)

FIG. 1.—Rural population change in Korea: 1970-2015

while Korean government pushed ahead with its economic development strategies, including automobile manufacturing, iron manufacturing, and heavy and chemical industries. Rural surplus and redundant labor moved for new occupation in those industrialized urban areas. As a result, the rural population began to decline drastically, decreasing to 42.7 percent in 1980, down to 25.6 percent in 1990 and 20.2 percent in 2000.

However, there has been a change in the percentage of the population in urban and rural areas since 2000, when the decline of the rural population slowed down considerably. Since 2010, the rural population has begun to grow. Such demographic changes appear to be caused by social factors rather than a natural increase by birth. The Korean government has produced agricultural statistics on urban-rural migrants for farming⁵ since 1990. According to these statistics, right after the IMF bailout in the late 1990s, there was a sudden surge in the rural population. Two years later, however, it fell to its former levels in 2000. After the IMF bailout, Korea experienced another economic crisis, which was caused by the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in the late 2000s. Since then, urban-rural migrants for farming have increased again steadily, starting with more than 10,000 households in 2010 (Figure 2). The urban-rural migrant households for farming reached 11,959

⁵ This study uses the statistics of urban-rural migrations for farming for the trend analysis of Korea urban-rural migration, because the statistics of overall urban-rural migrants including for non-farming has been produced since 2015.



Source: MAFRA (1990-2015)

FIG. 2.—Urban-rural migrants in Korea: 1990–2015

in 2015.⁶ Back in the late 1990s, urban-rural migration was mainly due to worsening economic conditions in the city. For example, the unemployment rate, which stood at 2 percent in 1997, reached about 7 percent in 1998 (Jo 2015). As the economic situation improved and the unemployment rate dropped, the migrating population decreased again. Unlike the migration trend in the late 1990s, the urban-rural migration that started in the late 2000s continued after the economic crisis.

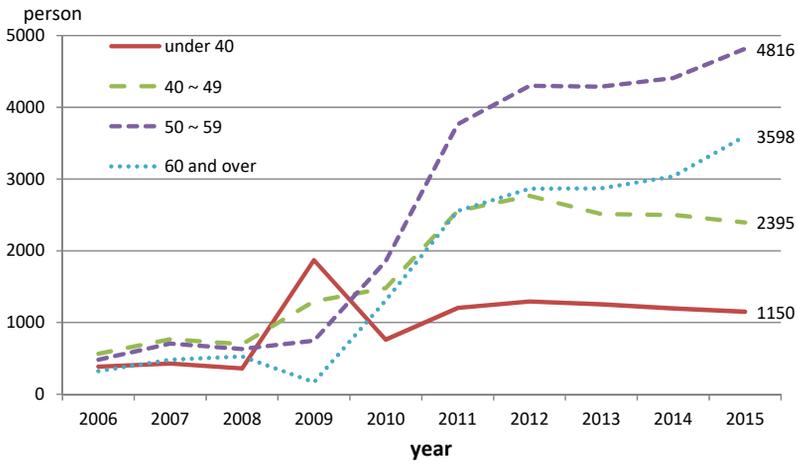
These macro trend of in-migration of Korea could be explained by neoclassical economic theory⁷, which claims that migration results from the uneven spatial distribution of labor vis-à-vis other factors of production, above all capital (King 2012). Thus, neoclassical theory was used to account for the significant urban unemployment⁸ (Todaro 1969; Harris and Todaro 1970).

In addition, the second migration trend has a few differences from the first one. First, since the economic effects were not the same as before, the unemployment rate was not that bad compared to the late 1990s. Second, baby boomers whose large portion was from rural areas participated in the

⁶ The urban-rural migrant households in 2015 were 317,419.

⁷ Neoclassical economic theory has been a dominant view of migration since Ravenstein's "Law of Migration" was published in 1885.

⁸ The employment rate is the probability of finding a job.



Source: MAFRA (2006-2010)

FIG. 3.—Urban-rural migrants' age distribution in Korea: 2006-2015

urban-rural migration and continuously facilitated the trends.

The big urban-rural migration rush in the late 2000s is closely related to baby boomers' returning to rural areas. Korea has a baby boom generation of people who were born from 1955 to 1963. After the Korean War (1950-1953), the birth rate skyrocketed before the government instituted a birth control policy in 1962 (Jang et al. 2010). From 1955 to 1963, the total number of births per woman in Korea was 6.1, close to the level of the natural fertility rate. In order to keep the increasing population in control, Korea adopted population policy for the first time in 1962, when the government incorporated the first Five-Year Economic Development Plan (Jang et al. 2010). The baby boom generation consists of 6.9 million people, accounting for 14 percent of the total population as of 2010 (Statistics Korea 2010). Most of these baby boomers lived in cities (82.3%), but mostly they were from rural areas. They migrated to the city during the past economic development period. Many baby boomers wanted to return to the countryside, and some of them actually moved to rural areas. A recent survey (Kim & Byun 2011) showed that 66.3% of baby boomers in Korea had a willingness to live in rural areas, and 13.9% of them had a specific plan to migrate. Given the age distribution of the urban-rural migrants in the past ten years, those in their 50s are baby boomer generation and the mainstream of current urban-rural migration. As shown in Figure 3, the majority of urban-rural migrants for farming are in their 50s (33.1% in 2015), but there are many migrants under

TABLE 1
URBAN-RURAL MIGRATION SUPPORT POLICIES IN KOREA

| Service Category | Programs |
|--|--|
| 1. Information Service | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Installation of National Urban-Rural Migration Support Center • On-line and Off-line Information Service • Urban-Rural Migration Expo |
| 2. Rural Adaptation and Agricultural Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education by Migration Preparation Stage • On-line and Off-line Rural Life Introduction & Agricultural Education • Current Job-specific Preparation Consulting & Education |
| 3. Housing & Economic Support | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loan and Tax benefit for Purchasing farming land, machinery, and housing |
| 4. Local Service | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural Local Support Center for Urban-rural migration • Rural Life Consulting & Agricultural Education |

Source: MAFRA (2009, 2012, 2016)

age 50 as well.

The urban-rural migration trends have been facilitated due to supportive policies of the government. The Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs (MAFRA) unveiled urban-rural migration policies to support migrants in 2009, 2012, and 2016 respectively, which provided urban-rural migrants with related information, education, and incentives including subsidies for purchasing farming land, machinery, and housing (MAFRA 2009, 2012, 2016). Table 1 shows the government supports for urban-rural migrants in Korea. Those policies were designed to attract and help more people settle in rural communities, which have been experiencing population declines stemming from decades-long urbanization and the low birth rate. Recent MAFRA (2016) policy focuses on young migrants under 40 years old who contribute to population growth, and local economic activation with a policy objective of inflowing young 10 thousand urban-rural migrants.

The urban-rural migration trend is expected to continue for some time because the urban sluggish economy in Korea. Korea Development Institute (KDI) (2015) forecasted that since 2015 the potential growth rate of Korea would be lowered to under 3% per year compared to 7% in the 1990s and 4% in the 2000s because of the poor investment, decrease in economically active population, and productivity stagnation. Furthermore, the urban exodus of baby boomers in their mid and late 50s and early 60s who were, mostly, born

in rural areas and in their under 50s would last for a considerable period time (Kim and Ma 2016). Their migration decision might be affected by the rising significance of new life-style and non-monetary motives such as regional amenities and values embedded in rural life (Nivalainen 2003).

Successful Settlement of Urban-Rural Migrants

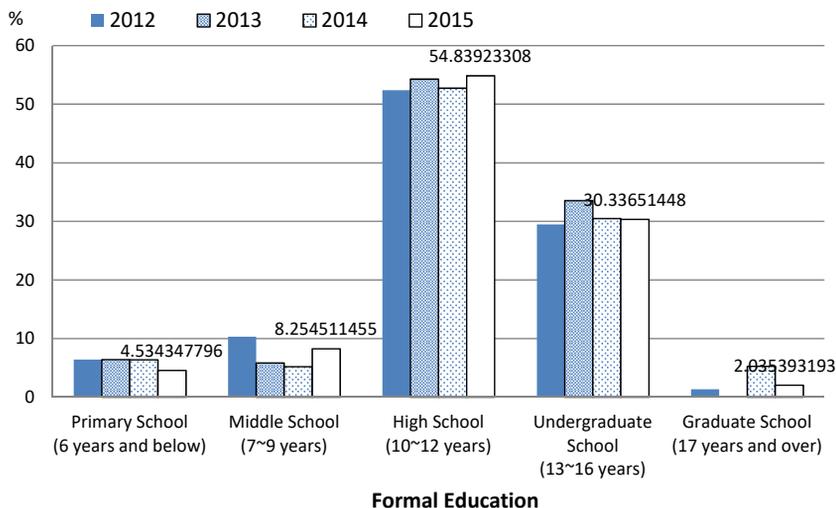
The trend of urban-rural migration is considered to be a positive phenomenon for rural communities facing various social problems due to population decline and rapid growth of older population. Rural community in Korea has already entered aged society in 2011. In addition, aging process is accelerated in rural community that is expected to enter super-aged society in 2026, where more than one in five of the population is 65 or older. The economic vitality of industries in rural areas is also depressed due to population decline and rapid aging communities. Therefore, urban-rural migration is considered one of the plausible solutions to revitalize rural communities by inducing relatively young and educated migrants who seek a new life style in rural areas. As the migration population is growing, settlement of urban-rural migrants in rural communities is a critical issue for local governments and rural residents.

Analytic Framework: Successful migration and Its Related Variables

1) Migrants' Characteristics

The aspects of migration vary according to an individual's personal characteristics, such as age, education and family factor. Although older adults were not willing to migrate because their age and the risk accompanied by the moving may reduce the benefits (Nivalaine 2003), older migrants tend to prefer the rural pastoral countryside and they have more assets that enable them to move and purchase a house and land in a new place (Hong, Song and Kim 2012). Educated migrant are less likely to be restrained by the distance to destination (Pacione 1984). This is because those with higher education usually have better access to information about rural areas to move (Bowles 1970).

Migration decisions tend to be made at the household, rather than at the individual, level (Mincer 1978). People who move to the countryside with their families are more likely to be successful than those who migrated alone (Chae 2013; Jang et al. 2014). Thus, some households do not migrate together



Source: MAFRA (2016)

FIG. 4.—Formal education level of urban-rural migrants: 2012-2014.

but rather send one household member off as migrants. If only one partner finds a job at the destination, the family can only migrate if the gains of the one family member offset the losses of the other family member (Hagen-Zenker 2008). In general, the costs of migration increase with family size.

Current urban-rural migrants in Korea also seem to be similar to other countries' migrants' characteristics. Migrants were relatively younger and more educated than current farmers. According to MAFRA's (2016) survey, more than two third of the new migrating household (69.9%) were under the age of 60, while 69.3% of current farm managers were over the age of 60⁹. Most of the new migrants received a higher education than current farmers. More than half of the new migrants (54.8%) have a high school education (10-12 years of formal education), and 32.3 percent have a college education (over 12 years of formal education). This is far higher than the current farmers' education level – most farmers (61.1%) have fewer than 9 years of formal education.

2) Urban-Rural Migration Motives

The personal decision of moving one's residence might be affected by various

⁹ Total farm managers are 1,088,518, over 60s are 68.3%, 50s are 22.7%, and under 50s are 9.0%. (Statistics Korea 2015)

motives. Primarily, most migrants hope to improve their individual and family's economic status. Long and Hansen (1979) ascertained that job-related motives (taking new jobs, looking for work, and job transfer) were one of the most important accountable factors. Rural sociologists and geographers claim that increased income levels, job opportunities in rural regions, and the provision of important local public services (Bosworth, 2009; Moseley and Owen 2008; Stockdale, Findlay and Short 2000) are some of the more prominent explanations for migration (Feinerman et al. 2011). However, there are other non-economic motivating factors behind the decision to migrate. The non-economic motives of recent migrants to rural areas can be broadly categorized as "quality of life" (Arnon and Sharnai 2010). These motives are based on the desire to replace the negative sides of the urban environment (noise, pollution, crowds, and detached relationships) with the positive, idyllic, culturally stereotyped image of rural life and values: living in less dense, safer and healthier rural areas, living close to nature in harmony with the landscape; and living a happy and meaningful social life in the community, especially for the sake of their children (Chipeniuk 2006; Halfacree and Boyle 1998).

Similarly, migrants in Korea also seem to pursue non-economic motives. According to MAFRA's (2016) survey, the number of urban dwellers who are willing to adopt an alternative life and choose to move to the countryside are

TABLE 2
URBAN-RURAL MIGRATION MOTIVES

| Motives | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | Total |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Seeking a Country Life | 28.1 | 28.8 | 28.3 | 32.4 | 29.4 |
| Farming | 17.3 | 20.5 | 20.7 | 17.8 | 19.1 |
| Skepticism about Urban Life | 15.9 | 14.9 | 11.5 | 16.6 | 14.7 |
| Health | 12 | 10.4 | 11.3 | 9 | 10.7 |
| To live with the family. | 8.6 | 8.6 | 6 | 6.8 | 7.5 |
| Lost Job / Business Failure | 6.6 | 4.8 | 6.9 | 4.5 | 5.7 |
| Farm Succession | 5.3 | 4.9 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 4.8 |
| City's High Living Cost | 1.1 | 2.5 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 2.2 |
| Children's Education | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.7 |
| Other | 4 | 3.7 | 7.5 | 5.8 | 5.2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: MAFRA (2016)

growing. Table 2 shows why urban-rural migrants moved from 2012 to 2015 (MAFRA 2016). Unlike western migrants who prioritized job-related motives (Long and Hansen 1979), alternative lifestyle-related motives such as seeking a “country life” (29.4%), “skepticism about urban life” (14.7%), and “health” (10.7%) were frequently answered among Korean urban-rural migrants. Although farming (19.1%) is the second highest motive, it does not mean that migrants moved to seek a job in agriculture. Farming seems to represent a new lifestyle in rural life for migrants. In addition, lost job and business failure, the economic motives (5.7%), were the 6th highest motive, which shows that the motives of migrants in Korea differ from the western migrants’.

3) Social Relations and Successful Migration

The factors that influence migration to start could be different from the conditions that make migration continue to stay in rural areas. Social relations and social capital in neighborhoods, communities, and formal organizations are at work in adaptation process as well as the migration decision (Hagen-Zenker 2008). Although new migrants are supposed to face many difficulties, their good relationships with neighbors and communities decrease the costs and risks of migration. Indigenous people in rural communities tend to exclude newcomers in order to protect their cultural hegemony. Therefore, newcomers are seldom recognized as full community members by residents (Arnon and Shamai 2010; Chávez 2005; Sibley 2006). In-migrants to rural communities are likely to be blamed by residents for “loss of community.” This may cause social tensions and community social conflicts between the two groups. Similarly, urban-rural migrants in Korea who had fewer contacts with original rural residents were more likely to express their intention of forgiving rural life (Ma, Nam and Choi 2016). According to Berry’s (2001) acculturation theory, relationships between immigrants and the receiving society range from conflictual contacts to mutual adjustments. Conflictual relationship with residents may contribute to migrants’ unsuccessful acculturation which may harm their well-being and lead them to unsuccessful migration. They also may experience the impact of poor adjustment, cultural alienation and marginalization, and negative feelings including rejection, detachment from social norms, and absence of a sense of belonging that migrants experience during settlement period (Miller et al. 2009). Along with relationships with residents, most urgent difficulties that Korean migrants face during the settlement process was housing (33%) followed by farm equipment (28.8%) and farming education (15.8%) (MAFRA 2016).

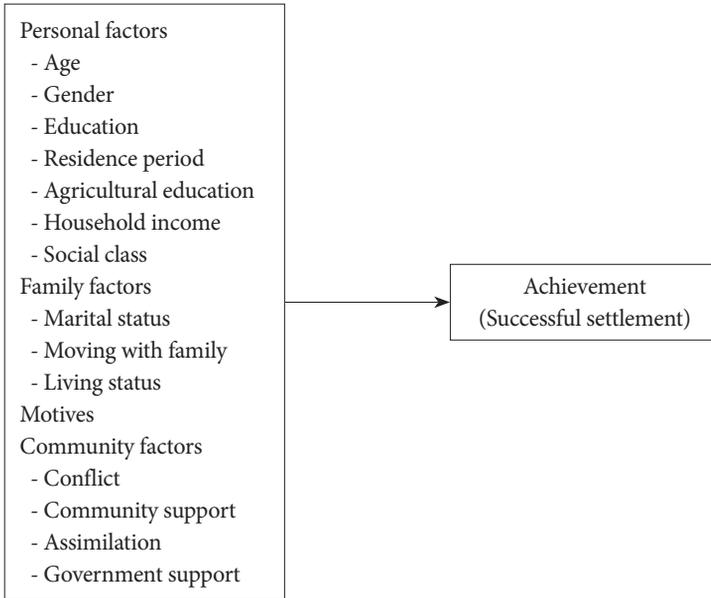


FIG. 5.—Conceptual framework for the study

Therefore, based on previous studies and related theories, this study examines the influence of personal traits, family factors, motives, community factors, including relationships with the neighborhood and government support, on successful migration (figure 5). The subjective perception of achievement after migration was used as an indicator for “successful migration” in the study.

Methodology

1) Data and Sample

The data for this study came from the third round of the Korea Urban-rural Migrants Settlement Study (KUMSS 2014 – 2018), which has been conducted by the Korea Rural Economic Institute (KREI) and the National Institute of Agricultural Sciences (NAS) to identify the patterns of migrants’ settlement since the economic crisis of Korea in 2008.

The KREI included a self-administered questionnaire survey of urban-rural migrants between 2009 and 2013. A population list was created with the support of local governments. The final list of people to be surveyed was selected by region, as well as by the proportional sampling method. Total

1,000 migrants have agreed to participate in the study. The survey participants received a questionnaire by mail.

This study utilizes only the sample provided by the third round of cross-sectional data, which was conducted by the KREI between July 1, 2016 and October 31, 2016, including 654 migrants who participated in the survey. Dropout reasons were traced through telephone follow-up after completing the third round mail survey. Dropouts increased because of address changes and personal issues such as health problems and busyness. After removing 151 missing cases with incomplete data, the final sample used in the analyses was 503. The questionnaire includes economic status, community life, motives for migration, evaluation of migration, the perception of agriculture, socio-demographic information, government supports, and more.

2) Measures

Perceived achievement was used as a dependent variable to represent successful migration, which refers to respondents' perception about their rural life after migration. Achievement was measured with 6 items including (1) I succeeded in achieving happiness and satisfaction through migration; (2) I succeeded in achieving better income and living conditions; (3) I succeeded in achieving better family relationships after migration; (4) I succeeded in living together with community residents; (5) I succeeded in pursuing community and eco-friendly values; (6) I succeeded in contributing to developing community with my experience and professional skills that I had before migration. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for this sample was .81.

Independent variables included socio-demographic factors, migration motives, community life including government support. Migrants' motives were measured by asking the respondent to what extent they were influenced by the following causes on their decision to migrate into rural areas: (1) high living costs in urban areas; (2) unemployment or business failure; (3) skepticism about urban life; (4) preference for farm work; (5) seeking an idyllic country life; (6) to pursue community or eco-friendly values; using a 5-point Likert scale.

Community life was measured by interaction with residents, community support, community participation, and community assimilation, and government support. Interaction with residents and community supports were used as indicators of relationships with community members. Community participation represents the level of active participation in community groups and activities. Community assimilation is defined by

respondents' subjective perceptions of their level of adaptation to the community into which they migrated. Interaction with residents was measured by asking "Do you ever have conflicts with community residents?" using a dichotomous response.

Community supports were measured with 6 statements, including: "how many community residents do you have whom you can rely on if in need or to discuss private matters;" "how many community residents do you have whom you can meet or call on at least once a month;" "how often do you meet or call on the resident you meet most frequently;" "how often one of residents available for you to talk to when you have an important decision to make?;" "how often do residents ask you advice about important matters;" and, "how often do you help residents in going grocery shopping, doing paper work, repairing their house, caring for their children, and so on;" using a 6-point scale (low score means high community supports). The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for this sample was .85.

Community participation was measured by asking how actively respondents participate in the following meetings and activities: (1) community meetings or events; (2) economic activities related to agriculture; (3) volunteer activities for the community; (4) leisure and cultural activities with community residents; (5) farmers' organizations; (6) informal groups; (7) religious activities; (8) regional education programs for farmers; (9) regional migrants' meetings or events using a 4-point scale. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for this sample was .76.

Community assimilation was measured by 6 statements, including: "I am comfortable using regional language, such as the local dialect;" "I like mingling with community residents;" "I am comfortable working with community residents;" "I tend to behave like a typical community resident;" "I believe that it is important to maintain and develop community culture;" and "I am interested in making friends among community residents;" using a 5-point Likert scale. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for this sample was .81.

Government support was measured by asking if they had any supports from the local or federal government, including basic settlement subsidy, new business subsidy, housing subsidy, and others.

Demographic information included: age (in years), sex (male = 0, female = 1), marital status (married = 0, not married = 1), education (\leq high school graduation = 0, $>$ high school graduation = 1), agricultural education before migration (no = 0, >10 days = 1, 10 to 30 days = 2, ≤ 30 = 3), moved with family (yes = 0, no = 1), living status (alone = 0, with family = 1), household

income ($\leq 20000 = 0$, $20001 - 40000 = 1$, $\geq 40000 = 2$),¹⁰ subjective perception of social class before migration (low = 0, middle = 1, high = 2), period of residence after migration (in years).

3) Analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to explain the basic features including socioeconomic characteristics and community factors among sample persons. Bivariate analyses, ANOVA and t-tests, were used to explore the relations between motives and socio-demographic variables. Groups were categorized by socioeconomic factors such as age, sex, education level, family factors, and income to compare the difference of motives. To identify the influential factors of successful settlement, multivariate regression was employed. Migrants' perception of achievement after migration representing successful settlement was used as an independent variable. Controlling for personal factors, regression model included motives, family factors, and community factors as independent variables. .

Results

Socio-demographic characteristics

The demographic characteristics of migrants are summarized in Table 3. The majority of migrants are in their 50s and older adults aged 60 and older constitute a full one fifth of the sample population. Migrants are relatively younger than existing rural residents, which contribute to sustaining rural communities where the population is aging fast. The majority of the migrants have graduated from high school (70.33%), are married (67.6%), and are male (89.1%). More than half of respondents moved with their family (53.7%) and the majority of the migrants live with their families (87.7%). Most migrants have had at least one day of agricultural education (73.4%) and around one fourth (26.2%) received more than one month of agricultural education. The level of education of the migrants is also relatively higher than existing residents. The educated migrants are supposed to have jobs before migration and have own skills that rural residents do not have but need to develop their communities. The majority of migrants are married and moved

¹⁰ Agricultural income is not included in the model due to the high correlation with household income.

TABLE 3
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS (N = 503)

| Variable | % | M ± SD | Min-Max |
|--------------------------------------|------|--------|---------|
| Age | | | |
| < 40 | 7.2 | | |
| 40-49 | 28.8 | | |
| 50-59 | 42.9 | | |
| ≥60 | 21.1 | | |
| Gender | | | |
| Male | 89.1 | | |
| Female | 10.9 | | |
| Marital Status | | | |
| Married | 92.6 | | |
| Not married | 7.4 | | |
| Education | | | |
| < High School | 30.0 | | |
| ≥ High School | 70.0 | | |
| Agriculture education (days) | | | |
| None | 26.6 | | |
| >10 | 30.0 | | |
| 10 - 30 | 17.1 | | |
| ≤30 | 26.2 | | |
| Moved with Family | | | |
| Yes | 53.7 | | |
| No | 46.3 | | |
| Living Status | | | |
| Alone | 12.3 | | |
| With Family | 87.7 | | |
| Household Income (10,000won) | | | |
| ≤ 2000 | 42.5 | | |
| 2001 – 4000 | 32.2 | | |
| ≥ 4001 | 25.3 | | |
| Social Class before migration | | | |
| Lower | 26.2 | | |
| Middle | 49.1 | | |
| Upper | 24.7 | | |

TABLE 3
(CONTINUED)

| Variable | % | M ± SD | Min-Max |
|-------------------------------------|------|----------|---------|
| Period of Residence after Migration | | 6.29±4.0 | 0-26 |
| Conflict | | | |
| Yes | 45.5 | | |
| No | 54.5 | | |
| Government Support | | | |
| No | 61.4 | | |
| Basic Settlement Subsidy | 13.9 | | |
| New Business Subsidy | 7.2 | | |
| Housing Subsidy | 12.1 | | |
| Other | 5.4 | | |

with family, which is consistent with the previous trend that migration decision is decided by household level (Mincer 1978). Those educated migrants and their family are regarded as human capital for rural areas where the population is decreasing and aging.

Only one fifth earned more than 40,000 dollars a year after migration. Before migrating, around three fourth the migrants considered themselves to be a middle and upper class (49.1% and 24.75 respectively). More than half (54.5%) of the respondents have experienced conflicts with community residents. The average residence period after migration was 6.29 years (SD = 4.0). One of the noticeable features for urban-rural migrants is a motive seeking a new life in rural areas. They were not compelled to migrate by economic reason that was a strong motive for rural-urban migrants during industrialization period. After migration, developing a positive relationship with existing rural residents is a key factor for migrants' successful settlement. Through the relationships, migrant can access community resources and information. However, the majority of the respondents have experienced conflicts with community residents.

Government supports plays a substantial role in helping migrants who took a financial loss for relocation from urban to rural areas settle in a new rural environment. However, more than 60% of the migrants did not receive supports from the governments. More than half of respondents have never had supports from the government (61.4%), although 13.9% of respondents received basis settlement funds and 12.1% received housing funds.

TABLE 4
MIGRATION MOTIVES (N = 503)

| Order | Motives | M ± SD | Positive% | Min-Max |
|-------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| 1 | Seeking an idyllic country life | 3.58±1.24 | 60.79 | 1-5 |
| 2 | Skepticism about urban life | 3.21±1.42 | 47.08 | 1-5 |
| 3 | Preference for farm work | 3.13±1.28 | 40.44 | 1-5 |
| 4 | Pursue eco-friendly values | 3.02±1.37 | 39.29 | 1-5 |
| 5 | High living cost in urban areas | 2.49 ±1.28 | 23.93 | 1-5 |
| 6 | Unemployment or business failure | 1.93±1.32 | 16.23 | 1-5 |

Migration Motives

Means of migration motives were calculated to prioritize them. The leading motives among migrants are closely associated with life style (Table 4). Environmental qualities, housing characteristics, proximity to family and friends, low housing prices, and work were the most frequently mentioned motives (Biker, Haartsen, and Strijker 2012). Unlike Biker's results, this study argues that living in a rural area is the primary motive for Korean urban-rural migration. For Korean migrants, instead of seeking a job and low living costs, values and attitudes related to rural living are the important motives to migrate and pursue alternative life style in rural areas. The primary motives for urban-rural migration are to seek a life in an idyllic rural setting ($m = 3.58$) and skepticism about urban life ($m = 3.21$). More than half of respondents positively answered that seeking life in an idyllic rural setting (60%) was their motive, and almost half of respondents expressed skepticism about urban life as a motive for their migration (47%).

Migration motives have changed over time. Seeking a country life has been the most dominant motive since 2012 among urban-rural migrants in Korea (MAFRA). Similarly, 'seeking an idyllic country life' and 'skepticism about urban life' were the leading motives among respondents. The motives were supposed to be different by their social and economic backgrounds. Thus this study explored who and why moved to rural areas by comparing the motives by socio-economic groups of migrants (Table 5).

Age was substantially associated with motives. All migration motives significantly differed by age groups. Young migrants moved to rural areas to seek a new life style. They were more skeptical about urban life and pursued eco-friendly values in rural communities compared to older migrants. In

TABLE 5
MOTIVES BY SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS (N = 503)

| | F | Idleness | F | Skepticism | F | Farming | F | Values | F | Living cost | F | Unemployment |
|----------------|-------|----------|---------|------------|-------|---------|----------|--------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------|
| Total | 3.13* | 3.58 | 5.92*** | 3.25 | 2.79* | 3.12 | 6.44*** | 3.02 | 3.93** | 2.5 | 4.97** | 1.9 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <40 | | 3.3 | | 3.7 | | 3.6 | | 3.4 | | 2.3 | | 1.2 |
| 40-49 | | 3.4 | | 3.5 | | 3.1 | | 3.3 | | 2.2 | | 1.8 |
| 50-59 | | 3.7 | | 3.1 | | 3.2 | | 3.0 | | 2.6 | | 2.0 |
| >=60 | | 3.8 | | 2.9 | | 2.9 | | 2.6 | | 2.7 | | 2.1 |
| Sex | 0.99 | | 3.22 | | 2.97 | | 0.79 | | 0.12 | | 0.23 | |
| Male | | 3.6 | | 3.3 | | 3.2 | | 3.0 | | 2.5 | | 1.9 |
| Female | | 3.4 | | 2.9 | | 2.8 | | 2.9 | | 2.6 | | 2.0 |
| Education | 0.16 | | 3.27 | | 3.32 | | 17.97*** | | 14.33*** | | 3.81 | |
| <= high school | | 3.6 | | 3.1 | | 3.0 | | 2.7 | | 2.8 | | 2.1 |
| > high school | | 3.6 | | 3.3 | | 3.2 | | 3.2 | | 2.4 | | 1.8 |
| Marriage | 0.8 | | 4.58* | | 0.3 | | 0.9 | | 2.11 | | 0.0 | |
| Not married | | 3.4 | | 3.7 | | 3.2 | | 3.2 | | 2.8 | | 1.9 |
| Married | | 3.6 | | 3.2 | | 3.1 | | 3.0 | | 2.5 | | 1.9 |
| With family | 1.4 | | 3.4 | | 1.8 | | 0.4 | | 1.58 | | 4.97* | |
| Yes | | 3.6 | | 3.4 | | 3.1 | | 3.1 | | 2.6 | | 1.8 |
| No | | 3.5 | | 3.1 | | 3.2 | | 3.0 | | 2.4 | | 2.0 |
| Income(US\$) | 4.05* | | 0.8 | | 1.1 | | 2.7 | | 10.43*** | | 6.19** | |
| <= 20000 | | 3.4 | | 3.2 | | 3.0 | | 2.9 | | 2.8 | | 2.1 |
| 20001-40000 | | 3.6 | | 3.4 | | 3.2 | | 3.1 | | 2.4 | | 1.9 |
| >=40000 | | 3.8 | | 3.1 | | 3.2 | | 3.2 | | 2.1 | | 1.6 |
| Social Class | 4.45* | | 0.3 | | 0.6 | | 0.1 | | 0.98 | | 2.2 | |
| Lower | | 3.3 | | 3.3 | | 3.0 | | 3.0 | | 2.6 | | 2.1 |
| Middle | | 3.6 | | 3.3 | | 3.2 | | 3.0 | | 2.4 | | 1.8 |
| Upper | | 3.8 | | 3.2 | | 3.1 | | 3.0 | | 2.6 | | 1.9 |

Note: * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

addition, relatively young migrants were more likely to be engaged in farming. Contrary to younger migrants, the strongest motive of older migrants was to seek an idyllic country life. Young migrants choose rural areas as a place. They were willing to work and to engage in agriculture and seek new life values different from urban life. However, old migrants who retired from their jobs in urban areas decided to move to rural areas to enjoy for the rest of their life.

The significance of motives, pursuing values and high living cost in urban areas, differed by education level. Relatively highly educated migrants were more likely to move to pursue values, while low educated migrants moved to rural areas because of high living cost in urban areas. Education level was usually associated with the job and economic status. Migrants with higher education might have a better job. Thus, the living cost might not be an issue for educated migrants; instead, they were likely to pursue their values. On the contrary, living cost in urban areas might be a burden for migrants who had lower education and moved to rural areas where living cost was relatively low.

Income and perceived social class were significantly associated with motives. Migrants who had higher income were more likely to move for the sake of idyllic life in rural areas. Although living cost in urban areas and unemployment were not strong motives for migrants, they were also associated with income level. Migrants with lower income tended to move to rural areas because of high living cost in urban areas and unemployment. Similar to income level, migrants who perceived themselves as an upper class before migration were more likely to move to seek an idyllic life in rural areas. The relationships between socio-demographic factors and motives showed that older migrants with high income were more likely to move to rural areas to seek an idyllic country life, while young and lower income migrants were more likely to engage in agriculture and seek new values in rural areas.

Successful Settlement

The results of the multivariate regression analysis of urban-rural migrants' successful settlement are presented in Table 6. After controlling for the personal factors, demographic characteristics and family factors were not significant except for marital status ($\beta = .08, p < .05$). On the other hand, motives, community factors, and government support were strongly associated with achievement. Married status was positively associated with

TABLE 6
MULTIVARIATE REGRESSION ANALYSIS PREDICTING THE LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT
AFTER MIGRATION

| Variables | Beta | CI |
|----------------------------------|---------|---------------|
| Personal factors | | |
| Sex (male =0) | 0.01 | -0.91 ~ 1.12 |
| Age | 0.01 | -0.04 ~ 0.05 |
| Education (< high school =0) | -0.02 | -0.88 ~ 0.57 |
| Period of Residence | 0.06 | -0.02 ~ 0.15 |
| Agricultural Education (no = 0) | | |
| >10 | 0.01 | -0.80 ~ 0.90 |
| 10 – 30 | -0.03 | -1.39 ~ 0.73 |
| ≤30 | -0.01 | -1.00 ~ 0.89 |
| Household Income (≤ 20000 = 0) | | |
| 20001 – 40000 | -0.03 | -1.02 ~ 0.43 |
| ≥ 40000 | 0.15*** | 0.72 ~ 2.37 |
| Social Class (reference = low) | | |
| Middle | -0.06 | -1.29 ~ 0.23 |
| High | 0.05 | -0.40 ~ 1.44 |
| Family factors | | |
| Marital Status (not married = 0) | 0.08* | 0.11 ~ 2.70 |
| Moved with Family(yes =0) | -0.06 | -1.17 ~ 0.14 |
| Living Status (alone = 0) | 0.02 | -0.76 ~ 1.32 |
| Motives | | |
| High living cost in urban areas | 0.03 | -0.17 ~ 0.35 |
| Unemployment or business failure | -0.12** | -0.68 ~ -0.16 |
| Skepticism about urban life | 0.09* | 0.03 ~ 0.54 |
| Preference for farm work | 0.05 | -0.11 ~ 0.44 |
| Seeking an idyllic country life | 0.10* | 0.09 ~ 0.62 |
| Pursuit of eco-friendly values | 0.10* | 0.05 ~ 0.59 |
| Community factors | | |
| Conflict (yes = 0) | 0.07* | 0.00 ~ 1.25 |
| Community support | -0.05 | -0.19 ~ 0.02 |
| Participation | 0.25*** | 0.13 ~ 0.26 |
| Assimilation | 0.32*** | 0.23 ~ 0.38 |

TABLE 6
(CONTINUED)

| Variables | Beta | CI |
|--------------------|--------|--------------|
| Government Support | | |
| Basic Settlement | -0.05 | -1.50 ~ 0.35 |
| New Business | 0.00 | -1.30 ~ 1.15 |
| Housing | 0.10** | 0.35 ~ 2.29 |
| Other | -0.04 | -2.08 ~ 0.69 |
| R-squared | | .43 |

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

successful settlement. Married urban-rural migrants perceived higher achievement compared to unmarried migrants. Among motives, skepticism about urban life ($\beta = .09$, $p < .05$), rural idyll ($\beta = .10$, $p < .05$), and eco-friendly values ($\beta = .10$, $p < .05$) were positively associated with successful settlement, whereas unemployment and business failure ($\beta = -.12$, $p < .01$) were negatively associated with perceived achievement. Migrants who were more skeptical about urban life and seeking an idyllic life and eco-friendly values were more likely to perceive higher achievement and settle down successfully in rural areas. In contrast, those who moved to rural areas because of unemployment and business failure perceived lower achievement in their rural life.

As expected, community factors and government supports were strongly associated with achievement. No conflicts with residents ($\beta = .07$, $p < .05$), participation ($\beta = .25$, $p < .001$), and assimilation ($\beta = .32$, $p < .001$) were positively associated with achievement. Migrants who did not have conflicts with residents, participated in more groups, and well adapted themselves to rural communities were more likely perceive higher achievement. However, community support was not significant. Assimilation was the strongest factor influencing perceived achievement. Among government support, financial support for housing ($\beta = .10$, $p < .005$) was positively associated with achievement, while other support, such as financial support for initial settlement and new business, was not significantly associated with achievement. The results of the multivariate regression showed that marital status, motives, and community factors were closely associated with the successful settlement.

Conclusion

Korea has experienced more rapid in-migration, rural-urban and urban-rural migration, process than any other developed countries. Many rural residents in Korea moved to cities in search of jobs from the early 1970s to the mid-1990s. Urban-rural migration (counterurbanization) phenomenon appeared in the late 1990s only after 30 years of urbanization. These in-migration phenomena are related to the country's economic condition, population characteristics and individual preference change. The recent urban-rural migration is significantly linked with the two-time nationwide economic crisis in the late 1990s and the late 2000s, while rural-urban migration was mainly caused by the forced industrialization driven by the government after the Korean War. The recent urban-rural migration in Korea is also closely related to the baby boomers' returning to rural areas and an uprising of alternative lifestyle pursuit, which is expected to continue for some time. As more than 10 thousand urban households who are educated and relatively young have moved to rural areas annually since the early 2010s, urban-rural migration is expected to lead to revitalization in aged rural areas as well to solve the urban problems caused by overcrowding (Kim, Hong and Lim 2012): Urban areas benefit from urban-rural migration which bring about the decrease of unemployment rate, traffic congestion cost and environmental pollution treatment cost due to the population declination. On the other hand, rural areas benefit from urban-rural migration which brings in new human resources who would play an important role in rural development. The migrants' capability and human networks in urban areas contribute to advancing agricultural activities and developing new marketing sources and systems, which lead to an increase of gross regional domestic product of rural areas (Kim, Hong and Lim 2012).¹¹

With reviewing a new population change in Korea, the urban-rural migration, this study investigated what factors affect urban-rural migrants' successful settlement. This study identified the significance of personal factors, individuals' motives, family factors, community life and government support, using multivariate regression analysis. Findings from the analysis were not necessarily consistent with previous studies that identified the effects of personal traits. For example, although higher household income and being married were significantly associated with successful migration,

¹¹ According to the study, the estimated social benefit per migrant was about 1.7 million KRW.

education and moving with family were not influential on successful migration. Family might be the key factor in deciding to migrate (Chae 2013; Jang 2014; Mincer 1978), while marital status could be a more significant influence on a successful settlement after migration.

In addition to the significance of personal and family factors on migration, non-economic motives were identified as influential factors, which is consistent with previous studies (Halfacree and Boyle 1998; Long and Hansen 1979; Aron and Sharnai 2010). The study results showed that non-economic motives, such as pursuing values and an idyllic life in a rural setting, were strongly associated with successful migration. In contrast, those who moved to rural areas due to unemployment and business failure are more concerned about their economic conditions such as income level, living cost, and housing quality (Wei, Liu and Chen 2016). Thus, migrants with economic motives are less likely to be satisfied with their life in rural areas. These findings may indicate that current migrants in Korea are more likely to choose rural areas as an alternative lifestyle.

Moving beyond the literature that focused on the influential factors for migration (Mincer 1978; Pacione 1984), this present study paid attention to potential factors that have effects on a successful settlement after migration. This study found that community factors impact successful migration, which implies that relations with residents and activities in the community are key factors for migrants to settle and succeed in migration. Furthermore, assimilation in the community was a salient factor for successful migration that was not widely studied yet. Those who felt more assimilated into the community perceived a higher level of achievement after migration. This result is consistent with previous studies suggesting that those who have a good level of assimilation into the community may have good relationships with community residents (e.g., Berry 1997). These various aspects of community life are closely associated with successful migration. However, community support did not have significant relationship with successful settlement. Since community support was measured by social network scale and successful settlement was measured by perceived achievement, social networks of migrants may not have direct association with migrants' perceived achievement. Instead, positive community relationships of migrants with residents might help migrants actively participate in community groups and activities, which may facilitate assimilation. Among government support, only housing support was significant, which was consistent with the results of the MAFRA (2016) survey, which found that the primary needs of migrants were support for housing. This result implies

that the need for housing is imminent and the government support for housing is indeed highly practical and effective for a successful migration.

Some possible limitations to this study should be acknowledged. First, this study used cross-sectional data, which means that the results of the study do not denote a causal relationship. Further study is recommended to identify the causal relationships between community factors and successful migration. Second, the sample for this study was not randomly selected. Thus study population may not represent whole migrants in Korea. Despite these limitations, this study is significant because it is based on the first quantitative survey conducted nationwide of urban-rural migrants in Korea and the study population was selected with support from central and local governments to represent migrants.

Recently, local governments in Korea try to make good use of the population changes in rural areas to support rural communities which have faced the risk of extinction. In this context, migrants are regarded as human resources that may revitalize the perishing rural communities. Therefore, the survey's findings suggest that policymakers need to pay attention to migrants' community life with residents as well as housing support for migrants in order to help migrants settle down successfully.

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