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ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ

### **Moving to the Welfare Countries: Emigrants from Serbia 1961-2002**

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**Abstract.** The main characteristic of Balkan region in history is permanent migration. The character of this migration is changed from period to period. After WWII in Serbia migrations had economical character. These migrations are dominated till the last decade of XX century. According to the 2002 census, in foreign countries lives more than 400,000 citizens of Serbia. About 50 percent of citizens emigrated in decades before 1990, and the next 50 percent emigrated in period between 1990 and 2002. About 80 percent of emigrations are from central Serbia, and rest are from Vojvodina Province. Major emigration from Serbia has been directed towards Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The number of emigrants from Serbia is also high in France, Italy and Sweden. Outside of Europe most of the emigrants went in the United States of America.

**Keywords:** Serbia; emigrants; Balkan; migration.

#### **Introduction.**

Balkan Peninsula has witnessed numerous and constant migrations throughout history. By their nature, those migrations were compulsory or organized. Compulsory movements were caused by political affairs, the economic situation or were result of religious and ethnic reasons. Austria-Hungary monarchy started with the planned migrations in this area. At first, in the middle of the 18 century, the Austrian government was settling Germans in the areas of Bačka, Banat, Srem, Slavonia and Slovenia, and later they settled Hungarians. Finally, following the occupation of this area in 1879, Austria-Hungary was settling various nations in Bosnia. However, a zone with Serbian population was established in the south part of Austria-Hungary, in the area that was named Vojna krajina (Military County). This population sustained because Austria provided certain privileges to the inhabitants within Military County because the border had to be protected. Military County was annexed to Banska Croatia in 1881, and ceased to exist as separate entity (Bubalo-Živković, et al., 2009).

The arrangement of population in Vojna krajina influenced economic, and later politic, religious, and ethnic migrations when this area was annexed to Croatia in the later period (between the two Wars and after the Second World War).

Migrations were constantly on during Turkish rule in the area of the Balkan Peninsula. Migrations were towards the areas that were liberated from the Ottoman rule (Stola, 1992). In the beginning of the Turkish rule, a part of population from lowlands and valleys was moving to mountainous regions. Sometime later, the opposite movements happened and that was from higher areas to lower ones, and large-scale migrations were from the southern parts to the north, north-west, and north-east in the boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula (Dabinović, 1938). These were 'methanastazistic' movements of population. Dr. Jovan Cvijić studied these migrations thoroughly and he used this term. The whole population was moved from Veleška klisura at Vardar to Zagrebačka gora in the period from 15th century to the beginning of the 20 century. Majority of that population were old Rashas i.e., people of the old Serbian middle-age state (Cvijić, 1918). These streams of population were flowing to Serbia for more than four centuries, later to Dalmatia, and they were populating Banat, Bačka, Baranja, Srem and Slavonia, Croatia, Styria, Carniola, they crossed to many islands, to Istria, Trieste environment, and even to Gorica. Some of them reached Abruc in Italy and Erdelj, and southern parts of Russia (Cvijić, 1922). A huge number of their descendants live today in these areas.

Following the Austria-Hungary disintegration in 1918, German population emigrated in huge numbers, leaving empty houses and properties (Malović, 2001; Bjeljic and Lukić, 2008). The whole settlements were relocated to western Bačka, southern Banat, and south-eastern Srem. They were populated by inhabitants, mainly from the mountainous regions of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, southern Serbia and Macedonia (Bukurov, 1976). This process continued even after the Second World War when the number of Germans significantly decreased. According to the 1921 Census, 335,910 Germans were living in Vojvodina, and that was 21.9% of the total number of Vojvodina population i.e., 66,4% of the complete number of Germans in then Yugoslavia. According to the 1948 Census, there were only 29,589 persons of German nationality in Vojvodina. Some of them were killed during the war, some of them emigrated, and some of them were in camps (Taeuber, 1944; Djurdjev, 1995). After the Second World War, more than 215,000 emigrants settled in Vojvodina; most of them in Bačka (125,684), then in Banat (79,465), and only 11,162 persons in Srem. In total, more than 216,311 people settled in Vojvodina at that time (Gaćeša, 1984). The majority of immigrants came from Lika, Kordun, Banija, then Bosnian County, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and from the southern part of Serbia, and Macedonia (Djurdjev, 1995). This process altered the ethnic picture in some parts of Vojvodina. However, this was not the end of big migrations in the area of the ex-Yugoslav republics. At the same time (during the 20th century and in the first half of the 21st century), while migrations were on at the Balkan Peninsula and in the ex-Yugoslavia republics, there were migrations abroad i.e., emigration to European and overseas countries (Kay, 1995). Economic reasons were the main motive for such migrations in Yugoslavia. By the end of the Second World War, biggest number of immigrants went to overseas countries, and even when the war was over those migrations continued (Mayer, 1975; Kosinski, 1982). Those migrations were the result of the economic situation i.e., the situation the country faced at that time. The status of a migrant was extremely difficult and around 200,000 of them who in the beginning went to west European countries crossed the ocean and went to the USA (84,000), Canada (30,400), Australia (23,350), Argentina (15,000), Brazil (5,000), and New

Zealand (560). Those migrations were completed by the end of the 1950s. The amount of migrations to northern and western Europe intensified in the 1960s (Fassmann and Munz, 1994). These parts of Europe were in need for working class because of their accelerated economic development (Castles and Kosack, 1985; Reitz, 2003). According to estimates, there were around 1,150,000 emigrants who went abroad in this period of the 1960s. During the 1970s, a number of emigrants decreased because there were no new jobs and there was a selection of foreign workers. The number of Yugoslav workers decreased from around 900,000 to 650,000, but number of family members increased. High-educated personnel (researchers, scientists) were in demand in the 1980s, when the developed world entered the new era of technologic revolution. This was the time when a lot of young and educated people emigrated. In spite of the prohibition of employing foreigners, around 30,000 workers on the average from ex-Yugoslavia were employed per year in this decade (Arsenov, 1995). Along with emigration and moving from economic underdeveloped areas to the developed inside the country, there were mass migrations from villages to towns (Lukić, et al., 2012). Those streams resulted in depopulating village-settlements and border areas (Todorović and Drobnjaković, 2010; Bubalo-Živković, et al., 2011). This is not a specific characteristic only for Serbia but also for some other parts of the world, like Ireland (Ni Laoire, 2000), Scotland (Stockdale 2002, 2006) and Romania (Ancuța and Brujan, 2008). Since 1990 was increase number of emigrants, including asylum seekers from Serbia (Vujadinović, et al., 2013).

#### **Date material and method.**

In this paper, the data obtained from the Statistical Office of Serbia were used, referring to the citizens of the Republic of Serbia living abroad. The data were specially processed by the country where the citizens went and the year when they left. In addition to these data, it was interesting to analyze the data on the gender and age structure, level of educational attainment of the same citizens. These data were obtained by the additional processing of data from Census 2002. However, it was not possible to get the exact number of people who left the country, so the statistical data of UNHCR and UN were also used. But the world statistics does not offer detailed information on any structure of the citizens who left Serbia, so the data were narrowed to those obtained from the Statistical Office of Serbia. The latest period of emigration is the most interesting one, so it has become the focus of the paper and the data for this period are given by years and for previous periods are given as summaries for each period.

Analytical and comparative methods were mostly used in this paper. Concerning age and gender structure of the population, the mean age of the emigrated population was calculated, as well as major age groups. The analysis of the level of educational attainment of the emigrated population was done with more details to establish the participation of the population with high level of educational attainment and to see if there really existed the 'brain drain' process.

#### **Results and discussion.**

Emigration from Serbia. The population of the Republic of Serbia in the period from 1961 to 2002 has increased by 18.2 %. This growth was more intensive in the first two decades, whereas in the next two decades (from 1981) the population was decreasing to a much smaller extent. In the last period between the Censuses (1991-2002) the population increased only for 70,330 persons even though 600,000 persons came from the territories of the republics of former Yugoslavia (Bubalo, 2000). In addition to the decreased natural population growth and emigration, what other elements had an influence on such a small population growth in the Republic of Serbia? The main reason for this is technical. The population of Kosovo and Metohija boycotted the Census of 1991 so the data for Albanian, Shqiptar and Muslim population could be only roughly estimated (Kicošev and Kovačević, 2005). The last Census from 2002 was not conducted in this region. Central Serbia had the same growth fluctuation, which actually represented a decrease in population size, and in the last decade the population size decreased for 14,560 persons despite the immigration of over 400,000 persons. The refugees caused the increase in the population size only in Vojvodina in the last period between the Censuses (Lukić and Nikitović, 2004; Nikitović and Lukić, 2010). But in the period 1981-1991 the population size decreased for 20,893 persons in Vojvodina (Table 1).

**Table 1.** The population size of the Republic of Serbia, Central Serbia and Vojvodina by Censuses from 1961 to 2002

Census	the Republic of Serbia		Central Serbia		Vojvodina	
	The population size	Increase or decrease	The population size	Increase or decrease	The population size	Increase or decrease
1961	6,678,247		4,823,276		1,854,971	
1971	7,202,915	524,668	5,250,355	427,079	1,952,560	97,389
1981	7,729,246	526,331	5,694,464	444,109	2,034,782	82,222
1991	7,822,795	93,549	5,808,906	114,442	2,013,889	-20,893
2002	7,893,125	70,330	5,794,346	-14,560	2,098,779	84,890

Source: Statistical Office of Serbia, *Comparative population size from 1948 to 2002, book 9, Census 2002, Belgrade.*

According to the Census 2002, there were 414,839 persons living abroad. This number comprised 344,151 from Central Serbia, and 70,688 from Vojvodina (Djurdjev, et al., 2010). More than half of these emigrants moved out in the period 1991-2002 (Table 2). The percentage is slightly smaller than 50 % (48,7 %) only in Vojvodina. If we analyze data in previous periods between Censuses, we can see that the number of emigrants is becoming smaller, which is logical. Some persons from previous periods have died, moved back to the country or moved to a third country, so it is hard to identify even an approximate number of those who moved out during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

Migrations in all periods between Censuses can be characterized as migrations for economic reasons (Vuković, 2005; Hooghe et al., 2008). However, in the last period they had political, religious and ethnic character. War situation across the territory of the entire former Yugoslavia had an influence on the number of emigrants from Serbia (Ambroso, 2006), which is evident in the Census 2002 in the Table 2. The rate of emigration in the last period between Censuses is shown by years, because of its intensity. We can see that the beginning of the war in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina caused the highest rate of emigration to be recorded in 1992 (Sardon, 2001). Slightly less than 9% of the total number of emigrants was recorded in the Census 2002. Later on, not even economic sanctions and hard life in Serbia had such a big influence on the increase in the number of emigrants as it was in 1992. However, the bombing campaign of 1999 contributed to the more intensive emigration from Serbia. This year, 21,895 persons left the country and 22,030 persons left the following year. A significantly smaller number of emigrants was recorded in 2001, but the situation in Kosovo and Metohija contributed to the increase in emigration in 2002 (20,027 persons) (CCSKM, 2007).

**Table 2.** Emigrants from Serbia by periods between Censuses

	The Republic of Serbia		Central Serbia		Vojvodina	
		%		%		%
Total	414,839	100.0	344,151	100.0	70,688	100.0
1991-2002	212,972	51.3	178,503	51.9	34,469	48.7
2002	20,027	4.8	16,353	4.8	3,674	5.2
2001	11,438	2.8	9,599	2.8	1,839	2.6
2000	22,030	5.3	18,582	5.4	3,448	4.9
1999	21,895	5.3	18,621	5.4	3,274	4.6
1998	14,254	3.4	12,175	3.5	2,079	2.9
1997	16,998	4.1	14,343	4.2	2,655	3.8
1996	14,180	3.4	11,936	3.5	2,244	3.2
1995	14,088	3.4	11,832	3.4	2,256	3.2
1994	15,869	3.8	13,395	3.9	2,474	3.5

1993	13,818	3.3	11,432	3.3	2,386	3.4
1992	36,437	8.8	30,721	8.9	5,716	8.1
1991	11,938	2.9	9,514	2.8	2,424	3.4
1981-1990	77,542	18.7	65,975	19.2	11,567	16.4
1971-1980	57,074	13.8	45,226	13.1	11,848	16.8
1961-1970	14,137	3.4	10,052	2.9	4,085	5.8
1960 and earlier	336	0.1	269	0.1	67	0.1
Unknown	52,778	12.7	44,126	12.8	8,652	12.2

*Source: Statistical Office of Serbia, Additional Data Processing, 2002, Belgrade.*

Serbia lost a lot, especially during the 1990s. In addition to the destroyed economy, partially devastated country in 1999, it lost a significant proportion of its population. According to Census 2002, around 2 % of the population from Census 1991 moved out of Serbia during 1990s. Around 3 % moved out of Central Serbia and 1.7 % moved out of Vojvodina. Who won? The winners were the countries which received those people, because they got experienced and educated work force. They did not have to invest in them, but gained all the benefits.

According to the UNHCR statistics (2002), in 1996, there were 143,559 refugees and asylum-seekers from Serbia and Montenegro in the world. The largest proportion was recorded in Germany (24,773) and Sweden (22,463). From 1996 to 1999, the number of displaced persons was gradually increasing, so in that year, there were up to 295,696 refugees and asylum-seekers (Ministry for human and minority rights 2004). The bombardment on the territory of Serbia and war uncertainty had an influence on the increase in people from Serbia and Montenegro in the world, especially in Germany (Samers, 1998; Constant and Massey, 2003), Sweden and Great Britain. From 1999 to 2001, the number of refugees and asylum-seekers decreased again, only to reach its maximum for this period in 2003 (327,204), when there were a lot of refugees from Kosovo and Metohija. In Germany, they represented 53.1 % of the total number of refugees and asylum-seekers (Pavlica, 2005; Kogan, 2007). A great number went to Sweden, Great Britain and Switzerland, which is much fewer when compared to those who went to Germany. Up to 2005, the number of refugees and asylum-seekers gradually decreased (Meuleman, et al., 2009). The reason for a constantly high number of refugees and asylum-seekers from Serbia in the world can be found in the fact that Serbia went through a lot of turmoil in the former Yugoslavia. Since the year 1990, the situation was not war, nor peace, which brought the citizens into a difficult economic situation and forced them to seek better living conditions (Bubalo-Živković, et al., 2010). The majority of the citizens of the Republic of Serbia have gone abroad independently, without the mediation of the state. Considerably lower number of citizens of the Republic of Serbia went to work abroad organized in accordance with the regulations of employment abroad. The employment of the citizens of the Republic of Serbia abroad is regulated by international bilateral agreements or by general employment contracts which regulate more closely the conditions of living and working abroad. Earlier, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had concluded, with most of the Western European countries, intergovernmental agreements regulating employment and workers' rights in these countries whose application has been invalidated by the introduction of UN Security Council sanctions to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Reyneri and Fullin, 2011). Remittances from the people who have emigrated to the Western European and overseas countries represent the most stable source of funding used for the development in poor countries, even in times of economic recession, both regionally and globally (Stojanov, et al., 2011). Also, the foreign currency remittances from the people living in the diaspora have been one of the main pillars of macroeconomic stability in Serbia for years. In the last ten years direct investments from the Serbian diaspora amounted to 550 million dollars primarily in small and medium businesses which employ about 22,000 people (Kosanović and Paunović, 2009).

**Table 3.** Destination of emigrants from Serbia

Year of departure	Total	Austria	Italy	Hungary	Germany	in Federat	Great Britain	France	Holland	Switzerland	Sweden	Canada	USA	Australia	countries and unknown
<b>Total</b>	414,839	87,844	20,428	5,343	102,799	5,178	4,153	27,040	6,280	65,751	14,049	10,908	16,240	7,490	41,336
	%	<b>21.2</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>10.0</b>
1991-2000	212,972	37,945	16,377	4,761	47,436	4,552	3,079	9,255	4,042	31,400	6,558	8,302	10,993	3,901	24,371
	%	<b>17.8</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>11.4</b>
2002	20,027	3,091	2,235	297	3,750	918	331	952	303	2,006	602	612	1,169	291	3,470
	%	<b>15.4</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>17.3</b>
2001	11,438	1,753	1,117	203	2,402	265	193	524	193	1,477	283	388	673	183	1,784
	%	<b>15.3</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>12.9</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>15.6</b>
2000	22,030	2,765	2,369	467	4,956	470	421	1,114	613	2,405	537	692	1,367	427	3,427
	%	<b>12.6</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>6.2</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>15.6</b>
1999	21,895	2,545	1,940	648	5,163	429	428	899	705	2,520	500	874	1,672	400	3,172
	%	<b>11.6</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>23.6</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>14.5</b>
1998	14,254	1,985	1,168	265	3,051	345	209	674	341	2,014	384	552	976	303	1,987
	%	<b>13.9</b>	<b>8.2</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>21.4</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>14.1</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>13.9</b>
1997	16,998	2,742	1,362	300	3,779	461	168	771	225	2,763	440	728	880	387	1,992
	%	<b>16.1</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>22.2</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>11.7</b>
1996	14,180	2,367	1,146	280	3,051	375	147	576	187	2,374	364	795	720	294	1,504
	%	<b>16.7</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>10.6</b>
1995	14,088	2,370	1,207	288	3,057	414	146	552	205	2,346	349	916	606	377	1,255
	%	<b>16.8</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>21.7</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>8.9</b>
1994	15,869	3,017	1,090	474	3,664	302	161	627	315	2,662	448	893	660	252	1,304
	%	<b>19.0</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>8.2</b>
1993	13,818	2,531	677	484	3,377	199	171	555	293	1,972	629	820	571	231	1,308
	%	<b>18.3</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>24.4</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>9.5</b>
1992	36,437	9,361	1,660	786	8,451	303	518	1,477	489	6,718	1,551	787	1,290	564	2,482
	%	<b>25.7</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>23.2</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>18.4</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>6.8</b>
1991	11,938	3,418	406	269	2,735	71	186	534	173	2,143	471	245	409	192	686
	%	<b>28.6</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>22.9</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>5.7</b>
1981-1990	77,542	21,769	2,133	217	16,152	252	525	5,738	729	18,840	2,586	1,102	2,344	1,476	3,679
	%	<b>28.1</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>20.8</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>4.7</b>
1971-1980	57,074	16,079	475	25	19,724	21	171	6,690	720	6,355	2,038	467	1,134	950	2,225
	%	<b>28.2</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>34.6</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>3.9</b>
1961-1970	14,137	2,373	62	8	6,336	5	50	2,244	168	709	841	152	422	293	474
	%	<b>16.8</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>44.8</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>3.4</b>
1960 and earlier	336	11	6	0	62	1	19	42	2	14	13	21	44	34	67

	%	3.3	1.8	0.0	18.5	0.3	5.7	12.5	0.6	4.2	3.9	6.3	13.1	10.1	19.9
Unknown	52,778	9,667	1,375	332	13,089	347	309	3,071	619	8,433	2,013	864	1,303	836	10,520
	%	18.3	2.6	0.6	24.8	0.7	0.6	5.8	1.2	16.0	3.8	1.6	2.5	1.6	19.9

Source: Statistical Office of Serbia, Census 2002, Additional Data Processing, Belgrade

In order to analyze the data by direction or regions of emigration, the data from Census 2002 were also used. During the 1990s, three countries were present: Austria, Germany and Switzerland (Table 3). The three aforementioned countries were dominant during the 1980s as well (Breit, 1985). Over 70 % of the emigrants found their homes in those countries. This is certainly a reason why such a large number of people were interested in immigrating to these countries during the 1990s (Kogan and Kalter, 2006). It is probable that their relatives and friends lived there so they had influenced new emigrants to easily choose these countries for emigration. During the 1970s, more than one third of emigrants went to Germany, over 28 % to Austria and around 11 % to Switzerland and France.

In the 1960s, almost 45 % of emigrants went to Germany, 16,8% to Austria, 15,9 % to France and a significantly smaller number to Switzerland (only 5 %). Those who relocated before 1960 mostly emigrated to Germany and France, but some of the population also went overseas (U.S.A. 13,1 %, Australia 10, 1 % and Canada 6,3 %). People went to overseas countries during the 1990s as well, but the proportion was much smaller.

The data on the number of immigrants from Serbia can be found in the statistics in some countries. On the territory of Canada, there were around 63,900 persons who were born on the territories of former Republic of Serbia and Montenegro. On the territory of Australia, according to Census 2001 of the Statistics Bureau, there were 97,135 persons declared as Serbs (De Giorgi and Pellizzari, 2006).

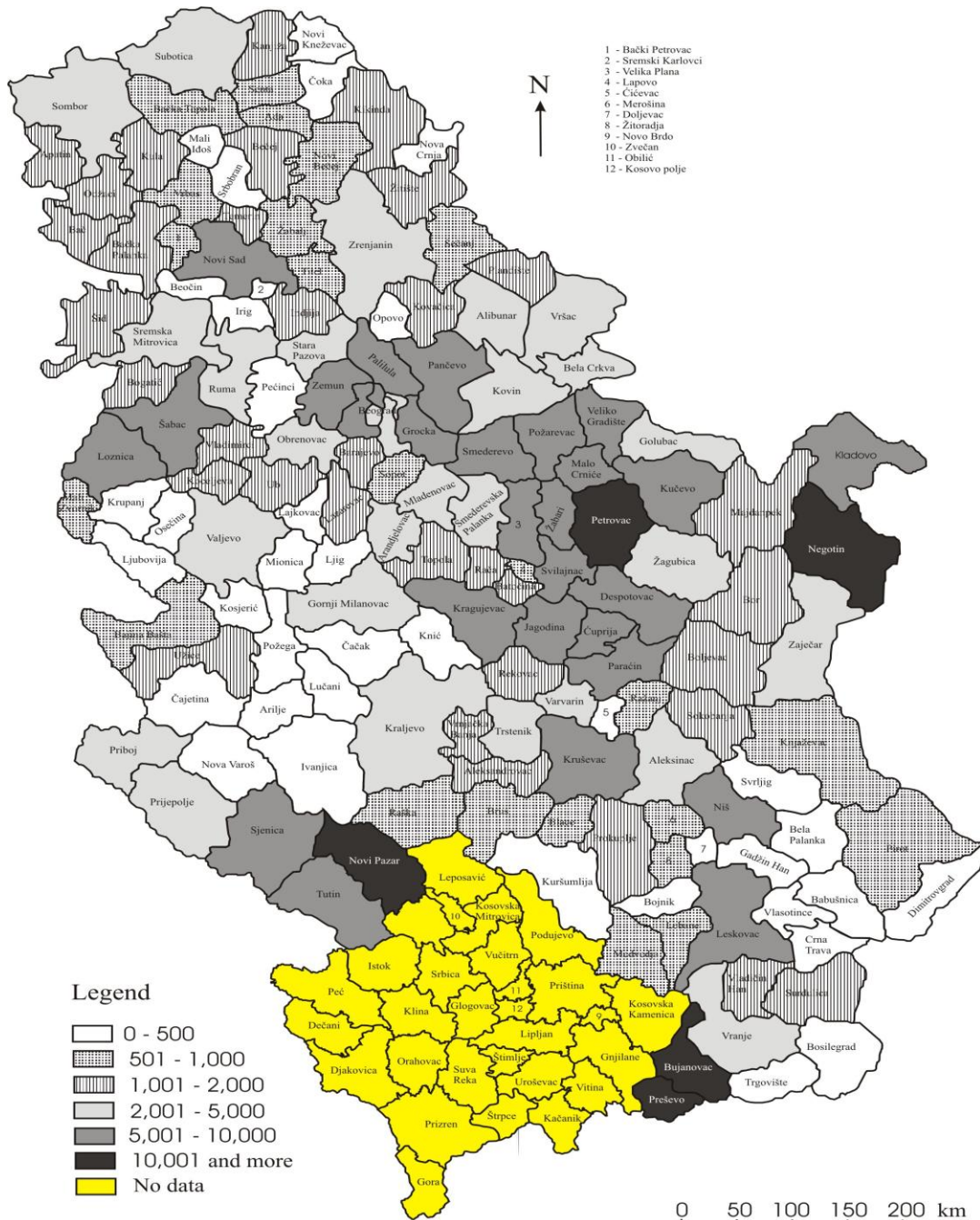
On the territory of Australia and according to the place of birth, in 1947 there were 5,900 people born in the region of former Yugoslavia while that number was 210,000 in 2000. What is noticed is a sudden growth in the period 1991-2000 when the growth was 42,000 persons or 4,200 annually.

#### Distribution of emigrants by regions (municipalities)

The intensity of emigration from certain regions, and from municipalities within the regions, depends on several elements. The first element is the population size. The larger the population size, the bigger opportunities there are for the emigration of larger number of people. The Belgrade region is the most populated region in Serbia and almost one fifth of emigrants from Central Serbia come from this region (68,150 persons or 19.8 % of the total number of emigrants). The largest number of emigrants are from the municipality of Novi Beograd (8,893 persons), and the municipalities of Zemun, Voždovac and Čukarica, with more than 6,000 persons per municipality. The emigrants from Belgrade region mostly emigrated to Germany (20.6 %), Austria (11.8 %) and the USA (10.8 %). The large numbers of emigrants are from the region of Braničevo - 46,914 persons. From the municipality of Petrovac na Mlavi there are 11,485 emigrants, from the municipality of Požarevac 8,542 people, the municipality of Kučevo 6,267 persons, and over 5,000 from the municipalities of Veliko Gradište, Žabari and Malo Crniće. The closeness of the border and low level of development of the region caused the continuous emigration, mostly to Austria (21,970 persons or 46.8%). Some went to Italy (16.1 %) and Switzerland (15.6 %). The region of Morava has 9.5% emigrants or 32,823 persons. From the municipalities of Despotovac and Čuprija, there are 7,000 emigrants. The economic reasons had an influence on the intensive emigration from these counties. One third of emigrants went to Switzerland 31.6 %, and more than one fifth to Austria (22.2 %), to France 18.5 % and to Germany 13.8 %. The region of Pčinja has 8.3 % of emigrants or 28,491 persons. Most of the emigrants are from the municipalities of Preševo (12,991 persons) and Bujanovac (10,380 persons). The most intensive emigration was to Switzerland, more than half of the emigrants (14,492 persons). A large number of emigrants are from the municipalities of Preševo and Bujanovac because of the closeness to Kosovo and constant ethnic and religious clashes. The same reasons caused the large number of emigrants from the region of Raška, 23,822 persons or 6.9 %. Most of the emigrants are from the municipalities of Novi Pazar (10,560 persons) and Tutin (6,347 persons). Over 50 % of emigrants from the region went to

Germany. The region of Bor has more than 25,000 emigrants. This includes almost 15,000 people from Negotin. Most of them emigrated to Austria (47.3 %) and Germany 20.8%. The other regions in Central Serbia have a significantly less number of emigrants. The regions of Toplica and Pirot have only 3,241 and 1,272 emigrants, respectively.

The largest number of emigrants from Vojvodina is from the region of South Banat – 19,632 persons or 27.8 %. Most of the emigrants from the region come from the municipality of Pančevo, with more than 5,000 emigrants. The region of South Bačka has 15,699 emigrants or 22.2 % of the total number from Vojvodina. Most emigrants in this region are from Novi Sad, over 7,000. There are about 12,400 persons from the region of Srem or 17.6 %. The remaining four regions from Vojvodina have a significantly smaller number of emigrants. Emigrants mostly went to Germany. The regions of North Banat and North Bačka comprise one third of the emigrants who went to Hungary.



**Figure 1.** The origin of emigrants, by municipalities  
 Age and gender structure of the emigrants



The emigrants from Serbia are mainly male population. The highest number of male population moved out in the period before 1960 and was recorded in Census 2002. Furthermore, in the later periods between the censuses, the male participation in emigration is high (over 53%). Why is it that more men are leaving? This region is still dominated by the patriarchal way of thinking. Insecure economic situation in the country does not provide secure jobs, income is low, credit burden is high (Kosanović and Paunović 2009). All these elements force young and middle-aged men to go abroad. Moreover, the war situation in the vicinity, the bombardment of 1999, also influenced the decision to leave the country. In this way they could avoid a military draft.

**Table 4.** Gender structure of emigrants

	Total	Male	%	Female	%
Total	414,839	221,046	53.3	193,793	46.7
2002	20,027	11,206	56.0	8,821	44.0
2001	11,438	6,041	52.8	5,397	47.2
2000	22,030	11,927	54.1	10,103	45.9
1999	21,895	11,686	53.4	10,209	46.6
1998	14,254	7,611	53.4	6,643	46.6
1997	16,998	9,044	53.2	7,954	46.8
1996	14,180	7,532	53.1	6,648	46.9
1995	14,088	7,490	53.2	6,598	46.8
1994	15,869	8,390	52.9	7,479	47.1
1993	13,818	7,504	54.3	6,314	45.7
1992	36,437	19,925	54.7	16,512	45.3
1991	11,938	6625	55.5	5,313	44.5
1981-1990	77,542	41,224	53.2	36,318	46.8
1971-1980	57,074	29,990	52.5	27,084	47.5
1961-1970	14,137	7963	56.3	6,174	43.7
1960 and earlier	336	210	62.5	126	37.5
Unknown	52,778	26,678	50.5	26,100	49.5

*Source: Statistical Office of Serbia, Additional Data Processing, 2002, Belgrade.*

In the age structure of male and female population, the age group 25 – 55 is dominant. This means that most of the emigration consists of middle-aged population (Table 5), age group 20-59 (over 63 %). One fifth of them are young, up to 20 years of age, and only 5 % are in the elderly age group (60+).

**Table 5.** Large age groups of emigrants from Serbia

	0-19	20-59	60 +	% 0-19	% 20-59	% 60 +
Total	89,494	262,910	21,050	21.6	63.4	5.1
Male	46,408	143,806	11,398	21.0	65.1	5.2
Female	43,086	119,104	9,652	22.2	61.5	5.0

Source: Statistical Office of Serbia, *Additional Data Processing, 2002, Belgrade*.

The mean age of the population who emigrated from the country is 30, which is ten years younger than the mean age of the population in the Republic of Serbia by Census 2002 (40.2 years of age) (Statistical Office of Serbia, 2002).

Since only data from Census 2002 has been analyzed, it is logical that the oldest population who emigrated belongs to the earliest period between censuses – before 1960 (Table 6). The mean age of emigrants who left before 1960 and during the 1960s is 50+, which shows that they left the country as at an early age. This period was dominated by the migrations for economic reasons, although there are cases of political reasons. At the time of socialism and communism, it was not allowed to mention political emigration. During the 1970s, those who emigrated had the mean age of 48 and during the 1980s the mean age was around 35. Based on these data we can see that the emigrants were younger than 20 years of age when they left Serbia. During the last decade of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the mean age of emigrants was decreasing from 30 years of age in the beginning to 21.5 years of age in 2001. During the 1990s, when the reasons for emigration were economic, political, religious and ethnic, the young population was leaving Serbia.

**Table 6.** The mean age of emigrants from Serbia

	Total	Male	Female
Total	30.1	29.7	32.1
Male	30.9	30.5	32.9
Female	29.2	28.8	31.1
2002	25.3	24.7	27.9
2001	21.5	21.0	23.8
2000	23.5	22.9	26.4
1999	23.3	22.9	25.8
1998	23.1	22.7	25.7
1997	25.5	25.2	26.7
1996	25.4	24.9	28.0
1995	26.1	25.8	27.4
1994	26.9	26.6	28.5
1993	28.0	27.6	29.8
1992	30.9	30.8	31.4

1991	30.5	30.2	31.3
1981-1990	35.2	35.5	33.8
1971-1980	47.6	47.8	46.8
1961-1970	54.2	54.4	53.9
1960 and earlier	56.7	56.3	57.9
Unknown	13.1	12.8	14.9

Source: Statistical Office of Serbia, *Additional Data Processing, 2002, Belgrade.*

### Conclusion.

Emigration from the territory of Serbia has always been present throughout history. After World War 2, population emigrated for economic reasons. These reasons remained in the later decades, but in the last decade of the twentieth century, political situation in the country and the region contributed to emigration. Most of the emigrants moved out in 1992, after the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in 1999 after the bombardment.

The population immigrated mostly to European countries, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. In the post-war period, France was interesting for Serbian emigrants. They went to France, because it was a friendly country towards Serbia. However, the number of emigrants going to France was decreasing during the 1980s.

People who emigrated from Serbia as relatively young, at the age of thirty, had an impact on the increase participation of the elderly in Serbia and the increase in the mean age of the population. 'Population drain' had such an impact that there people with university degrees participated more in emigration population (8.7 %) than those who remained in Serbia (6.2 %) in 2002.

When will there be a decrease in emigration from Serbia? This is hard to predict, because emigration continued during the first decade of the twenty first century. Poor economic situation, a large number of firms closing down and the issue of Kosovo with a lot of international tension are all contributing to the insecurity of the region and emigration.

The migration issue is, actually, the central demographic issue of Serbia in the coming decades. Unfortunately, Serbia is traditionally an emigration country. Therefore, if the fundamental change of the direction of this component of population movements is omitted, the economical pressure on the labour force will be additionally enhanced. In addition, the indirect effects of emigration of the most vital parts of the population are reflected in the loss of potential descendants of emigrants who realize their fertility in the receptive countries. It is known that the majority of migrants are the ones in reproductive and productive years, between the ages of 20 and 40 and that is the part of the labour force of Serbia that is numerically most vulnerable.

It must be acknowledged that the new values determine new trends and that better conditions for successful professional fulfilment become more and more dominant motif for emigration of the most educated and the most talented people. It is necessary to stop the loss of the great intellectual potential by creating the conditions for the realization of professional goals in their own country. Also, in the coming period, it is necessary to establish a bilateral cooperation with the EU and other developed countries, scientific and specialized institutions around the world in scientific-technical, cultural and other plans in order to provide adequate specialization and professional training of young people from the Republic of Serbia with the provision of their return and work engagement in the country of origin. The realization of measures for better utilization of human resources for the development of the country implies the cooperation of experts both in the homeland and those in the diaspora, and the use of migrant population and all of their resources for the reduction of poverty and unemployment, as well as regional disparities.

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