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CHALLENGE OF CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION



- Migration and Regional Development
- EU Cohesion Policy
- Transnational Collaboration

and emigration, and the role of choice and coercion in decision-making by migrants. The mixed-methods analysis explicitly uses a bottom-up-approach with individual biographies as basic elements for exploration and for further modelling and considerations. This approach is able to strengthen, in terms of “Geographicity”, a more differentiated analysis of spatiality in migration studies (Figure 1) by including the transregional dimension of migratory movements.

Endnote

¹Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain. Sometimes the ‘I’ represents Ireland.

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THE POPULATION OF SERBIA ABROAD: A REGIONAL APPROACH

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At the beginning of the third millennium, public interest in the issue of international migration visibly increased. However, the vast majority of studies has been examined from the perspective of destination countries. Studies focussed on the countries of origin, as well as complex research involving both aspects are much less common.

Serbia is a country with a long tradition of emigration in the specific economic and political context, with a large number of its citizens abroad, as well as with a very heterogeneous spatial distribution and differentiated structure of emigrants. However, very rare are the studies related to their regional origin and distribution in the receiving countries. Therefore, based on the Serbian census data, as the most important source of information on the citizens of Serbia working or residing abroad, through the inclusion of a regional approach to the analysis of emigration trends, the main objective of our research is to show that between the regions of origin and certain destination countries there are ties, on the basis of which migrant networks originate and spread. Over time,

networks towards some countries lose their importance or are diverted to other directions.

The research includes the analysis of the results of the last five censuses conducted between 1971 and 2011. It is based on data on the number and share of emigrants from Serbia, with regard to the most represented receiving countries from a regional aspect (municipalities and zones of intense emigration). Such an approach is not only of academic interest but of wider social significance, particularly because most of the Serbian emigrants covered by the census maintain ties with their homeland, often visit their hometowns and present an important resource for the socio-economic development of the country.

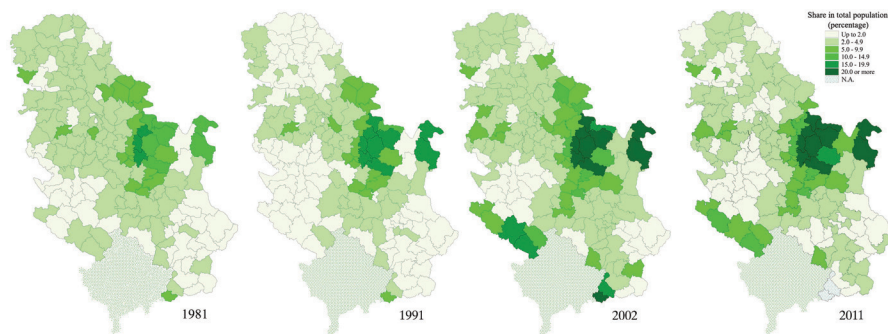
Liberalisation of political conditions in Tito's Yugoslavia, the improvement of political relations with Western countries, implementation of economic reforms (1965) and the emergence of “open” unemployment, enabled a real expansion of international labour migration officially called “temporary employment abroad” by the authorities at that time. According to results of censuses carried out in 1971, 1981 and 1991, the number of Serbian citizens working or staying abroad continually increased (from 204,000 to 269,000 and then to 274,000). The grave political and economic situation and a sense of lost perspective for a large part of the population, and especially for the younger generation, were the main push factors

of intense emigration in the 1990's. According to the 2002 Census, 415,000 Serbian citizens (5.3% of total population) were registered to be working or staying abroad. Emigration continued in the years of this century as well. This, however, is not confirmed by the 2011 census (313,000 Serbian citizens lived abroad). The real number is much greater. The decrease in the number of people abroad could be attributed to the usual low census coverage (estimated at least about 50%), the boycott of ethnic Albanians of the 2011 Census, as well as the partial change in the method of collecting census data on emigrants (ISS, 2013).

Three “hot” emigration zones

In terms of emigration from Serbia, there are regional differences notable at the level of municipalities, districts but also the macro entities (Central Serbia and Vojvodina). They are primarily reflected through the uneven start of mass emigration, which is particularly characteristic at the level of smaller territorial units (municipalities and districts), then through a different intensity and direction of migratory flows, and different share of emigrants in the total population. At the same time, the differences appear if some other important characteristics of emigration and emigrant population are considered (destination country, age and sex structure, educational attainment, etc.).

Figure 1: Share of the population working/staying abroad. Serbia, 1981-2011 (by municipality)



Regional differences are most pronounced at lower territorial and administrative levels. At the municipal level, exactly all of the diversity of demographic and economic development in Serbia can be quite clearly seen, as well as the heterogeneity of the ethno-social structure of the population. At the same time, the consequences of the conflicts and the tectonic political changes in the 1990's on the migration of the population, especially the emigration flows that took place in the intercensal periods of 1991-2002 and 2002-2011 are much more obvious at the municipal level (around 160-170 municipalities and cities).

In Serbia, based on the concentration of the population abroad, and not only the relative one, as well as on the percentage of persons working or residing abroad in the total population (in the country and abroad), several zones of pronounced emigration are clearly identified (Penev and Predojević Despić, 2012). Since the beginning of the great emigration wave, towards the second half of the 1960's, and in the next 4-5 decades, central-east Serbia (CES) has been constantly distinguished, above

all, as the first large zone of intense emigration towards Western European countries (Figure 1). If only the results of the 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2011 censuses are observed, the vast majority of municipalities in the CES zone have always had at least twice the share of the population abroad than the average for Serbia.

The second "hot" emigration zone is situated in the far south of Central Serbia (SCS). It consists of the municipalities of Bujanovac and Preševo, where the majority of the population consists of ethnic Albanians. The shares of population abroad were already in 1981 and 1991 noticeably higher than the average for Serbia, but also significantly lower than in the CES Zone. Between 1991 and 2002, i.e. at the height of the conflict related to the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, the number of emigrants from that Zone was more than quadrupled (from 5.4 to 23.4 thousand), and their share in the total population of emigration in the SCS Zone increased from 6.1% to 23.1% in 2002.

The Zone in the Serbian part of the region of Sandžak – 5 municipalities in the south-western part of Serbia

(SWS) did not join the group of notable emigration areas until the 1990's. In this Zone as well, a large share of the population belongs to an ethnic minority group (Bosniaks/Muslims), and a sharp increase in the number of persons working or living abroad is also tied to the period of crises and wars during the 1990's. Between 1991 and 2002, the number of emigrants increased by almost 6 times (from 5.4 to 31.0 thousand), and their share in the total population of the SWS Zone from 2.3% to 12.6%. Between 2002 and 2011, there was a significant decrease in the number and share of emigrants.

Close to local compatriots even while abroad

In Serbia, in terms of external migration destinations there are also considerable regional differences, which additionally intensified in the late 20th and early 21st century (Predojević-Despić and Penev, 2012). Traditionally, Germany has been a main destination for emigrants from Serbia. In the majority of municipalities, at the time of all censuses that gathered information on emigrants from Serbia (from 1971 to 2011) Germany was the destination country that received the largest number of emigrants, and they were spatially distributed throughout Serbia. However, from census to census there were fewer municipalities with the majority of emigrants working or residing in this country, from 113 municipalities in 1981 to "only" 63 in 2011. Austria is the second country by the number of municipalities in Serbia with the highest share of emigrants. At the time of the 1981 Census, there were 36 of them and in 2011 there were 45 municipalities (Figure 2). Most of these municipalities are spatially located in the central and eastern parts of the country, then in the peripheral area of the City of Belgrade and in Mačva.

Switzerland is gaining in importance as a destination for emigrants from Serbia, their number has increased and the areas of their origin have expanded. However, most of them originate from the Raška and Pomoravlje districts and two municipalities in southern Serbia – Bujanovac and Preševo. At the same time, the number of municipalities in which emigrants in Switzerland represent a majority of people abroad significantly increased (Figure 3). In 1981, this country was the main destination for emigrants from 9

Figure 2. Municipalities with a majority of emigrants in Austria, Serbia, 1981-2011

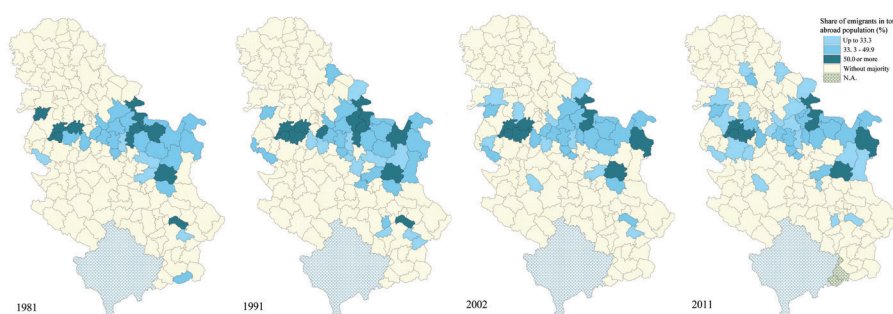
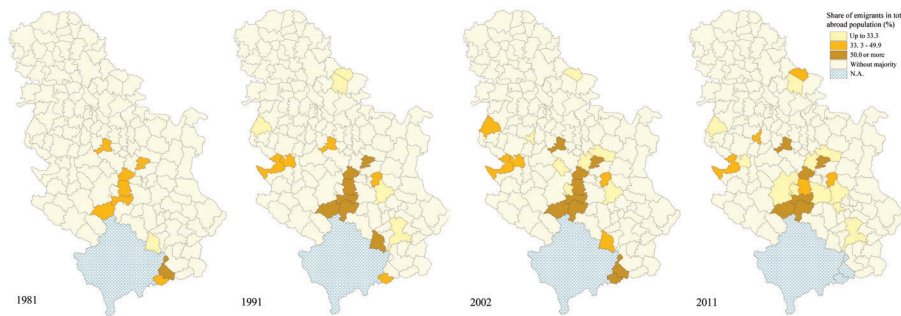


Figure 3. Municipalities with a majority of emigrants in Switzerland, Serbia, 1981–2011



municipalities, and in 2011 their number increased to 24.

The destinations of Serbian migrants started to expand from the 1990's (Predojević-Despić and Penev, 2014), and the most important new receiving country was Italy but also some former socialist countries (primarily Hungary and Russia). Although less intense, intercontinental migration flows were continually present, and apart from the USA, Australia and Canada, had become frequent destinations. Intensification of emigration flows towards new destinations has caused the increase in the number of municipalities from which people find destinations in the new receiving countries. The reasons are different, but can generally be the geographical proximity and ethno-cultural closeness (Hungary and Macedonia), economic cooperation and the possibility to meet the specific requirements of foreign labour markets (Russia), a large number of highly educated professionals meeting the highest world standards (USA and Canada), but the effects of the newly established migrant networks are also very important (Italy).

Conclusions

The data analysis on the Serbian emigrants based on the results of several recent censuses in Serbia indicates that in the last 3–4 decades certain regions of the country have developed strong migration ties with the most important European immigration countries. The number and structure of Serbian citizens abroad, especially in certain destination countries of Europe, although caused by the demographic characteristics of the population as well as economic and political conditions in Serbia, were also essentially caused by the general

socio-economic and political circumstances in the countries of destination, measures of their immigration policies, but also the efficiency of the established migration ties and networks both in Serbia and in the receiving countries.

Further research

The research on emigration from Serbia will be additionally broadened through investigating youth migration in the Danube Region. The Institute of Social Sciences is a partner of the project YOUNIG (Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration), financed by the EU Danube Transnational Programme, in the period 2017–2019. The partnership covers 8 countries of the Danube region including the largest receiving countries (Austria, Germany), the main sending countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia) and the countries where both trends are relevant (Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia). The lead partner is the Hungarian Central Statistical Office.

Project YOUNIG aims to boost local and national institutional capacities to enhance the scarce local evidence on youth migration, thus contributing to improving policymaking with a focus on gains and losses of human capital and remittances. Statistical offices, academic organisations and local governments team up in a complex and tailored multi-level and transnational cooperation to create related local developmental strategies based on improved impact indicators for youth migration, and introduce transnationally tested tools to manage local challenges. As a result, institutions and other stakeholders will obtain increased capacities and their cooperation will be intensified.

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THE VOICE OF THE MEMBERSHIP

The Regional Survey in this issue (Guest Editors Gary Bosworth and Danica Šantić) comprises a selection of papers which emerged from a conference staged in Belgrade as part of the Regional Studies MICaRD (Migration, Inter-Connectivity and Regional Development) network. The rationale for the network is to provide space to debate current and emerging issues on European economic migration in order to foster collaboration and expand research opportunities. The specific focus is on increasing labour mobility within the EU and the impact on regional development in rural areas for both sending and receiving nations. The papers presented here include perspectives from regions suffering depopulation and those facing challenges associated with the integration of new migrant populations. In a world of uncertainty for international migrants in the US and Europe, especially the UK, with growing numbers of asylum seekers and a continuing flow of people towards Europe, this issue of *Regions* forms part of a wider call for new thinking about contemporary patterns of mobility.

Our *In Depth* article by Crescenzi, Fratesi and Monastiriotis examines the factors that condition the successful implementation of Cohesion Policy in the EU using econometric modelling techniques. The experiences of 15 regions are analysed. Their results show that while there is a positive association between Policy and regional growth, the success of policies appears to depend on levels of concentration and effective targeting of spend on regional needs. This article complements our *Research Note* provided by Schopf and de Vries which consists of an analysis of transnational cooperation to stimulate regional development in the Alpine Border region of Bavaria-Austria.



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