

**LA POPULATION DES BALKANS
À L'AUBE DU XXI^{ÈME} SIÈCLE**

**THE POPULATION OF THE BALKANS
AT THE DAWN OF THE 21ST CENTURY**

Skopje
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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF FORCED MIGRATION FROM THE FORMER REPUBLICS OF SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA IN SERBIA

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Abstract

The scarce academic literature on former refugee population is partly a result of a shortage of statistical data after refugees' obtaining citizenship of the host country. The article explores demographic and socio-economic effects of forced migration in Serbia. The focus is on the forced migrants who came to Serbia mainly in the 1990s from other former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) republics and the following domains are addressed: changes in number and origin, fertility, sex and age structure, education and economic activity of forced migrants in Serbia. The use of additionally processed 2011 Census data enabled extraction of the data on forced migrants and its comparison to relevant local/host population data. Comparison has been made to the data on forced migrants from the 2002 Census, where possible. Considering that the 2002 and 2011 Censuses were not conducted on the territory of the Autonomous Province (AP) of Kosovo and Metohija, data for the Republic of Serbia are presented without AP Kosovo and Metohija.

Keywords: forced migrants, fertility, employment, education, Serbia

Introduction

In the 1990's, large number of refugees from former SFRY republics came to Serbia. The systematic collection of data on this population in Serbia was conducted by the 1996, 2002 and 2005 refugee censuses. The maximal number of forced migrants was registered in 1996 (617, 728), out of which 537, 937 refugees and 79, 791 war affected persons, who according to the international standards did not have the right to the refugee status (UNHCR, CRRS, 1996).

The importance of further statistical monitoring of these persons has been recognized and considered when creating the Questionnaire for the 2002 and the 2011 censuses in Serbia. In compliance with the international recommendations, in the 2002 Census the total population of the Republic of Serbia included the citizens of the Republic of Serbia who have been abroad for less than a year, as well as foreign citizens who had worked or resided in the Republic of Serbia for a year or more. In 2002, internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija were not included in the total population. The total population covered the forced migrants from former SFRY republics, the biggest part of which had already, by that time, resided on the territory of Serbia for several years. The data on forced migrants, according to the 2002 Census of Population in the Republic of Serbia, was published in a publication "Refugee Corpus in Serbia." The authors of this study stated several reasons for, in their opinion, the incomplete coverage of forced migrants by the 2002 Census of Population. Some of the mentioned reasons were the non-reporting of the forced migrant status out of a desire to be included into the new environment, as well as the unavailability of a certain number of these persons at the time of the Census (subtenants, seasonal workers, etc.), i.e. the fact that there was no person in the household that could have provided the relevant data to the enumerator (Ladević, Stanković, 2004).

In the Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census applied, for the first time, the concept of "usual population". The forced migrants from former SFRY republics and internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija, who met the requirements of the applied concept, were also included in the total population. Considering the change in the definition of the total population and the inclusion of internally displaced persons in the total population of the 2011 Census, the comparability of the 2002 and 2011 censuses data on the total population in Serbia has been made difficult but it did not affect significantly the share of forced migrants in the total population 2011.

In order to capture the effects of forced migration from the former SFRY republics, while processing data of 2011 Census, the Republic Statistical Office included the additional topic, called "refugee". This topic pertains the people who fled to Serbia from the former Yugoslav republics in 1991-2002, stating "forced relocation" as the main reason for their arrival to Serbia. Moreover, it included their children born in the Republic of Serbia, as well as persons who had fled in the same period, but stated

“family reason” as reason for migration. The last category has been included on the assumption that number of persons would rather opt for a family reason than the forced one according to the above mentioned experience from the 2002 Census. The 2011 Census “refugee” topic concept, which covers the period since the Dayton Agreement, is based on the fact that in the enumeration of refugees by the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia in 1996, 2001 and 2005 the time frame was not one of the factors for granting refugee status. The same concept was applied on the need for comparability of the 2011 Census data with the 2002 Census data. In order to define the relevant category of the study, contrary to the censuses implemented by the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, the “refugee” category in the 2011 Census has not been defined on the basis of a refugee status, bearing in mind the time that has passed since the war events on the territory of the SFRY and the high naturalization rate. Namely, from the beginning of 2001, when the legislative possibilities were established in order to simplify the access to citizenship for the refugees from the former SFRY republics (adoption of amendments to the Law on Yugoslav Citizenship) “more than 200,000 persons acquired citizenship of the Republic of Serbia, which represents the largest integration process in Europe” (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2009: 26).

In this paper we have opted for the term “forced migrants from the former SFRY republics”, in order to emphasize that the category, which is the subject of research, is not defined on the basis of the formal refugee status. The research is based on the additionally processed results of the 2011 Census of Population in Serbia. The identification of the contingent of population, which is the subject of the research, has been enabled by answers to several questions, foreseen by the methodology of the 2011 Census of Population: the place of birth; whether the person had permanent residence without interruption since his/her birth; whether she or he ever lived/resided outside the Republic of Serbia without interruptions for a year and more; his/her year of arrival to the Republic of Serbia; the country in which he or she used to live; the main reason for his/her departure. At the same time data on family members have also been obtained. It needs to be noticed that there is a possibility of “statistical invisibility” for some of the forced migrants from former SFRY republics who resided in Serbia for a while, moved abroad after some time and then returned to Serbia.

Changes in number and origin

The 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia registered 277,890 forced migrants from the former SFRY republics, which made 3.9% of the total population. Out of that, 245, 556 (88.4%) stated “forced relocation” as the main reason for their arrival to Serbia and 7 193 (2.6%) stated “family reason”. There were 25, 141 children born in the Republic of Serbia, who were members of the

family in which one of the parents stated “forced relocation” as the main reason for arrival to Serbia. Their average age at the moment of 2011 Census was 10.8.

Table 1. Refugees in Serbia 1996–2005 and forced migrants 2002–2011, by areas

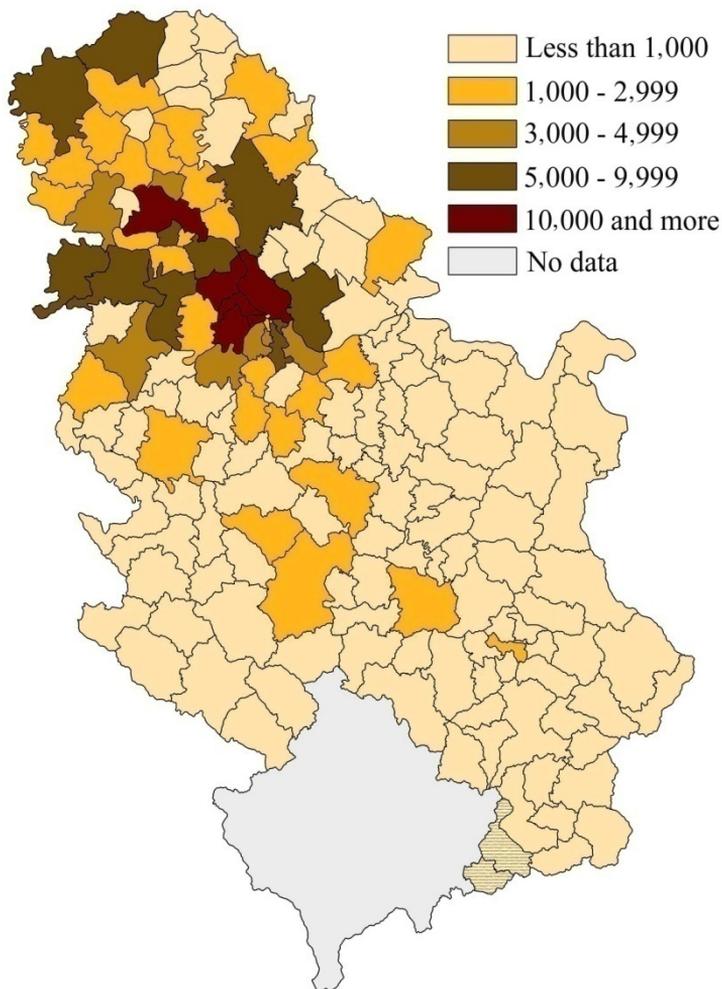
Republic of Serbia	1996	2001	2005	2002	2011
	617, 728	451, 980	104, 246	379, 135	277, 890
Vojvodina	259, 719	217, 438	50, 363	186, 463	142, 600
Central Serbia without Belgrade	166, 875	95, 024	23, 601	81, 372	43, 627
Belgrade	170, 955	139, 076	29, 866	111, 300	91, 663
Kosovo and Metohija	20, 179	442	257	-	-

Source: Lukić V., 2015. Dve decenije izbeglištva u Srbiji. Beograd: RZS.

In comparison to 2002, the number of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics has been reduced by 101,245 while their share in the total population of Serbia went down by 1.2% (from 5.1% in 2002 to 3.9% in 2011). Even if we take into consideration the methodological differences that refer to the concept of the total population according to the censuses of 2002 and 2011, the share of forced migrants in the total population, at the national level, would not change significantly. The biggest reduction in the number of persons with refugee status was recorded in the period 2001–2005, mostly as a consequence of naturalization (table 1.).

The concentration of the observed population in 2011 was in the Region of Vojvodina, where the forced migrants made 7.4% of the total population. Just like in the 2002 Census, in 2011 the biggest number of forced migrants was recorded in the largest municipalities in terms of population, whose centres represented the biggest urban agglomerations of Serbia, while only a few dozens of these persons were registered in some small (in terms of population) or border municipalities in the South-East part of the country (Stevanović, 2005; Lukić, 2005). The largest concentration of forced migrants in 2011 was in the towns of Belgrade (91, 663) and Novi Sad (31, 866). In 2011 as much as 32.9% of forced migrants resettled from the former SFRY republics in the Republic of Serbia lived on the territory of Belgrade City. The concentration of forced migrants has increased in the 2002–2011 inter-census period by 3.6% in Belgrade and by 1.5% in Novi Sad. In 2011, the group of five municipalities that had the biggest share of forced migrants (between 15 and 20%) was almost the same as in 2002 (Lukić, Matijević, 2006), though one included the municipality Petrovaradin¹ and the other municipality Ruma.

¹ The municipality Petrovaradin was constituted in June 2002, after the 2002 Census had been conducted.

Map 1. Spatial distribution of forced migrants by municipalities in Serbia, the 2011 Census

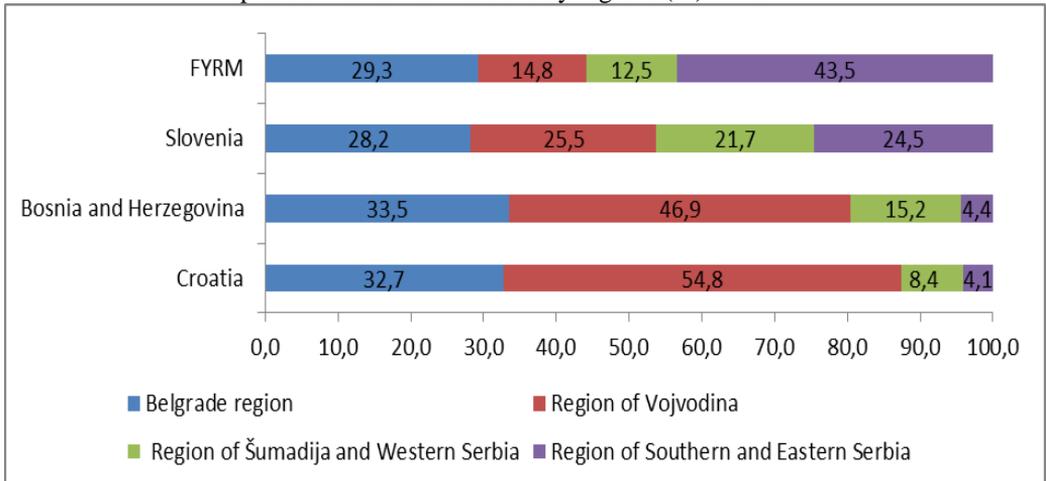
The inflow of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics during the 1990's temporarily mitigated the depopulation trend in Serbia, evident in Vojvodina since 1989 and in Central Serbia since 1992. The analysis of the consequences of this migration on the population growth of Serbia, in the period 1991–2002, has shown that the forced migrants had more significant impact on the population growth in Vojvodina. “Without this contingent, the total number of residents of Central Serbia would have been reduced by 333.305 persons (-5.9%) and Vojvodina one by 124.666 persons (-6.3%). Their impact on the demographic change in areas and municipalities was also adequate to the territorial distribution of these persons (Stevanović, 2005)”. According to the 2011 Census of Population, there has been a further increase in the

concentration of forced migrants in Vojvodina and Belgrade, along with a decrease in their share in other parts of the country. The results of the analysis point at differences in the spatial distribution of the observed population depending on specific categories. While forced migrants and children of forced migrants who were born in Serbia mostly live on the territory of Vojvodina (51.6% and 52.4%, respectively), the family (tied) migrants are predominantly settled in Central Serbia (60.6%).

The findings of various researches and surveys show that, apart from the impact on the growth of the number of residents, the forced migrants didn't have a significant impact on natural increase of the population or its socio-economic characteristics on the territories where they have settled (Lukić, Matijević, 2006, Bubalo-Živković et al. 2001). The population projections showed that the positive effect caused by the arrival of refugees will be lost by 2050. The main reasons are: small number of refugees in comparison to the total population of Serbia, similarity in the reproductive behaviour of the refugees and the host population, high emigration, the age of the refugees (older than the emigrants' one) and the processes of repatriation and resettlement of refugees to third countries (Nikitović, Lukić, 2010).

According to the 2011 census in Serbia there were 162,721 registered forced migrants from Croatia and 82,598 from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Almost two thirds of forced migrants are from Croatia and one third is from Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two groups of persons account for 97.1% of the total number of forced migrants in Serbia. The number of forced migrants from other former SFRY republics, Slovenia (4,196) and Macedonia (3,044), is significantly lower and they jointly account for 2.9% of the total of forced migrants.

Graph 1. Forced migrants by former SFRY republic of origin and place of residence in Serbia by regions (%) in 2011



The share of forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina went down from 34.7% in 2002 to 32.7% in 2011, while the number of persons from other former SFRY republics has been halved. An increase can be noticed only when we talk about the share of forced migrants from Croatia in the total observed population (from 61.5% in 2002 to 64.4% in 2011), which is in line with the problems related to the return of these persons, as well as difficulties in realizing their property and other rights in the Republic of Croatia.

Fertility of the female population

The 2011 Census data on fertility of female forced migrants from former SFRY republics were additionally processed whereas the same 2002 Census data were not. In 2011, the total fertility rate of female forced migrants aged over 15 was 1.46. The highest rate of cumulative fertility was in the group of women aged 60 and over (2.07). In the younger age group of women who came out from their fertile period, aged 50 to 59, the rate of cumulative fertility is smaller and the value of this indicator keeps going down with the younger age groups.

The total fertility rate of female forced migrants is quite the same as the indigenous one in 2011 (1.46 vs. 1.45). The fertility of female forced migrants is a bit higher only in the group of women aged 50 and over, while in the case of all other groups the average number of live-born children of these women is a bit smaller in comparison to the local female population of Serbia. The biggest differences can be noticed in the age groups of 60 and over (2.07 vs. 1.80) and 25–29 (0.54 vs. 0.74). It can be assumed that, in the case of younger women, the decision on having children was influenced by the circumstances of forced migration.

Most of the female forced migrants aged 20 and over, who have given birth, have given birth to one or two children. The share of women who have given birth to more than three children is high in the group of women aged between 40 and 60, reaching the maximum share in the group of women over 60. In the group of female forced migrants aged between 35 and 39, 11.7% have given birth to three and more children vs. 6.7% in the age group 30–34. Like in the case of the total female population of the Republic of Serbia, it can also be concluded for female forced migrants that the “moving of the structure in terms of an increase in the share of a lower order and a decrease in the share of the higher order of childbirths is more evident in the younger than in the older age groups of women who came out from their reproductive period” (Rašević, 2006; 61). In those terms, when trying to answer the question: “How many children does Serbia need?” (Đurđev, 2004), the author concludes that the main reason for the low fertility in the Republic of Serbia is the lack of progression from the second to the third child.

Sex and age distribution

The population of the Republic of Serbia is exceptionally old, with a low and declining share of the young and a high and constantly rising share of the elderly (Rašević, Penev, 2010). Circumstances of forced migration, which caused the arrival of entire families in Serbia, reflected in the small difference in the average age of forced migrants and local population (i.e. population without forced migrants). Hence it can be said that there was no impact of this migration to mitigate the intense process of population aging in Serbia. On the other hand, the estimates indicate that net migration in Serbia has been negative, at around –15 thousand annually (Kupiszewski et al., 2012). Studies of the age structure of emigrants showed lower average age (more than 7 years on average) of these persons compared to the total population of Serbia (Predojević-Despić, Penev, 2012), which has negative consequences on the age structure of the population.

Within the first waves of refugees (1991-1996), which were looking for shelter on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, women accounted for over two thirds of the adult population. This asymmetry of the sex structure in favour of women is one of the characteristics of the population affected by the war. However, already in 1996, the ratio of men and women in the refugee population was 47.2% vs. 52.8% (UNHCR, CRRS, 1996). Over time, the structure of this population has become more even and in 2002 men made 47.6% of forced migrants and 49.3% in 2011.

In 2011, the masculinity rate of forced migrants amounted to 973.8 and it was the first time that it was bigger in comparison to the value for the local population (947.9). The most important causes for the process of feminization of the total population in Serbia are said to be the decline in fertility, differential mortality by age and a longer life expectancy of women (Penev, 2006).

The age structure of forced migrants in 2011 is characterised by a higher representation of the older age groups in general. Compared to the local population, the smaller share of the forced migrants belongs to population age groups 0-19 and above 60, whereas the bigger share of them belongs to age groups 20-60.

On average, forced migrants are a bit older (43.4 years of age) than the total population of the Republic of Serbia (42.2 years of age). The share of children up to 10 years of age is twice smaller in the population of forced migrants in 2011. It was the same in 2002 (Ladević, Stanković, 2004). In the period 2002-2011 there has been a significant decline in the number and the share of the contingent of female fertile population in the population of forced migrants in Serbia (from 115,776 or 30.5% to 73,370 or 26.4%). Still, in 2011 the share of the fertile contingent was smaller in the case of the local population (22.3%).

Table 2. Age structure of local population and forced migrants by 5-year age groups in Serbia (%), 2011

	Forced migrants	Local population
0-4	1.7	4.7
5-9	2.3	5.0
10-14	3.2	4.9
15-19	4.9	5.6
20-24	7.2	6.1
25-29	8.0	6.6
30-34	8.5	6.8
35-39	8.5	6.8
40-44	7.8	6.5
45-49	8.2	6.7
50-54	9.2	7.2
55-59	9.5	8.2
60-64	7.6	7.3
65-69	3.7	4.8
70+	9.6	12.8

Most of the forced migrants belong to the category of the working-age population. Despite the decrease in the number of forced migrants between 2002 and 2011, the share of the working-age contingent has gone up (from 73.4% to 75.7%). There have also been certain changes in the structure of working-age population, which are reflected in an increase in the share of male population and a decrease in the share of female population. The share of the working-age group (15–64) in the local/host population is 64%, which is significantly less than for forced migrants. In the population of forced migrants there is a smaller share of persons aged 65 and over and one can see the differences between two populations in regards to the eldest ones too. While the eldest forced migrants (aged 80 and over) account for 2.4% of this population, the share of persons aged 80 and over in the host population amounts to 3.7%. At the time of the 2002 Census, the share of the elderly (aged 65 and over) among the forced migrants was 12.7%, whereas it reached 16.9% among the local population. In 2011 these shares were 13.6% vs. 17.5%. The relatively low number of persons aged 65 and over for forced migrants is explained by an assumption of the higher mortality than the usual one for the persons of the same age among the local population (Penev, 2006). In comparison to the local population, a smaller share of elderly persons in the age structure of forced migrants can also be partially explained by the fact that it was predominantly elderly persons who opted for repatriation. According to the data on the structure of the returnees to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, children with parents account for only 15% of the returnee population (KIRS, 2010). The majority of the returnees are retired elderly persons, especially in the case of Croatia (Mesić and Bagić, 2011). According to the data from Commissariat for Refugees and Migration (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2011b) that refers to the age

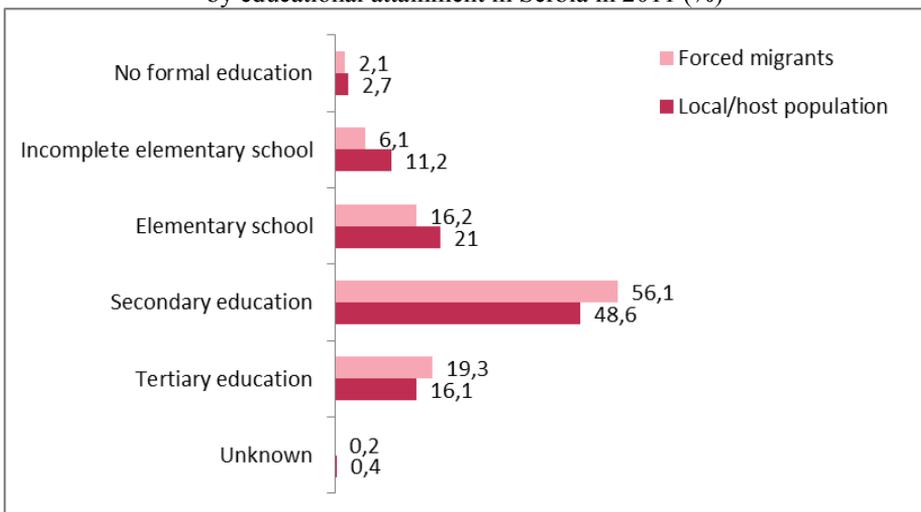
structure of forced migrants from former SFRY republics with a refugee status in 2011, it can be noticed that there is a dominant share of the aged 65 and over (30.4%) in this population in comparison to the age structure of forced migrants according to the data from the 2011 Census which covered persons regardless of the refugee status. That points out to the fact that the elderly tend to integrate to a smaller extent in legal sense, because they see refugee status as a certain safety.

Literacy and educational attainment

Given that the cultural integration is facilitated by historical and ethnic connections (over 94% of forced migrants are of Serbian nationality) and the lack of language barriers between the forced migrants and the local population, formal education and employment shed the light on the important socio-economic dimension of forced migrants' integration into Serbian society.

In 2011 most of the forced migrants (aged 15 and over) from the former SFRY republics in Serbia had secondary education. Their share has grown since 2002 (49.3% in 2002 vs. 56.1% in 2011). The same goes for those with tertiary education (13.6% vs. 19.3%). Those with no formal education were scarcer in 2011 (5.0% vs. 2.1%). It is the same for those with incomplete primary education (9.2% vs. 6.1%) and primary education (21.1% vs. 16.2%). Still, the data shows the unfavourable fact that a quarter of forced migrants with primary education are 30 to 49 years old, which reflects negatively on their competitiveness in the labour market.

Graph 2. Local population and forced migrants aged 15 and over by educational attainment in Serbia in 2011 (%)



Source: Lukić V., 2015. Dve decenije izbeglištva u Srbiji. Beograd: RZS.

There are big differences in the level of education with respect to the sex of forced migrants. In 2011, women accounted for 84% of all forced migrants with no formal education. At all levels of education, the share of men is bigger, although these differences are the least expressed in the case of persons with tertiary education. The smaller share of women in the group of persons with college or university education is a consequence primarily of the lower share of the women of this level of education aged 60 and over.

Although the educational structure of the population in the Republic of Serbia has been improved in the period 2002-2011, the forced migrants from the former SFRY republics were a bit more educated in 2011 that could partly result from the smaller share of persons aged 65 and more in the forced migrant population. A bigger share of persons with secondary education or college (or university) education among forced migrants compared to the local population was also registered in 2002 (Stanković, Lađević, 2004). As for the lower educated, differences between men and women, although in favour of men in both populations, are more pronounced among forced migrants.

The research on the literacy showed that there has been significant reduction in the illiteracy rate of the forced migrants between 2002 and 2011 (from 2.9% to 1.5%). In 2011, persons aged 60 and over made the biggest share (85.2%) of illiterate forced migrants in 2011, followed by persons aged 50–59 (4.8%), while the smallest share was found in the case of those under 19 (1.6%). The illiteracy rate of women was significantly bigger (2.6% vs. 0.5% for men). While over 90% of the illiterate women were over 60 years of age, the share of men of this age among illiterate amounted to 52.0%. Although fewer in numbers, illiterate men belonged to different age groups: 20–29 (12.3%), 30–39 (9.8%), 40–49 (9.1%) and 50–59 (11.1%).

The changes in the age structure of illiterate forced migrants in the period 2002–2011 are characterized by small fluctuations. Still, it is possible to notice an increase in the share of illiterate forced migrants aged 20–29 (from 1.6% to 3.3%) and aged 30–39 (from 1.4% to 2.9%) and a decrease in the share of illiterate older persons. We can conclude that, even though there has been reduction of the general illiteracy rate of forced migrants, there is a relatively negative trend.

Although the decrease in the number and the share of illiterate persons in the total population of the Republic of Serbia is noteworthy, the illiteracy rate of the local population is a bit higher in comparison to the illiteracy rate of forced migrants and it amounted to 2% in 2011. The illiteracy rate of the host population amounted to 3% for women and 0.7% for men. Persons aged up to 19 accounted for 3.6% of the illiterate population, which is more than in the case of forced migrants. The illiteracy rate of the local population is significantly influenced by its ethnic structure. The shares of illiterate persons among some ethnic groups are three to six times higher than in the

case of the total population of Serbia. For instance, there is a particularly high general illiteracy rate in the Roma population which amounted to 19.7% in 2002 (Stanković, 2006).

Economic activity

The labour market in the Republic of Serbia is characterized with high unemployment, high share of long-term unemployment in the category of the unemployed, large regional differences in terms of employment and economic activity and significant share of informal employment. Within the institutional framework, Roma, persons with disabilities, victims of human trafficking and others, refugees and internally displaced persons are recognised as particularly vulnerable groups in the labour market (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2011a). As pointed out by Radivojević (2006), the economic activity rate in Serbia has been declining continuously as a consequence of the socio-economic development and demographic processes which had an impact on the scope of the working-age contingent through the age-sex structure.

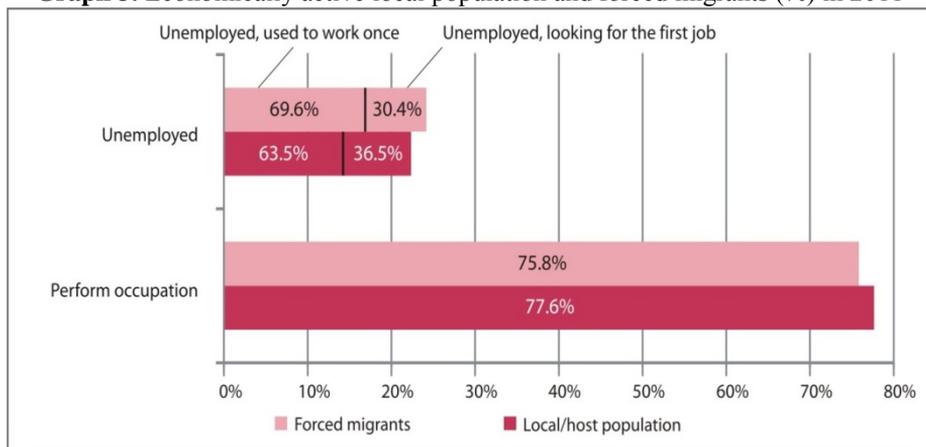
The position of the forced migrants in the labour market is important for their prosperity, but also for the Serbian society as well. Researchers² have shown the unstable and unfavourable position of forced migrants from the former SFRY republic in the labour market in Serbia (Babović et al., 2007). By applying the concept of the current activity in the 2011 Census of Population in Serbia, data on the economic characteristics of the population, including forced migrants, have been derived on the basis of the answers regarding the activity in the week preceding the Census. The 2011 Census registered 135,638 economically active forced migrants in the Republic of Serbia, many of whom actually worked. The share of the economically active people within the forced migrants has gone up from 47% in 2002 to 48.8% in 2011. In 2011, 75.8% of them actually worked (64.2% in 2002). The economic activity rate of the local population in 2011 was 41.0%, lower than the economic activity rate of forced migrants, as in 2002. These differences apply to the male population (48.3% vs. 55.7% in 2011) as well as to the female population (34.2% vs. 42.1% in 2011).

Although the economic activity rate of forced migrants is higher than the one of the local population, they are unemployed to a greater extent and also at risk of poverty. During the 2002-2011 inter-census period, there has been a decrease in the unemployment rate of forced migrants from 35.8% to 24.2%. This process became more intense after 2008 (KIRS, 2009). Even with this positive trend, the unemployment rate of forced migrants, according to the 2011 Census, was a bit higher

² The study on the position of refugees in the labour market in Serbia was based on the survey conducted in 2006 which, in addition to the persons with formal refugee status, also covered the persons who used to have refugee status once.

than the one of the local population (22.3%). It is the case for both men (23.7% vs. 21.5%) and women (24.8% vs. 23.6%). Within the total number of unemployed forced migrants in 2011, two thirds accounted for persons who used to work and one third for those who were looking for their first job.

Graph 3. Economically active local population and forced migrants (%) in 2011



Source: Lukić V., 2015. Dve decenije izbeglištva u Srbiji. Beograd: RZS.

Male forced migrants continue to be more economically active than the female ones, but the share of economically active female forced migrants increased from 39.3% in 2002 to 42.1% in 2011. As in the local population, men outnumber women (55.2%), especially in the group of persons who used to work (56.3%). In five municipalities with the largest share of forced migrants, the differences in population's economic activity structures between forced migrants and local population are merely between 0.1 and 1.2%.

The labour market dependency ratio (the ratio of the entire economically inactive / entire active forced migrants) was 105 in 2011. The value of this indicator for the total population of the Republic of Serbia in 2011 was 135 (Kupiszewski et al., 2012). In 2011, the proportion of pensioners among forced migrants was 17.2%, which was less than among the local population (22.9%). The reasons for this should not be sought only in the age and sex differences of these populations, but also, as pointed out by Lađević and Stanković (2004), in the difficulties encountered by forced migrants in order to assert their rights related to their employment in the former SFRY republics of origin. It is also worth noting the differences in the proportion of homemakers that amounted to 21.2% of forced migrants and 14.0% of the local economically inactive population.

By comparing the source of income of the households of forced migrants and the ones of the local population, it can be concluded that the share of the households with

source of income from salary or other allowance based on work is bigger; respectively, the share of the households with other incomes is smaller in the population of forced migrants. The households with mixed sources of income, income from the social benefits or without income, are equally represented in both populations.

Conclusion

Questions in the 2002 and 2011 Censuses in Serbia have enabled research on change of demographic and socio-economic structure of forced migrants from former SFRY republics and its effects in Serbia. This mostly concerns co-ethnic migration hence the cultural integration is facilitated by the historical and ethnic links among the nations in these territories and the absence of a language barrier. Data on citizenship indicate a high level of legal integration of forced migrants in Serbia. During their integration, the forced migrants in Serbia experienced bigger problems in the course of economic adaptation, that is, when getting included into the labour market and becoming economically self-sufficient. The results show that with a longer stay in Serbia, there has been an economic adaptation of the forced migrants, although the differences in regards to the level and characteristics of their economic participation related to the local population are still present.

We argue that, as previous studies show, the inflow of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics during the 1990's temporarily mitigated the depopulation trend in Serbia. This negligible effect is due to the small number of forced migrants in comparison to the total population of Serbia and the similarity in the age-sex structure and reproductive behaviour of the forced migrants and the host population. Given the fact that population of forced migrants is relatively small in numbers, it has not contributed to a reduction of depopulation, which is the most evident in the region of South and East Serbia (Lukić, 2013) Also, even though the number of forced migrants is not high, they might could have had bigger contribution to a reduction of depopulation if they had settled in one area, which they had not. It is precisely in the region of South and East Serbia that the smallest number of forced migrants has been settled. Looking at the children of forced migrants born on the territory of Serbia, the largest demographic gain is in the region of Vojvodina, home to more than half of these children (13,170). Although with somewhat more favorable characteristics in comparison to local population (bigger share of the fertile contingent and economically active population), the forced migrants are not determinant of the changes in population structure of Serbia. The effects of forced migration on demographic and socio-economic structure of population are the most evident on the lower territorial level, i.e. municipalities with the largest share of forced migrants in the total population. However, even in those municipalities, the differences in the educational and population's economic activity structures between forced migrants

and local population (i.e. population without forced migrants) are small. So are the impacts as well.

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