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# STUDY ON EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION OF SERBIA'S CITIZENS

with Particular  
Focus on Youth







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# **STUDY ON EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION OF SERBIA'S CITIZENS with Particular Focus on Youth**

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ISBN 978-86-85003-17-2

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This publication was produced with the assistance of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) within the joint global project “Mainstreaming Migration into National Development Strategies” The content of this publication does not necessarily reflect the views of the SDC, IOM or UNDP, or their member states.



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## Acronyms

BU	– Belgrade University
CeSID	– Centre for Free Elections and Democracy
CZA/APC	– Asylum Protection Center
EFTA	– European Free Trade Association
EU	– European Union
Eurostat	– European Commission Directorate General for Statistics
COS	– College of Organisational Sciences, BU
GEM	– Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
IOM	– International Organization for Migration
IPA	– Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
IDP	– Internally-displaced person
ISSR	– Institute of Sociology and Social Research, College of Philosophy, BU
IT	– Information Technology
LSG	– Local Self-Government
CRM	– Commissariat for Refugees and Migration
LAP	– Local Action Plan
Mol	– Ministry of Interior MB
MoYS	– Ministry of Youth and Sports
MoESTD	– Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development
MoLEVSA	– Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs
MFA	– Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MIA	– Ministry of Internal Affairs
NALED	– National Alliance for Local Economic Development
NES	– National Employment Service
NUTS	– Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics
NGO	– Non-government organisations
OSCE	– Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OSSA	– Organisation of Serbian Students Abroad
LAPBM	– “Liberation Army of Preševo, Bujanovac and Medveđa”
PBILD	– Peacebuilding and Inclusive Local Development
RRPP	– Regional Research Promotion Programme
SORS	– Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia
SDVU	– Serbian Diaspora Virtual University

SFRY – Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

UN – United Nations

USAID – US Agency for International Development

WUS – World University Service

## 1. Executive Summary

This Study was prepared within the global project “Mainstreaming Migration into National Development Strategies” (2014–2018), implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), with a view to supporting national governments and their partners in: a) improving the registration, monitoring and processing of data on migration; b) making better use of the human potential of migration; 3) utilising migration management to increase the national development capacities, whilst reducing risks for the migrants, their families and communities of origin/destination.

Management of youth migration was set as the priority goal of this Study. During its development, the Research Team first mapped the existing sources of data on migration, assessed their quality in terms of availability, reliability, comprehensiveness and comparability, and, in the last section, within its recommendations, proposed measures to improve the regular migration monitoring methodology, particularly at the local level. Second, the Research Team conducted a desktop analysis of the existing bases of quantitative and qualitative empirical records (official statistics, Eurostat (European Commission Directorate General for Statistics), Migration Profiles, empirical research) and a secondary analysis of other related research, with a view to gaining fullest possible insight in the migration flows, including asylum-seeking flows of nationals of Serbian descent abroad, returnees from abroad, youth, etc., all with the aim of arriving at an in-depth description, understanding, identification and interpretation of trends, causes and patterns of migration, especially of Serbia’s young citizens. Third, the Research Team collected data, experiences, opinions of experts, members of the RS *Technical Working Group for Migration Monitoring and Management*, as well as other relevant stakeholders, which, along with the description and analysis of the situation in the field, facilitated the formulation of the proposed general and specific measures and actions with a view to mainstreaming migration in the development of various areas of Serbia’s sustainable development (society and population, economy, education, employment, rural, local development, specific branches of the economy – e.g. tourism, agriculture, environmental protection, etc.) at the very end of this complex and comprehensive analysis.

1. In terms of external migration, Serbia is a traditional emigration area and is still considered a predominantly emigration area, when its own nationals are at issue, although immigration and transit flows have also been registered in its territory, just like in the entire Western Balkans. The educational and economic features of external migrants have changed over time, in parallel with the labour market demands in developed economies

and local transformation processes, which have particularly encouraged continuous youth emigration, from the early 1990s to this day. Austria is the country of destination of most Serbian emigrants today, followed by Germany, which had topped the list in the past. External migration lasts around 10 years on average. According to the 2011 Census, 313,411 people were registered as working/living abroad, while, according to the 2013 Migration Profile data, 233,452 nationals of Serbia were registered in European Union (EU) member-states. Given the unreliability of the sources of data on the Serbian diaspora, the census is considered a valid source, offering not only data on the size of the migrant population, but on its features as well. The number of emigrants increased by 53% from 1971 to 2011. The negative migration balance accounted for 15.3% of Serbia's overall depopulation in the last inter-census period (2002–2011). Three large emigration zones can be identified in Serbia today: the municipalities of the Braničevo, Morava and Bor regions. The following municipalities register the largest shares of residents working/living abroad: Malo Crniće, Žabari, Negotin, Kladovo et al. Younger citizens, in the 30–34 and 35–39 age categories, account for most of the emigrants; most of them are men. When viewed by region and level of education, the highly educated population (the Belgrade and Vojvodina regions) accounts for most of the emigrants, while, on the other hand, the population with incomplete or primary education is out-migrating from the south of the country. Results of the analysis of empirical research data demonstrate that most of the potential migrants are younger, under 40 years of age. Despite the increased share of women in the contemporary migratory processes, the research results show that more men than women in Serbia are thinking of out-migrating, which is corroborated also by the external migration data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS). Most of them are still unmarried and childless. Unemployment and poor economic living conditions are the main motivations prompting them to think of leaving Serbia; political instability, crime and corruption do not feature as much. As opposed to these local community problems, which we can treat as push factors, potential migrants primarily expect that their new communities will provide them with better job prospects and quality of life in all respects. Although we are living in a “talent hunt” era, in which developed countries are designing state policies for attracting highly educated professionals from semi-developed and undeveloped countries, most of Serbia's potential migrants have secondary education, wherefore they clearly expect exclusively economic benefits from emigration. Interestingly, only a negligible number of people, who had once lived abroad, are thinking of leaving the country again. As far as immigrants are concerned, we may conclude that, for now, Serbia is not an attractive destination for a considerable number of labour immigrants, businessmen, members of the diaspora; in that sense, immigration does not have a revitalising socio-economic and demographic impact.

2. Internal migration is characterised by several adverse tendencies: spatial concentration of the population in large urban agglomerations and the predominance of local relocation within the same area or municipality, which, along with the long-term low fertility rates, exacerbates the aging of the population and depopulation, which is particularly pronounced in the southern and eastern regions of the country. The analysis of the latest Census data shows that over 50% of the migrant population were registered in 26 municipalities. The analysis of the total migrant population by place of in-migration shows that nearly 80% of the migrants are from Serbia and around 20% from other countries. Most internal migration has been registered in the Belgrade and Vojvodina Regions. Women account for most of the migrants (most often because of marriage or education). As per age, the population in the 15–34 category accounts for more of the internal migrants (51.5%) than of those who had moved from abroad (40.5%). Migrants with secondary education dominate internal mobility, while better educated citizens account for more of the longer-distance migrants. Belgrade remains the most favoured destination of potential migrants, but research has also shown that large cities-regional hubs are becoming increasingly attractive as well. Just like in the case of external migration, greater chance of finding a job and expectations of better living standards, as well as of a better quality of life, are the main motivations, the so-called pull factors, which, in addition to economic conditions presumably entail a healthier environment, better communal infrastructure, better work of the institutions, as well as a richer cultural life. As opposed to external migration, where men account for most of the potential migrants, many more women than men are thinking of moving that would not entail leaving the country. As far as educational levels are concerned, the results are similar as those regarding potential external migrants: most potential migrants have completed secondary school. Individuals with a college education have either settled down in their places of residence and are satisfied with their living standards or had not even returned to their places of origin after graduation. Only a very small number of respondents said they would move to the country. Nearly all of them are at the end of their working life and plan on moving back to the villages where they were born and grew up when they retire. The percentage of respondents planning on leaving the cities and living in the country because they want to live a healthier and calmer life is negligible. In the mobility domain, the number of internal migrants is greatly exceeded by the growing number of daily commuters, many more of them workers than pupils/students. This particular type of migration strategy of individuals, families and households is generally on the rise in Serbia, like in the rest of the world, and is characterised by an increasing share of women and the prevalence of service jobs. Empirical research data show that, apart from visiting family and friends, mobility is mostly motivated by the citizens' wish to satisfy the needs they cannot fulfil in the local communities they are living in. These

needs primarily regard schooling, attendance of cultural and sports events and shopping. Furthermore, a considerable number of respondents go to other cities for medical treatment several times a year. The share of daily commuters is quite high, work being the prime motivation. Respondents or some of their family members not working in their places of residence usually commute to other towns in the same area, very rarely to more distant towns.

3. The intention to emigrate is pronounced among youth, extremely dissatisfied with their social status, especially in the less developed regions, i.e. in the south and east of the country. Migration potential is the greatest among youth under 30 years of age. However, persons in the 35–39 age category are the ones who actually migrate to other places in the country or abroad the most, due to the need for the prior accumulation of resources, acquisition of cultural capital (completion of schooling, acquisition of some working experience and accumulation of human capital), activation of social networks and migration chains, as well as the ultimate separation from their families of origin. Lack of jobs and sources of income are the main push factors among youth, although lack of housing, particularly in urban areas, should not be ignored either. Another relevant push factor is dissatisfaction with the political protagonists, especially at the local level. Furthermore, a considerable number of respondents listed their feelings of insecurity as a problem they faced in their local communities. What did come as a surprise was that insecurity was not recognised by absolutely anyone in the southern part of Serbia (the Pčinj and Jablanica Districts), characterised by constant conflicts between the Serbian and ethnic Albanian populations. Youth who see their future abroad primarily expect that they will have the opportunity to find better jobs and that the quality of their life will improve there. Those feelings are shared by potential migrants within Serbia's borders: the conviction that there are greater chances of finding a job in other cities and that the quality of life in them is better are the most frequently cited pull factors. Mobility is more pronounced in the youth population than the overall population. Schooling, as well as a greater variety of cultural and sports events, stand out as the main motivations. As far as daily commuting is concerned, it may be concluded that it is quite frequent among youth, who commute from their village homes to towns and cities to attend school every day. However, the empirical research results indicate that the share of youth commuting to work every day is not negligible. In view of the listed push and pull factors, strategic courses of action to be taken to halt/monitor youth emigration from their local communities need to include their economic empowerment, i.e. direct and indirect employment measures, more flexible internal mobility, tailoring education to match the needs of future investors and local labour markets, greater support to youth in addressing their key problems: housing, education, medical treatment, as well



as balancing career and family and quality leisure time. Closer interlinkage – partnerships with the business community, future investors in the country and foreign educational institutions – is another strategic course of action in that respect. The Study highlights the importance of networking with the Serbian diaspora, to foster short work stays, advanced education, circulation of knowledge, adoption of new skills and technologies, including through the increasingly widespread models of virtual interlinking, which is an extremely important development resource of domestic growth and of overall and local sustainable development.

4. The Study ends with a series of more specific recommendations and measures intended for the decision makers. Before that, the authors provided an overview of the existing programmes, institutional programmes, activities and practices of various state authorities, ministries and bodies, aimed at reducing the population drain, supporting the education of young talents abroad and their application of the acquired knowledge in Serbia (circular migration), i.e. at linking migration with local development (in the following areas: technical and technological innovations in various fields, from medicine and economy to culture, etc.; in the fields of entrepreneurship, employment, labour, education and improvement of human capital; and, the establishment of links with the diaspora and students of Serbian origin abroad and the returnees).

The recommendations at the end of the Study derive from the authors' assessment that emigration from Serbia will continue, particularly the emigration of the young generations, striving to improve their human resources through better quality education and greater career opportunities, i.e. chances to find jobs abroad. On the other hand, the country is already facing a greater inflow of a population of foreign origin, from the so-called third countries, i.e. the huge waves of asylum seekers and refugees from the Middle East, Africa and Asia, who, although now transiting, may increasingly decide to stay on in Serbia or return to it, if they are not admitted into the EU. The state should thus adequately prepare and respond to the increased migratory challenges from various directions, sources and with various goals/intentions. As per youth emigration, the topic of this Study, we are generally of the view that it cannot be prevented but that steps should definitely be taken to mitigate the push factors present in all of Serbia, including Vojvodina and Belgrade, and, in particular, in the prominent emigration zones in the east and south of the country. In that respect, control can be established over both external and internal flows; such control would benefit from mainstreaming the need to manage migration in all the strategic documents and state actions and plans in all the societal sub-systems.

The first set of recommendations regards the institutionalisation and professionalisation of migration research and management to facilitate sustainable overall sustainable development. The main prerequisite for that is

to improve the records (regular collection of data and monitoring of trends, features and motivations of all types of regular migration flows). On the other hand, the Committee for Refugees and Migration (CRM), as a state authority i.e. migration centre, should be empowered further. The authors also recommend the establishment of the Study of Migration as an interdisciplinary an intersectional curriculum which would encompass various disciplines in addressing the migration issues, such as demography, sociology, geography, law, politics, security, anthropology, etc. Improvement of records on migration (migration statistics) should be carried out at both the local and national levels, and these data, as well as migration surveys and research, should then be interfaced and collated by use of contemporary information and communication tools. A central register of the population also has to be established and an address system at the municipal level has to be introduced.

The more specific recommendations in the field of migration, especially youth migration, comprise those addressing national labour policies and encouraging relocation to less developed areas, stronger incentives for small and medium-sized enterprises, the elimination of regional development disparities, et al, as well as attracting the immigration of foreigners, especially returnees of Serbian descent, and their interlinkage with the local communities.

The recommendations on education include the empowerment of university-level migration studies, especially inter-disciplinary programmes. The authors stress the need to increase tertiary education coverage of youth from poor families and the elimination of barriers to continuing education amidst the contemporary knowledge-based economies. Education should also be linked to the labour market, i.e. match the needs of companies and potential employers; there are already some good practice examples that need to be encouraged in the future as well. The state should systematically work on cutting youth unemployment, especially in local communities, and support youth entrepreneurship more strongly. A set of recommendations addresses migration management at the local level as well. This entails expanding the powers of the *Migration Councils* at the local level, to enable them to work with youth more actively, with the support of the *Youth Offices*, scientists, the NGO sector and the CRM. The authors also recommend the development of local action plans targeting youth, potential migrants, etc. It goes without saying that economic growth and sustainable development, i.e. reindustrialisation, the development of agriculture, infrastructure and services, along with the maximum preservation of the environment, are prerequisite for all proactive measures in the domain of migration.

## 2. Introduction

The migration issue today commands great interest of the media, politicians, states and local populations across the world. The number of migrants at the global level has been growing continuously. Every day, we are moved by the scenes of death and misery in the Mediterranean waters and South-East Asia, images of people searching for a better life or fleeing persecution, conflict, war, risking all they have, including their lives. Migration definitely cannot be stopped and that is why it must be managed in a humane fashion, with understanding and compassion (Annan, 2015). This calls for the transformation of irregular migrant flows into regular ones, of forced migration into labour migration, whilst suppressing acts of crime, such as smuggling of women and children, exploitation of migrants, particularly those from the Third World. Throughout, account must be taken of the individuals, that is, the numerous and diverse dimensions of these flows, the features of the people taking part in them, the repercussions on the countries/regions of reception, transit and origin.

Natural population change and migration both directly affect the social, economic, demographic, cultural and human potentials of a given area. Serbia is primarily a traditional emigration area, with a long history and broad territorial dispersion of emigration. Grečić (2010) identified six waves of emigration from Serbia since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: 1) economic emigration from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to World War One, mostly to the Americas; 2) emigration between the two World Wars, characterised by significant returns in the 1930s; 3) wartime and post-war political emigration in the 1940s and 1950s, predominantly to overseas countries; 4) economic emigration in the 1960–1980 period, mostly to West Europe, predominantly by the working classes (the Gastarbeiters); 5) “brain drain” i.e. political and economic emigration of young, highly educated experts to faraway destinations (USA, Australia New Zealand), as well as to West Europe; 6) the most recent emigration, since the early 2000s.<sup>1</sup>

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was marked by major spatial and demographic changes, caused by a belated but subsequently extremely intensive process of modernisation, i.e. industrialisation and urbanisation, which was accompanied by intensive internal rural-urban migration. The 1990s were further characterised by wars in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), leading to a major inflow of forced migrants to Serbia, from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (refugees) and Kosovo and Metohija (internally displaced persons, IDPs). A significant share of the refugee population accounted for the emigrants to the US, Canada and West European countries (Kokotović, Filipović, 2013).

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1 External migration waves are similarly classified also by Stanković, 2014.

Migration of Serbia's population intensified significantly in the past two and a half decades, as reflected by its extent, diversity, directions and regional specificities, as well as the predominant motivations for migration. From the global perspective, Serbia is today in the centre of extremely dynamic migration flows in the Western Balkan region, an area of destination, origin and transit alike, in which the intensive regular and irregular flows of both Serbian and an increasing number of foreign nationals, particularly from Africa and Asia, cross paths. Work, education and family reunification dominate the motivations for regular migration flows. The most intensive of the three types of migration (emigration, immigration and transit) is the external migration of Serbia's nationals (and those of other Western Balkans states), towards the European Union, Norway, Switzerland and Iceland. Serbia is today also witnessing an increase in the so-called irregular, transit migration of people from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria, West and North Africa, on their way to the developed West – illegal entry and stay, asylum seekers, human smuggling and trafficking, etc. (IOM, 2014).

Emigration from Serbia is expected to continue and Serbia may even witness an emigration explosion if and when it joins the EU. This explosion would, however, be short-term, like it was in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Slovakia after 2004. If we subscribe to this scenario, Serbia will transform an emigration to an immigration area some 10 or 15 years later, the "path already trodden" by other post-Socialist transition countries, such as the Czech Republic and Poland (Nikitović, 2013, Kupiszewski, Kupiszewski, Nikitović, 2012, SEEMIG, 2013), as well as by some traditional emigration European countries, e.g. the Mediterranean ones (Italy, Greece, Spain, etc.). Larger-scale immigration of nationals of Third World countries to Serbia is expected.

An assessment of the current migration situation in Serbia from the perspective of the migration-development nexus indicates that migration flows are extremely unfavourable, not only in view of the predominantly negative direction (more emigrants than immigrants), but also given the features of the emigrants and their predominant motivations (young, well-educated, career-oriented, male, people with families, because of work and schooling). As far as immigration of foreign nationals is concerned – the ones immigrating to Serbia are mostly motivated by non-economic reasons. Namely, the vast majority of them are moving to Serbia to reunite with their families. It should also be borne in mind that forced migrants – returnees under readmission agreements, i.e. Serbian nationals whose asylum claims were rejected in Europe – account for a large share of the immigrants (Bobić and Babović, 2013). To sum up, the migration trends are unfavourable, in economic and, even more so, in demographic and social terms, because the estimated number of emigrants per annum (particularly in the so-called brain drain category) is high, wherefore the negative migra-

tion balance (difference between immigrants and emigrants), coupled with the natural population decrease (more deaths than births), has been resulting in the constant decrease of the population, depopulation, advanced aging and the gradual disappearance of whole settlements, especially in the border areas (e.g. towards Bulgaria and Romania). Serbia's unfavourable demographic development is compounded by economic regression, i.e. the decades-long protracted economic crisis, lag behind the core countries, the devastation and impoverishment of the local population and, notably, huge regional, territorial discrepancies and socio-economic disparities. All this has reflected on the economic structure of the population, which has changed significantly, mostly due to the drop in the share of the working-age, employed population and the rise in the share of the unemployed (Vojković, Gligorijević, Kokotović, 2014.)

The Serbian state has invested significant efforts in establishing control over migration flows to date. The CRM produces Migration Profiles every year, the SORS conducts censuses and produces demographic statistics, while numerous reports are prepared by the line ministries (Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), Ministry of Youth and Sports (MoYS), etc.), various state agencies, etc. The authorities have applied the inter-departmental approach to the migration phenomenon. The Migration Management Strategy, Migration Management Law and other strategic documents dealing with border control and movement of people<sup>2</sup> have been adopted, wherefore it may be concluded that the authorities have normatively approached the migration issue with full cognizance of its complexity. A number of line ministries, primarily the MIA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs (MoLEVSA), as well as the MFA Directorate for Cooperation with the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region, the Asylum Office, and other organisations are involved in managing migratory flows. Programmes targeting potential migrants, the diaspora and returnees have been launched in the country.<sup>3</sup> The authorities are aware of problems regarding full registration and regional, territorial development disparities, which exacerbate unfavourable internal migration and emigration trends. They are also aware of the necessity of supporting the population of municipalities and regions with high migration potential – in the deindustrialised parts of the country (East Serbia) and the regions affected by advanced aging and poverty (the south and east of the country) – and of the need to activate social inclusion measures, e.g. through local action plans, which significantly reduce poverty (the example of Vojvodina).

2 Compare: Review of the Legal and Institutional Framework of the Republic of Serbia in the Field of Migration Management, IOM, 2011.

3 The Technical Working Group for Migration Monitoring and Management formed in 2011 comprises the representatives of the CRM, the seven ministries dealing with migration issues and the SORS.

This Study has been prepared precisely with a view to helping inter-link migration potential and local, territorial, social, economic and cultural development, and thus assisting the relevant stakeholders in rendering the important decisions that will tap into this apparently underused resource of sustainable development. The Study is part of a broader IOM project “Mainstreaming Migration into National Development Strategies”, aiming to support states in mainstreaming migration flows in their national development documents, plans and processes and facilitating their continuous monitoring and adjustment of their approaches to migration and development.

The Study aims to achieve the following goals:

- 1) Describe data sources and their quality and propose a methodology to improve the existing data on internal and external migration of Serbia's citizens, particularly youth;
- 2) Map the internal and external migration of Serbia's citizens, particularly youth, on the basis of the existing data sources (official statistics, scientific research projects, reports);
- 3) Identify the causes (push and pull factors) and individual motivations for and potential effects of migration on the demographic changes in the country and its sustainable development;
- 4) Formulate general and practical recommendations on the establishment of a reliable and practical mechanism for monitoring the impact of internal and external migration of Serbia's citizens, particularly youth, on various fields of the country's development.

The Study also aims to achieve the following objectives:

- Map the overall migration trends of Serbia's citizens on the basis of the 2011 Census and the secondary analysis of empirical researches conducted in the 2010–2015 period;
- Map the migration trends and routes of the young population (15–30 years old);
- Map internal mobility within the region, down to the level of Serbian municipalities;
- Map the migrants' qualitative features (demographic and socio-economic – age, sex, education level, work activity, place of origin, ethnicity);
- Map the effects of migration on Serbia's demographic trends at the local level;
- Make projections about future internal and external migration trends;

- Formulate practical recommendations based on the prior desktop analysis of comprehensive empirical records and departing from the migration-related normative and institutional framework; and
- Propose applicable measures based on the analysis of the trends and structure of migration, particularly of youth, also by referring to good practices.

The Study was designed in accordance with the set goals and objectives in the following manner: the Introduction is followed by an explanation of the methodology, the analysis of the data sources and their constraints, the definition of the main terms and expressions, an interpretation of the trends and features of and motivations for external migration, and, subsequently, internal migration by Serbia's citizens. A separate segment of the Study is devoted to daily commuting. Given the focus of the Study, another separate section is devoted to the youth population with migration experience or intentions. The Study ends with conclusions and practical recommendations regarding the general population of migrants, and youth in particular.

### 3. Methodology

Comprehensive and systematic research of migration – research of statistical (e.g. census) data and sociological surveys alike – is always accompanied by a series of problems and constraints regarding the coverage of the phenomenon and the quality and comparability of the data. Census results do not provide enough information about the directions and distances of migration flows or about the features of the migrants. Some limitations appear in the interpretation of data obtained in researches of migration in Serbia, particularly at the lower territorial levels (municipalities, settlements), due to the unreliable migration statistics at the local level or incomplete coverage – these issues will be further elaborated in the relevant sections of the Study.

The statistical demographic and comparative demographic methods were used for analysing the census data in this Study<sup>4</sup> and for defining the role and intensity of migration flows. Furthermore, a *case study* was applied in a survey research in selected six Central Serbian cities and a representative survey research of views of the youth population was conducted in southern Serbia. It needs to be noted that, as opposed to statistical sources of data on migrants, the empirical researches also focused on migration potential, i.e. both on prior (internal or external) migration experiences and on migration plans. The latter are especially relevant to those developing policies and, in particular, measures designed to counter the push factors in the local communities.

The interpretation of census data needs to take into account that external migration appears in two modalities: in the analysis of the so-called emigrants, not living in the country at the moment; and, in the internal migration data, in the analysis of data on the places of in-migration (including from other countries). The conducted sociological surveys, however, analyse the individuals who in-migrated from other countries (returnees) or potential internal and external migrants. The analysis of the empirical researches of the population with migration experience will be mostly elaborated in the section on returnees, while the potential emigrants will be dealt with in greater detail in the sections on external migrants, except in some particular cases of aggregate analyses of the features of the migrant population. Given that we also consulted other more recent researches and policy studies by the civil sector, we also applied both the secondary analysis and the analytic-synthetic methods.

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4 Serbia's territory is divided into five NUTS 2 statistical regions since the SORS has not possessed the requisite data for the Autonomous Province (AP) of Kosovo and Metohija since 1998 and did not conduct the 2011 Census there. Therefore, the whole Study will be based on data on Serbia, without Kosovo and Metohija.



### 3.1. Data Sources

The following were the main sources of data we analysed in this Study: a) official SORS data; b) empirical research databases; and c) data of the line ministries, and reports and studies on migration of Serbia's citizens (by the IOM, non-government organisations (NGOs) and others).

We used the following official SORS data: census statistics (Census Books and special publications analysing census material) and demographic statistics. We also obtained data on external migrants (Serbian population abroad) from other sources, from Eurostat and official statistics of the countries of immigration. It needs to be emphasised, however, that most national statistics are formed to respond to the needs of the respective countries, wherefore information on Serbian nationals in them is very limited. Monitoring of migration is organised differently from one country to another; from their legal frameworks (types of census), the way they conduct the censuses, the means and techniques they use, to the years when they conduct them, etc. Precisely these differences impede the comparative analysis of the countries' data. States not using the population register cannot fully monitor all the migration flows of their population (both internal and external migration).

Data on the number of Serbia's residents living/working abroad (the so-called external migration) have been collected and published in censuses since 1971 (in 1971, 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2011). The accuracy of the information on migrants and the comparability of the collected data over time is an acute problem faced by both the Serbian and the more developed statistical offices. For instance, estimates are that the under-registration of emigrants in the 1981 and 1991 Censuses stood at around 30% and that their registration increased in the subsequent censuses (Predojević, 2011). Information on Serbian nationals abroad in the 2011 Census was obtained only from the members of their families living in Serbia, while the possibility of conducting the Census abroad was missed, which, again, directly affects both the coverage of this category of the population and the reliability of the obtained data.

In addition to the census, monitoring of Serbian nationals working/living abroad is conducted via the *Migration Profiles* prepared by the CRM. This document, published once a year, comprises data on all categories of migrants in Serbia and abroad. Its goal is to provide the relevant Serbian authorities with insight in the relevant migration trends and facilitate the drafting of policies and adoption of the necessary migration management regulations. Six Migration Profiles have been published to date; the 2008 and 2009 issues of the Migration Profile were published by IOM and the ones since 2010 by CRM. The Migration Profile contains data on foreign nationals (with temporary or permanent residence in Serbia), irregular mi-

grants, asylum seekers, returnees under readmission agreements, refugees and internally displaced persons. The Migration Profile as a data source is, however, limited insofar as the data cannot be compared over the years, i.e. reliable time series data for individual countries of destination cannot be obtained.

As already noted, the two more recent empirical researches used as supplementary data sources in this Study focus on *citizens with migration experience* (by sex, age, education level, marital status, economic activity and nationality) and the *profile of the potential migrants*, based on theoretically relevant parameters (Krieger, H, 2004).

These two researches are extremely complex and were conducted in stages, i.e. they are longitudinal, empirical researches. The first, entitled "Territorial Capital in Serbia – Structural and Action Potential of Local and Regional Development", was conducted by the Institute of Sociology and Sociological Research of the Belgrade University College of Philosophy (ISSR) in 2013 and 2014. Its authors applied the case study method, wherefore the data regard only the municipalities in which they were collected and cannot be generalised to the broader social-territorial areas. Representative samples were designed in six central and northern Serbian cities: Kragujevac (N=376), Novi Pazar (N=295), Užice (N=321), Šabac (N=342), Sombor (N=288) and Zrenjanin (N=304). The researchers first collected the data in central Serbia (in 2013), selected against several criteria: 1) that the city had the status of a functional urban area of national importance;<sup>5</sup> 2) that it was big enough to enable the implementation of endogenous development and multi-actor and multi-scalar management strategies; and 3) that the city was not located in one of the most developed regions (Vojvodina-Belgrade) or the least developed regions (southern and eastern Serbia) in terms of its degree of urbanisation and infrastructural and institutional capacities under the NUTS 2 classification. Data collected in Vojvodina cities were included in the database during the next wave of research, in 2014, which provided us with the basis for our comparative analysis.

One limitation was identified in the mentioned databases – Novi Pazar is the only city in the so-called "hot emigration zone" (Penev & Predojević Despić, 2012:50), but the representatives of the other two zones, Central-East and southern Serbia, were not included. The researchers plan on collecting data in these territories in the forthcoming period and the Territorial Capital research, once completed, will provide insight in the migration potential of Serbia's citizens in nearly all of Serbia's regions. As this research will not be completed by the time this Study is finalised and given our goal to present the migration trends in the territory of the whole state, we decid-

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5 Belgrade is the only Serbian city with the status of a European metropolitan growth area. Only Novi Sad and Niš have the status of functional urban areas of international importance, while 16 cities, including the selected cities, have the status of functional urban areas of national importance (Petrović, 2014:87).

ed to use data collected within another empirical research for our comparative analysis. This research was conducted in 2010 and 2013<sup>6</sup> by the Centre for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSID) within the joint UN PBILD project “Strengthening Capacity for Inclusive Local Development in South Serbia” and “Promoting Peace Building in South Serbia”. The project involved the survey of citizens living in the territory of the so-called “second emigration zone” (Penev & Predojević Despić, 2012:50), the Jablanica (N=830) and Pčinj Districts (N=848), notably, in the following five LSGs: Bujanovac, Preševo, Medveđa, Leskovac and Vranje.<sup>7</sup> The research aimed at collecting data from the citizens living in this region on migration, the life and status of youth and constantly sensitive inter-ethnic relations in this multi-ethnic region of Serbia. It needs to be noted that this was a representative empirical research and that the case study method was not applied, as the two stages of research were tailored to respond to the specific project needs, wherefore the analyses of the obtained data were generalised at the district rather than the city level.

The first group of relevance to this Study comprises respondents with migration experience, identified by their responses to direct questions on

6 The first stage of the research was conducted in 2010, with the aim of researching the migration situation, living conditions and progress of the youth population living in this territory and any problems in the co-existence of people of different nationalities in South Serbia. Apart from the further deterioration of economic trends in all of Serbia (especially in the south, traditionally characterised by low economic standards) in 2011, and especially in late 2012 and early 2013, an incident broke out in late 2012, when a monument was erected to commemorate the former members of the LAPBM (ethnic Albanian “Liberation Army of Preševo, Bujanovac and Medveđa”). The Serbian Government’s order to remove the monument in January 2013 provoked fierce reactions among the ethnic Albanian population. The ongoing talks between official Belgrade and Priština brokered by Brussels indicated that all developments in Kosovo and Metohija reflected on South Serbia, with a large ethnic Albanian population. Namely, during the talks, a demand was voiced that Albanians in South Serbia be granted the same status as Serbs in North Kosovo. These events significantly affected the shaping of public opinion in the whole state, particularly in these districts, and led to higher inter-ethnic tensions, further exacerbating life in this part of the country. All these developments encouraged the UN representatives to repeat the research, in order to verify the previously assumed interplay between socio-economic factors and the lives of youth, migration and inter-ethnic relations. A comparative analysis of data collected in both stages is necessary and invaluable to achieve that purpose. However, as a thorough analysis of the effects of turbulent political events on migratory potential goes beyond the pre-defined framework of the Study, we decided to use only the more recent base of data collected within the second stage of the project, implemented in March 2013.

7 This Study, unfortunately, does not include data collected in the so-called “first emigration zone”, the eastern part of Serbia, that has had the highest migration potential for over fifty years now (Penev & Predojević Despić, 2012). Namely, no empirical research of the population has been conducted in this territory, wherefore there are no data we could have used in our planned comparative analysis aimed at taking stock of the general migration trends of Serbia’s citizens.

their former places of residence, similarly formulated in both researches ("How long have you been living in this city?" "Where have you lived the longest?"). The second group comprises respondents expressing the intention to migrate, identified by their responses to questions about their future plans. Out-migration plans and directions were identified within the Territorial Capital in Serbia project on the basis of the respondents' answers to the question "What are your plans regarding your place of residence?" where those with migration intentions replied where they were planning on moving. The out-migration intentions and directions were identified within the UN PBILD project on the basis of the respondents' replies to two questions: "Have you considered moving from your place of residence because of your job or for another reason?" and "Where were you planning on moving?"

Given that empirical researches are the only possible sources of data for analysing migration motivations, the so-called push and pull factors were set as the priority during their processing. We placed particular emphasis on the young population (under 30 years of age); their spatial mobility trends and motivations will be presented in a separate section of the Study. Our interpretation of the results was guided by the micro-analytical model<sup>8</sup> – which is in accordance with the theoretically most favoured approach to migration in the world, that is, our approach focuses on the individual.

The conclusions we drew about the migration experiences and motivations are based on the respondents' replies to questions about their past and, in that sense (if their honesty is not brought into question), the drawn conclusions should not suffer from any shortcomings, i.e. their reliability should not be brought into question. Analogously, we drew our conclusions on migration potential by analysing their responses to the questions in the questionnaire about their future plans. These conclusions cannot be treated as absolutely accurate due to lack of data on the ultimate outcomes of their plans. Namely, research has shown that the vast majority of individuals abandon their initial migration plans (Pavlov, 2009; Božić, Burić 2005; Fassmann & Hintermann 1998) due to various barriers, such as financial and emotional costs, legal constraints, et al. Furthermore, our analysis was additionally burdened by the heterogeneity of the collected data – they were collected in two separate researches, wherefore we drew only tentative conclusions from our comparison of the databases. This is also the reason why we will, for the most part, present the analysis of the data of these researches of cities and districts separately.

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8 Apart from the micro-analytical model applied in our analysis, literature on migration and other published research of this phenomenon also apply the *macro and meso models*. The macro model analyses the political, cultural and economic structures at the level of the states, countries of origin and destination and the world system. The meso model includes the structure, strength, number and substance of the migrants' social ties in the analysis. (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008).

Despite the possible limitations of the methodological approach and reservations about the accuracy of the data processed in this Study, we are of the view that every study of migration trends based on empirical research is useful for several reasons: first of all, the case study enables us to check the adopted theories on the profile of the potential migrants and compare them with the migration profile based on official data. Second, this is the only way to collect qualitative data on the respondents' views about the social, economic and cultural determinants of their local communities, which provide insight in the motivations for potential spatial mobility. The results of these analyses are the most relevant in practical terms as they provide the basis and guidelines for developing national migration policies (which target population should be influenced and which factors need to be taken into account to keep the potential migrants from leaving or to encourage their circular movement and investments in their countries of origin), i.e. for mainstreaming migration in local and global development.

## 4. Definitions

The basic concepts used in the Study are based on the SORS definitions. *Migration of the population* denotes the permanent or temporary change of place of residence of the population in a specific period. It is also referred to as the *spatial mobility of the population* (SORS, 2014). The term *mobility* is also used in contemporary literature; it is associated with the modern-day economic and political globalisation at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which has increased the circulation of people, capital, goods and services and accelerated and complexified social and spatial dynamics – departures and returns, the so-called circular, occasional, temporary, in short, very diverse and frequent movements (at the daily, weekly, monthly and annual levels), related to work, continuing education, family reunification, vacations, travelling, etc. (Bobić, 2013).<sup>9</sup>

*Internal migration* denotes the change of place of residence of the population within a country (SORS, 2014). *Daily commuting* is a particular form of spatial mobility of the working-age population commuting to work, as well as of pupils and students commuting to school and college. The scope and directions of daily commuting are affected by a range of demographic, socio-economic, geo-transportation and other factors (SORS, 2014). *Immigration* denotes the process of the in-migration of a population to an area, caused by specific factors attractive to the population. *Emigration* denotes the process of the out-migration of the population from an area, caused by the factors of another area attractive to the population in-migrating to it.<sup>10</sup>

Migration flows in Serbia may be qualified as “mixed” and complex. They are difficult to register and manage, which poses a particular challenge for policy-makers, especially for an individualised and humane approach to these individuals, which is the global standard. Distinguishing individuals posing a threat to national security and endangering the state border from those in need (asylum seekers, refugees, stateless persons, smuggling victims, etc.) is a particular challenge (IOM, 2014).

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9 Modern-day international migration is a new and extremely complex phenomenon, because it does not only transcend the borders of national (sovereign) states, creating so-called transnational networks, “imaginary communities”, actions and institutions of a business, political, cultural nature, but because it also affects a number of states at the same time, wherefore it is controlled by numerous national and international actors and institutions (Castles and Miller, 2003, according to Bobić and Babović, 2013:213).

10 Immigration is defined in the *Migration Management Law* as external migration to the Republic of Serbia for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, in keeping with EC Regulation 862/2007. Emigration, on the other hand, denotes external migration from the Republic of Serbia for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months. These provisions allow for registration in accordance with Eurostat’s requirements.

This Study will deal with external and internal migration, i.e. emigration and immigration and focus on the young population, i.e. regular and voluntary flows, with the exception of two types of forced (external) migration from Europe, asylum seekers originating from Serbia and returnees under readmission agreements.

*Youth* is another concept relevant to this Study. According to the National Youth Strategy, it denotes the category of the population between 15 and 30 years of age. In our view, this definition is inadequate for a number of reasons and should include persons between 19 and 35 years of age. Firstly, because the youth in Serbia depend on their families of origin very long and attain independence at a later and later age. The Serbian youth's transition to adulthood lags considerably behind that of their peers in the West, as much as a decade compared to Denmark, the Netherlands, etc. Second, in normative and value terms, Serbia belongs to the countries with prevailing pro-familism in the Mediterranean and South Europe, with strong family social networks during the entire life of the individual i.e. family life cycle (Bobić, 2014, Tomanović, et al, 2012). A representative sociological survey research of the process of growing up in Serbia (Tomanović, et al, 2012) showed that separation from parents and assumption of social roles (measured by: completion of schooling, first job, marriage, birth of a child, moving out of the parents' house) are completed only at the age of 35 or so and that marriage and parenthood, to a much greater extent than career and professional fulfilment, are the most important markers of adulthood for Serbian youth. The extended "societal childhood" of young people in Serbia and their heavy reliance on their parents' resources and social capital (connections, friends and acquaintances) to resolve all strategic life issues (employment, housing, as well as various areas of everyday life, childcare, house chores), money lending, etc., is documented in numerous ISSR sociological researches (Milić et al, 2004, 2008, Milić and Tomanović, 2009, Jarić et al, 2015, etc.). Therefore, we are of the view that the lower threshold in the National Youth Strategy is too low, in view of the societal context, protracted education of youth and social norms on extended co-residence with the parents. The upper threshold is also too low, given the youth's delayed attainment of independence and standardised social biography with its standard order (graduation, then job, then marriage). Third, according to scholars, youth are a very selective group, and the correlation is the strongest between the age of 20 and 40 and migration, because the decision to migrate, especially today, is preceded by the accumulation of knowledge, skills, experience, financial resources, social, personalised networks with people in places of destination, etc. (Bobić, 2007).



Map 1 – Municipalities of the Republic of Serbia





## 5. Dynamic Analysis of Migration in Serbia

### 5.1. External Migration Trends

The period after the 1960s in Serbia is qualified as the period of intensive industrialisation and accompanying urbanisation, initiated by the major changes in the demographic development of the population, which, *inter alia*, affected the migration flows as well. In their initial stages, these processes had stimulative effect, given that rural-urban migration was addressing the acute problem of agrarian overpopulation. The deterioration of socio-economic conditions in the 1960s resulted in the stagnation of the deagrarianisation process, because non-agricultural activities lacked the capacity to absorb the very large agricultural and rural labour force. The negative effects of urbanisation became apparent in these conditions, as, in addition to unemployment, it generated a “super-concentration of the population, on the one hand, and systemic abandonment and depopulation of broad areas, on the other” (Vojković, 2007:98, 99). In the mid-1960s, West European countries, facing a lack of labour force, provided the possibility for intensified migration flows from areas confronted with unsuccessful economic reform and labour surplus, such as the former Yugoslavia and Serbia within it (Stanković, 2014). The more favourable business and economic climate in other countries, compared with the one in Serbia and the ex-SFRY, four decades ago, resulted in a significant increase in the number of people that went abroad to work and satisfy their existential needs (Group of authors 2006, Stanković, 2014).

Serbian scholars focusing on external migration face a number of constraints regarding the available data,<sup>11</sup> which hinder the forming of a comprehensive picture of the migration trends, their causes and implications.

#### 5.1.1. Serbian Nationals Abroad

As per the number of Serbian nationals working/living abroad, the results of the prior five censuses (1971–2011) illustrate the presence of a growing tendency to emigrate in all the censuses until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (until 1991). A short-term, positive migration balance was registered in the 1991–2002 inter-census period, due to the somewhat greater inflow of refugees, but the emigration component predominated again thereafter. In all, the comparison of the 1971 and the latest (2011) Censuses shows that the share of external migrants increased by as many as 53% in that period.

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11 To name just one, the already mentioned accuracy of data, and, thus, their validity, objectivity and systematicness.

According to the 1971 Census, most citizens of the Republic of Serbia had emigrated to Germany, Austria and France. In relative terms, these receiving countries took in as many as 79.2% of Serbian nationals compared to other destination states. The next, 1981 Census registered an increase of 65,130 emigrants (the order of the traditionally dominant countries of reception remained unchanged – Germany, Austria and France). Many West European countries applied restrictive immigration policies in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Group of authors, 2006), which led to a decline in this type of external migration in the 1981–1991 census period. Stevanović (2006, according to Stanković, 2014) assessed that this period was characterised by the stagnation of external migration and noted the effects of both the restrictive employment policies and financial incentives offered “foreign workers to return to their countries of origin” (*ibidem*, p. 16). The number of migrants grew the most (by around 50%) in the 1991–2002 census period. The period after the 1990s is qualified as specific in Serbia, due to the well-known unfavourable socio-economic and political circumstances, which indisputably impacted on migration flows as well. The culmination of external migration in the 1991–2002 period is understandable, given the whole spectrum of unfavourable events and processes in the country.<sup>12</sup>

The greatest drop in the number of emigrants (by 25%) was registered in the latest inter-census period (2002–2011). The 2011 Census data on people working/living abroad indicate a decline in the attractiveness of the traditional immigration countries (Sweden, France, et al), greater interest in some new destinations (Hungary, the Russian Federation, Great Britain), and continued intensive migration to Canada, the USA and Australia.

Coverage of people working/living abroad is highlighted as the main problem in their census registration (Penev, Predojević, 2012.); it has characterised all hitherto censuses, including the latest one, conducted in 2011. This is corroborated by a comparison of data on the number of people working/living abroad in the Serbian censuses and the data of countries Serbian nationals are living in. The greatest discrepancies have been registered in Germany – according to the 2011 Census, 55,999 citizens of Serbia are living abroad, whereas Eurostat's data show that 193,144 nationals of Serbia are living in Germany alone.

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12 More in: Group of Authors, 2006 and Stanković, 2014.

Table 1: Serbian Nationals Working/Living Abroad (1971–2011)

	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011
TOTAL	203,882	269,012	268,943	414,839	313,411
Austria	40,194	62,820	67,060	87,844	70,488
France	27,864	33,559	22,357	27,040	20,231
Germany	93,327	99,686	67,229	102,799	55,999
Switzerland	6,723	24,990	37,441	65,751	41,008
Sweden	8,819	12,351	9,929	14,049	10,925
Benelux countries	3,520	4,367	3,591	9,336	6,243
Other European countries	5,025	7,562	11,508	53,745	52,673
USA	5,279	7,352	7,136	16,240	13,504
Australia	7,025	6,173	5,065	7,490	3,760
Canada	2,865	3,679	6,268	10,908	6,226
Other non-European countries	1,048	2,860	3,235	5,761	5,073
Unknown	2,193	3,613	28,124	13,876	7,657
Former SFRY republics	–	–	–	–	19,624

Source: Stanković, V., SORS, 2014

An analysis of external migration by receiving country in this period (2011) compared to the first registration of Serbian nationals working/living abroad (1971) shows an evident change in the order of countries with the greatest number of immigrants from Serbia. According to the 2011 Census data, Austria is the most frequent destination of Serbia's emigrants. As many as circa 70,000 immigrants of Serbian origin have been registered as living in that state. Add to this the fact that their number was even greater in 2002 (although Austria did not top the list of countries Serbian citizens emigrated to), which is the consequence of the constant increase in their number since the first census of Serbia's population was conducted (1971). Germany headed the list of countries of reception of Serbian migrants (93,327) four decades ago. The number of external migrants heading for this country, however, halved during the last inter-census period and Germany now ranks second according to the 2011 Census, after Austria. Switzerland registered an increase in immigrants originating from Serbia in the past four decades, given that the number of the observed migrant population quadrupled. The intensification of migration flows to this country suggests that it is now positioning itself at the very top of countries receiving Serbian emigrants. The

analysis of external migration dynamic in the 1971–2011 period indicates that other European countries, followed by Canada, the USA, as well as other non-European countries, have also been registering a significant increase of external migrants from Serbia. It needs to be noted that the 2011 Census data, when compared with the 2002 data, register a decline in the number of external migrants from Serbia in all the countries. This drop of Serbian-born immigrants was the most pronounced in the following four countries: Germany, Switzerland, Australia and Canada.

The analysis of the data on external migrants originating from Central Serbia and Vojvodina in the 1971–2011 period indicates disparities, with respect to both the direction of movement and the tempo of migration flows. There is also a clear discrepancy in the size of the observed migrant category to the benefit of Central Serbia, both four decades ago and in the current period. The 2011 Census results show an increase in the numerical domination of external migrants from Central Serbia – five times as many people from Central Serbia than from Vojvodina are working/living abroad.

Table 2: People Working/Living Abroad Originating from Central Serbia and Vojvodina (1971–2011)

PEOPLE WORKING/ LIVING ABROAD	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011
Vojvodina	70,493	65,591	47,522	70,688	50,328
Central Serbia	133,389	203,421	221,421	344,151	263,083

Source: Stanković, V., SORS, 2014

These tendencies in the changes of the size of the external migrant stock are initiated by divergent migration trends of the populations of Central Serbia and Vojvodina, but one also needs to bear in mind the inter-census fluctuations, which may be assessed as a common feature of both of these areas of Serbia.

The migrant stock originating from Central Serbia has recorded permanent growth in the 1971–2002 period, which is in keeping with the national trends (Table 2). The most intensive increase in the number of people working/living abroad was registered in the 1991–2002 period (by over 50%). A decline of external migration in Central Serbia (by 23%) was registered in the 2002–2011 period for the first time. During the four-decade period (1971–2011), the only increase in Vojvodina's emigrant population was registered in the 1991–2002 period. That period can be qualified as the period in which the growth of the external migrant category in both of these areas of Serbia culminated. Scholars say that the intensive increase should be attributed to "excessive" wartime and economic circumstances

(Stanković, 2014). The number of people working/living abroad and originating from Vojvodina continuously fell in the other inter-census periods, especially in the 1981–1991 period.

The discrepancies in the tempo of external migration from these two parts of Serbia is ascribed to the much earlier onset of emigration of Vojvodina's residents and to the so-called substitution of the status of the "temporary work/stay abroad" status by permanent immigration status.

#### *5.1.1.1. Citizens of Serbia – Asylum Seekers in Europe*

Available Eurostat data show that the number of asylum seekers from Serbia in the EU and Switzerland soared since the visa regime was liberalised in 2009. The number of asylum seekers rose from 5,460 in 2009 to over 55,000 in the 2010–2012 period (CZA/APC, 2013:28). In 2012, Serbia (without Kosovo and Metohija) was ranked 4<sup>th</sup> on the list of countries whose nationals sought asylum in the broader European area. It was preceded by Afghanistan, Syria and the Russian Federation and followed by Somalia, Eritrea, Iraq and Iran. Only 1.1% (260) Serbian asylum seekers were granted asylum, i.e. the vast majority of the claims were dismissed as groundless. The number of asylum seekers from Serbia grew to 15,350 in 2013 (approximately as many applied in 2012; 11,740 sought asylum in 2011) (IOM, 2014). In 2013, the greatest number of claims were filed in Germany (12,735 from January to October), followed by a much fewer number in Sweden (2,670 from January to September) and Switzerland (1,890 from January to August). However, these data on asylum seekers from Serbia are insufficiently precise and comprehensive, for a number of reasons. First, they do not clearly distinguish between the numbers of unsuccessful asylum seekers who had been deported to Serbia and those who had returned voluntarily. Second, unsuccessful asylum seekers account for some of the many returnees under readmission agreements. Third, it is unclear how many of them were repatriated because their asylum claims were dismissed and how many for other reasons (invalid visas, criminal offences, etc.). Fourth, many people have repeatedly sought asylum in the same or different European states. This is why there are no precise data on the number of asylum seekers or their socio-demographic features. The only relatively reliable, albeit incomplete, report is the one produced by the *Readmission Office* and based on a questionnaire the returnees voluntarily filled on arrival at Belgrade airport Nikola Tesla (only 4,977 of the total of 16,234 returnees under readmission agreements registered by CRM and MIA in the 2010–2012 period). These data also demonstrate that most Serbian nationals were repatriated from Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Belgium (CZA/APC, 2013, CRM, Readmission Office 2006–2011 Report). *Readmission Office* reports show that the number of returnees increased 2.5 times in a very short period of

time, from 2010 to 2013, and then started falling (1,167 in 2010, 1,606 in 2011, 2,107 in 2012, 2,577 in 2013, 1,716 in 2014), (CRM, Readmission Office 2006–2011 Report). According to the available Belgrade airport survey data, returnees to Serbia are mostly taken in by their families or relatives (762 of the 1,716 returnees in 2014 were taken in by their families, 285 by relatives and 444 returned to their own homes). Most of them try to reach European states again (secondary migration) and the return and departure circles are frequently multiplied.

The profile of asylum seekers from Serbia is dominated by people at the bottom of the social ladder, the poor, marginalised, poorly educated and unemployed. Most of them are Roma by nationality, and, to a lesser extent, Serbs and ethnic Albanians. They mostly emigrate for economic reasons (89%) and discrimination on grounds of nationality (11%). Seven percent of them cited medical treatment (their own or of their children), which they could not afford in Serbia, as the reason why they sought asylum. Most of them (two thirds) had valid travel documents before going abroad, and had occasionally received social aid, and to a lesser extent financial aid, none of which sufficed to make ends meet. A third of them also periodically worked as seasonal workers and collected recyclable waste, while a third said they had registered with the NES but had never been offered requalification or additional education. Their children, however, attended school before going abroad. As many as 18% had applied for asylum repeatedly, and planned on trying again, hoping they would succeed, while fewer than 10% had left the country illegally, with the help of human smugglers. Two thirds of them cited employment and over half of them housing as their priority problems on return to Serbia.

#### *5.1.1.2. Returnees*

A few facts need to be noted with respect to the analysis of the migration dynamic of returnees who had worked/lived abroad. Given that statistics registered the flow of this migrant category only in three Censuses (1981, 1991 and 2011), the analysis of tendencies concentrates only on the periods when they are covered as well. Changes in the methodological approach, related to the definition of the categories of returnees who had worked/lived abroad resulted in specific differences between the two Censuses conducted at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1981 and 1991) and the latest Census (2011). Namely, the 1981 and 1991 Census results indicate the number of returnees working abroad, while the 2011 Census also covered their family members (Stanković, 2014). Bearing in mind that the latest (2011) Census material treats different categories (returnees who had worked abroad and their family members) as an indivisible whole, Stanković (2014) says that this is one of the reasons for the huge increase in the

number of observed migrants in the given period over the 1981 and 1991 Censuses.<sup>13</sup> The number of returnees who had worked/lived abroad in 2011 (234,932) more than tripled over 1981 and 1991 (when it stood at 63,801 and 62,843 respectively). This author also emphasised that the fact that quite a large number of them (especially those who had emigrated after 1965) had “ended their working life in the receiving countries” should not be disregarded either (Stanković, 2014:23).

Table 3: Returnees Who Had Worked/Lived Abroad<sup>14</sup>  
(1981–2011)

	1981	1991	2011
Serbia	63,801	62,843	234,932
Central Serbia	54,329	41,136	184,504
Vojvodina	9,472	19,707	50,428

Source: Stanković, V., SORS, 2014

When analysed by region, Central Serbia returnees dominated over the Vojvodina ones in all three Census years. The diametrically different tempos of the observed Central Serbia and Vojvodina migrant stocks in the 1981–1991 period, as well as a continuous increase of Vojvodina returnees, are evident. In the three decades (from 1981 to 2011), the number of returnees in the observed category in Central Serbia tripled, while Vojvodina registered a much more intensive, more than fivefold increase. The gap in the dynamic of the returnees between the individual Serbian regions can also be ascribed to the fact that Vojvodina residents started emigrating earlier than the residents of Central Serbia. The latest available data (from 2011) show a numerical predominance of Central Serbia returnees – 78.5%, as opposed to 21.5% Vojvodina returnees, according to the Census.

A somewhat greater share of returnees in the above-mentioned representative empirical researches of cities and regions was registered in southern Serbia, specifically, in the Pčinj District – 4.8% of the respondents had returned from abroad, 3.2% of them under *readmission agreements* (more than half were Roma, the rest were ethnic Albanians; they were between 38 and 46 years of age, the number of men is slightly greater than the number of women, and none of them were economically active).

13 The different time intervals between the observed Census years should not be neglected either.

14 The 1981 and 1991 Censuses covered only returnees who had worked abroad, while the 2011 Census covered all returnees. Returnees from former Yugoslav republics were excluded to allow for the comparison of the data.

## 5.1.1.2.1. Returnees by Education Level

The analysis of the education profiles of the 1981 Census data on returnees shows the domination of the categories without any education or with incomplete primary education (41.9%), followed by those with secondary education (28.4%) and primary education (25.8%). The fewest, only 3.3%, had a tertiary (junior college and university) degree.

Table 4: Returnees over 15 Who Had Worked/Lived Abroad, by Education Level (in %), 1981–2011

	1981	1991	2011
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
No Education	41.9	33.8	18.6
Primary Education	25.8	26.6	22.4
Secondary Education	28.4	31.6	39.8
Higher Education	3.3	7.6	18.9
Unknown	0.6	0.4	0.3

Source: Stanković, V., SORS, 2014

Significant changes in the education structure of this migrant stock were registered in the 1981–1991 inter-census period – the number of returnees with no or incomplete primary education fell, while the number of highly educated returnees more than doubled.

Comparison of these and the 2011 Census data shows a radical change in the education structure of the returnees in the previous three decades. The current period is predominated by returnees with secondary education (39.8%), followed by the category with primary education (22.4%). Whereas the share of returnees with higher education has been continuously rising, the share of the least educated has been falling, so that their percentages were almost the same in 2011 (18.6% and 18.9% respectively). The outlined tendencies may be qualified as positive and they are definitely linked to the global labour market demands, which have reflected on the profiles of the migrant population as well. The fact that migrants with lower education levels dominated the processes of external migration to West European countries in the 1960s has been documented. Due to numerous factors, modern society encourages the spatial mobility of young people, as well as of highly educated experts (Bobić, 2007). However, the increasing share of highly educated people among external migrants can be qualified as negative, as it clearly testifies to the widespread brain drain. Referring to



the current methodological definition of returnees,<sup>15</sup> Stanković (2014) notes that the increase in the number of highly educated returnees can be attributed to the fact that the returnee families include a large number of highly educated young people. Moreover, a comparison of the education levels of the returnees and the population in the country indicates that the education levels of these external migrants are higher than those of the general population, 16.2% of which have tertiary education.

The group of respondents with external migration experience in the empirical research of cities in Serbia is, however, dominated by women, except in Sombor, where the number of women and men is almost the same (48.1% and 51.9% respectively). An equal number of men and women (50% each), who had returned from abroad, took part in the research of the Jablanica District, while the respondents in the Pčinj District absolutely deviated from all expectations – 92.3% of the surveyed returnees were men and only 7.7% were women.

As far as the age of the returnees from abroad is concerned, most of them are over 55. A deviation was registered in Šabac, where returnees between 30 and 42 years of age dominate slightly (20%), and in the Pčinj District, where this age category dominates absolutely – its share stands at 46.2%.

#### 5.1.1.2.2. Breakdown of Returnees by Economic Activity

As per the economic activity of external migrants who returned to Serbia, the data obtained in the ISSR research of cities and regions indicate that most of them are inactive, which was expected given the predominance of returnees over 55 years of age. The fewest employed returnees were registered in Šabac; most of the returnees to this city (as many as 37.5%) belong to the oldest age category of the respondents (over 55 years of age). Conversely, the share of employed returnees in the Pčinj District, in which returnees in the 30–42 age category dominate, stands at as many as 76.9%.

A number of modern-day scholars are researching the concepts of so-called *transnational networks* and *transnational entrepreneurship*, as ways of pooling the resources and potentials of the diaspora, the returnees and the mother countries, i.e. the use of the external migrants' potential in the development of the country. A research based on these theoretical concepts that was conducted in Serbia (Pavlov, et al, 2014)<sup>16</sup> involved: an analysis of

15 As noted above, the 2011 Census registers returnees who had worked and their family members as an indivisible migrant category.

16 Similar to this research is a study on *translocality*, i.e. the networking of the diaspora in the local communities conducted in the Užice, Novi Pazar and Vranje regions (Pavlov, et al, 2013). The study was motivated by the tendency of emigrants of the same origin or from the same areas to rally in associations in the destination countries; for

the documents, strategies and the legal and institutional framework, as well as a smaller pilot, explorative empirical research of a sample of 15 transnational entrepreneurs from Serbia (semi-structured interview method) and 47 Serbian and foreign businessmen surveyed online. Such small samples do not allow for valid generalisations, because they are not representative, but they definitely raise some important issues for further, deeper research of the identified trends and problems regarding transnational entrepreneurship opportunities, barriers to the expansion of such entrepreneurship, etc. This is definitely important for activating the potentials of this global, mobile, meritocratic, world elite, which is insufficiently visible and encouraged and is, indeed, side-lined in Serbia. The research defines transnational entrepreneurs as "Serbia's citizens, who had studied or worked abroad more than a year, and then returned and established their companies or expanded the businesses they had launched abroad, and whose business success depends on regular cooperation with foreign countries" (*ibidem*: 23). The research of 15 entrepreneurs thus involved the research of returnees to Serbia, while the 47 respondents surveyed online included both returnees, people still living abroad but doing business with Serbia, and people working for transnational companies.<sup>17</sup> Apart from their own analysis, the authors of this Study referred to the secondary analysis of other researchers of transnational activities of the scientific and professional diaspora (Pavlov and Polovina, 2011), the main conclusions of which were that, despite the diaspora's demonstrated will, the scientific and professional community in Serbia was not open to cooperation either with the diaspora or the returnees and that there was an absence of adequate transnational activities or state support for the circulation of knowledge and brain gain.

The results of this research of transnational entrepreneurship (Pavlov, et al, 2014), notwithstanding all the methodology-related reservations, show that an extremely heterogeneous group is at issue. Most of the respondents are in their middle ages – 39% in the 31–41 and 37% in the 42–52 age categories; the 20–30-year-olds and the elderly (between 53 and 63 years of age) account for 15% and 9% of the respondents respectively. Most are men, married, and have two children on average. As per their profession, most are involved in civil engineering, hospitality, engineering, computer programming, economy, management, art and health (Pavlov, et al, 2014). Most of them emigrated in the 1989–1999 and 2000–2010 periods (43%

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instance, there is an association of Prijedor residents in St Louis (US), of Zvornik residents in Vienna, etc. The relevant literature emphasises that the emotional and social ties based on identities narrower than national identity, such as local, territorial identities (translocality) create stronger networks with the countries of origin countries than transnationalism (Halilović, 2012, according to Pavlov, et al, 2012).

- 17 Of the 47 respondents, 15 were running their companies from Serbia, 10 from other countries, 14 were working for transnational companies in Serbia and eight for such companies abroad.

and 37% respectively), predominantly to Great Britain and the USA. Some moved to Iraq, India, etc. Most of the returnees (43%) came back to Serbia after 2005; 87% have Serbian citizenship, the minority also has foreign citizenship.

Their companies are engaged in a very broad range of activities. Most are involved in information and communication technology (ICT, 25%), trade (11%), finance (11%), civil engineering (8%), education (6%), et al (compare: Pavlov (ed.), 2014:16). Most of their companies are small, employing between 1 and 25 people, and a considerable number of them are family owned (16%). Most businesses (60%) were established in the 2007–2012 period and their sources of funding came from: predominantly personal savings (76%), loans from friends and family (24%) and, to a much lesser extent, investment funds (8%). As per their education levels, experts with high education dominate (68%); 32% have PhDs. Staff of 76% of the companies have Master's Degrees. These companies maintain a high level of work culture, are committed to quality, are sources of innovations and flexible, have strong social capital, maintain links with entrepreneurs abroad, which facilitates the sale of their products and services in the foreign markets (North America, Russia, the former Soviet republics, Asia, Western Balkans, etc.) and continued investments in expanding their business and sales.

The respondents cited structural barriers, general political and economic instability, insecure legal and business environments, corruption, numerous administrative obstacles, long and expensive customs procedures, the long and expensive diploma recognition procedure, etc. as the obstacles to the development of transnational entrepreneurship in Serbia. They said that the business climate was undermined by nepotism and monopolies, and called Serbia the "land of debtors" because of difficulties in collecting debts, adding that the state and large companies were the generators of insolvency (*ibidem*: 27). In their view, the employers have excessive obligations and contributions under the employment contracts, there is a lack of a professional, young workforce, particularly in the field of marketing, the population's purchasing power is low, the market is small and the state is generally not stimulating the private sector, especially small and medium-sized enterprises.

The respondents cited the following advantages of doing business in Serbia: the relatively simple company registration procedure, small start-up investments compared with those needed in other countries, good tax system, an excellent supply of cheap and skilled workforce (especially in the IT sector and agriculture), great natural resources, low utility costs (electricity, gas, landline telephony), access to two large foreign markets (Russia and China), relatively lower operating costs compared with those in developed countries, better quality of life, including more free time for themselves and their families, etc. The respondents cited the following disadvantages

of doing business in Serbia: lack of financial capital for launching and running a business, slow professional growth, low level of social recognition by the broader community (entrepreneurs are identified with mobsters), lack of healthy competition, difficult access to local and foreign markets, widespread grey and black economy, counterfeiting of products, etc.

The value added of this study lies in the following specific recommendations on how the state actors can encourage transnational entrepreneurship formulated by its authors (Pavlov (ed.), 2014), notably: 1) the necessity of improving the safety of society and the business environment in the country. In addition to the cited problems in this area, the entrepreneurs cited the need for the automatic and free recognition of foreign diplomas and cutting the costs of obtaining documents; 2) better outreach to and cooperation with the migrants and returnees, *inter alia*, through contacts with Serbian embassies and consular missions in the countries they are living in. Better organisation of entrepreneurs, strengthening of guilds, professional associations and organisations, especially those that could assist youth. The authors also suggest the opening of an Office for Attracting Migrants to Serbia. They also put emphasis on the need to improve ties with the decision makers, who should “open their door” to the returnees and diaspora, appoint them as consultants in the public administration, pay greater heed to their business experience, ideas, business plans; 3) The business culture needs to be improved, efforts need to be invested in building a positive image of entrepreneurs in Serbia, and the value of sustained and sedulous work as the way to success needs to be instilled, et al.

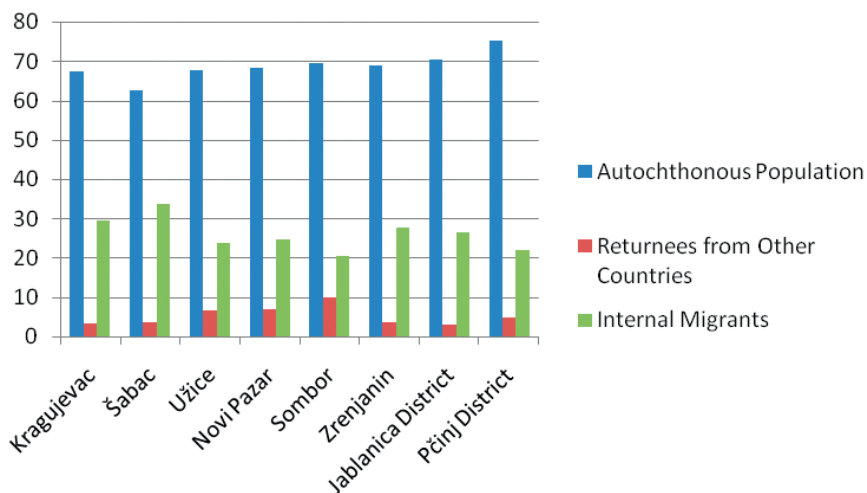
The study concludes by noting the need to support transnational entrepreneurship and returnees through migration and development strategies and their more comprehensive social involvement in the formulation and implementation of the national development goals. The authors give an example of their potential contribution to the development of the IT sector, a national priority. The study repeatedly emphasises that Serbia has a developed strategic framework in the field of migration and coordination mechanisms in the area of monitoring and collecting global data at the national level, but that it needs to improve the implementation of its development plans and programs and the operationalisation of actions and measures targeting migrants, in which the migrants themselves, as well as the academia and the NGO sector, should be involved. That, of course, applies to each of the individual professional and economic branches. Serbia should join the *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor* and other sources collecting data on transnational entrepreneurship, in order to set good development goals and operationalise adequate measures and programmes. The existing mechanisms of cooperation with the diaspora, transfer of know-how and experience do not recognise transnational entrepreneurship sufficiently and need to be strengthened in that respect (compare: Pavlov, et al, 2013). This particularly

applies to informing potential returnees about the business climate and investment opportunities in Serbia via its embassies and missions. Finally, the state needs to support the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, including transnational entrepreneurs and returnees, who could, for their part, increase their competitiveness in the export markets (Pavlov, et al, 2014).

#### 5.1.1.2.3. Returnees by Place of Out-Migration

Graph 1 provides a summary of ISSR and PBILD empirical research data indicating the shares of the autochthonous population and returnees from other countries and in-migrants from other parts of Serbia in the researched population.

Graph 1: Autochthonous and Immigrant Population (in %)



The data show that the vast majority of respondents in all cities and both districts have no migration experience. As far as in-migrants are concerned, it may generally be concluded that most of the respondents in-migrated from other Serbian municipalities and that the number of returnees from other countries is relatively small. Most of the returnees from other countries were registered in Sombor (10%), and Novi Pazar and Užice (7% in each). The fewest returnees from other countries were registered in the Jablanica District – only 3%, while the other cities had slightly more returnees from other countries (Kragujevac – 3.2%, Šabac – 3.7%, Zrenjanin – 3.5%).

## **5.1.2. Features of External Migrants**

### **5.1.2.1. Age and Sex**

As far as the above-mentioned empirical researches are concerned, in our analysis of the socio-demographic features of potential migrants, we departed from the hypothesis based on the common theoretical presumption of the free circulation of the population from the area of origin to the migration destinations. Scholars have identified specific self-selection by the migrant population on the basis of numerous empirical researches i.e. greater or lesser inclination to emigrate depending on the following features: sex, age, marital status, education, financial status etc. (Wertheimer-Baletić, 1999). The strongest statistical link has been identified between age and the decision to emigrate (Bobić, 2007:108). Decisions to emigrate are usually taken by people between 20 and 40 years old, because they have the greatest ability to adapt to the new living and working conditions and because the influence of the favourable circumstances in the destination countries is the strongest at that age. As far as the correlation between sex and migration is concerned, while men had predominated economic migration in the past, more and more highly educated women are emigrating in today's post-industrialist society, prompting a number of scholars to talk of the feminisation of migration (Pešić, 2013). Changes in the education structure of the migrants are another consequence of the transition of migration (Bobić, 2007:111). In the 1960s, most of the emigrants had lower levels of education and skills (blue collar occupations), while contemporary migration encourages the mobility of young, highly educated experts. The feature that has remained unchanged is membership of the middle class: mobility is, on the one hand, still barely accessible to the poorest population due to the financial costs of the process, and the most attractive to the middle class, which has the means to fund this enterprise; on the other hand, members of the middle class feel they cannot satisfy their needs in their country of origin. Therefore, the almost unanimous conclusions of the scholars had led us to expect that the profile of an average (potential) migrant would look like this: a younger person, up to 40 years of age, with secondary or tertiary education, male rather than female (but without any drastic discrepancy), usually unmarried and childless. Moreover, due to the indispensable financial costs of migration, we assumed that people with middle class means accounted for the greatest share of potential migrants.

When we were analysing respondents with migration experience, we bore in mind that this group included respondents, who had immigrated from war-torn territories in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, and presumed that most of the respondents in this group were older, female, with secondary education, married, with children (perhaps over 15 years of age).

Analysis of the changes in the age and sex breakdowns of a specific population is indisputably important, given that these changes reflect the

demographic processes and phenomena most adequately. The examination of structural changes is thus an indispensable segment of migration flow analyses.

There were slightly more than 20,000 men than women in the total external migrant population (persons working/living abroad, 2011) – 167,332 (53.4%) and 146,089 (46.6%) respectively. The migrant population differs significantly in this respect from the total population, in which women dominate over men (51.3% over 48.7%). The explanation of this masculine domination can be sought in the fact that men dominated over women in all migration stages.

Table 5: Serbia's External Migrants by Age and Sex (2011 Census)

	TOTAL	Men	Women	TOTAL	Men (in %)	Women (in %)	Masculinity Rate <sup>18</sup>
Total	313,411	167,322	146,089	100	53.4	46.6	114.5
0–4	16,323	8,489	7,834	100	52.0	48.0	108.4
5–9	17,256	8,979	8,277	100	52.0	48.0	108.5
10–14	17,342	9,029	8,313	100	52.1	47.9	108.6
15–19	19,917	10,400	9,517	100	52.2	47.8	109.3
20–24	24,492	12,689	11,803	100	51.8	48.2	107.5
25–29	28,982	15,183	13,799	100	52.4	47.6	110.0
30–34	32,191	17,080	15,111	100	53.1	46.9	113.0
35–39	34,428	18,397	16,031	100	53.4	46.6	114.8
40–44	30,773	16,982	13,791	100	55.2	44.8	123.1
45–49	24,155	13,785	10,370	100	57.1	42.9	132.9
50–54	20,644	11,562	9,082	100	56.0	44.0	127.3
55–59	20,899	10,717	10,182	100	51.3	48.7	105.3
60–64	15,696	8,767	6,929	100	55.9	44.1	126.5
65 and older	10,313	5,263	5,050	100	51.0	49.0	104.2

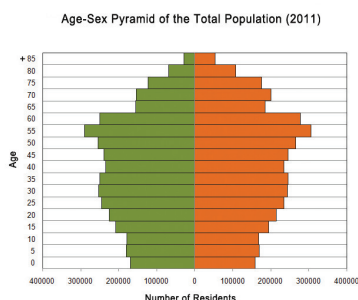
Source: Stanković, V. SORS, 2014

The age and sex breakdown of external migrants in five-year age groups evidences another unusual phenomenon: the number of men exceeds the number of women in all age groups. The numerical domination of male migrants is the most pronounced in the 45–49 age group (where the

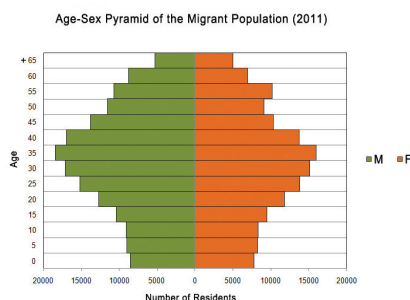
18 The masculinity rate shows the ratio of men to women (number of men /100 women)

masculinity rate stands at 132.9), while the difference is the smallest in the 20–24 age group (107.5 men to 100 women).

Graph 2: Age –Sex Pyramid  
of the Total Population (2011)



Graph 3: Age –Sex Pyramid  
of the Migrant Population (2011)



Disproportions are evident in the shares of the large age groups in the total external migrant population at the regional level. The differences are the most visible in the share of the youth contingent (0–19), and they form two zones, to an extent. The first includes the Serbia – North regions, analogously to the lowest or approximate shares of this age contingent, with the Belgrade Region registering a greater share than the Vojvodina region (19.2% and 16.9% respectively). The second zone includes the Šumadija and West Serbia Region and the South and East Serbia Region (Serbia – South), with higher shares of the 0–19 age group (25.6%, and 23.8% respectively).

Table 6: Large Age Groups of Migrants, by Region (2011 Census)

SRBIJA		SERBIA – NORTH			SERBIA – SOUTH		
Age	Total	Total	Belgrade Region	Vojvodina Region	Total	Šumadija and West Serbia Region	South and East Serbia Region
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
0–19	22.6	18.0	19.2	16.9	24.7	25.6	23.8
20–39	38.3	42.3	41.8	42.9	36.5	37.7	35.4
40–59	30.8	30.8	31.2	30.4	30.8	29.6	31.8
60+	8.3	8.9	7.8	9.9	8.0	7.0	9.0

Source: Stanković, V. SORS, 2014



Stanković (2014:66–67) says that the reason for the greater share of the youngest group (0–19) in the Serbia-South regions lies in the fact that migrants from these areas “participated in the first external migration wave to a greater extent” and that the higher shares of young people are actually their descendants. The situation is opposite in the next age category (20–39), where the Serbia-North regions (Belgrade Region – 41.8%, Vojvodina Region – 42.9%) dominate over the Serbia-South regions (37.7% and 35.4% respectively). The more pronounced presence of refugees from ex-SFRY countries and the more intensive “drain of highly educated experts and students” from the urban agglomerations contributed to the greater tempo of external migration by the younger middle-age continent (20–39) in these regions (Stanković, 2014). Approximately the same shares are registered in the 40–59 age group, with the lowest value in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region and the highest value in the Belgrade Region (31.2%). The share of the oldest group of external migrants (60 and older) does not exceed 10% in any of the regions; the highest share was registered in the Vojvodina Region (9.9%).

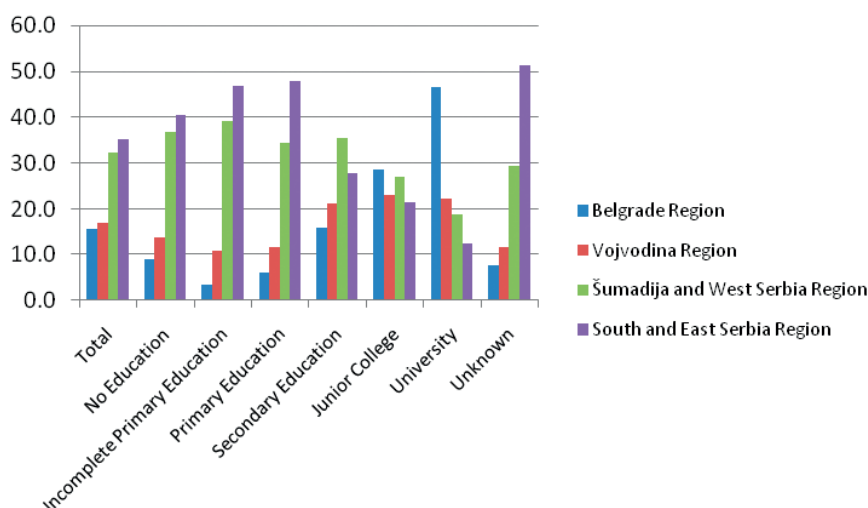
Most of the potential external migrants in nearly all the cities in the ISSR empirical research are young, under 30 of age, just as we had expected. Kragujevac stands out, where there are slightly more potential external migrants in the 30–42 age group. The situation in South Serbia is somewhat different: the sample of Jablanica District respondents leads to the conclusion that 30–42-year-old respondents have expressed the intention to emigrate the most, whereas, surprisingly, such intentions in the Pčinj District were expressed the most often by respondents over 55 (35.7%). As per the sex of the potential emigrants, men dominate in all cities: as many as 90.5% men in Novi Pazar and 85.0% of the men in the Pčinj District intend to emigrate. The smallest discrepancy between the sexes was registered among potential external migrants in Užice (57.1% men and 42.9% women).<sup>19</sup>

19 Data on potential migrants can be found also in the Register of Beneficiaries of the NES Migration Service Centre for the City of Belgrade. A total of 611 people (607 emigrants and four immigrants) were registered in it in 2014. In the first half of 2015, 461 potential migrants were registered in the Register. Men dominate (59.7%), and most of the registered beneficiaries are unemployed (84.4%). Most belong to the 25–29, 30–34 and 35–39 age categories (21.9%, 20.9% and 17.8% respectively). Potential migrants with secondary education dominate in Belgrade as well (52.9%), but similarly to the Census results, this document regarding Belgrade registers significantly higher shares of people with primary education (18.6%) and Masters/PhD degrees (17.6%). Most beneficiaries (53.7%) are unmarried, 41.4% are married, while 4.9% are divorced. Their country of first choice is Germany, followed by other EU countries (Austria, et al), as well as non-EU countries, such as Norway, Switzerland and Canada. As per the professions of the potential migrants from Belgrade, technicians of various specialties prevail, followed by engineers, nurses, drivers, doctors, economists and physical therapists (64.2% in all) (NES 2015).

### 5.1.2.2. Education

The migrants' education levels are somewhat lower than those of the total population of Serbia, due to the age structure of the emigrants and the time they emigrated. Most external migrants have secondary education (38.8%); they are followed by migrants with primary education (27.5%). The share of external migrants with tertiary education stands at 12%.

Graph 4: People Working/Living Abroad by Education Level, by Region (2011)



The domination of external migrants with secondary education is evident at the level of the regions (Graph 4), and their share is the highest in the Vojvodina Region (48.2%). The South and East Serbia Region, where external migrants with primary education dominate (37.6%), is an exception. Compared with the other regions, the Belgrade Region is specific insofar as the smallest shares of external migrants without education or with incomplete primary educations are registered in it (0.5% and 1.1% respectively); at the same time, the greatest share of external migrants with tertiary education (35.8%) was registered in the Belgrade Region. Stanković (2014) classified the regions by the education levels of the external migrants as follows: 1. Belgrade Region, 2. Vojvodina Region, 3. Šumadija and West Serbia Region, and 4. South and East Serbia Region.

As we had expected on the basis of the adopted theoretical framework, the data collected in the empirical researches of migrants in Serbian cities and regions corroborate the census results, indicating that most respondents intending to emigrate from Serbia, as well as those, who had at one point returned from abroad, have secondary education. Over 60% of the respondents with migration experience in all the researched cities and

districts have completed secondary schools. The only deviation is registered in the Jablanica District, with identical shares of respondents with secondary and tertiary education – 36.4% in each category.

The education profile of the potential migrants does not differ – respondents with secondary education prevail in nearly all the cities and districts, with the exception of Sombor, where identical numbers of respondents with secondary and high educations were registered – 46.5% in each category.

The domination of respondents with secondary education in the group of respondents with migration experience and the group of potential migrants can be explained by two facts. First, this result had been expected given that secondary school graduates account for the greatest share of the entire economically active population. Second, most of the people with high education have settled down in their places of residence and do not need to move, while those, who had been unable to satisfy their needs in their places of birth, have already moved. Therefore, only the highly educated ones who have not had the (in most cases financial) possibility of moving out, have remained, although they may be dissatisfied with their lives in the cities they are living in. As per people with primary education, there is little demand for unqualified workers nowadays; furthermore, it is quite unlikely they can afford the costs migration entails.

#### *5.1.2.3. Economic Activity*

Data on the main subsets of people of Serbian descent (working or living) abroad illustrate that the category of working emigrants is relatively the most dominant one (53.1%). When viewed by type of settlement, a somewhat greater number of working emigrants is registered in the so-called other settlements<sup>20</sup> (54.2%) than in the cities (51.6%). Family members of external migrants from Serbia account for 36.4% and students for 3.9% of all external migrants.

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20 The administrative-legal criterion, categorising settlements as urban and other settlements, has been applied since the 1981 Census. The category of mixed settlements (Macura, 1954) has been abolished.

Table 7: Main Subsets of People Working/Living Abroad by Region (2011 Census)

	Type of Settlement	Working (in %)	Family Members (in %)	Students (in %)
Republic of Serbia	Total	53.1	36.4	3.9
	Urban	51.6	33.5	7.1
	Other	54.2	38.5	1.5
Belgrade Region	Total	52.9	30.6	8.0
	Urban	53.3	28.7	9.7
	Other	51.3	37.6	1.9
Vojvodina Region	Total	56.0	27.1	7.4
	Urban	55.7	24.5	9.8
	Other	56.4	30.3	4.5
Šumadija and West Serbia Region	Total	50.9	41.2	2.6
	Urban	48.0	40.9	4.8
	Other	52.6	41.3	1.3
South and East Serbia Region	Total	53.9	38.6	1.7
	Urban	50.3	38.6	4.5
	Other	55.2	38.6	0.7

Source: Stanković, V., SORS, 2014

Viewed by region, most working emigrants from Serbia originate from the Vojvodina Region (56.0%) and the fewest from the Šumadija and West Serbia Region (50.9%). The Belgrade Region is the only one that stands out by type of settlement, as it is characterised by the prevalence of external migrants from urban settlements (53.3%) over other settlements (51.3%).

The largest share of emigrant family members is registered in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region (41.2%) and the smallest in the Vojvodina Region (27.1%). The situation is somewhat different from that of the previous migrant stock when this category is observed by type of settlement. The Belgrade Region does not stand out in that respect, and, like the other regions, has the highest shares of family members in non-urban settlements. As far as the third subset of external migrants is concerned (the students), the highest relative share is registered in the Belgrade Region, with a clearly

distinct discrepancy between types of settlement, with urban settlements (9.7%) prevailing over other settlements (1.9%). Urban settlements in the Vojvodina Region also register the highest share of students (9.8%). These regions have above-average shares of students compared with the national level (3.9%). The share of students is considerably lower in the other two regions, below the national average.

The unemployed dominate the group of potential migrants in all the researched cities and districts, again with the exception of the Pčinj District, where 46.3% of the potential migrants are self-employed.

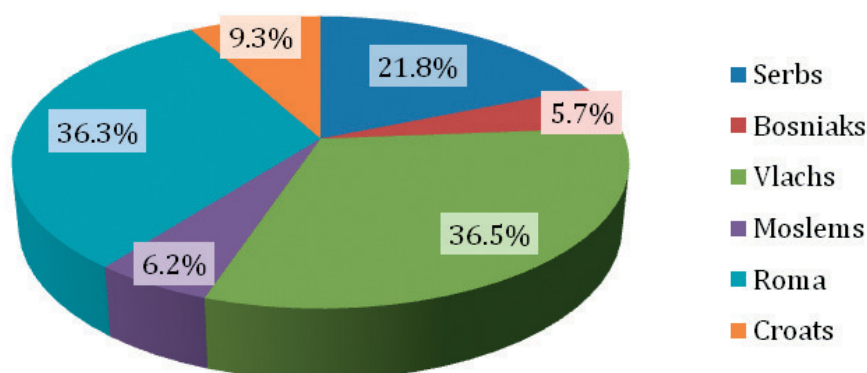
A number of researches of various aspects of *labour migration* conducted in the past few years (IOM, 2015, IOM, 2014, Pavlov, et al, 2014, SEEMIG, 2013, IOM, 2010a) expanded the scope of analysis of the economic aspects of migration, which had earlier mostly focused on remittances. As far as remittances are concerned, research shows that Serbia ranks high on the global list of remittance-receiving countries (15<sup>th</sup>), that they are primarily transferred via informal channels and spent on personal consumption and reduction of household and family poverty and that incentives for their productive investment are lacking (Pavlov, et al, 2014). National Bank of Serbia data show that remittances worth 27.6 billion Euro entered the country in the 2000–2010 period, while the World Bank estimates their value in that period to as many as 42.96 billion Euro.<sup>21</sup> In the view of the former Minister of Religion and the Diaspora, the Diaspora invested 550 million USD in the Serbian economy in the 2000–2012 period, employing around 25,000 people in small and medium-sized enterprises (Pavlov, et al, 2014, 2012).

#### 5.1.2.4. Ethnicity

The analysis of the external migrants by ethnicity shows that most migrants are Serbs by nationality (61%), and that there are noticeable shares of Bosniaks (6.3%) and ethnic Hungarians (2.4%). Ethnic homogenisation, to a somewhat lesser degree, is registered among other nationalities as well (ethnic Croats, Macedonians and Montenegrins). Austria (Graph 5) stands out as the most attractive destination of most Serb, Vlach, Gorani and Roma migrants. Germany is an attractive destination for life and work among Bosniaks, Moslems, Bunyevtsi and Yugoslavs. External migrants of various nationalities from Serbia also tend to emigrate to Switzerland, Canada and the USA.

21 Estimates are that the migrants' financial remittances to developing countries stood at 436 bln USD in 2014. Unfortunately, however, financial intermediaries take an average of 9% of the precious earnings that migrants send home. Reducing the intermediaries' share would boost the income of migrants' families back home, increase economic opportunity in these countries, help reduce poverty, and, by extension, contribute to global stability, by reducing social inequalities (Annan, 2015).

Graph 5: Ethnicity of Serbia's Nationals Working/Living Abroad (in %)



Similarly to the Census data, the research data show that Serbs dominate absolutely, in nearly all the cities (except Novi Pazar), and in the Jablanica District, accounting for over 95% of both the actual and potential migrants. The situation is quite different in the Pčinj District, because the respondents that moved to this territory from abroad are mostly ethnic Albanians (74.5%). Furthermore, ethnic Albanians account for the greatest share in potential migrant group in this District (45.6%); they are followed by Serbs (37.4%), Roma (12.2%) and ethnic Bulgarians (4.8%). Bosniaks prevail in the group of potential migrants in Novi Pazar (with a 90.5% share).

#### 5.1.2.5. External Migrants by Duration of Emigration and Type of Settlement

External migrants from Serbia live abroad slightly over 10 years on average (Table 8). Similar emigration periods are registered in most of the regions, apart from the South and East Serbia Region, the emigrants from which live abroad 11.82 years on average. The South and East Serbia Region dominates when viewed by region and type of settlement, like in the previous example, given that longest emigration periods are registered in urban and other settlements (10.01 and 12.44 years).

Table 8: Average Duration of Emigration, by Region, Type of Settlement (2011 Census)

	Total	Urban Settlements	Other Settlements
Serbia	10.82	9.41	11.84
Belgrade Region	9.76	9.12	12.15
Vojvodina Region	9.92	9.28	10.68
Šumadija and West Serbia Region	10.67	9.34	11.46
South and East Serbia Region	11.82	10.01	12.44

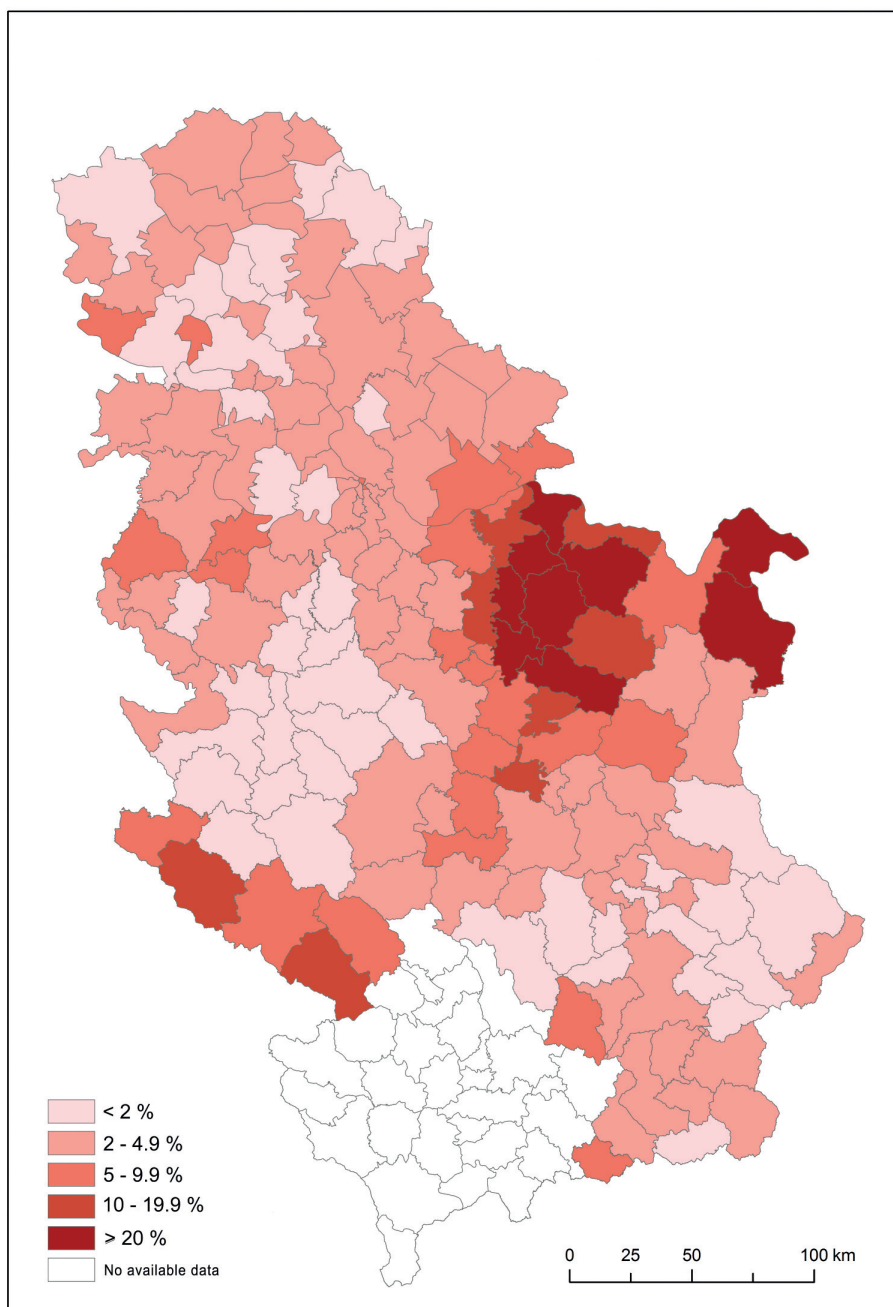
Source: Stanković, V., SORS, 2014

External migrants, who had lived in other settlements, live longer abroad, 11 years on average; external migrants from other settlements in the Belgrade and South and South-East Serbia Regions stand out.

#### 5.1.2.6. External Migrants by Municipality of Birth

The spatial aspect of the analysis of external migrants by their municipality of birth indicates the existence of so-called *emigration zones*, i.e. areas registering constant increase in the share of emigrants. As the shares of emigrants by municipality of origin (Map 1) show, there are three emigration zones in Serbia: 1) Braničevo, Bor and Morava regions; 2) some municipalities in the Zlatibor and Raška regions, and 3) parts of the Pčinj region (notably, the Bujanovac and Preševo municipalities, albeit the data on them are incomplete).

Map 2: Migrant Population by Municipality of Origin (2011)

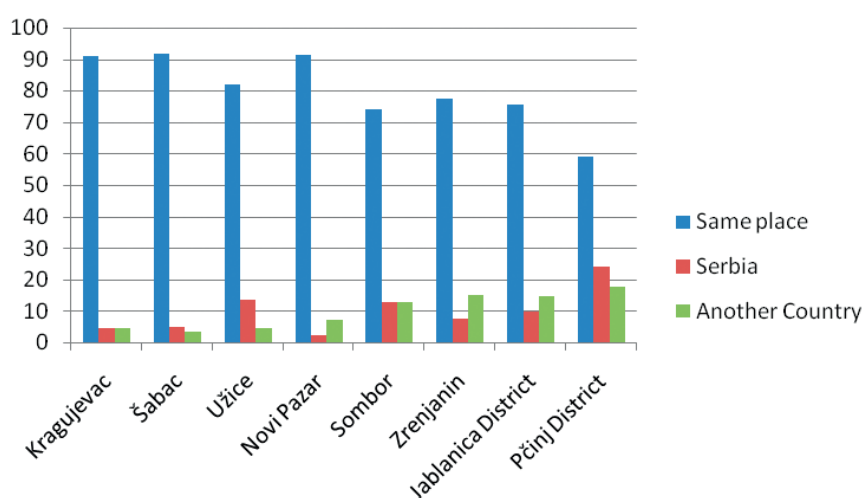




The average share of migrants in all observed municipalities stands at 4.9%; the shares of migrants in 17 municipalities are close in value to the national average. The 2011 Census records on the shares of the external migrant stock in the total population at the municipal level indicate distinct polarisation. The shares of registered municipal residents living abroad range from only 0.50% in Trgovište to 33% in Malo Crniće. The smallest shares (under 1%) were registered also in the municipalities of Arilje, Žitorađa, Ivanjica, Trgovište, Čajetina and Bela Palanka, while shares of external migrants exceeding 30% were registered in Žabari (31%) and Kučevo (30%). The following municipalities (with shares exceeding 10 and 20 percent) also rank as emigration municipalities: Velika Plana, Prijepolje, Požarevac, Varvarin, Tutin, Čuprija, Žagubica, Golubac, as well as Negotin, Petrovac na Mlavi, Veliko Gradište, Kladovo, Svilajnac and Despotovac.

The results of the empirical researches regarding *potential migrants* are outlined in Graph 6.

Graph 6: Potential Migrants (in %)



The Graph demonstrates that most of the respondents in all the cities and both districts have no intention of moving, which generally corroborates the conclusions about the low mobility of the local population (IOM, 2015). Their numbers range from circa 90% (Kragujevac – 90.8%, Šabac – 91.8% and Novi Pazar – 90.4%) to the lowest 58.9% in the Pčinj District, which is surprising given the political instability and inter-ethnic tensions in southern Serbia.

However, most of the respondents, who see themselves living in another country in the future, are living in the territory of the Pčinj District – 17.7%, as well as in Zrenjanin – 15.1% and the Jablanica District – 14.5%. The fewest potential external migrants are in Šabac, only 3.5%. We can ascribe

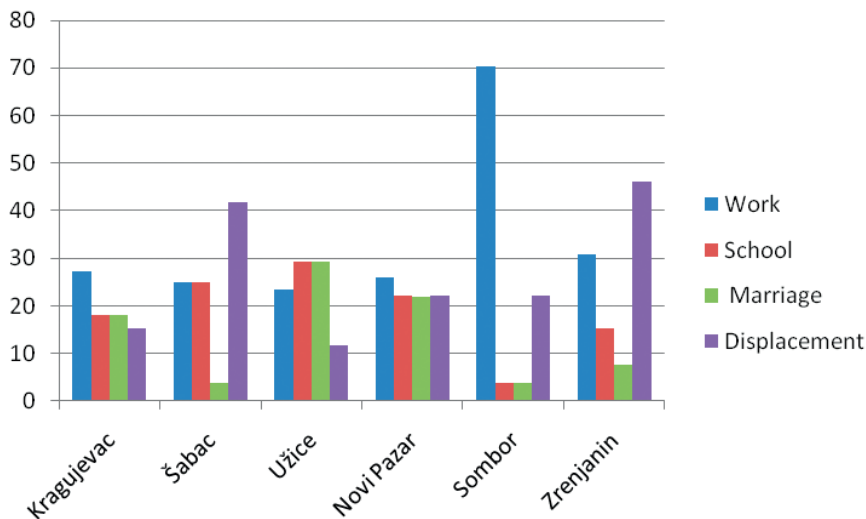
this to the economic and territorial advantages of this city over other cities or districts –privatisation in Šabac has been relatively successful, the city is very close to Belgrade, the most attractive destination for the population in the rest of Serbia (Poleti, 2013). As far as the degree of economic development is concerned, it can be observed that a small number of respondents in Kragujevac expressed the intention of moving abroad, while, on the other hand, the large number of potential migrants in southern Serbia can be explained by the low living standards due to unsuccessful privatisation. People living in that part of the country are additionally motivated to leave by the decades-long interethnic tensions there.

#### *5.1.2.7. External Migration Motivations – Push and Pull Factors*

Analyses of migratory trends, aimed also at formulating state migration management policies and their mainstreaming in the development of the country, focus, in particular, on the motivations of the (potential) migrants. The resolution of problems prompting citizens to contemplate living in another country may result in many a change of heart, or, perhaps even more importantly, may encourage the diaspora to cooperate and involve itself in the development of their places of origin, if the environment in them is no longer negative and unstimulating. In addition, improved living conditions gradually become a pull factor for the return of the emigrants. Literature on migration motivations divides them into two groups: repelling (push) factors and attracting (pull) factors; the former regard the conditions in one's place of origin, mostly those with negative attributes, prompting individuals to leave their places of residence in order to satisfy their needs. Pull factors are the conditions in the destination places that appear as "promising" for the fulfilment of the goals and needs of individuals planning on moving to them (Zimmermann, K. 1996). The International Organization for Migration (IOM, 1999), distinguishes between five pull factors: better living conditions, wages, other people's experiences, good employment prospects and more individual freedoms; and two push factors: ethnical problems (unequal access to fundamental human rights, health, education, welfare) and economic problems in the country of origin.

We identified the immigration motivations of the respondents in the Territorial Capital research in their responses to the following question: "Why did you move to this city?" The replies are outlined in Graph 7 below:

Graph 7: Motivations for Immigration from Other Countries (in %)



Employment stands out among the respondents' motivations for moving to their current places of residence – from 28.5% in Zrenjanin to 7.8% in Sombor. Given that industry in both of these Vojvodina cities is well-developed (the mostly the food-processing industry) and that there are no major differences in their degrees of development, this difference between respondents, who had moved to these cities because of their jobs, did, indeed, come as a surprise. Furthermore, given the vicinity of the border, we had expected Sombor to be a more attractive destination for Serbian citizens living abroad. We presume that this result can be ascribed to the different business policies of the companies in these two cities, and, perhaps, a greater offer of jobs in Zrenjanin at the time the respondents moved to it. Education as a pull factor in Graph 7 features highly in Užice (29.4%), which is understandable in view of the fact that this city is home not only to all the secondary schools, but state and private colleges as well. What did come as a surprise was that fewer than 20% respondents who had moved to Kragujevac listed education as their motive. The fact that displacement is the most prominent, and the only push factor, comes as no surprise given that most of the respondents, who had moved from abroad, originated from the ex-SFRY states ravaged by war in the 1990s. Zrenjanin and Šabac stand out – over 40% of the respondents have moved to these cities precisely due to the wars in the neighbouring states; Šabac is mostly inhabited by respondents from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Zrenjanin by respondents from Croatia.

The survey research conducted in southern Serbia did not include any questions on why the respondents had returned from abroad. Only the returnees were asked why they had returned (Table 9).

Table 9: Motivations for Returning from Abroad to the Pčinj and Jablanica Districts (in %)

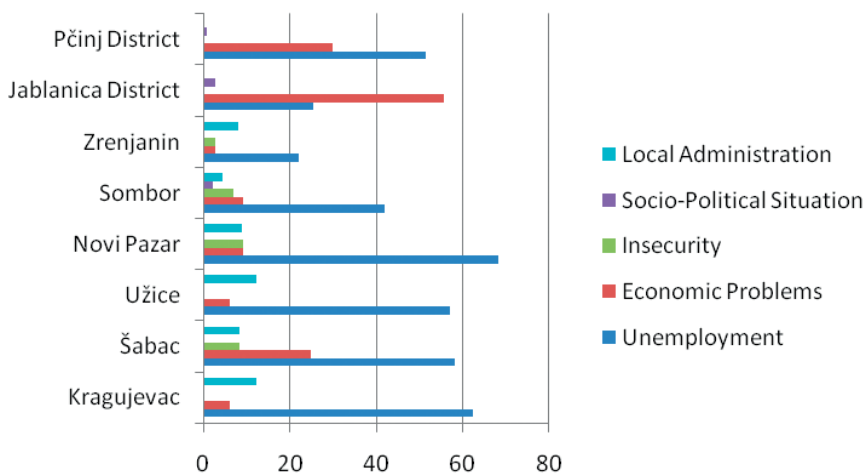
District	Was not granted a work/residence permit	Did not settle down	Could not earn enough money	Homesickness	Voluntary return	Readmission	To care for their parents
Jablanica	21,2	9,6	1,9	26,9	19,2	1,9	19,2
Pčinj	56,7	5,6	3,3	11,1	3,3	6,7	13,3

Source: Processed research data

As the data show, the emigrants' problems with legalising their status abroad, specifically, with obtaining work or residence permits, dominate in the Pčinj District (56.7%), while homesickness and, to a lesser extent, family and personal reasons are the motives for the voluntary return of one out of five respondents in the Jablanica District.

The mapping of the push factors of the potential migrants, especially emigrants, is more relevant for the design of policies aimed at reducing emigration than insight in the motivations of the emigrants who returned. We identified the push factors in both researches by analysing the responses to the open question: "Which major problems in your local community/city worry you the most?" We'd expected the respondents to list different problems given the different development and income levels in the cities covered by the researches (including the cities in districts covered by the PBILD research). Furthermore, we had expected feelings of insecurity and the inadequate political and social circumstances to stand out in the Jablanica and Pčinj Districts, due to the mentioned developments in the period in which the research was conducted, which are merely the result of the decades-long tensions between persons belonging to different ethnic groups, further stoked by the Republic of Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence in 2008. However, contrary to our initial presumptions, the same problems were quoted in all six cities and both districts, as Graph 8 below shows.

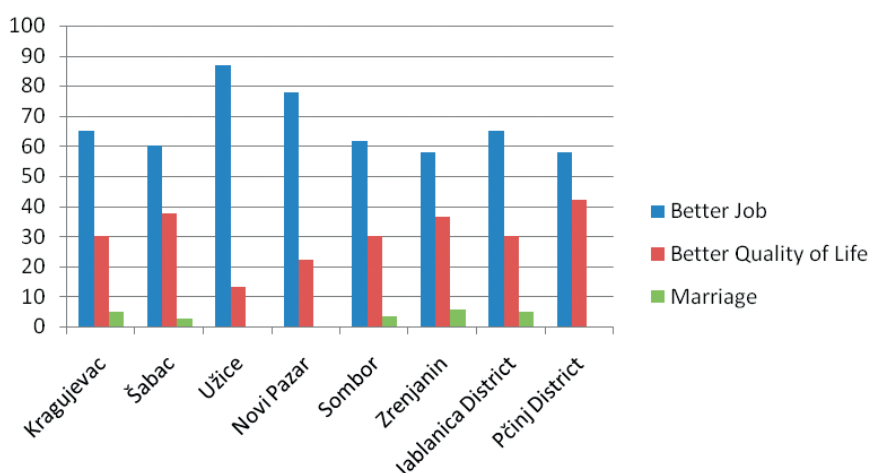
Graph 8: Major Problems in the Community (in %)



Unemployment and economic problems aggravating poverty stand out in all the cities/districts. Unemployment is the main cause of concern of the respondents, potential external migrants, in Central and North Serbia (Kragujevac 65%, Šabac 58.3%, Užice 59.1%, Novi Pazar 68.2%, Zrenjanin 22%, Sombor 41.9%), as well as of the respondents in the Pčinj District (51%). Judging by the respondents' replies, economic conditions are the poorest in the Jablanica District, where 52.3% of the respondents listed them as the burning problem in their local communities. Contrary to our expectations, feelings of insecurity and the inadequate political and social circumstances were quoted to a greater extent by the respondents in the listed Central Serbia and Vojvodina cities than by those in the Jablanica and Pčinj Districts (!).

We identified the pull factors of the (potential) migrants in their replies to the question of why they would move. As Graph 9 indicates, finding a better-paying job, better working conditions and promotion prospects are the main motivation for the emigration of potential migrants in all cities and districts (Kragujevac 57.1%, Šabac 49.4%, Užice 82.3%, Novi Pazar 62.5%, Sombor 65%, Zrenjanin 48%, Jablanica District 66.4% and the Pčinj District 42.3%), which is a logical response to unemployment and poor economic circumstances, which turned out to be the main push factors in the respondents' current places of residence. Furthermore, a significant number of respondents in this group believe that they would have a better quality of life in other countries, that life is cheaper and healthier in them (Kragujevac 30%, Šabac 37.5%, Užice 13.3%, Novi Pazar 22%, Sombor 36.5%, Zrenjanin 40.1%, Jablanica District 30%, Pčinj District 42%). Finally, family reunification was cited as the reason by the least number of respondents, although this phenomenon is perceived as an important feature of and motivation for modern-day migration (Levitt, 2001).

Graph 9: Main Reasons for Out-Migrating – Pull Factors (in %)



To sum up, our respondents believe that they have better prospects of personal and professional development and that they will lead more comfortable and healthier lives abroad. These factors identified as pull factors in the answers of our respondents correspond to the results of other empirical researches of this phenomenon (Grečić, V. 1996 and 1998, Fassmann H. and Hintermann, C. 1998, IOM, 1995, 1997, 1999, Božić, S. I Burić, I. 2005, Hooghe, M, Trappers, A, Meuleman, B, Reeskens, T. 2008). Dissatisfaction with living standards, a consequence of unemployment and constant political turmoil, lasting for over two decades now, since the collapse of socialism, have prompted young people to plan their futures outside their places of origin. Many factors, however, influence the realisation of emigration plans, such as uncertainty about the fulfilment of all the pull factors, major financial costs accompanying the spatial mobility of people, break-off of established social ties and emotional attachment to the territory the respondents are living in, which have been found to be major barriers to mobility in other researches in Serbia as well (IOM, 2015). We, consequently, assume that not all potential migrants will ultimately decide to emigrate, notwithstanding the fact that the problems specified by the respondents do exist. This, however, should by no means serve as an excuse to the relevant stakeholders for not working on improving the living conditions in Serbia.

## 5.2. Internal Migration Trends

Internal migration has affected the spatial distribution of Serbia's population. The post-WWII period, characterised by speedy modernisation and economic development, was marked by intensive rural-urban migration, followed by migration from smaller to larger urban settlements, and, finally, migration

to large regional centres (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, and Kragujevac). These migration flows resulted in the grouping of Serbia's population in relatively small areas (urban agglomerations and the metropolis), on the one hand, and in the abandonment of the rural parts of the country. Furthermore, the emigration of the population from the country, caused by the protracted economic crisis in the socio-political context of social transformation, has resulted in a constant negative migration balance during the entire decades-long post-WWII period. Census data lead to the conclusion that the immigration of the population in the 1991–2002 inter-census period had positive effects and slowed down the population decline trend in many territorial communities. A methodological change in the concept of conducting the census of the population was actually at issue, wherefore the positive migration balance is explained by the change in the census methodology with regard to the concept of the permanent<sup>22</sup> population, which now includes internally displaced persons (IDPs) (Vojković, Gligorijević, Kokotović, 2014).

Like in our analysis of external migration trends, we used the replies of two groups of respondents in our analysis of internal migration in the mentioned empirical researches: first, of those who had at one point of their lives moved to their current place of residence and, second, of respondents planning on moving from their current place of residence to another place in Serbia, for various reasons (potential internal migrants). As opposed to groups of interest when analysing external migration, we here had to look at two more groups in order to obtain full insight in the internal migration phenomenon: first, respondents often travelling to other places in Serbia for various reasons, and, second, respondents travelling outside their places of residence on a daily basis to attend school or work. The first group pertains to *mobility* and the second to *daily commuting*. These two groups of respondents and their socio-demographic features and motivations will be analysed separately in the ensuing text.

Graph 1 in this Study (page 28) provides a general idea of the number of respondents, who had moved to one of the cities researched within the Territorial Capital project or the districts covered by the UN PBILD and CeSID project. The first thing we can note is that many more of the respondents were internal than external migrants. The number of internal migrants is the highest in Šabac (33.8%) and in Kragujevac (29.5%), which is understandable given the developed industry in these two cities. Numbers of residents who moved to the other cities is not much smaller (Užice – 23.7%, Novi Pazar – 24.6%, Sombor – 20.4% and Zrenjanin – 27.6%); nor do they lag in numbers

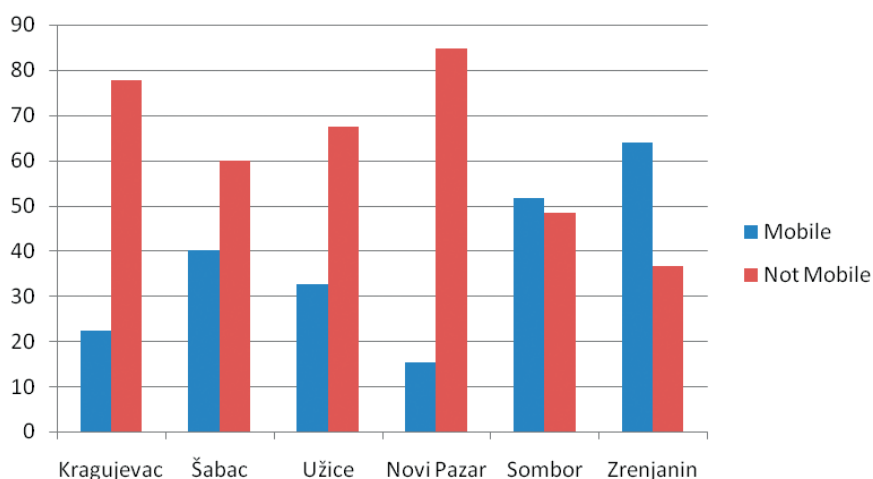
22 International recommendations with respect to the presentation of the total population were taken on board by the authors of the 2002 Census methodology and the permanent population has since included all persons working/living abroad less than one year. In the previous Censuses, the permanent population included all persons working/living abroad regardless of the duration of their emigration (More in Penev, 2002).

in southern Serbia, despite the difficult social and economic situation there (Jablanica District – 26.5%, Pčinj District – 22.0%).

The situation is different when it comes to *potential* internal migrants. The fewest were identified in Central Serbian cities (Kragujevac, Šabac, Novi Pazar), with the exception of Užice, where 13.5% of the respondents expressed the intention to move to another place in Serbia. The situation in Vojvodina cities is similar: 12.9% of the respondents in Sombor plan on living in another place in Serbia; the percentage of respondents in Zrenjanin who have such intentions is smaller – 7.4%. The share of Jablanica District respondents planning on out-migrating is not very different and stands at 9.9% of the total sample. The greatest number of potential internal migrants can be found in the Pčinj District (24.1%), which comes as no surprise given the developments in this District.

Mobility is operationalised in the Territorial Capital research via the following question: “Do you need to go to another town/city often?” The obtained results are presented in Graph 10 below:

Graph 10: “Do you need to go to another town/city often?” (in %)



The greatest mobility was registered among the residents of Zrenjanin, followed by the residents of Sombor. In our view, this can be ascribed to the following facts: Zrenjanin is close to two regional centres – Belgrade and Novi Sad – wherefore the cultural and other opportunities they offer are more accessible to Zrenjanin’s residents; Sombor, on the other hand, is close to Novi Sad, which reduces the costs of travelling to this regional hub. Furthermore, both cities are located in the most developed region under the official NUTS 2 classification of regions, implying that the population of Vojvodina, and of these two cities as well, has opportunity to travel to other cities to attend cultural events, do their shopping, visit or for other reasons that will be elaborated in the section on internal migration motivations. On the other hand, the data demonstrate the least mobility among



respondents in Kragujevac and Novi Pazar, which is, in our opinion, due to the wealth of goods and services on offer in both of university centres, the fact that they are both university cities, wherefore the numerous needs of their residents are probably satisfied more fully.

The questionnaire filled by the Jablanica and Pčinj District residents did not include this question, so that we cannot talk of their mobility in the same way. Only their labour mobility was surveyed, while the other motivations were neglected. The research showed that relatively high numbers of respondents in these districts commuted to other parts of Serbia because of their (usually seasonal) jobs – 22.1% in the Jablanica District and even more in the Pčinj District – 38.1%.

### 5.2.1. Internal Migrants by Place of Birth

One of the chief theses corroborated by the analysis of the migration flows is that the dynamic and degree of economic development reflect on the population's spatial mobility. The economic factor is perceived as one of the predominant motivations for relocation. However, it needs to be emphasised that a series of diverse factors (demographic, socio-professional, ethnic, etc.) also impact on the course, tempo and types of spatial mobility (Group of Authors, 1995).

Table 10: Autochthonous and In-Migrant Population by Region  
(2011 Census)

	Total	Living in the Same Place since Birth	%	In-Migrants	%	Unknown	%
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	7,186,862	3,949,797	55.0	3,237,065	45.0	1440	0.04
SERBIA NORTH	3,591,249	1,839,602	51.2	1,751,647	48.8	793	0.04
Belgrade Region	1,659,440	799,649	48.2	859,791	51.8	532	0.06
Vojvodina Region	1,931,809	1,039,953	53.8	891,856	46.2	261	0.02
SERBIA – SOUTH	3,595,613	2,110,195	58.7	1,485,418	41.3	647	0.04
Šumadija and West Serbia Region	2,031,697	1,191,520	58.6	840,177	41.4	392	0.04
South and Serbia Region	1,563,916	918,675	58.7	645,241	41.3	255	0.03
Kosovo and Metohija Reason	...	...	...	...	...	...	

Source: SORS, 2015

The 2011 Census results show that 55% of Serbia's population has lived in the same place since birth, while 45% of the population has migrated. The 2011 Census data show an increase in the share of the autochthonous population and a fall in the share of the total migrant population compared with the 2002 Census data (54.2% and 45.8% respectively), which is actually linked to the change in the census methodology, i.e. the inclusion of IDPs in the permanent population.<sup>23</sup> There are disproportions in the shares of the autochthonous and migrant populations by region. A higher share of the in-migrant population in the total population is registered only in the Belgrade Region (51.8%), while the autochthonous population prevails in all other regions. The ratios of autochthonous and migrant residents in the other regions are quite uniform: 58.6% v. 41.4% in Šumadija and West Serbia and 58.7% v. 41.3% in South and East Serbia. Vojvodina has a bigger share of the migrant population than these two regions, which can be ascribed to the organised migration streams in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the large-scale inflow of refugees in the 1990s. On the other hand, Belgrade, as the economically most vital region of the Republic, became the destination of migrants from other parts in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Group of authors, 2006).

Therefore, our research of the migration flows departed from the analysis of the shares of the autochthonous and migrant populations in the total population.

Table 11: Migrants in Serbia (1948–2011 Censuses)

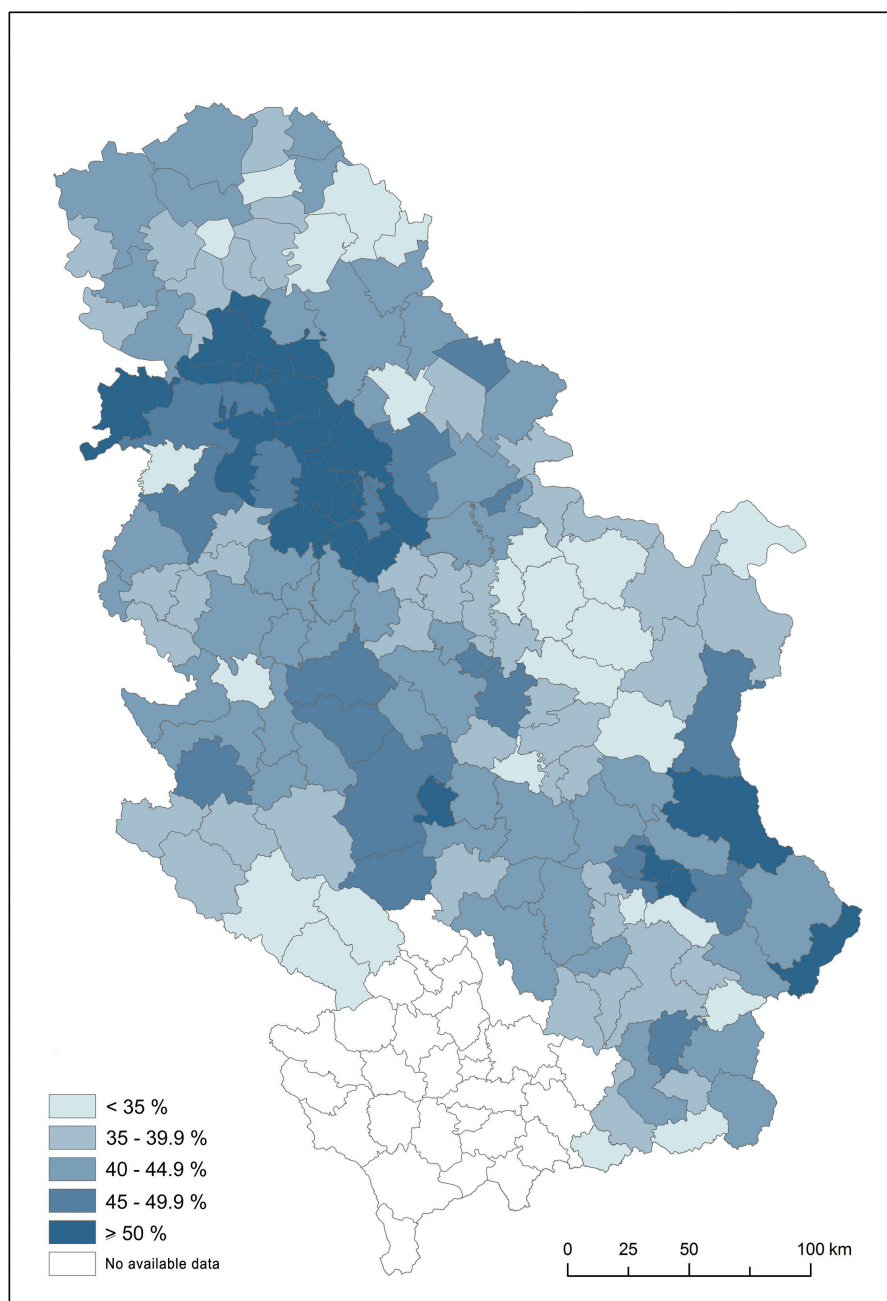
Year	Total	Autochthonous		In-Migrants	
		Total	%	Total	%
1948	6,527,966	5,092,383	78.0	1,435,583	22.0
1953	6,979,154	4,529,879	64.9	2,449,275	35.1
1961	7,642,138	4,705,513	61.6	2,936,625	38.4
1971	8,446,591	4,894,211	57.9	3,552,380	42.1
1981	9,313,676	5,387,635	57.8	3,926,041	42.2
1991	8,118,917	4,488,155	55.3	3,630,762	44.7
2002	7,498,001	4,065,776	54.2	3,432,225	45.8
2011	7,186,862	3,949,271	55.0	3,237,591	45.0

Source: SORS, 2015

23 As opposed to the previous (2002) Census, the 2011 Census includes Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from Kosovo and Metohija in the total population (without data for the AP of Kosovo and Metohija).

The analysis of the changes in absolute values and shares of the domicile and migrant populations in the past six decades (1948–2011) indicates the intensification of migration flows. The share of the migrant population in Serbia's total population doubled from 22% (1948) to 45% (2011), i.e. the share of the autochthonous population fell in this period (from 78% to 55%). Identical tendencies can be observed when the shares of the autochthonous and migrant populations until the 2002 Census are viewed separately. The share of the autochthonous population fell continuously, while the share of the migrant population increased. The latest inter-census period (2002–2011) registers divergent changes in the shares of the migrant population, a negligible decrease of the migrant and an increase of the autochthonous population. The analysis of the changes in the absolute values of the migrant population indicates oscillations, as the total numbers of the autochthonous and migrant populations alternately increased i.e. decreased.

Map 3: Share of the Migrant Population in the Total Population (2011)



Major changes in the development of the population took place in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As far as migration flows are concerned, it needs to be noted that internal migration considerably reflected on the “entirely new distribution of the population in space” (Group of authors, 1995:93). The population’s spatial mobility, concentrating on the leading macro-regional and regional centres, resulted in prominent differences in the demographic sizes of specific territorial units in Serbia. This led to the forming of extremely high territorial concentrations of the population, on the one hand, and the major disintegration of settlements, on the other (Group of authors 1995, Vojković 2007).

An analysis of the total in-migrant population by type of migration flow pursuant to the 2011 Census leads to the conclusion that 76.2% of it moved in from other places in Serbia and 23.8% from abroad. (Tables 12 and 13).

Table 12: Migrant Population in Serbia by Place of Out-Migration  
(Census 2011)

MIGRANTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA									
	TOTAL	In all	%	From another settlement in the same municipality	%	From another municipality in the same area	%	From another area	%
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	3,237,065	2,465,097	76.2	697,442	21.5	536,161	16.6	1,231,494	38.0
SERBIA – NORTH	1,751,647	1,147,103	65.5	193,706	11.1	244,491	14.0	708,906	40.5
Belgrade Region	859,791	585,491	68.1	40,071	4.7	105,385	12.3	440,035	51.2
Vojvodina Region	891,856	561,612	63.0	153,635	17.2	139,106	15.6	268,871	30.1
SERBIA – SOUTH	1,485,418	1,317,994	88.7	503,736	33.9	291,670	19.6	522,588	35.2
Šumadija and West Serbia Region	840,177	731,276	87.0	297,605	35.4	157,940	18.8	275,731	32.8
South and East Serbia Region	645,241	586,718	90.9	206,131	31.9	133,730	20.7	246,857	38.3
Kosovo and Metohija Region	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Source: SORS, 2015

According to the 2011 Census, over 1.2 million (38%) migrants have moved to other parts of Serbia. Other types of migration flows are also present, albeit to a lesser extent; the spatial mobility of the local migrants – from another settlement in the same municipality (21.5%) has been greater than migration to another municipality in the same area (16.6%). These two types of flows within the same area (38.1%) together equal the level of the predominant type of spatial mobility – from another area (38%).

There are differences in the migration spatial distances at the level of regions. The Belgrade Region registered the most migrants from other areas – 51.2%; it is followed by the Vojvodina Region – 30.1%, while other types are also noticeable in the regions, but to a lesser extent. The shares of local migration and in-migration from another area in the other two regions are similar, but dominated by different types of migration. Namely, local migrants prevail in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region (35.4%), while a higher share of spatial mobility from other areas is registered in the South and East Serbia Region (38.3%).

The 2011 Census data show that people who had moved from the former Yugoslav republics account for 23.8%, while migrants from other countries account for only 2.6% of the total migrant population, which is definitely unfavourable in terms of development as it indicates the prevalence of in-migration of the erstwhile forced migrants.

Table 13: Migrant Population in Serbia, by Place of Out-Migration (2011 Census)

	Total	%	Former Yugoslav Republics	%	Other Countries	%
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	770,528	23.8	687,948	21.3	82,580	2.6
SERBIA – NORTH	603,751	34.5	551,926	31.5	51,825	3.0
Belgrade Region	273,768	31.8	248,262	28.9	25,506	3.0
Vojvodina Region	329,983	37.0	303,664	34.0	26,319	3.0
SERBIA – SOUTH	166,777	11.2	136,022	9.2	30,755	2.1
Šumadija and West Serbia Region	108,509	12.9	90,981	10.8	17,528	2.1
South and East Serbia Region	58,268	9.0	45,041	7.0	13,227	2.0
Kosovo and Metohija Region	–	–	–	–	–	–

Source: SORS, 2015

The analysis of the absolute and relative values shows that the Belgrade and Vojvodina Regions register greater shares of the immigrant population from the former Yugoslav republics than the other regions. However, the Vojvodina Region registered higher, both absolute and relative, shares of refugees in the total migrant population compared with the Belgrade Region (303,664 (34%) v. 248,262 (28.9%)). These regions are, on the other hand, characterised by an identical share of immigrants from other countries (3%). Nearly identical shares of immigrants from other countries are registered by the Šumadija and West Serbia Region (2.1%) and the South and East Serbia Region (2%). Their shares of migrants from the former Yugoslav republics, however differ – more settled in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region (10.8%) than in the South and East Serbia Region (7%), which is definitely related to the two regions' different degrees of economic development and social inclusion opportunities.

### 5.2.2. Internal Migrants by Time of Migration

The censuses conducted in Serbia after 1980 allow for analysing the selectiveness of migration by the above mentioned socio-demographic features of the migrants (sex, age, marital status, education, occupation, etc.). The analysis of the sex and age breakdowns of the migrant population is the most important segment of demographic research (Group of authors, 2006).

Table 14: Migrants in Serbia, by Time of In-Migration (2011 Census)

	TOTAL	ALL IN-MIGRANTS (in %)		FROM EX-YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS (in %)		FROM OTHER COUNTRIES (in %)	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Republic of Serbia	3,237,065	39.7	60.3	29.0	47.1	10.6	13.2
1980 and earlier	1,381,857	38.6	61.4	29.4	48.9	9.2	12.4
1981–1985	20,8071	37.9	62.1	30.3	50.9	7.6	11.2
1986–1990	197,571	37.4	62.6	29.1	51.4	8.3	11.3
1991–1995	353,786	42.4	57.6	13.5	25.0	28.9	32.5
1996–2000	316,104	42.9	57.1	33.5	46.8	9.4	10.3
2001–2005	235,515	39.7	60.3	31.7	51.1	8.0	9.2
2006 and afterwards	310,579	39.7	60.3	33.1	52.6	6.6	7.6
Year unknown	233,582	41.0	59.0	35.2	52.2	5.8	6.8

Source: SORS, 2015

The data on the breakdown of the migrants by sex and time of immigration demonstrate the prevalence of the female population. The time preceding the 1991–1995 period was marked by an increase in the female migrant population, on the one hand, and the decrease in the share of male migrants. The period since 2006 is also characterised by more women than men migrants (60.3% v. 39.7%). The analysed tendencies can for the most part be ascribed to the well-known fact that the spatial mobility of women is greater, due to socio-professional reasons, as well as marriage.

Considerably greater spatial mobility of the female population in the territory of Serbia has been registered in various periods, culminating in 2006 and the ensuing years (52.6%). The analysis of the temporal aspect of the migration flows of the male population indicates major migration in the 1996–2000 period (33.5%) and in the recent years (33.1% in 2006 and subsequently).

The dynamic of immigration of both sexes from other countries<sup>24</sup> was the most intensive in the 1991–1995 period; the share of women immigrants was slightly higher than that of male immigrants (32.5% v. 28.9%). These tendencies are associated with the historical and political turmoil at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, not only in the territory of Serbia, but in the region as well.

### **5.2.3. Age and Sex**

The analysis of the age breakdown of the migrant population at the municipal level according to the 2011 Census data indicates several features. The fact that the spatial mobility of people between 15 and 34 years of age is greater than that of other age groups is well-documented in literature (Group of authors 1995, Group of authors 2006). This section will focus on the shares of two migrant population age groups in the total in-migrant population, notably the shares of children (0–14) and the elderly (65 and older).

The share of the under 15 migrant population fell considerably during the last inter-census period (from 20.4% in 2002 to 13.8% in 2011). The 2011 Census data on the age structure of the migrant population by municipality show that there are prominent differences between them. The lowest share of in-migrant children under 15 in Serbia is registered in Crna Trava (3.9%), which is significantly lower than the Serbian average (13.8%). This municipality, affected by depopulation, simultaneously registered the highest share of the migrant population 65 years of age and older (29.9%), i.e. triple the national average (8.6%). Bela Crkva has the highest share of children in its total in-migrant population in Serbia (23%). Children account for large shares of the migrant populations in the municipalities of Nova Crnja and Mali Idjoš as well (22.6% and 20.6% respectively).

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24 External and internal migration overlaps in this part of the analysis based on official statistical data.



The breakdown of the municipalities by the shares of children in their total migrant populations shows that their shares are nearly identical to the national average (13.8%) in 33 municipalities, lower than the national average in 45 municipalities, while the national average is exceeded in as many as 86 municipalities. Comparison of the shares of the elderly in the total in-migrant populations of the municipalities with the national average shows that 31 municipalities follow the national average (8.6%), that these shares are lower than the national average in 57 municipalities and exceed it in 76 municipalities.

The shares of in-migrant populations 65 and older are higher than the shares of in-migrant children (0–14) in 17 Serbian municipalities.<sup>25</sup> The changes in the population's age structure mostly entailed the decline in the share of youth and, simultaneously, a more intensive increase in the share of the elderly, which initiated the process of demographic aging. This acute demographic problem is evidently present in the age structure of the migrant population as well. As already emphasised, the greatest discrepancy between the shares of these age categories was registered in Crna Trava (29.2% v. 3.9%). The demographic aging of the migrant population can be observed in six Serbian municipalities,<sup>26</sup> given that the shares of the two age groups in them are almost the same.

In our analysis of the survey results and interpretation of the data, we departed from different presumptions about people, who have moved to other places in Serbia or expressed the intention to do so. As far as the first group is concerned, we bore in mind that many of them originated from Kosovo and Metohija. Like in the case of refugees from the former Yugoslav republics who had fled to Serbia, particularly to the less developed regions, specific categories did not have much of a choice: they had greater difficulty finding jobs either in the cities or abroad, due to their age, sex, lower qualifications, et al. This particularly applies to women migrants, whose only option was to care for the elderly and the children, the latter mostly leaving home when they grew up. Furthermore, the researched cities were industrial hubs in the 1970s and 1980s and attractive to migrants from other parts of both Serbia and the SFRY. But things started changing in the early 1990s, when the Serbian economy entered a crisis and when privatisation was launched. Namely, unsuccessful privatisation in some of these areas not only halted the inflow of the population from other parts of Serbia, but encouraged the emigration of the younger population as well. This also confirmed our expectations that there would be greater shares of the elderly in the sub-sample of in-migrant respondents. We had presumed

25 This tendency is present in the following municipalities: Sopot, Ada, Brus, Vrnjačka Banja, Bela Palanka, Kučevo, Zaječar, Knjaževac, Sokobanja, Crna Trava, Gadžin Han, Svrljig, Babušnica, Dimitrovgrad, Pirot, Bosilegrad and Blace.

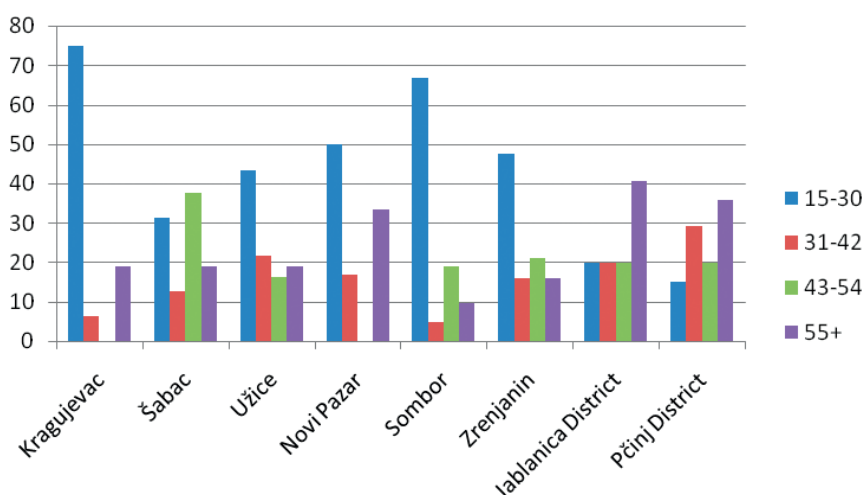
26 Municipalities of Novi Kneževac, Rekovac, Arandjelovac, Kladovo, Surdulica and Prokuplje.

that this sub-sample would be dominated by respondents over 55 years of age, females and would have only a small share of highly educated respondents (with the exception of Kragujevac), most of them of Serbs by nationality, except, perhaps, in the south of the country.

Indeed, women accounted for more than half of the in-migrants in all the cities – 55% in Kragujevac, 60% in Šabac, 55.6% in Užice, 63.2% in Novi Pazar, 48.1% in Sombor, 59.2% in Zrenjanin 69.2%, as well as in the Jablanica District (61.2%), while most of the in-migrants in the Pčinj District were men (58.6%). Respondents over 55 prevailed in all cities and both districts – 40.2% in Kragujevac, 53% in Šabac, in 46% in Užice, 41.8% in Novi Pazar, 51.7% in Sombor, 42.3% in Zrenjanin, 63.7% in the Jablanica District and 49.7% in the Pčinj District.

Interestingly, the share of women in the group of potential internal migrants is higher or at least equal to the share of men, e.g. in Kragujevac, which was not the case in the group of external migrants. Men prevailed again only in the Novi Pazar sample (66.7%). More men than women in the south still intend to move in order to improve the quality of their lives. As opposed to the in-migrant group, people under 30 years of age account for most of the potential out-migrants in nearly all the cities, for as many as 75% in Kragujevac (Šabac is the exception, where the 42–55 age group accounts for the majority of the out-migrants – 37.5%). The south of the country is also an exception, where most of the potential out-migrants are over 55 – 40.6% in the Jablanica District, and slightly less in the Pčinj District – 35.9%.

Graph 11: Age Breakdown of the Potential Migrants (in %)



Our analysis of *mobility*, which, in our case, entailed the respondents' travels to other places a number of times a year, shows that men are again in the lead, significantly in the south – 68.3% in the Jablanica District and

drastically in the Pčinj District – 89.3%. Most of the women within the mobile population were identified in the sample of the Vojvodina cities – 52.1% in Sombor and 52.4% in Zrenjanin. As per their age, the young population under 30 prevailed slightly in all the cities and both districts. This age group also demonstrates greatest willingness to move to another town because of work; on the other hand, a very small number of respondents in this age group commute to their jobs on a daily basis (respondents over 55 make up the majority). There are more daily commuters in the south, because schooling was included among motivations for daily commuting, but the oldest population accounts for the majority of commuters as well, for over 50% of them.

#### 5.2.4. Ethnicity

A large number of diverse factors have affected Serbia's ethnic composition, notably, the uneven demographic development of various ethnic communities (divergent natural movement trends), as well as migration, especially in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Knežević, 2005).

The analysis of the in-migrant population by ethnicity and large age groups demonstrates disproportions between the ethnic communities in Serbia's territory. The share of children (0–14) in the total migrant population is the lowest among Yugoslavs (3.4%), which is simultaneously the lowest share compared to the national average (16.2%). Roma are the predominant ethnic group among the children in the total in-migrant population (25.8%). The values of the working-age population (15–64) ranged from a high, albeit lowest registered value of the Gorani national community (72.1%) to the highest share in the ethnic Bulgarian community (94.9%). In almost all ethnic communities, the share of the elderly (65 and over) was much lower than that of the other two age groups. The ethnic Croat community is the only exception, where the share of the elderly (5.6%) exceeds the share of children (4.8%) in the total in-migrant population. The smallest share of the elderly in the migrant population was registered in the Bosniak community (1.1%) and the highest in the ethnic Macedonian and Romanian communities (5.1%).

The analysis of the data of the representative researches showed that most of the in-migrants were Serbs by nationality, just as we had expected, given that they were conducted in cities and districts with a majority Serbian population. We had expected a significant share of ethnic Albanians in the in-migrant sample in the Pčinj District, but, according to the findings of the empirical research, Serbs accounted for 70.7% and ethnic Albanians for only 17.7% of the in-migrants in this District.

The findings were similar in the group of potential migrants as well: Serbs accounted for most of them, and the greatest diversity was identified in the Vojvodina cities: Sombor – 5% of the Bunyevtsi, 5% of the Yugoslavs, 5% of the ethnic Hungarians, 5% of the ethnic Germans, 71.2% of the Serbs and 3.8% of the Montenegrins; Zrenjanin – 5.4% of the Yugoslavs, 2.7% of the ethnic Romanians and 81.1% of the Serbs. Ethnic diversity was reflect-

ed in the replies of the Novi Pazar respondents as well – 57.1% Serbs and 42.9% Bosniaks want to move to another place in Serbia; this intention was expressed in the Pčinj District by 90.6% of the Serbs, 8.8% ethnic Albanians and 7.4% of the Roma.

Our analysis leads to the conclusion that the mobility of Serbs is greater than that of persons belonging to other nationalities and that Serbs are more willing to move to another place if they are offered a better job there. Furthermore, the fact that Serbs account for most of the daily commuters does not come as a surprise given that they make up the majority in the researched cities/districts.

### 5.2.5. Education and Economic Activity

Analysis of migrant population data by economic activity and education level may, to an extent, reflect the current socio-economic circumstances in the country.

Table 15: Migrants by Education Level and Economic Activity, Active Population (2011 Census)

	Total	ACTIVE POPULATION/MIGRANTS				
		In all*	Employed	Unemployed		
				In all	Worked Earlier	First-Time Job Seekers
Republic of Serbia	100	100	100	100	100	100
Children under 15	13.7	/	/	/	/	/
No Education	2.0	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.2	1.4
Incomplete Primary Education	4.8	1.4	1.0	2.7	1.5	4.6
Primary Education	15.0	10.5	8.5	16.4	14.0	20.3
Secondary Education	46.0	58.4	57.2	62.0	66.2	55.5
Junior College Education	5.3	7.5	8.1	5.7	6.4	4.6
University Education	12.3	21.1	24.1	12.0	11.4	13.0
Unknown	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.2

Source: SORS, 2015

\*Includes both the employed and unemployed population.

People with secondary education dominate the migrant population (46%). They are followed by migrants with primary education (15%) and university education (12.3%), albeit the shares of the latter two are much lower than that of the dominant education category.

In-migrants with secondary education prevail in the economically active population (58.4%), while the share of in-migrants with university education is nearly three times smaller (21.1%). In-migrants with secondary and university education at the same time account for the highest shares of the employed migrants (57.2% and 24.1% respectively). The unemployed migrant population group is dominated by people with secondary education, both in general (62%) and among those who had once held a job (66.2%) and first-time job seekers (55.5%).

Similarly to the statistical research findings and just as we had initially presumed, more than half of the respondents with migration experience within Serbia's borders have completed secondary education (Kragujevac – 50.8%, Šabac – 55.7%, Užice – 81%, Sombor – 51.7%, Zrenjanin – 61%, Jablanica District – 66.8%, Pčinj District – 58.7%), with the exception of Novi Pazar, where those with primary school account for most of the respondents in this group – 48%. Furthermore, economically inactive citizens, mostly pensioners, account for the vast majority, which is logical given the age structure.

The education breakdown of the potential migrants is similar – respondents with secondary education account for most of them. It, however, needs to be noted that the shares of respondents with high education are the same or just slightly lagging behind those of respondents with secondary education in the following two cities: Šabac (46.7% with secondary and as many with high education); Zrenjanin (51.4% with secondary and 48.6% with high education). Unfortunately, although the share of those with high education is relatively high in this group of respondents, most of them are unemployed; only small numbers of potential migrants in all the cities and both districts are employed and still want to move (their shares do not exceed 5% in any of them).

Our research shows that most of the potential out-migrants are economically inactive and have secondary education. Only a fifth of the respondents, who had expressed the willingness to move, have junior college or university diplomas.

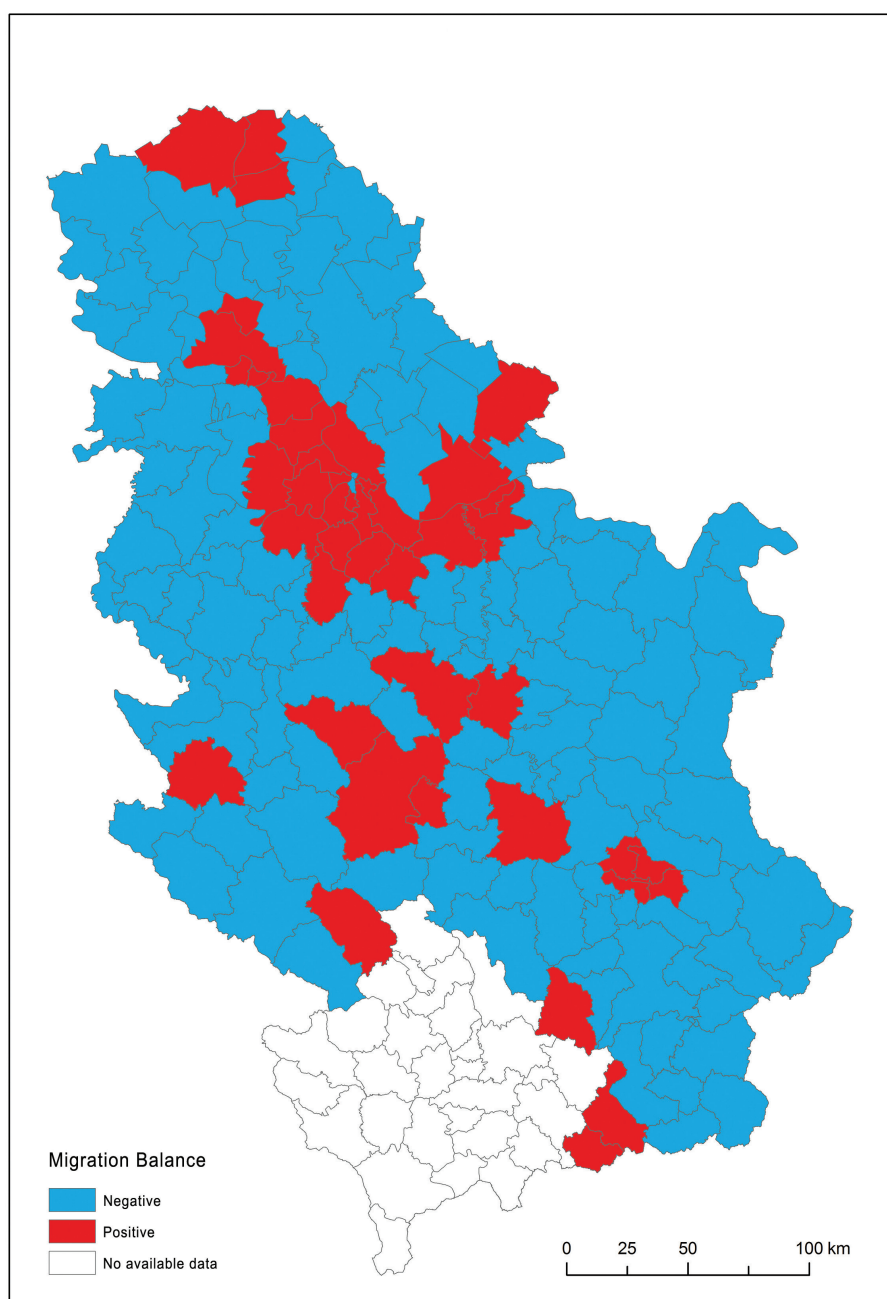
A solid comprehensive research of internal and external labour migration in Serbia was conducted in 2015 under IOM's auspices with a view to providing support and recommendations to a group drafting amendments to the 2011–2020 National Employment Strategy, within the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs. It is based on the SORS *Labour Force Survey*, which is regularly conducted, as well as on the NES, and, partially, on the Census data. This research is particularly valuable as it pro-

vides examples of good international practices related to the management of labour migration, especially of internal population flows. Conceptually, this research departs from the link between labour mobility and demographic variables, as well as internal labour migration and the labour market. Its authors analyse the reasons for internal flows generating depopulation, regional disparities in socio-economic development and the poverty of the municipalities and parts of Serbia's territory (the South and South-East), which, on the one hand have resulted in the exodus, especially of the rural population, as well as the population of towns, and, on the other, in urban concentration and growth of the agglomerations. Its authors are of the view that national and local self-government measures and policies should aim at attracting young people to less developed areas and, possibly, encouraging their return, and at attracting foreign immigrants by offering them state incentives. The empirical results of this research related to labour migration statistics and the motivations of the migrants, especially the younger generations, were compared with the findings of this Study, and were partly used for designing practical policy measures and actions targeting youth.

#### **5.2.6. Migration by Municipality**

The clarification of the factors of the demographic development of a specific population necessitates, *inter alia*, the analysis of annual migration flow tendencies, the difference between the numbers of in-migrants and out-migrants (the so-called migration balance). This indicator sublimes the features of the population, activities and settlements, reflecting the static and dynamic segments of migration trends.

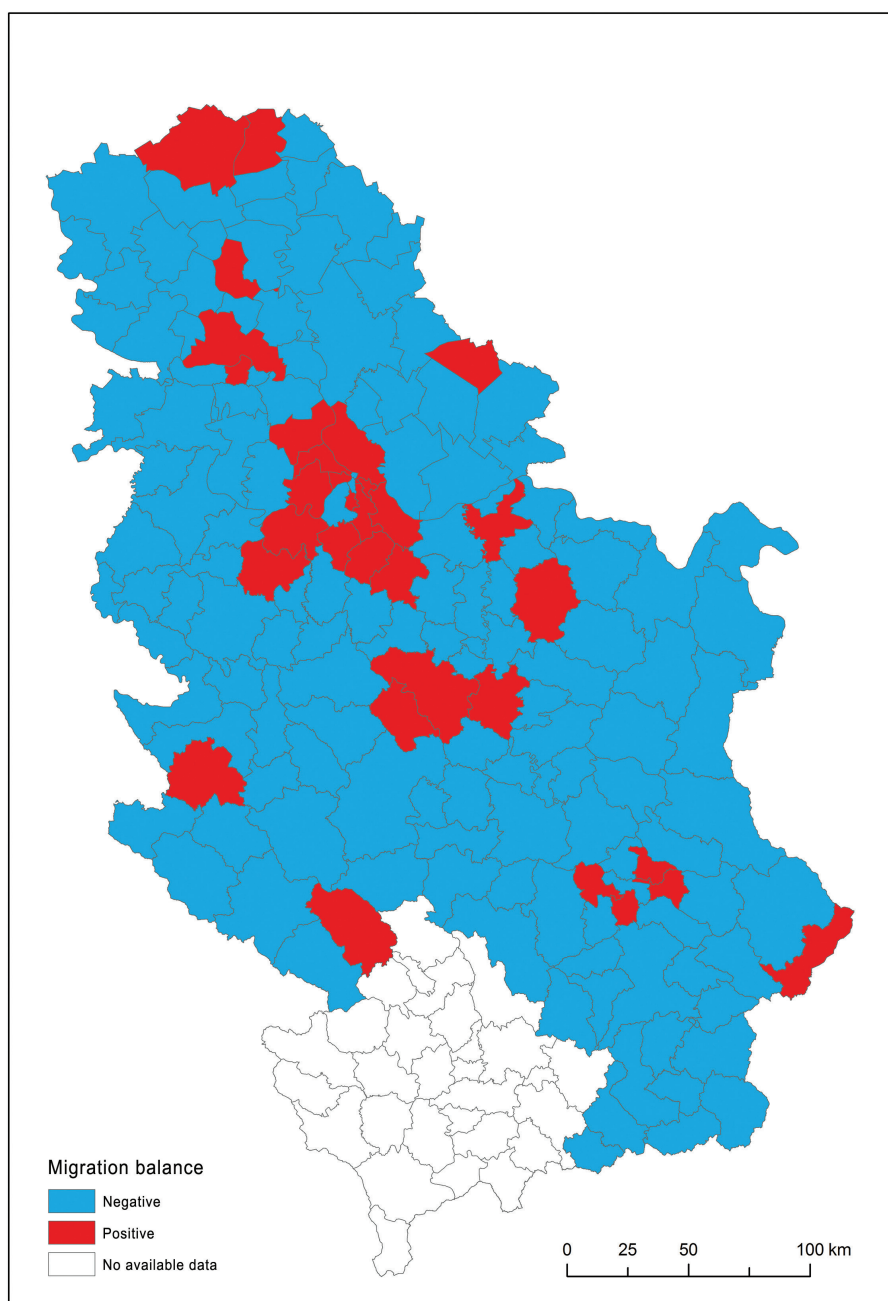
Map 4: Absolute Migration Balance<sup>27</sup> in Serbia (2002–2010)



27 The absolute migration balance is the difference between the in-migrant and out-migrant population.



Map 5: Absolute Migration Balance in Serbian Municipalities (2013)





The analysis of population migration dynamic by municipality in the 2010–2012 period shows that only 43 (out of 164) Serbian municipalities had a positive migration balance. Out-migrants prevailed over in-migrants in nearly three times as many (121) municipalities.

Nearly half of the municipalities with a positive migration balance (17) were concentrated in the Belgrade Region, with the lowest value registered by Sopot (948) and the highest by Zvezdara (16,715). The greatest relative concentration of municipalities with a positive migration balance in the Belgrade Region is understandable, given that Belgrade has for decades been the predominant centre of territorial concentration of the population in Serbia. It was followed by the Vojvodina and South and East Serbia Regions, in which an identical number of municipalities registered a positive migration balance (9), while only seven municipalities in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region had a positive migration balance.

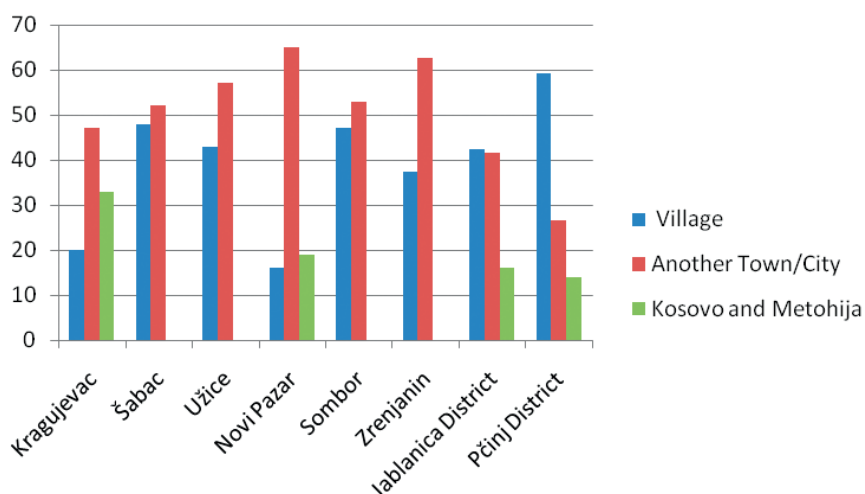
The lowest negative migration balance in the 2002–2010 period was registered in the municipality of Veliko Gradište (–1), while the municipality of Bor lost the most population from the migration perspective (– 3,520). Most of the out-migrant municipalities were located in the Šumadija and West Serbia and the South and East Serbia Regions, where the negative value of the migration balance stood at 1,000 or more.

The annual migration balance of Serbian municipalities in 2013 (Map 4) shows that: 34 municipalities (12 of them in the Belgrade Region) had a positive migration balance. One Belgrade Region municipality, Voždovac, registered the highest number of in-migrants compared to the number of out-migrants (3,485). Other Belgrade municipalities, Zemun, Zvezdara and Palilula, and one LSG in Vojvodina, Novi Sad, also stand out as immigration municipalities (with a migration balance exceeding 1,000). Interestingly, the highest value among (135) municipalities with a negative migration balance was registered in the Belgrade municipality of Savski venac (–375); none of the municipalities at the top of this list e.g. Stari grad, Kruševac, Kikinda, Užice are situated in the least economically developed areas of Serbia. This is consistent with the above-mentioned features of modern-day migrants, who have the resources (educational, human, economic and other) that are requisite for emigration and facilitate their integration in the destination societies.

The fact is that industry flourished in all the cities we researched, as well as the Jablanica and Pčinj District cities after World War II. In the post-war period, Serbia transitioned from an agrarian to an industrial society, aiming to follow the general trends, especially in West Europe. Many people, who had lived in villages for generations and farmed the land and bred cattle, left their family farms and went to live in the nearby cities. Rapid industrial development, particularly in the period from the late 1940s to the 1980s, as well as the socialist order with its value systems and norms, not only opened numerous jobs, but created conditions for decent life in the cities as well. Due to these circumstances and investments in urban develop-

ment, many residents originating from the villages stayed in the cities once they found jobs in them. This massive rural-urban migration evidenced itself in our sample as well, as Graph 12 below shows:

Graph 12: Places of Out-Migration of Respondents with Migration Experience (in %)



The above Graph shows a significant share of out-migration from villages and quite a large number of out-migrants from other Serbian towns/cities. This can, firstly, be ascribed to the uneven development of industry in all the ex-Yugoslav cities, implying population inflows to cities where industry was more developed. The second, related fact is that the mobility of the labour force had been much greater in the socialist era. The citizens did not limit their search for jobs to their municipalities and finding a job in (and moving to) another town or city was not at all uncommon. Novi Pazar stands out among cities with a high inflow of the population from other Serbian towns – over 70% of the respondents with migration experience there had moved from other towns. This datum is fully comprehensible when one looks at the results of a more in-depth analysis, showing that two-thirds of the migrants were born in the neighbouring municipalities of Sjenica and Tutin. These two municipalities were not particularly developed even in the socialist era; the situation in them deteriorated further with the launch of the privatisation process and the collapse of the economy. Second, the education system in these two towns is underdeveloped and the vocational secondary education they offer is not diverse, wherefore schooling in the closest developed city has been a reasonable strategy. And, third, many residents of the two municipalities, as well as Novi Pazar, are Moslems – this ethnic proximity affected the direction of the migrants' territorial movement to a large extent.

The situation is considerably changing in terms of business, cultural and educational opportunities, as well as in terms of the needs of the

population, which, we believe, influences the directions of the modern-day migratory flows as well. We postulate that the directions of movement of internal migrants is today determined by the degree of development of the towns/cities and regions in the country and that the well-developed ones are attractive destinations. Furthermore, the ongoing “Belgradisation”, i.e. the “process of concentration of money and power in the capital” (Vujović, 2014:127), has contributed to the increased volume of vacancies and better-paid positions in the capital, compared with the rest of Serbia, wherefore there is no doubt that we can expect of our respondents to predominantly migrate towards it. Table 15 below shows the directions of movement of respondents planning on out-migrating, who were surveyed within the Territorial Capital in Serbia project.<sup>28</sup>

Table 16: Where Would the Respondents Like to Move (in %)

City	Belgrade	Another City	Another Town in Serbia	Village
Kragujevac	62.5	/	36.3	1.2
Šabac	37.4	25.0	18.8	18.8
Užice	50.0	5.6	22.2	22.2
Novi Pazar	60.0	20.0	20.0	/
Sombor	28.6	52.4	9.5	9.5
Zrenjanin	39.5	44.7	/	15.8

Source: Processed research database

The Table shows that the residents of Central Serbia consider the capital the most attractive destination. Over half of the respondents in all cities but one named Belgrade as their destination of choice (the exception being Šabac, where their share stood at 37.4%), which is quite significant when compared with the number of cities with the potential of attracting them. Even the regional centres together do not reach the degree of attractiveness Belgrade has for the residents of Šumadija and West Serbia, as well as of Novi Pazar. Residents of Vojvodina resist the above “Belgradisation” and mostly move to their regional centre, Novi Sad. Judging by the replies of respondents in the north of the country, this city is big enough to offer decent living conditions in terms of opportunities to make a solid income, receive quality education and in terms of adequate cultural life. It needs to be emphasised that the number of respondents intending to move to a rural area (a village nearby or elsewhere in Serbia) is not negligible either.

28 We, unfortunately, have no data on the directions of movement of potential out-migrants in southern Serbia as such a question was not posed in the questionnaire.

We were, however, right to presume that most of them are older, over 55 and consider that life in villages is not only healthier but cheaper as well, and intend on moving to the ones where they or their partners had grown up when they retire.

Given that we noted that quite a few citizens had moved from villages to cities, these villages and the rural areas, in which their families and relatives have continued living, remain the destination of the mobile population, as Table 16 evidences. Unfortunately, such flows are not very frequent; nor are they mentioned everywhere. Like in the case of out-migration, citizens who do not need to visit smaller settlements (to obtain copies of their vital records, which in most Serbian municipalities still have to be obtained in one's place of birth), mostly travel to places offering them opportunity for good entertainment and a broad palette of consumer goods.

Table 17: Places Respondents Frequently Travel to (in %)

City	Belgrade	Another City	Another Serbian Town	Village
Kragujevac	54.8	/	43.5	1.7
Šabac	63.7	13.3	23.0	/
Užice	53.0	24.0	23.0	/
Novi Pazar	63.6	18.2	18.2	/
Sombor	21.0	54.3	23.2	1.5
Zrenjanin	37.0	42.3	20.0	0.8

Source: Processed research database

Like in the case of internal migration, responses on the directions of movement of the mobile population indicate that the residents in Central Serbia are oriented towards Belgrade, while those in Vojvodina cities gravitate towards their regional centre – Novi Sad. Both Tables show that residents of Kragujevac do not go to any large cities and that half of the respondents in Kragujevac take trips to Belgrade. These data indicate that this university and industrial city has fewer (business, economic and cultural) opportunities than Belgrade, but, also, that its residents see nothing attractive in other cities of the same size.

### 5.2.7. Daily Commuting

Commuters denote all persons working or attending school outside their habitual places of residence (SORS, 2013). The volume of commuting

can be followed by observing two contingents: workers, on the one hand, and pupils and students, on the other. The industrialisation and urbanisation processes had the greatest effect on the increase in the intensity and volume of commuting in Serbia. Commuting is on the rise, both in Serbia and the rest of the world, and is in inverse proportion to the internal migration trends. In other words, the lesser the internal migration, the greater daily or weekly commuting.<sup>29</sup> More men than women commute, although the share of women commuters is constantly rising, in parallel with their education levels and the expansion of the service sector (Lukić, 2013). The share of commuters has increased with the rise in the number of two-income families, particularly among couples living in suburban or rural settlements in developed countries. Commuting is considered a social strategy for preserving the household, closely related not only to the economic specificities of the local community, but also to the personal features, values and social capital of the individuals at issue, their emotional ties with their neighbourhood, relatives, friends, the features of the settlements, etc.

Most commuters in Serbia are shop assistants, demonstrators, digging and other machine tool operators, auxiliary workers, cleaners, nurses, accountants, factory workers in sales, measuring and labelling (Lukić, 2013).

Table 18: Daily Commuting by Workers, Pupils and Students  
(2011 Census)

	WORKERS			PUPILS/STUDENTS		
	Total	Urban (%)	Other (%)	Total	Urban (%)	Other (%)
Republic of Serbia	615,990	32.5	67.5	285,309	24.3	75.7
Belgrade Region	13,2970	42.7	57.3	41,837	33.3	66.7
Vojvodina Region	173,917	38.5	61.5	78,666	39.4	60.6
Šumadija and West Serbia Region	183,034	22.6	77.4	99,821	12.2	87.8
South and East Serbia Region	126,069	27.7	72.3	64,985	18.8	81.2

Source Census Book No 11, SORS, 2013

29 The example of Great Britain is the most illustrative. This country had 5.15 mln internal migrants and 26.2 mln commuters in 2011 (Lukić, 2013:284)

According to the 2011 Census data, there are 901,299 daily commuters, accounting for 12.5% of the total population (7,186,862). This means that one out of eight residents are mobile on a daily basis. The number of commuters in Serbia grew by around 13% since the previous (2002) Census. For now, the Census is the only source of data on this increasing population in Serbia, which is regrettable, given that censuses are conducted rarely, while surveys of this population are very rare, and, indeed, in Serbia's case, non-existent.

The Census data show that most of the commuting workers commute within the municipality they live in (55.5%), while the share of those working in other municipalities stands at 44.1%. Commuting workers dominate over commuting pupils/students at the national level (68.3% v. 31.7%).

When viewed by region, most commuters are registered in Šumadija and West Serbia (282,855), while the Belgrade Region has the fewest commuters (174,807). The domination of commuters living in the so-called other settlements<sup>30</sup> over commuters living in urban settlements is the common feature of all the specified regions. There are, however, discrepancies in the numbers of commuting workers by type of settlement. The smallest difference was registered in the Belgrade Region (57.3% v. 42.7%) and the greatest in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region, given that it has a much greater number of commuters in the other settlements than in the urban settlements category (77.4% v. 22.6%). The analysis of commuting pupils/students by type of settlement shows that their greatest share is registered in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region (87.8% live in other settlements), while, on the other hand, the smallest share in the other settlements category (60.7%) is registered in the Vojvodina Region. The share of commuting pupils/students living in urban settlements is the greatest in the Vojvodina Region (39.4%), compared to the other regions; only 12.2% of commuting pupils/students living in urban settlements were registered in the Šumadija and West Serbia Region.

We end this section with a few observations about *commuting* based on the data obtained during the Territorial Capital research. We identified only an approximate number of commuting respondents as the questionnaire included only a question about commuting to work, but not to school. Empirical data show that commuting is the most prevalent among respondents in Zrenjanin (as many as 12.5% of the respondents), while Novi Pazar respondents commute to work the least (2.2%). The percentages of respondents commuting to work every day in the other cities are relatively the same: Kragujevac – 9.3%, Šabac – 8.9%, Užice – 8.6%, Sombor – 7%. As we can see, most of the commuting workers have secondary education.

The questionnaire for southern Serbia included a question about commuting to school wherefore the shares of commuters in the total popu-

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30 The administrative-legal criterion, categorising settlements as urban and other settlements, has been applied since the 1981 Census. The category of mixed settlements (Macura, 1954) has been abolished.

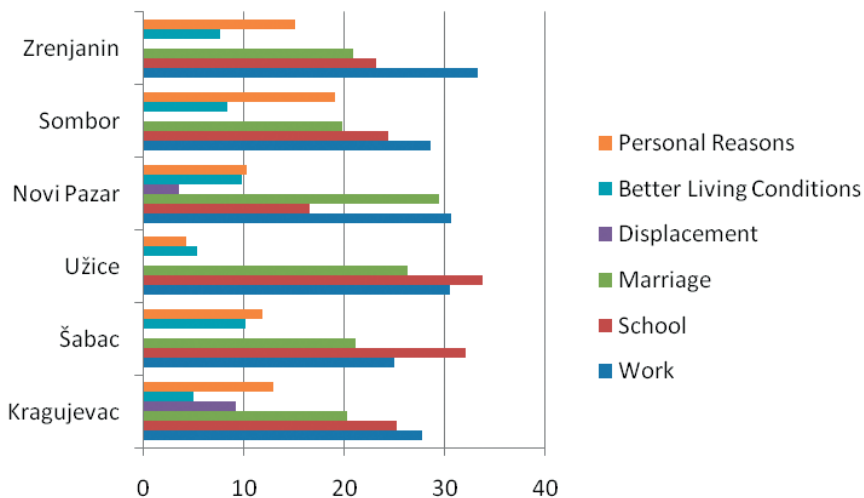
lation are much greater than in the researched cities: they stand at 16.4% in the Jablanica District and at as many as 42.6% in the Pčinj District. Such high shares of commuters are also due to the fact that the sample included respondents living outside the cities, which evidently increases the daily mobility of the residents to and from work and school.

### 5.3. Reasons/Motivations for Internal Migration and Mobility

We adhered to the traditional division of motivations into push and pull factors in the places of origin and destination, which we applied in our analysis of external migration motivations. Furthermore, our analysis of the issue was guided by the questions in the surveys, which served as a tool for identifying these factors. Just like in our section on external migration motivations, we will start by outlining the data regarding respondents with migration experience and then focus on the motivations of potential internal migrants. We will end the section with an analysis of the mobility-related motivations of Serbia's citizens. We will, however, not deal with the motivations for commuting separately, as they invariably boil down to work and schooling outside one's place of residence. It needs to be noted that the PBILD research did not always include data on factors affecting migration flows.

The collection of data on the reasons why the respondents had moved to their current places of residence within the Territorial Capital research was conducted by looking at their answers to the following question: "Why did you move to this city?", outlined in Graph 13 below:

Graph 13: Motivations for Moving to Current Places of Residence (in %)



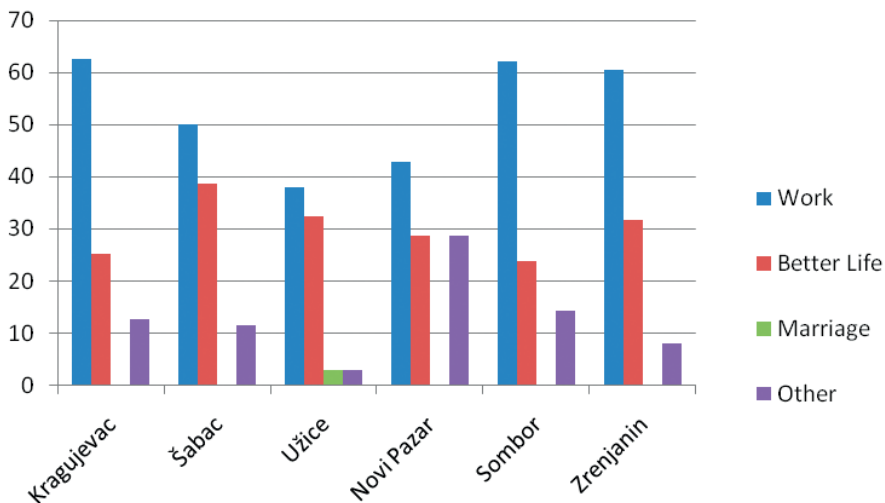
As expected, work and school featured as the main motivations due to the economic developments in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and the large number of rural in-migrants. The above Graph also indicates the high shares of migrants who moved to the cities for family reasons, notably, marriage. We cross-referenced the data and realised that as many respondents had out-migrated from villages and other Serbian towns/cities. Displacement was also mentioned as the reason for in-migration, albeit not to such a great extent. We had expected the number of those listing it to have been greater given the developments in the southern Serbian province at the very end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the decades-long inter-ethnic tensions culminating in war and NATO air strikes against Serbia in 1999. The data show that the number of respondents who specified displacement as their motivation was the greatest in Kragujevac and Novi Pazar, which is broadly consistent with the number of IDPs in these cities.

Although the in-migrant respondents had at some point in their lives decided to change their place of residence, this does not prevent them from considering moving again to improve their living conditions (over 60% in all the cities). Like in the case of external migration, the motivations for their potential out-migration and the motivations of potential migrants without migration experience can be divided into push factors in their places of residence and pull factors in their desired places of destination. Similarly to potential external migrants, the main problems they identify in their current communities is unemployment (Kragujevac – 47.5%, Šabac – 38.9%, Užice – 49.3%, Novi Pazar – 48.9%, Sombor – 47.1%, Zrenjanin – 41.6%, Jablanica District – 72.5%, Pčinj District – 78.0%) and the poor economic situation, followed, to a lesser extent, by other factors, such as dissatisfaction with the work of the local self-government (the most in Novi Pazar – 35.2%) and pollution (Užice – 12.4% and Zrenjanin 11.5%). The feeling of insecurity as a push factor appeared, as expected, in the ethnically mixed Novi Pazar (16.7%), while, to our surprise, none of the respondents in the Jablanica and Pčinj Districts recognised insecurity as a problem in their local communities that would prompt them to contemplate moving away.

The data on the pull factors in the desired places of destination do not deviate much from the motivations of potential external migrants, as Graph 14 below indicates:



Graph 14: Main Reasons for Out-Migration, Pull Factors (in %)



Work, thus, again features as the most frequent motive for contemplating moving elsewhere. Work here denotes not only finding a job, but finding a better paid job and a job with better promotion prospects. This is why many of the employed respondents are planning on moving to other places and why Belgrade is cited as the desired destination by most of our respondents. What did come as a surprise during the analysis of Graph 14 is that most of the potential migrants in Kragujevac are also motivated by work, although the privatisation of the city companies, especially the car and wood-processing industries employing large numbers of workers, is considered partly successful. On the other hand, work as motivation to move was specified by the fewest respondents in Užice, a city with much poorer privatisation results, which was transformed into the periphery after the disintegration of the union with Montenegro (since the main route of population movement no longer passes through it). These respondents express no interest in moving either to larger cities or the neighbouring towns and municipalities, wherefore we were additionally surprised by the fact that none of them mentioned they would move to Mt. Zlatibor if they found a job there, i.e. the territory of the Municipality of Čajetina, considered the richest municipality after the post-socialist transformation due to its developed tourism and foreign and domestic investments (SORS; 2004).

Another motivation that stands out is better life, implying healthier and cheaper life, especially among Šabac respondents, who intend to move to other Serbian towns, not to Belgrade or another regional centre. Marriage is generally weak motivation for moving, except in Užice, where 4.9% of the potential migrants cited marriage as the chief motivation for out-migrating.

The questionnaire for respondents in central and northern parts of Serbia provided them with the opportunity to give diverse replies to the question on the reasons for their mobility, as Table 19 below shows.<sup>31</sup>

Table 19: Mobility Motivations (in %)

City	Work	School	Shopping	Administration	Medical Treatment	Entertainment	Visits	Vacation	Other
Kragujevac	28.0	11.0	12.2	1.2	3.7	11.0	30.5	2.4	
Šabac	29.6	9.6	8.9	0.7	12.6	9.6	25.9	1.5	1.5
Užice	21.2	11.1	20.0	1.0	2.0	10.1	25.3	1	8.1
Novi Pazar	31.0	14.3	4.8	/	26.2	4.8	16.7	2.4	/
Sombor	14.0	10.5	30.8	/	13.3	7.0	15.4	7.7	1.4
Zrenjanin	16.1	19.3	18.8	1.0	2.6	14.1	12.0	7.3	8.9

Source: Processed research data

Work again features among the leading reasons for mobility, and it was mentioned by respondents planning on moving to nearby towns, cities and villages alike, wherefore we presume that seasonal work is at issue. This reason was quoted the most often by respondents in the 31–42 age group and those over 55 years of age. We also noted that this reason was cited also by employed respondents, which led us to presume that seasonal work is their strategy for increasing their own or the household income. Shopping is another frequently mentioned reason for mobility, mostly by younger female respondents. Mobility prompted by better supply of goods does not feature highly only among young female respondents, which had been expected, but to a great extent among self-employed respondents as well. We presume (as the collected data do not provide accurate insight) that the latter are small-time entrepreneurs (craftsmen, shop and café/restaurant owners) who travel to bigger cities to buy the material they need for their businesses, which is unavailable in their places of residence.

Interestingly, nearly a third of the respondents in Novi Pazar mention medical treatment as the reason for their mobility. Such a high share

31 Replies by respondents in southern Serbia are excluded from the analysis of factors affecting population mobility because the survey included only a question on labour mobility and neglected the other motivations.

was understandable in the past, when this city did not have a developed health centre and the patients in need of hospitalisation were automatically referred to Kraljevo. But Novi Pazar today has a new hospital with all the specialist wards, wherefore it is unclear why its residents are going for treatment to other cities. Perhaps they are still distrustful of the local experts, despite the changes, and are in the habit of seeking better medical services outside their place of residence.

## 6. Youth Migration

An analysis of youth migration in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and since shows that internal migration and mobility by far exceed the cross-border spatial mobility of this category of population. Although the Serbian society underwent changes in all walks of life (its political order, dominant economic order, social standards, value system, etc.), most of the youth have remained attached to their places of origin. Namely, before the war, when children were the economic assets of households and when a large share of the population was illiterate and most of it farmed the land, youth predominantly stayed in their places of birth, working on their family or other people's farms (Antonić, 2004:21). At this time, in which the patriarchal family system predominated, most of the internal migrants were women, who married and moved to their husbands' homes, while the sons-heirs went on living with their parents on the farms. Only a small number decided to go to school (or, rather, their families decided for them) and moved to other places (quite a few were women, their education substituting their dowry). Migration was mostly directed towards the capital, where an academic title could be acquired. Very few emigrated from Serbia to attend school abroad throughout the post-war period.

As opposed to the pre-WWII period, the ensuing period was characterised by an increase in the number of people who left their villages and went to cities in search of jobs. The migration of urban youth, also looking for jobs, also increased in this period. If we discount the political emigration of Serbia's youth population after WWII, we may conclude that this labour migration trend has continued to this day. The external migration of the youth population gained in intensity in the 1960s, when Serbian citizens went to work in foreign countries. The youth, usually by themselves, more rarely with their families, emigrated as soon as they graduated from school (predominantly blue collar professions). Although Serbia, i.e. SFRY, was economically more developed than the other socialist states (because the then state leadership cooperated both with the East and the West), the living standards in it were still lower than in the European Community states. Therefore, the decision to emigrate was a strategy aimed at improving the financial status of the entire household, as well as one's social status, because, at the time, work abroad played the role of a broader status symbol as well.

In the 1980s, the emigration of young workers declined, but the number of youth going to study abroad slowly grew. The illiteracy rate was falling and the number of people finishing university was growing in Serbia at the time, which led to an increase in the number of youth attending undergraduate or graduate studies in other countries. The number and share

of highly-educated migrants, however, soared in the 1990s.<sup>32</sup> As opposed to the previous generations, who had left Serbia before the SFRY's disintegration taking with them fond memories of their mother country, which had probably prompted them to plan on returning to it, the exodus of the youth population in the 1990s can be described as a "one-way ticket" – they left never to come back (to the war and poverty that marked the end of the previous millennium).

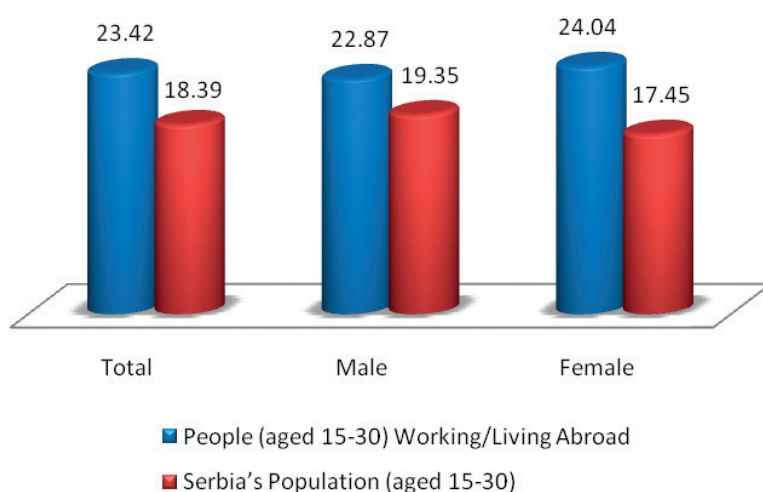
By 2000, the wars in this part of the world ended, poverty (viewed in terms of purchasing power per capita) slowly alleviated, but the emigration of young experts persisted. Their emigration, however, greatly differs from the motivations and flows of youth emigration in the 1990s. First of all, they no longer emigrate never to come back and many of them pursue their advanced studies in a number of countries, rather than just one, wherefore their spatial mobility may be qualified as mobility rather than as migration (as defined in the Introduction to the Study). Second, as opposed to the youth emigrants in the 1990s, who were primarily fleeing difficult living conditions in their mother country, the ones leaving Serbia today are mostly guided by the need to acquire new knowledge, apply the one they have in other conditions, meet leading experts in their fields, et al. And, last but not the least, it should be borne in mind that there are many programmes encouraging the mobility of young experts through scholarships and information-related support (such as the European Commission programme ERASMUS, the German DAAD, etc.), wherefore studying abroad has become much more accessible than it used to be, when the existing migratory networks and the families' financial support were of crucial relevance.

Comparison of the shares of the external migrant and domicile populations aged 15–30 in Serbia clearly shows pronounced discrepancies. One is that the share of youth in the external migration population (23.4%) is higher than their share in the domicile population (18.4%). Viewed from that perspective, the demographic profile of persons working/living abroad can be qualified as more favourable, in view of age as a biological, demographic and socio-economic development resource.

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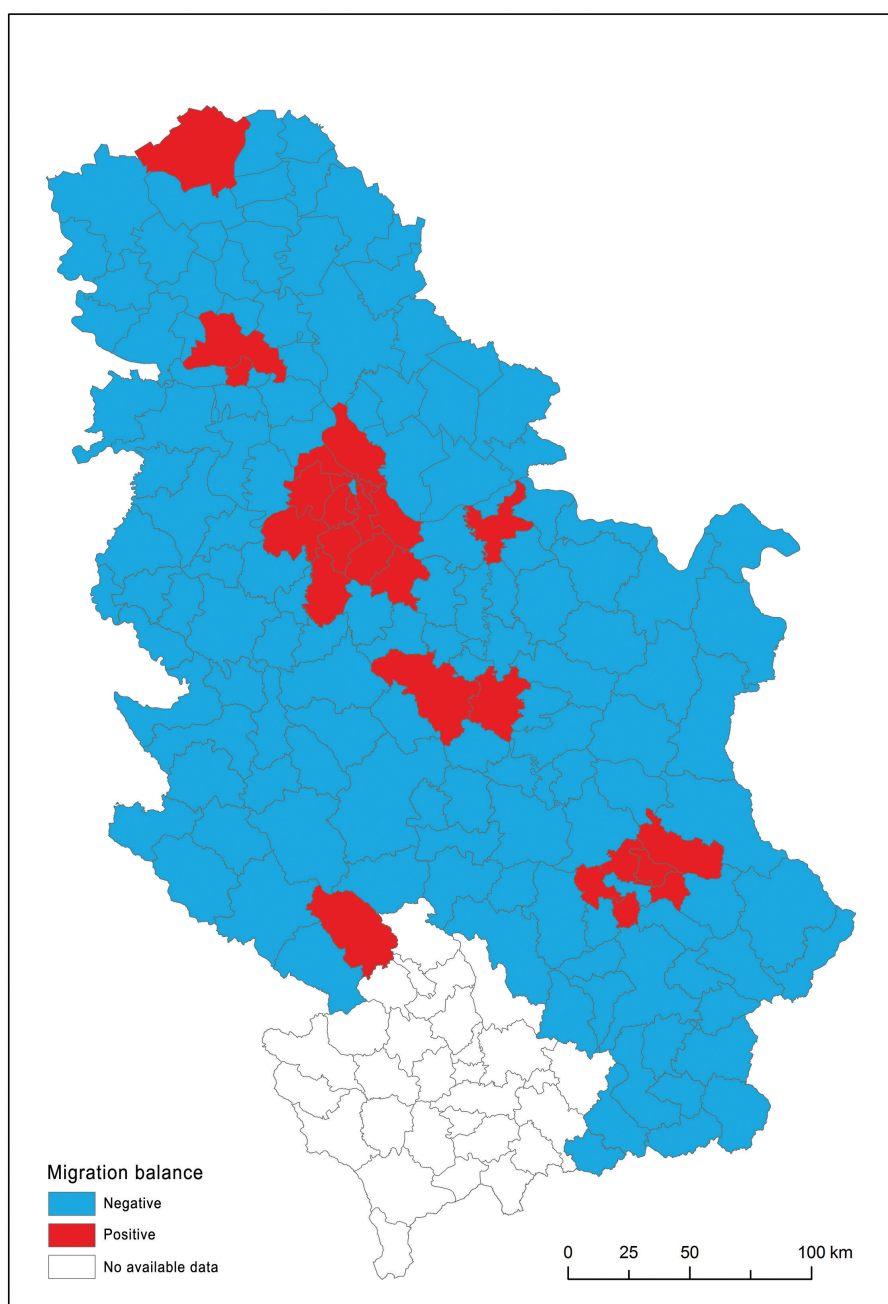
32 Based on the results of a representative research of households in 1994, Silvano Bolčić estimated that around 30,000 highly educated people, a total of around 220,000 youth (15–34 years old) of all vocations, left Serbia in the 1990–1994 period (Bolčić, 2002).

Graph 15: Comparison of the Migrant and Domicile Youth (15–30) Populations (in %)



The breakdown of the data by sex shows that the share of male youth emigrants exceeds that of domicile male youth (22.9% v. 19.4%). The most pronounced difference is evident when the shares of 15–30-year-old women are compared, where, as already noted, female external migrants prevail over domicile female youth (24% v. 17.5%).

Map 6: Absolute Migration Balance of the 15–34-Year-Old Population  
(2013)



The breakdown of the municipalities by their shares of the 15–30 age group in the total migrant population shows that nine municipalities register shares nearly identical to the national average (32.6%), that this share is under the national average in 84 municipalities and exceeds it in 71 municipalities. The municipalities of Crna Trava (16.5%), Plandište (19.2%) and Dimitrovgrad (21.4%) stand out as those with the lowest shares of 15–30-year-old in-migrants. It needs to be noted that these municipalities have been characterised by unfavourable demographic trends for decades (insufficient birth rates, emigration), which have, *inter alia*, resulted in the decline of the shares of younger age categories in the total population. The shares of the 15–30 age group in the total migrant population exceed 40% in nearly a third of the 71 municipalities with higher shares of this migrant stock exceeding the national average (21 to be precise). If the municipalities of Bujanovac (49.8%) and Preševo (50%) are discounted, given that the data on them are qualified as imprecise, the highest share of youth is registered in the municipality of Doljevac (49.5%). The following municipalities also have significant shares of this migrant category: Krupanj (47.2%), Malo Crniće (46.5%), Žabari (45.7%) and Tutin (45.5%).

Research of internal migration at the annual level (Map 3) shows that the spatial mobility of 15–34-year-olds<sup>33</sup> is greater than that of other age groups (Group of authors 1995, Group of authors, 2006).

## 6.1. Youth Migration Trends

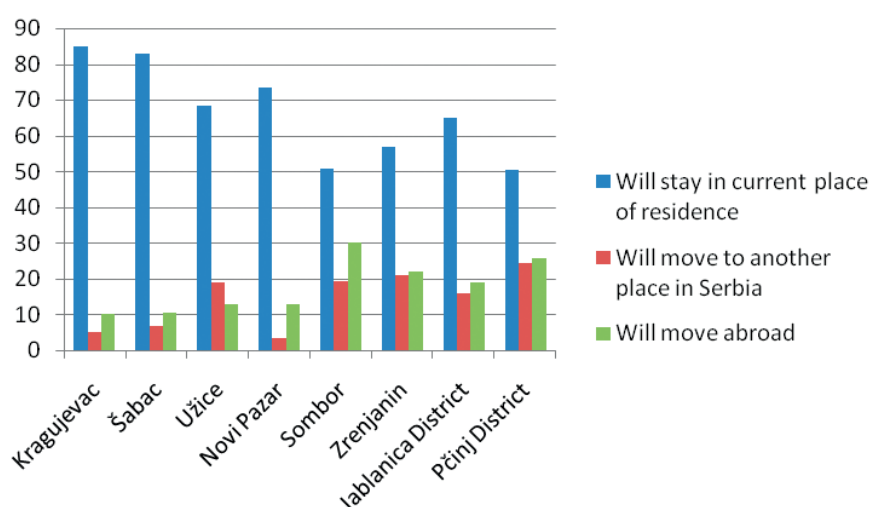
Although the number of youth external migrants has been growing, their number still lags far behind the number of youth not even considering moving out of their places of residence although they are aware of the problems in their local communities. The first reason lies in the migrants' selectiveness with respect to the economic capital i.e. financial status as an important determinant of modern-day migration (Bobić & Babović, 2013). Namely, in order to achieve one's intention of emigrating, one needs the initial capital to fund the basic costs (trip, housing, food, etc.), which cannot be covered by most scholarships. Second, individuals are networked in the local society of their country of origin and, thus, are emotionally attached to that country and have feelings of insecurity about living elsewhere. Therefore, although dissatisfied with life in their local communities, youth rarely opt for changing their place of residence, as our researches evidence as well. Graph 16 below provides an overview of potential migrants in the 15–30 age category, based on the data of the Territorial Capital and UN PBILD researches:

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33 Data on internal migration at the annual level (2013) is presented in two age groups: 15–24 and 25–34.



Graph 16: Future Plans Regarding Place of Residence (in %)



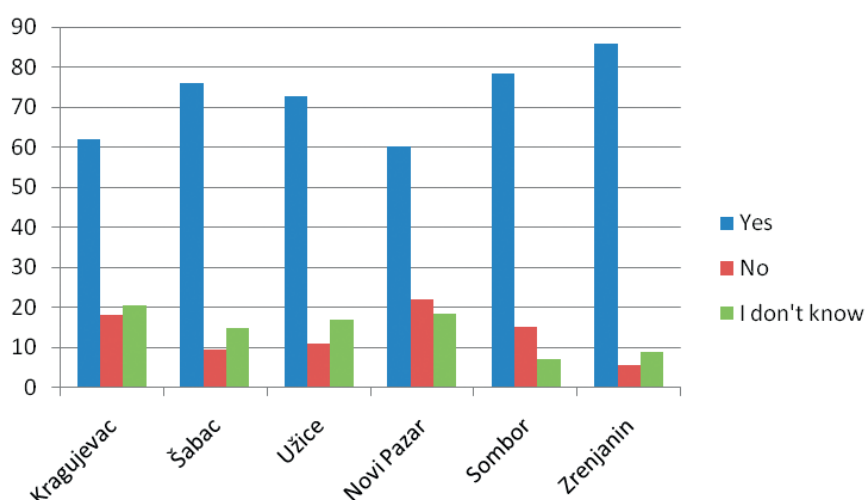
Over half of the youth respondents have no intention of moving out of their places of residence. The above Graph shows that the share of potential youth emigrants is higher than the share of potential internal migrants in nearly all the cities, with the exception of Užice, where the situation is opposite. The list of their potential destinations is headed by European Union countries, although some respondents also mentioned Australia (2.4% in Užice and 1.6% in Zrenjanin), Russia (2.4% in Užice, 1.8% in Kragujevac and 1.6% in Sombor) and Turkey (4.8% in Novi Pazar – which was expected).

Findings regarding internal migration destinations are similar for the entire surveyed population. Belgrade is the main destination of youth living in Central and South Serbia (of all potential migrants in Kragujevac and over 50% of the respondents in the other cities), while youth in Vojvodina cities has mostly opted for Novi Sad. The same findings apply to the directions of youth mobility. It needs to be noted that youth under 30 account for most of the mobile respondents.

The data on the number of youth willing to move if they find a job in another place are, perhaps, crucial for authors of migration management policies. The results of our research are shown in Graph 17.<sup>34</sup>

34 Without results for South Serbia, because the PBILD project questionnaire did not include a question to that effect.

Graph 17: Youth's Willingness to Relocate for a Job (in %)



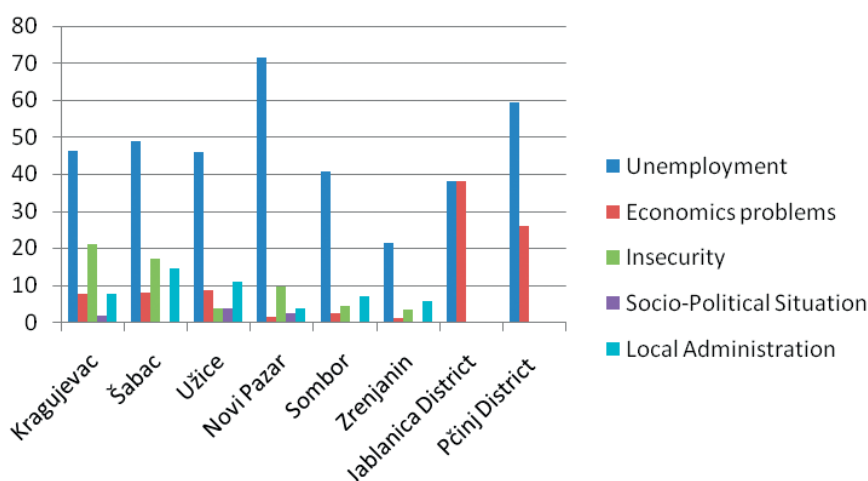
The Graph indicates that the vast majority of young respondents are willing to relocate for a job, which is inconsistent with the adopted conclusion about the Serbian population's prevailing lack of readiness to move (IOM, 2015). Therefore, our respondents' replies would substantiate a state strategy focusing on potential cooperation among Serbian cities and municipalities with a view to satisfying the labour market in terms of labour force skills profiling and, accordingly, to reducing the unemployment rate of the working age population. These data also help us understand youth intending to out-migrate, as we can see in Graph 17. Namely, due to feelings of insecurity about finding a job and housing in a new setting, only a minor share of the youth population perceives change of residence as a lasting strategy to resolve its unemployment problem i.e. improve its living conditions.

We will end this section by noting that youth commute to other cities to attend school but continue living in their permanent places of residence (mostly because that is cheaper). Commuting to work features to a much lesser extent (fewer than 10% of the respondents that filled our questionnaire, of the already small share of employed respondents in this population category). The reason lies in the evidently high unemployment rate in the population under 30 years of age (around a third of the respondents who filled our questionnaire in each city), which is the consequence of the generally poor economic situation, underdeveloped economy and high overall unemployment, on the one hand, and the extended period of schooling and late attainment of independence of the youth population in Serbia, on the other.

## 6.2. Migration Motivations of Serbia's Young Citizens

We had not expected that our analysis of motivations of young respondents with migration experience and potential internal and external migrants would indicate major differences between them and all the other age groups. The exile of refugees due to the turbulent end of the previous millennium in the region, the long-standing economic crisis, the relatively unsuccessful privatisation of socially-owned companies after 2000, as well as the major regional development discrepancies are the chief motivations both for past and future migration. The factors that had prompted the erstwhile youth migrants mostly boil down to displacement (100% in Kragujevac, Sombor and Zrenjanin), schooling (Užice – 35.4%) and work (Šabac – 26.4% and Užice – 31.6%). Economic reasons and unemployment are even more pronounced among potential youth migrants. Graph 18 below presents the push factors of respondents intending to emigrate from Serbia:

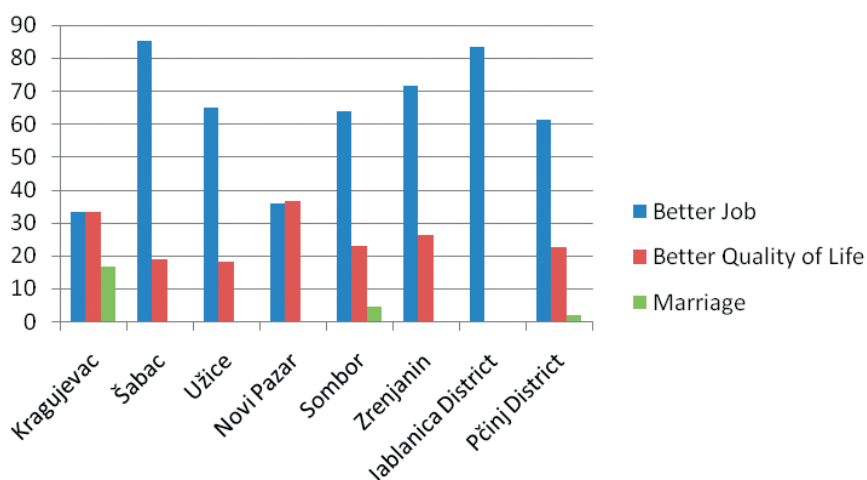
Graph 18: Youth Population's Motivations for Emigrating, Push Factors (in %)



As we can see, unemployment is the key motivation for emigration specified by young respondents in all the cities and the Pčinj District. In the view of the Jablanica District respondents, unemployment is just as grave an issue as the economic problems – 47.4%. What is striking, given the developments in southern Serbia, is that youth in Central Serbia and Vojvodina – but not in southern Serbia – recognise, to a greater or lesser degree, threat to security as a problem of their communities, prompting them to consider emigrating. General poverty in the south of the country appears to have fully neutralised the other problems, including those caused by the long-standing tensions among the ethnic communities living there.

The reasons prompting young potential external migrants to consider moving to another country reflect the problems they identified in their communities, as Graph 19 below indicates:

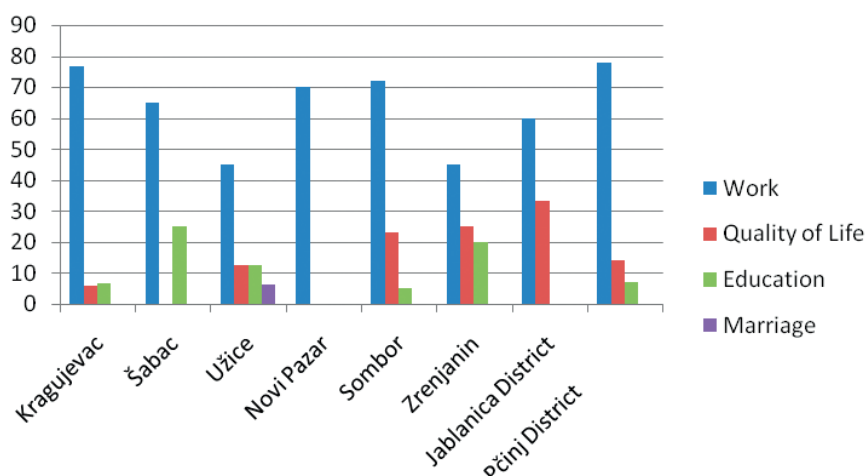
Graph 19: Youth Population's Motivations for Emigrating, Pull Factors (in %)



Better job, in terms of better-paid jobs and promotion prospects, as well as better quality of life, entailing healthier and calmer life, prevail in the respondents' answers. Marriage was specified as a motivation by 16.6% of the youth respondents in Kragujevac and 4.6% of the youth in Sombor. Interestingly, not one respondent in this age group mentioned schooling as a reason for moving out, although the emigration of this population group is nearly always linked to this factor.

All these motivations also appear in the responses of the young potential internal migrants, who quote schooling among reasons for moving to another part of Serbia as well. Their replies are presented in Graph 20 below:

Graph 20: Youth Population's Motivations to Move to Another Place in Serbia



It may be concluded that better job opportunities and working conditions again appear as the chief motivations of youth out-migration – this motivation was specified by all potential internal migrants under 30 in Novi Pazar.

Work is also one of the more important reasons specified by the young “mobile” respondents (Table 19). Although the share of employed respondents in this age group is not high, we presume that seasonal jobs are primarily at issue. Schooling stands out as a reason for mobility, just as we had expected, given that pupils and students account for over half of this population. Entertainment is another reason quoted by youth that is of relevance to policy makers, because it indicates that the cultural scene in their cities is poor.

Table 20: Youth Mobility Motivations (in %)

City	Work	School	Shopping	Admin.	Medical Treatment	Entertainment	Visits	Vacation	Other
Kragujevac	16.3	18.6	14.0	/	2.3	16.3	32.6	/	/
Šabac	25.0	27.3	6.8	2.3	/	15.9	20.5	2.3	/
Užice	15.0	22.5	10.0	/	/	12.5	20.0	2.5	17.5
Novi Pazar	12.5	31.2	/		18.8	12.5	25.0	/	/
Sombor	17.8	24.4	28.9	/	4.4	8.9	13.3	2.5	/
Zrenjanin	14.9	45.9	8.1	/	/	14.9	2.7	2.7	8.1

Source: Processed ISSR research database

We can conclude that our research demonstrates that both the problems and needs of Serbia's youth fully reflect the general social situation in the country. This is corroborated by another ISSR research of this population conducted in 2010 and 2011 within a project supported by RRPP (Regional Research Promotion Programme of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland). Lack of trust in the stability and sustainability of the social order in Serbia is the main reason why youth are contemplating emigration, where, they believe their futures are more secure (Jarić & Živadinović, 2012, Mojić & Petrović, 2013). The results of that research are consistent with the results we outlined here also with respect to the conclusion that unemployment and low living standards are the chief motivations for potential out-migration (*ibidem*). These facts, as well as the results indicating that youth are willing to change their lives by moving to another place in Serbia because of work, provide the state policy makers with major input. At the same time, the decision makers should attach utmost priority to the creation of new jobs, as well as vocational education tailored to the needs of the (future) labour market, if they wish to keep the youth in the country and revitalise the local communities – demographically, economically, socially, culturally and ecologically.

### 6.3. Demographic and Social Consequences of Youth Migration

Earlier in the Study, we mentioned the unfavourable demographic development of Serbia, especially of the less developed municipalities and regions in the south and east of the country, where the decades-long negative birth-rates have been compounded by pronounced emigration tendencies, particularly among the youth and the younger middle-age population, (towards other areas and municipalities in Serbia and other countries). The consequences are complex and far-reaching, indeed, given that demographic processes are by their nature inert, long-lasting and, once established, do not change course easily, while their consequences are enduring. Youth migration causes numerous, extremely complex negative effects: starting from the biological disappearance of the population due to low and insufficient birth-rates and intensified aging, to social and cultural consequences: from the economic regression of the local communities, educational lag of their residents, poor labour market opportunities of those who do not have the option to emigrate as a strategy to improve their living standards, to social and cultural exclusion, poverty and deepening regional disparities between the north and centre (metropolis), on the one hand, and the periphery of the country, on the other.

As per special categories of young citizens of Serbia in the region in the category of emigrants and their descendants, the accounts of e.g. Serb students in Croatia testify to their particular vulnerability in education and the labour market and, thus, greater emigration to third countries, imposing upon the Serbian authorities the duty to pay more heed to and research their problems.<sup>35</sup>

A research of the different aspects of external and internal migration within the European project SEEMIG, which Serbia (SORS and the Centre for Demographic Research of the Institute of Social Sciences) also took part in, showed that young people in Serbia (defined in the project as those between 15 and 24 years of age) are a particularly vulnerable population, with an unemployment rate of around 50% in 2011 (after a circa 30% decline in unemployment in the 2004–2011 period, felt the least in the south and east of the country and the most in the Belgrade region). This is, above all, due to the protracted education of youth and less effective social inclusion policies in the fields of labour and employment (SEEMIG, 2013). At the same time, the youth unemployment rate in Serbia was six times higher than in countries most attractive to Serbian emigrants (Germany, Austria, Slovenia) (*ibidem*). As far as the emigrants' education profiles are concerned, the

35 Their accounts are available in Serbian on the video footage of the 10<sup>th</sup> Session of the Assembly Committee for the Diaspora and the Serbs in the Region, <http://www.dijaspora.gov.rs/lat/deseta-sednica-odbora-za-dijasporu-i-srbe-u-regionu-2/>.

medical professions are sought the most in Germany, which is a significant pull factor for young Serbian experts; as many as 14,000 are registered as unemployed with the NES. The Munich-based Institute for Economic Research confirms that emigration to Germany will continue: in its view, Germany will have to “import” as many as 32 million immigrants by 2035 to maintain an adequate balance between its working-age and non-working-age population (Annan, 2015). The same applies to other developed European countries with low birth-rate levels and advanced aging, i.e. increasing average longevity, in which immigration is, consequently, one of the basic factors of population scenarios for ensuring sustainable demographic and socio-economic development in the future (Avramov, 2013).

#### **6.4. Potential Benefits of Youth Migration**

The emigration of the educated young population has traditionally been treated by the public and academia as brain drain and loss for the country of origin, except in case of remittances and foreign direct investments, which can also be viewed through the so-called win-win prism. That is, it has the capacity of a social resource, if it is accepted as such and integrated in state plans and programs. The IOM in that respect prepared an important document, a White Paper (IOM, 2010a) in cooperation with the MoLEVSP, to support the Serbian Government’s efforts in formulating a policy on labour migration regulation related to the country’s EU accession process. In that document, economic migration is defined as migration for the purpose of settling down outside the country of origin in order to improve the quality of life. Labour migration is considered to possess “a significant developmental potential and can complement other state actions in the economic and social spheres, correcting labour market imbalances and opening up new employment prospects to individuals” (IOM, 2010a:5). At the same time, if left unregulated, labour migration processes may result in adverse consequences, exploitation, human rights abuses or personal tragedies (*ibidem*). Serbia’s labour migration regulation policy is in line with its *Migration Management Strategy* (2009), *2011–2020 National Employment Strategy*, as well as “*inclusive development*” and “*social cohesion*” in the *Europe 2020 Agenda*. This Agenda has the following goals: to 1) facilitate legal migration, 2) effectively counteract illegal migration and 3) promote dialogue with third countries to maximise the developmental impact of migration for both countries of origin and destination. In that respect, the authors recommend support to shorter-term, temporary, circular, one-off migration, *inter alia*, via the “blue card,” which has allowed for the engagement of seasonal workers, remunerated trainees and intra-corporate transfers, etc. Labour migration management is closely linked to economic



recovery and the following are listed among the priority challenges/obstacles to Serbia's economic growth and the transfer of that growth into the creation of new jobs: unfavourable structure of the unemployed by age; unfavourable structure of the unemployed by qualifications; high unemployment rates of youth and women; high regional labour market discrepancies; high numbers of people working in the grey economy; low labour force mobility; high numbers of the unemployed belonging to disadvantaged groups. The White Paper notes the following active labour market measures: active job seeking; employment fairs; additional education and training; subsidies for employment; self-employment and new jobs creation; and public works. Employment, return of migrants, reintegration, establishment of links with the diaspora, and youth are the main areas of a labour migration policy. The state labour migration policy should be developed in close synergies with other national policies: on sustainable and economic development, demographic development, employment, social protection, education, and migration management (IOM, 2010a). The following are identified as priority challenges of Serbia's (internal and external) labour migration policy: 1) Incompatibility of qualifications and vocational education classifications with EU and other destination regions, leading to problems with skill recognition; 2) Imbalanced regional development, serving as a push-pull factor for internal migration and human capital redistribution; 3) inadequate inclusion of the disadvantaged groups of the population into the labour market measures. Roma, refugees and IDPs, *youth* and *potential migrants* are qualified as the most significant disadvantaged groups.

Herewith an illustrative example of the win-win emigration option and of establishing links and utilising the resources of the diaspora in the development of the country. Belgrade University College of Organisational Sciences (COS) Professor Dr. Jovan Filipović, who had lived in the US and had himself been a member of the Serbian diaspora,<sup>36</sup> has for decades now been creating his own Serbian diaspora database, covering generations of emigrants and their descendants. The database now includes over 9,000 names.<sup>37</sup> He departed from the contemporary context of the most devel-

36 Filipović defined the diaspora via emotional identification with the mother country, regardless of the individual's current nationality, place of birth, education, current place of residence or migratory trajectory. His operational definition is extremely practical and boils down to the respondent's answer to the question which team s/he would be rooting for in an international game in which a Serbian team were playing against the team of the country s/he is currently living in. A similar, broad definition of the diaspora, based on identity, which includes feelings of belonging to both the country of destination and the country of origin (of one's parents or other ancestors) can be found in T. Pavlov, et al (2013). The need of the member of the diaspora to establish links and contribute to the development of his/her country of origin is crucial. (*ibidem*: 5)

37 The Law on the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region (2009) also defines the diaspora extremely flexibly, as "the nationals of the Republic of Serbia living abroad, persons

oped Western, European and American states, where a brutal “talent hunt”, i.e. a fierce international competition in attracting highly intellectually gifted migrants, above all young ones, is under way. In Filipović’s opinion, this hunt can be turned into the national strength of the country of origin, specifically Serbia.

The author has been researching the so-called Serbian intellectual diaspora (academic, technical-technological, research, socio-humanistic, entrepreneurial, artistic and other) and advocates the view that it is a huge, albeit, marginalised resource, a national potential that is still unexploited. There are no adequate state policies, departing from contemporary knowledge-based economy and new types of meritocratic leadership, that are projecting Serbia’s national revival. Basing his study on the latest migration concepts and theories (virtuality, network approach, social capital, transnationalism, “imaginary communities”, knowledge quality, quality control, etc.), the author conducted an empirical survey among 102 members of the diaspora with the aim of checking/evaluating his original model of the Serbian Diaspora Virtual University (SDVU). SDVU is conceived as a cyber and physical point where experts in the diaspora and the mother country congregate, exchange and activate potential knowledge to design new and re-examine old solutions on the basis of the transnational experiences of the (network) members with the common goals, directed at the prosperity of the mother country. Thus, a new, common transnational identity, bringing together the emigrants and their colleagues/friends/families/peers/com-patriots in the mother country, is formed. This includes: distance learning programs, corporate universities, franchised universities, electronic libraries, museums, et al. Support extended via IT, software, publishers, magazines, et al, espouses tertiary education without borders (Filipović, 2012). The SDVU’s chief results would include: improvement of human capital (advanced life-long training and education, etc.); expansion of the volume of knowledge without neglecting local knowledge and customisation of global knowledge to local contexts; acceptance of democratic values, positive attitudes and cultural norms; and, social cohesion along with nurturing of the wealth of national values and cultures (*ibidem*).

The sample of respondents (people with PhDs and PhD students) was formed through the migrant networks, by applying the snowball method, and taking into account the relevant features of the intellectual diaspora base (numbering around 6,400 members in 2011, when the survey was conducted),<sup>38</sup> i.e. the territorial distribution of the respondents, where they

belonging to the Serbian nation, emigrants from the territory of the Republic of Serbia and the region and their descendants”. The 2010 Migration Profile estimates that the Serbian diaspora is now 2,774,500 people strong given the above enumerated six emigration waves and their descendants (now already several generations of them). Experts, the state administration and the public estimate the size of the Serbian diaspora at over four million.

38 Filipović has performed several classifications of the database of around 6,400 members of the Serbian intellectual diaspora, dividing it, *inter alia*, into four fields of

attained/are doing their PhDs, gender, professional specialisation. A combined quantitative and qualitative method was applied (surveys, interviews, observation, discussion, analysis of the content of electronic correspondence, etc.). On the basis of the collected records, the author concluded that members of the Serbian diaspora (90%) are in favour of the SDVU concept, provided it is adequately managed and pursues clearly defined goals. SDVU would thus become the nucleus and rallying point of transnational experts, as agents of change and free spirit. One other finding of the survey is important: nearly all members of the diaspora (90%) at the same time think that the state should not take the initiative to manage these virtual trusts of skills and knowledge, but merely promote public policies facilitating the strengthening of ties between the diaspora and the mother country, i.e. creating an enabling climate and providing the resources for the development of this partnership. Moreover, as many as 85% of the respondents expressed readiness to be the bridges of partnership between the SDVU and the relevant people and organisations in their fields of expertise.

At the end, the author gives guidelines and recommendations, targeting, *inter alia*, decision makers. With its major (human, social, economic) potential, the diaspora is the social avant-garde, the “yeast” of modernisation, Serbia’s transformation asset in socio-economic and technical-technological terms. At the same time, these heterogeneous communities are politically marginalised. *Brain drain can be transformed into brain gain through brain chain*. DVU is such a mediator, a complex model the management of which necessitates a system, creativity, inventiveness, as well as scientific discipline, professional leadership, horizontal and vertical networking, abidance by procedures and order (the “chaordic” principle).

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knowledge: science (over 2500 or 40%), business (around 2100 or 33%), research (900, or 14%) and other fields (around 900 or 13%). Most of the members of the diaspora in his database are living in the US (39%), Canada (15%), Great Britain (10%), Germany (7%), etc. (compare: Filipović, 2012:144–149).

## 7. Conclusions and the Way Forward

Serbia has defined accession to the European Union as its strategic political orientation. This entails the adoption of European values and standards, *inter alia*, in the field of migration and mobility. There are fears of expansion to the East in the EU, and not a few manifestations of xenophobia towards immigrants, which is unwarranted for several reasons. First, the EU states' labour markets are dual and segmented and there is a demand for labour force from both the lowest and highest social strata. Employers are, on the one hand, looking for utility workers, drivers, workers in the service sector, labour force to perform household and care work (usually in the grey economy), as well as the highest educated profiles (managers, engineers, doctors, pharmacists, designers, programmers, scientists and researchers, etc.), wherefore migrants have been moving to societies and economies that are actually in great need of them (compare Annan, 2015). Second, the retirement of the numerous post-war baby boomers by 2020 will have the effect of a pull factor of immigration, to sustain the old population in the West, in circumstances when the existing pension funds and prior social state models are unsustainable. However, the emigration explosion likely to erupt in Serbia at the moment it joins the EU is not expected to last long, because the vast majority of baby boomers will have retired by then; add to this its projected economic recovery and reindustrialisation, which will create more jobs in the domestic market as well (compare: Nikitović, 2013, Kupiszewski, Kupiszewski, Nikitović, 2012). The net emigration loss (now estimated at around –15,000 per annum) is expected to decline slightly, by around 10% every five years until Serbia joins the EU (IOM, 2015, SEEMIG, 2013).

We expect the continued emigration of young, highly educated people, motivated by more attractive labour market opportunities, higher incomes and better quality everyday lives for their families, as well as better education opportunities matching the labour market and research needs (especially at the tertiary level, i.e. at the highest levels of graduate and PhD studies, various specialisations, etc.). However, a stable trend of voluntary returns of emigrants, who retired abroad, is also expected. In that sense, the authors of this Study are of the view that that the emigration of Serbian nationals, particularly young ones, can neither be stopped nor prevented. This emigration needs to be managed, to ensure the retention of regular, labour, advanced education and circular mobility. As far as those who do not wish to return are concerned, efforts need to be invested in networking with them personally and institutionally as much as possible and in developing institutionalised models of state cooperation (through so-called Hometown Associations, etc.).

The attitude towards migration, not only of the Serbian media, but of the academic and intellectual circles as well, is now, however, ambivalent, or filled with moral panic. Public discourse is often negatively intoned (“brain drain”, inflow of “unwanted” immigrants from the Third World, asylum crises in some local communities, etc.) (compare: Bobić, 2013). Consequently, the state lacks a nationwide operational system for registering, processing, disseminating and communicating data in all stages of the migration cycle, from the moment a person enters the country, his/her movement through it, until s/he leaves it. The major development potentials of immigration are not clearly recognised or analysed from either the economic, social or demographic perspectives.<sup>39</sup>

The main elements of a *migration management system* include: a visa policy, integrated border management, regulated entry and stay of foreign citizens, development of successful integration mechanisms and mechanisms for the protection of the country’s own citizens working and residing abroad, protection of the human rights of migrants, especially asylum seekers and refugees, and an active employment policy (IOM, 2011:4). Serbia has adopted the relevant laws and strategies and established the relevant mechanisms, wherefore it may be concluded that the normative and institutional framework for migration monitoring and management is complete, i.e. developed in line with the valid European and global standards. It, however, seems that Serbia still lacks a clear policy on an *integrated approach* to migration (IOM, 2011), i.e. that it lacks a comprehensive well-ordered system comprising a migration policy and planned, organised management of migration flows. An integrated approach entails not only the control of the entry and stay of aliens within the state borders, but also adequate statistical and empirical monitoring of external and internal flows, especially from the perspective of the local communities and smaller regional entities, as well as the implementation of activities encouraging regular and discouraging irregular migration.

The absence of a clearly defined political position and society’s attitude towards migration and migrants in Serbia is also reflected in the inadequate use of migration and the migrants’ human capital to spur the country’s development. Migration needs to be mainstreamed more resolutely in sustainable (economic, social, environmental) development, poverty reduction, especially in the modernisation of rural areas and smaller and medium-sized towns/cities. The importance of the migration component has not been analysed from the perspective of global demographic revitalisation,

39 Immigration now denotes stays exceeding one year (in keeping with European Regulation 862/2007), but we are of the view that they should be broken down and registered more precisely: stays up to three months and 3–12-month stays. Furthermore, stays by tourists need to be disentangled from the overall number of incomers, and distinction needs to be drawn between reasons for immigration, lengths of stay (short-term v. long-term immigration), etc. (IOM, 2010).

and especially the revitalisation of the local populations. For instance, the importance of encouraging internal labour mobility is insufficiently recognised in the domain of internal flows, given that a mobile, flexible and qualified labour force is instrumental for an efficient labour market, economic progress and greater social cohesion.

Management or control of the mobility of (young) people is exceptionally important in view of the major regional disparities in Serbia, especially the social exclusion of entire parts of the country, above all the South and South-East, as well as the exodus of the rural population. Migration control and channelling would contribute to: 1) the harmonisation of migration and socio-economic and cultural development, poverty reduction, creation of jobs; 2) attracting Serbian emigrants, as well as third-country nationals, not only to definitely return or immigrate to Serbia (which are, of course, the optimal goals), but also to establish various forms of links and networks, especially virtual, with the mother country. The harmonisation of migration and the local social context is of particular relevance to the young population, which is also the key champion of development, or the so-called “yeast” and agent of modernisation and demographic revitalisation. The expansion of the labour market and creation of new jobs, opening of small and medium-sized enterprises, empowerment with the assistance of the activities of the NGO sector, as well as the arrival of foreign investors and donors, the creation of a communication network and infrastructure, social services (health, education, social protection, culture, development of recreational centres, etc.) – all these are important elements in projects aimed at socio-economic and demographic revival, revitalisation of the peripheral parts of the state and the building of a society based on law, knowledge-based economy, market principles and democratic political values. With respect to the so-called “hot” emigration zones, it is important to invest in human capital, particularly of youth, as well as in education and advanced professional training, which will both increase their competitiveness and reduce their out-migration from their places of origin, as well as prevent the deracination of families and the disintegration of traditional family ties and social networks, which constitute major pillars of support for the youth and their families and vice versa (child care, as well as eldercare).

## 8. General and Practical Recommendations on Migration of Serbia's Citizens, Particularly Youth

### 8.1. Some of the Relevant State Institutions and Actions in the Field of Mainstreaming Migration in Development

We will make several observations about the hitherto, i.e. prior and ongoing, state initiatives regarding the mainstreaming of migration in development projects,<sup>40</sup> before devoting ourselves to recommendations, both general and the specific youth-related recommendations.

*The Assembly of the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region* was formed in 2010 and rallies representatives from all continents and the region, 44 delegates in all. It is the representative body of the diaspora and the Serbs in the region, tasked with identifying their problems in the countries of destination, proposing measures for addressing them, appointing councils of the diaspora and Serbs in the region, overseeing their work, conducting activities aimed at preserving links between the mother country and the diaspora/Serbs in the region, etc. The following take part in the work of the Assembly: the Prime Minister, the Head of the Office (now MFA Directorate) for Cooperation with the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region and ministers charged with foreign and internal affairs, education, culture, labour, social policy, youth, sports, as well as representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Serbian Chamber of Commerce (one of each of the latter institutions). Delegates are appointed from among eminent figures in their local communities and charged with the states or areas of states with significant shares of the Serbian diaspora/Serbs in the region, and from among experts in relevant areas, who are nominated by the delegates. The Assembly holds its regular annual sessions on Diaspora Day – 28 June. The Assembly elects the Diaspora Councils, standing working bodies charged with fields of relevance to the links between the mother country and the diaspora: the Diaspora Economic Council; the Diaspora Status Issues Council; and the Council for Cultural, Educational, Scientific and Sports Cooperation.

*The Council for Relations with Serbs in the Region* is a state body performing specific duties and tasks related to cooperation, the protection of interests and improvement of Serbia's relations with Serbs in the region.

The erstwhile *Ministry of Religion and the Diaspora* (that operated as a ministry from 2004 to 2012, and as the Directorate for Cooperation

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40 We will provide only an overview of some of the relevant bodies charged with establishing and maintaining ties with the emigrants rather than outline the institutional framework, which is well developed and complete, both strategically and legally.



with the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region within the MFA since) prepared a *Catalogue* offering around 200 investment projects in 68 Serbian cities and municipalities. This multi-media catalogue, entitled “Investment Opportunities in Serbia’s Municipalities”, was drafted by the then Ministry, the local self-governments, the Serbian Chamber of Commerce and the Centres for the Diaspora within the regional Chambers of Commerce.<sup>41</sup> Most of the projects regard the existing or new tourism capacities. A fifth of them concern investments in industry and another fifth investments in infrastructure. The rest focus on environmental protection, agriculture and the production of health food. The following municipalities are covered by the Catalogue: Zrenjanin, Temerin, Loznica, Negotin, Kučevo, Zaječar, Čačak, Kragujevac, Ivanjica, Vrnjačka Banja, Niš, Sokobanja, Prokuplje and Babušnica. The Ministry also launched the “Investments in Serbia” project, within which individual foreign investors from the diaspora (e.g. Sweden, Canada and Great Britain) present themselves. The former Ministry of Religion and Diaspora qualified investments in Serbia as small, sporadic and insufficient (IOM, 2012). Insufficient use is made of the potential for networking, advocacy of interests and improving the status of the diaspora/migrants in the countries of reception/destination. The emigrants’ involvement in the economic and political life of their mother country is weak.

Organisations of Serbs in the diaspora are *fragmented*, fractured, detached and not interlinked. Most of them are not responsive to the spirit of the times, especially the needs of the young generations, which is why the latter are not interested in joining them. In sum, diaspora’s cooperation with the mother country is underdeveloped and below the country’s development needs in the transformation processes.

The state has not launched enough specific programmes addressing one of the key challenges – halting the brain drain, or specific projects and actions encouraging circular migration (e.g. visits and lectures by renowned university professors and businessmen in the diaspora, temporary work

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41 The *Centre for the Diaspora* has been formed within the Serbian Chamber of Commerce, and 16 Centres for the Diaspora have been formed within the local Chambers of Commerce. Twelve Offices for the Diaspora have been formed at the local self-government level (Pavlov, et al, 2014). The Chamber of Commerce also has a *Business Council for the Diaspora*, rallying members of the diaspora and representatives of the line ministries and other organisations in Serbia. There is also a virtual *Diaspora Club* aimed at facilitating the exchange of knowledge and skills between the mother country and the diaspora and a news bulletin for the diaspora *Diaspora Info* is issued. The former Ministry of Religion and the Diaspora organised internships for students from the diaspora in Serbian-based companies and the state administration, with the idea of encouraging them to return to Serbia. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development designed a database of 586 scientists, who are encouraged to participate in scientific research projects in the country either as associates or reviewers of domestic projects. However, the general assessment is that there is a lack of clear and specific incentives for transnational entrepreneurship in Serbia (*ibidem*).



stays, under contract with Serbian experts, scientists and inventors abroad). Such campaigns focusing on lectures, expert seminars and internships in the academic community, enterprises and companies have so far been launched by universities, individuals and foreign foundations and donors (e.g. World University Service – WUS Austria and IOM, within the University of Belgrade 2001–2011).

There is, however, a good example of a state activity, specifically, that of the Ministry of Youth and Sports *Fund for Young Talents Dositeja*, which indirectly promotes circular youth migration. The Fund was established in 2008 to support and reward young talents in Serbia and enable them to advance their skills in Serbia and abroad. The Fund is tasked with extending financial support to young talents to facilitate their further pursuit of theoretical and practical education and acquisition of professional experience in various areas of knowledge.

The Fund for Young Talents provided scholarships and financial rewards to over 14,200 students and secondary school pupils from 2008 to January 2015. It granted scholarships to over 6,100 students attending Bachelor's, Master's and integrated studies in Serbia and supported around 2,300 students, who have continued their studies in EU and European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries and at leading universities in the world. The Fund awarded prizes to over 5,700 secondary school pupils in Serbia for the success they achieved at national and foreign contests and competitions.<sup>42</sup> On an annual basis, the Fund supports around 500 best students (with a grade point average over 8.5 [on a scale of 6 to 10]) for pursuing their studies abroad (in the EU and EFTA countries) and around 1,200 students studying in Serbia (800 undergraduate and 400 Master's students).

The Fund has in this way supported the advanced and university studies of seven generations of Bachelor's and Master's students in Serbia and abroad. In the 2013/2014 school year, most of the scholarships for studies in Serbia (988 in all) were awarded to women (799 or 68%); 37% of the scholarships were granted to students studying humanities, 29% to those studying technical and technological sciences, 14% to those studying arts, 14% to students studying math and natural sciences, 8% to medical students and 1% to those studying sports. The GPA of all the scholarship winners averaged 9.72. Most BU scholarship recipients were students of COS and the Law College (68% and 62% respectively).

Most of the graduate students who won scholarships for studying abroad are attending Master's and PhD studies (307 and 191 respectively). Women dominate among them as well (56%); 35% of the scholarships were awarded to students studying technical and technological sciences, 32% to students studying humanities, 17% to students studying math and natural

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42 By January 2015, the Fund invested over 4 billion RSD in young talents, which makes it the largest state scholarship fund in the region (MoYS 2014 Annual Report).

sciences, 11% to students studying arts and 5% to students studying medicine. Their overall GPA averaged 9.34. Most of the students, who have won these scholarships, were studied at the BU, notably the Colleges of Electrical Engineering and Architecture. The majority of them continued their studies in Italy (78) and Germany (78), Switzerland (55) and Austria (46).

Apart from supporting the schooling of the young talents, the Fund monitors their development after their scholarships end, facilitating their contacts, traineeship and potential employment with the leading institutions and companies in Serbia, as well as through the Career Guidance and Counselling Centre. Scholarship recipients are under the obligation to return to Serbia after completing their studies abroad and to spend at least five years in the country, i.e. be registered with the NES for three years. The survey conducted in 2014 by the Fund's Working Group on the current status of the first two generations of scholarship recipients showed that 66% of them found jobs in Serbia (30% of them within six months), that 17% continued their studies, that 13% were registered with the NES and that 20 (1%) found jobs abroad (MoYS, 2014).

In cooperation with around 25 Serbian and foreign companies, the Fund has been providing youth with opportunities to advance their professional education, attend practical training, workshops, consultations and seminars to acquire the requisite skills and additional knowledge. Every year, over 450 young people attend these practical training programs in companies, over 100 various forms of advanced professional education, while around 70 find jobs with the Fund's help.<sup>43</sup> Most of the scholarship recipients found jobs in their professions (88%), 44% of them in the private and 56% in the public sector. As far as the private sector is concerned, most of them work in Serbian and foreign companies (in the following branches: software, electrical engineering, civil engineering, computer and industrial engineering, telecommunication, graphic design, marketing, banking, economy).

One of the identified problems is the insufficient cooperation with local self-governments on the return and employment of young scholarship recipients. They cannot find jobs in the public sector (above all, the state administration) which would benefit much from their recruitment, given the high levels of their specific skills and knowledge, especially at the local level.

The 136 *Youth Offices* at the local level are insufficiently engaged in the integration of the returnees – scholarship recipients. The Offices do not conduct statistical and empirical monitoring of internal and external youth

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43 In companies such as: Air Serbia, Telenor, Kon Tiki, Huawei (in China), NIS Gasprom Neft (where as many as 21 of the scholarship recipients have been employed), Carnex, Zepter International, MK Group, Hemofarm, etc., the American Chamber of Commerce, the British-Serbian Chamber of Commerce, Societe General Bank, Erste Bank, etc.

migration in their local communities. Cooperation with NES and NALED needs to be strengthened at the local level; notably, the local NES offices need to keep separate registers of returnees looking for jobs, in order to facilitate the better utilisation of their potential and cultural capital. Youth Offices organise various trainings and implement youth economic empowerment projects (e.g. those supported by USAID), through building their skills in business plan development, product branding, modern-day sale of agricultural produce (in the beekeeping and dairy industries, etc.)

Career guidance and counselling of youth is also underdeveloped, especially at the local level.

The Ministry of Youth and Sports offers several practical projects targeting youth, such as the production of a promo film on the return of youth to Serbia. There is also an initiative that it establish better links with youth in the diaspora through the Directorate for Cooperation with the Diaspora

In general, there are no specific incentives for returnees or transnational entrepreneurs in Serbia. They can, in principle, use the direct and indirect support of the MoLEVSA and NALED for developing their businesses. This aid is intended for both local and foreign entrepreneurs, especially those launching small or medium-sized enterprises. The support involves assistance in drafting business plans and financial aid. The Ministry of Science, Education and Technological Development has been organising contests and awarding prizes for the best technological innovations together with the Serbian Chamber of Commerce and with the support of the diaspora. The Serbian Investment and Export Promotion Agency ((SIEPA, which is about to be abolished)<sup>44</sup> has facilitated the Serbian companies' entry into foreign markets and the foreign investors' entry into in the Serbian market. Through its "First Chance" Programme, the Ministry of Economy and Regional Development has facilitated the professional practice of (43,105) secondary and tertiary graduates under 30 registered with the NES in the 2009–2011 period; the NES covered the graduates' payroll costs. Many youth who found their first jobs under this scheme continued working for their employers. The "Professional Practice" programme has been implemented via the NES and the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs since 2011, with a view to building the youth's capacities for working independently in their professions.

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44 The draft Law on Investments in the Republic of Serbia, abolishing the SIEPA and the National Agency for Regional Development and establishing the *Development Agency of Serbia*, was in the parliament pipeline at the time work on this Study was finalised. It will, *inter alia*, be charged with encouraging direct investments, promoting and stimulating exports, the development and increase of the competitiveness of Serbia's economy and encouraging regional development. It will, among other things, be involved in the design of economic and regional development projects, the attraction of foreign direct investments and monitoring their implementation, etc.

*Public works* have been organised in LSG units via the NES every year since 2006. They are funded from the national and local budgets and are conducted in the following areas: social and humanitarian activities; public infrastructure maintenance and restoration; preservation and protection of the environment and nature. The Law on Employment and Unemployment Insurance provides the LSGs with the opportunity to establish Local Employment Councils, which are entitled to develop local employment action plans, envisaging the implementation of active employment policy measures and programmes in keeping with the national employment action plan and the situation in their local labour markets. Therefore, LSGs are entitled to organise public works in other areas as well, not only the listed ones.

An *Innovation Fund* has also been formed in Serbia. It supports and funds projects in priority areas of science and technology, through two Programmes: the *Mini Grants Programme* and the *Matching Grants Programme*, targeting the private sector, small and medium-sized enterprises. The former Programme supports *start up* and *spin off* companies with grants up to 80,000 Euro for projects that must be completed within 12 months. The latter Programme supports the commercialisation of research and development, as well as international cooperation with companies, awarding grants of up to 300,000 Euros for projects that must be completed within 24 months; the grantees are under the obligation to share their sales revenues<sup>45</sup> (Pavlov, et al, 2014:18).

Small and mediums-sized enterprises can benefit from the support extended by the so-called *business incubators*, which cover parts of the business operation costs (rent of office and research space, telecommunication and technological infrastructure), provide logistic support (counselling on business plans, marketing, legal regulations, accounting, et al), (*ibidem*, 2014). An example of such practice is the *Business Technology Incubator of Technical Faculties* in Belgrade, established as a partnership by four University of Belgrade technical colleges (Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering and Technical-Technological), the Belgrade municipality of Palilula and the Initiative for Democratic Transition, and supported by the OSCE. The Incubator rallies colleges, most graduates of which tend to emigrate. Members of the Serbian diaspora have activated themselves in the Incubator and 15 of them returned to Serbia. One such successful returnee is scientist Sava Marinković, who graduated from the College of Electrical Engineering and obtained a graduate degree in business at Harvard. With the Incubator's help, he founded TeleSkin in 2007, a company that produces a device and software for early melanoma diagnosis. This export company employs 20 people (*ibidem*).

The so-called *Science & Technology Parks* are another form of specific support extended to small and medium-sized companies in Serbia and

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45 The Fund's 2011 budget stood at 8.4 million Euro, provided from the EU IPA Funds and with the support of the World Bank.

abroad. These Parks, offering various services and infrastructure, have been established to encourage high-technology business innovation in Belgrade ("Mihajlo Pupin"), Novi Sad, Niš, Leskovac and Kragujevac.

As far as diaspora initiatives are concerned, several examples of networking to facilitate the circulation of knowledge and information are worth mentioning. The well-known *Serbian City Club*, based in London and rallying 1,500 members, businesspeople of Serbian descent living in Great Britain, has been formed to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and information, assist the integration of emigrants, improve the country's image abroad, etc. Several associations have been established in Serbia as well: the informal association of returnees *Repats* (629 members), a network focusing on re-integration in Serbia. The *iSerbia* movement was launched by young highly educated returnees with the aim of helping youth in Serbia adjust to contemporary market conditions; their facilitation of virtual mentoring support from abroad is particularly relevant in that respect. The organisation *Back2-Serbia* is well known for the employment fairs it has been organising for Serbs abroad and returnees (Pavlov, et al, 2014:19).

The MFA Directorate for Cooperation with the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region, which is the main mechanism of support to youth members of the diaspora, has been implementing public calls for proposals, offering co-funding for quality projects contributing to the preservation and strengthening of ties between the mother country and the diaspora. The erstwhile Ministry for the Diaspora had implemented a project entitled "Meet the State of Serbia" targeting youth in the diaspora who wanted to gain practical professional experience in Serbia. The project has been implemented by NALED since the abolition of the Ministry.

Another programme, "Serbia for Serbs in the Region", grants scholarships to youth of Serbian origin living in the region who want to study in Serbia. It is implemented by the MoESTD in accordance with the Strategy for the Preservation and Strengthening of Relations between the Mother Country and the Diaspora and between the Mother Country and Serbs in the Region. The project is endorsed by the Government of the Republic of Serbia.<sup>46</sup>

The *Serbian Assembly Committee for the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region* concluded at its latest, 10<sup>th</sup> session (in May 2015) that a database

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46 An initiative has been launched to establish an organisation that would extend support to Serb youth in the region, who are studying in Serbia. It aims to interlink students in the region with their colleagues, and facilitate their communication with the mother country and its organisations and institutions. This initiative was supported by the Directorate for Cooperation with the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region and the Serbian Assembly Committee for the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region. The initiators suggested that the organisation be called "Serbian Academic Network St. Jovan Vladimir". The Youth Network of Serbs in Croatia, affiliated with the Serb National Council in Croatia, began working recently.

of the Serbian diaspora in the region and the world needed to be designed and updated. The Committee highlighted the need to design information-communication tools to interlink the databases on the Serbian diaspora in the world, above all the business diaspora, i.e. to professionalise the co-operation between the diaspora and the mother country. The Committee also discussed the problems of youth in Croatia, and emphasised the need to support them, given the discrimination they are subjected to in employment and education, prompting many of them to emigrate from Croatia.

The Organisation of Serbian Students Abroad (OSSA) has been active across the world as well. The OSSA opened its office in Belgrade in 2014. It is currently implementing the "Partnership for Youth in Great Britain" project (together with the Pexis Foundation), which is co-funded by the Directorate for Cooperation with the Diaspora and Serbs in the Region. The Directorate has been publishing calls for proposals and has co-funded numerous cultural, sports and outreach projects of the Serbian diaspora across the world.

## **8.2. Recommendations**

Although the recommendations are divided by social sub-systems (education, labour and employment, science, public policies, local development), i.e. by various activities/practices (data collection, processing and updating, research, monitoring and management), the authors of this Study are of the view that migration should actually be mainstreamed in all aspects of society, economy, (local) and sustainable development, i.e. in all public policies.

### **I. INSTITUTIONALISATION AND PROFESSIONALISATION of Migration Research and Management at the National Level**

- Raise the capacity and resources of the CRM to collect and collate data and analyse them and propose migration policy measures to the Government – the state would thus be able to address migration and mobility in a more long-term and comprehensive manner.
- Define scientific research of migration and development of the related public policies as the country's long-term, strategic scientific orientation. Establish interdisciplinary master study of migration at university level. Curriculum should have integrate courses in law, politics, security, sociology, economy, demography, geography, economy, ethnology and anthropology. Policy stakeholders and others included in decision making in the field should also be included in permanent training and education courses.

## II. IMPROVEMENT OF RECORDS on Migration and Their Collation in a Single System:

- Design and update databases on migrants, all types and directions of flows, both at the level of Serbia and separately, at the regional and local community levels. Develop and regularly update the databases on the diaspora and Serbs in the region, with particular emphasis on the professional diaspora. The databases need to be reliable, comparable and comprehensive.
- Establish a *Central Population Register* and introduce an address system at the municipal level. Define precisely migrants and their features and introduce special indicators – *duration of stay* and *reasons for migration*. Ensure that migration-related statistics are comparable with European statistics (the *Migration Profile* of the Republic of Serbia is a step in that direction as it is aligned with Eurostat's reporting requirements).
- Introduce nationwide ICT systems and tools for accessing databases on migrants, their flows and features (especially on youth migrants), like the ones that already exist in developed countries. Establish a focal point assigned with collecting all the existing electronic data of state agencies monitoring migration through user-friendly interface (good practice example in Armenia). That platform would be accessible for statistical research and reporting, if not on all, then at least on selected lists of indicators on migrants (such as, for example, the SORS data). Set up an online repository of migrant population surveys. All these are long-term and major projects to be implemented at the state level and necessitate the cooperation of a number of state actors, perhaps under the guidance of the Coordination Body for Migration Monitoring and Management.

## III. POLICIES ON MIGRATION, Particularly Youth Migration:

- National labour migration policies<sup>47</sup> – encourage relocation to less developed areas given the dominant immigration to urban agglomerations in Serbia, i.e. around Corridor X.
- Enter into bilateral work agreements regarding living and working conditions with countries to which youth is emigrating the most (Austria, Ger-

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47 Some of the recommendations on labour migration, employment, the labour market and youth are based on the IOM 2015 research on labour migration and the labour market (IOM, 2015). Two kinds of measures are mentioned in that study: direct proactive measures: subsidies for transportation and housing costs, and active measures (programmes) for employment and attraction, particularly of youth. Housing is singled out as a major problem, as its resolution cannot be left to the youth and their families given the high costs of housing and modest housing construction in the country. The state has to intervene here as well, rather than leave the matter in the hands of business banks and their discretion.



many, etc.). As per the expressed emigration motivations, more needs to be done on the complex preparation (of youth) for emigration and their settlement abroad needs to be monitored, especially in case whole families (with children) are emigrating.

- Promote flexible internal labour migration by offering greater incentives to people willing to move to and work in undeveloped parts of Serbia; this is particularly relevant to migrants with families and the poor, lacking funds for relocation.
- Invest more in regional development and reduction of regional disparities, an emigration push factor. Furthermore, coordination of the regional NES branch offices to fill the skill shortage vacancies.
- Offer greater incentives for the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, develop tourism and services, etc., in less developed and undeveloped parts of the country, through self-employment programmes, partnerships with the civil sector, by raising funds among diaspora organisations and applying for EU pre-accession funds (IPA).
- Apply *good practice models* – with a view to involving Serbian diaspora organisations in the local development of the mother country systematically and more actively (through Hometown Associations) and productively use remittances from abroad.<sup>48</sup>
- Attract foreign nationals, returnees and the diaspora, as well as people, who have moved to other parts of the country.

#### IV. EDUCATION

- Develop undergraduate and graduate university migration studies curricula and *inter-disciplinary (Master's) programmes* at the university level.

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48 There are numerous good practice examples. For instance, the Mexican “tres por uno” model – one “migradollar” from the diaspora creates 2.90 GNP dollars at home. Remittances are transferred via diaspora clubs and organisations, invested into philanthropic projects and channeled to the governments: federal, state and local, facilitating their productive triplication. The Institute for Mexicans Abroad has been formed in Mexico. There are also examples of other countries attracting returnees and linking the recovery of the national economy with the diaspora (Ireland, Republic of Korea, Ghana, Malaysia, South African Republic, Albania, etc.). The NGO Macedonia 2025 in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is also an illustrative example of the attempt to turn brain drain into brain gain, focusing on raising the capacities of the academic institutions, bridging the gap between universities and the business sector and on networking with the intellectual diaspora (compare: Pavlov (ed.) (2013). Individual returnees have launched numerous successful projects: in health; production lines: dairy industry, car accessories; the state administration (“No Wrong Door”), e-platforms for communication between the academic community and scientific diaspora have been designed, etc. (*ibidem*). Unfortunately, most of these actions were initiated by enthusiastic individuals and were not the result of a systematic state programme.



- Develop education policies focusing on attracting scarce labour force to specific regions of the country. Raise the education levels of the local population, particularly in skills-shortage fields (civil engineering, industry, services, etc.).
- Improve coverage of youth by high, i.e. quality tertiary education, because (geographic and spatial) mobility is linked to high levels of expertise and cultural capital of the younger generations; Eliminate social barriers impeding access to high education of the poorer strata of youth in rural and less developed areas.
- Interlink education, professional training and employment. Encourage companies to voice their needs for specific profiles and subsequently provide them with internship and employment opportunities (NIS Gas-prom Neft is a good practice example). Monitor recruitment of university seniors by foreign and domestic companies (NES). Expand quality education centres at the local level and business coaching within successful firms and companies. Broader promotion of education among the lower strata, technical and technological literacy and specialised skills, entails the promotion of internal mobility and the flexibilisation of the labour market. Encourage tertiary education exchange programmes with the EU and other countries (e.g. the EU Erasmus programme, et al), involving the obligation of the exchange students to cooperate with the state, either by returning or through continuous communication and reliable partnerships between the migrants and Serbia, which not only encourages youth labour mobility, but the circulation of knowledge as well – yielding manifold benefits both for the youth (reduction of psychological barriers, faster separation from their parents, transition to adulthood, greater adaptability, knowledge of foreign languages, expansion of cultural capital, etc.) and for the state.
- Continuously organise workshops on team work. Encourage short-term work stays abroad (up to one month). Organise additional qualification and skills courses for less educated potential emigrants, particularly minority communities (Roma, etc.).

## **V. SCIENCE**

- Establish systematic links with the diaspora, successful scientists, inventors, leading professionals and lecturers of Serbian descent abroad, with a view to developing joint projects, patents, practical technical and technological solutions, exchanging skills and knowledge (virtual universities, networks, visits, temporary work arrangements, etc.).

## VI. EMPLOYMENT

- Implement adopted strategic documents, measures and guidelines aimed at empowering youth and their social emancipation and greater social inclusion.
- Design special measures encouraging youth employment with a view to reducing the youth unemployment rate, especially in the mapped emigration zones.
- Provide greater incentives for youth self-employment and greater support during their first years of work, and encourage youth cooperatives.
- Punish more vigorously companies and employers refusing to hire unmarried or pregnant women and women planning on having children or dismissing them when they become pregnant or have a baby. This practice is extremely widespread in Serbia and reflects on the employment and labour activity of young women, although it is prohibited by the valid labour, employment and anti-discrimination law.

## VII. MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

- The local *Migration Councils* should address young potential emigrants in their activities as well (monitor their flows, size, demographic and socio-economic features, motivations, etc.) in cooperation with researchers, the NGO sector, the CRM, the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Technical Working Group. Their composition should, therefore, be expanded to include the *Youth Offices at the local level*;
- *Local Action Plans* targeting youth should address internal and external youth migration in the local communities. The youth population in municipalities with the greatest emigration rates needs to be in the focus of the demographic policy, i.e. revitalisation and the related economic, housing and social empowerment.
- *Youth Offices* and *Youth Councils* at the local level: should address, in particular, the issues of youth emigration and mobility and develop projects, policies and actions in cooperation with the local youth that will take into consideration their mobility.
- Raise the capacities of the *NES Migration Service Centres* and *Branch Offices* to deliver the extremely important services within their remit. First, their role of information centres – to collect data on vacancies and training needed by the local unemployed labour force. Second, to facilitate regular, labour migration and counteract illegal flows given that they are versed in the legal, regulatory employment frameworks in other countries and are thus capable of providing advice on safe emigration procedures (employment agreements, mediation, etc.).

- Develop infrastructure, agriculture, rural areas.
- Reindustrialise the local communities.
- Improve health, education and social protection services at the local level.
- Encourage transnational entrepreneurship at the local level and activation of the local population, above all youth, and women in particular.

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