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EMIGRATION ZONES IN SERBIA:
2011 CENSUS RESULTS*

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ABSTRACT: In the last few decades there have been changes in the nature of international migration trends and spatial mobility of population on the world level. This was influenced by significant changes on the political scene of Europe and the world, globalisation, international capital flows, technical-technological progress, the IT revolution and so forth.

International migration trends are mainly analysed from the perspective of the recipient countries, while research from the perspective of the origin countries is much rarer, and especially those which include both aspects. At the same time, there is an evident lack of reliable information containing data on migration trends between countries of origin and destination, regional origin and demographic structures of migrants, which hinders a more detailed territorial analysis. Serbia does not have satisfactory statistics on international migration as well, even though it is a country with long emigration tradition. The census data on the Serbian nationals working or residing abroad, regardless of the relatively large census undercount, present the main sources of statistical information on the characteristics of Serbian emigration, and practically the only source of data on their regional origin and socio-demographic features.

Regional differences in view of the share of nationals abroad are very pronounced in Serbia. They were established as early as 1971 the Census and confirmed by every following census. The 2002 Census results indicated there

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were three typical emigration zones. The aim of the paper is to determine whether there have been changes in the spatial distribution of the emigrants from the regional aspect of Serbia as an origin country, based on 2011 Census final results. The characteristics of the Serbian citizens abroad, according to age and sex, length of stay abroad, country of destination and ethnic composition, have also been analyzed in this paper.

KEYWORDS: international migration, emigration zone, Serbia, 2011 Census of Population in Serbia

INTRODUCTION

Different historical periods brought significant increases in migration flows and patterns and their implications have been multiply analysed. It is believed that Europe, at the beginning of the third millennium, experienced a new migration turnaround. The changed political maps of Europe and the world, inextricably linked with the turbulent economic changes and effects of globalisation, international capital flows, technological progress, along with the improvement of transport infrastructure, development of telecommunications and transportation and information revolution, have resulted in the so-called global migration era [Castles and Miller 2008]. The scope of migration flows has significantly increased, and the permanent settlement, as the most common immigration pattern, is being replaced by models of temporary, circular, transnational migration and intensification of spatial mobility of people in the most productive working age. Furthermore, the concealed, illegal forms of migration have become more complex, presenting an almost unsolvable problem for a growing number of economically developed countries.

At the beginning of the third millennium the public interest in the issue of international migration visibly increased. It was not conditioned only by its substantial intensification, because it had been present since the 1980s, but by the increasingly powerful immigration pressure faced by the most economically developed countries in the world. It is also one of the main reasons for migration, in the vast majority of studies, to be examined from the perspective of destination countries. The studies focussed on the countries of origin and complex research involving both aspects are much more uncommon. The closely related studies are devoted to the territorial aspect of studying international migration. They belong to the group of the least numerous [Skeldon 2008], and when viewed from the perspective of the countries of origin, it is practically negligible. What prevents more reliable consideration of theoretical approaches in revealing deterministic basis of migration is exactly the lack of reliable information containing data about the migration flow between countries of origin and reception, as well as regional origin, demographic and socio-economic structures of migrants. It also prevents a more detailed analysis of the complex relations between social development and migration, particularly in the sphere of finding a political response to the possibility of using migration (foreign currency remittances, transnational migrant networks, social and human capital) to improve the socio-economic development in both the destination countries and countries of origin [Predojević-Despić and Penev 2012].

As a country with a long tradition of emigration, specific economic and political emigration context, a significant number of its citizens abroad, as well as a very heterogeneous spatial distribution and differentiated structure of international migrants, Serbia lacks good statistics on emigrant stocks and flows [ISS and SORS 2013], as well as a sufficient number of studies on international, and above all, economic migration. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to examine the tendency in the number of Serbian citizens working or residing abroad based on the available census data, to territorially locate the “hot” emigration zones based on the final 2011 Census data, and determine whether there have been any changes in relation to the situation disclosed by the previous 2002 Census. This paper also analyses some important structural characteristics of the emigrant stock by zones and indicates the main countries of destination. Such an approach does not have only the research, but wider social significance, particularly because most of the population abroad covered by the census maintain ties with Serbia, often visit their hometowns and present an important resource for the socio-economic development of the country.

EMIGRATION FROM SERBIA: THE TERRITORIAL ASPECT

According to the 2011 Census results², slightly more than 313 thousand citizens of Serbia worked or resided abroad. It was the first population census that registered fewer people abroad than at the time of the previous one. The 2011 Census registered as many as 100 thousand people less, which is almost a quarter less than in the previous census. The causes of such large decrease are numerous, among the most important being: increased undercover as a result of putting the emphasis on the usually resident population and not on the family members living abroad, the boycott of ethnic Albanians, new remote destinations, significant number of asylum applicants, the so-called false asylum seekers, more intense departure of highly educated persons whose coverage is, as a rule, lower. However, despite the inadequate coverage and decrease in the emigrant stock, it is certain that in the last intercensal period 2002–2011 the international migration of Serbian population was less intense than in the last decade of the 20th century. Furthermore, their character has also changed. Forced migration, as well as the migration based on predominantly political reasons, is replaced by the so-called peacetime migration, mainly motivated by economic reasons. The causal connection with the migration of the 1990s continues, especially when observing the return flows, i.e. repatriation of refugees to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. In 2006, Montenegro became an independent state, so that the migration between the two former Yugoslav republics, previously registered as internal became international migration. According to the 2011 Census, Montenegro is among the 15 *top* countries of

² The paper used exclusively the official statistical data obtained by regular population censuses conducted in Serbia between 1971 and 2011. For 2002 and 2011 the data used were obtained by special additional processing of the final census results. The authors would like to thank the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS) for the data that represented the necessary statistical basis for writing this paper.

destination for the Serbian emigrants. Moreover, the progress in the EU accession process of Serbia is one of the most important triggers for emigration, which influenced the choice of destination country and length of stay abroad in the last intercensal period.

Significant regional differences in terms of emigration trends and characteristics of the Serbian emigrant stock, present back in the mid-1960s, and gradually developed and further intensified during the 1990s, are highlighted in the observed intercensal period 2002–2011, both at the lower (cities and municipalities) and the higher territorial levels (districts and macro regions). They are mainly related to different intensity of emigration and unequal share of the emigrant population in the total population. In addition, differences by areas are noticeable when considering the characteristics of emigration and the emigrant population (country of destination, length of stay abroad, age and sex structure, ethnic composition of migrants, etc.).

Table 1. *Serbian citizens working or residing abroad. Serbia, Central Serbia and Vojvodina, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2011*

Census	Serbia			Central Serbia			Vojvodina		
	Total population (in country and abroad)	Abroad		Total population (in country and abroad)	Abroad		Total population (in country and abroad)	Abroad	
		Number of persons	Share in total population (%)		Number of persons	Share in total population (%)		Number of persons	Share in total population (%)
1971	7,202,915	203,981	2.8	5,250,355	133,389	2.5	1,952,560	70,592	3.6
1981	7,729,246	269,012	3.5	5,694,464	203,421	3.6	2,034,782	65,591	3.2
1991	7,822,795	273,817	3.5	5,808,906	226,295	3.9	2,013,889	47,522	2.4
2002	7,893,125	414,839	5.3	5,794,346	344,151	5.9	2,098,779	70,688	3.4
2011	7,470,798	313,411	4.2	5,496,368	263,083	4.8	1,974,430	50,328	2.5

Source: Census data

Notes: 1) Data refer to the total number of Serbian citizens abroad (regardless of length of stay); 2) Data for 1991 include estimated number of citizens abroad in municipalities of Bujanovac and Preševo; 3) Data for 2011 do not include the estimated population of Bujanovac and Preševo.

Differences are present even when considering the two main areas of the country exclusively. The 2011 Census results indicate that the number of persons abroad also decreased in Central Serbia and Vojvodina (by 81 thousand and by 20 thousand respectively). However, although the decrease is greater in Central Serbia, it is relatively more pronounced in Vojvodina, both according to the negative growth rate (in Central Serbia, the decrease was 23.5%, while in Vojvodina it was 28.8%) and to the decreasing share in the total population (Table 1).

Regional differences are even more pronounced at lower territorial and administrative levels. It is at the municipal level that all the diversity of demographic and economic development can be clearly seen, as well as the hetero-

generality of ethno-social population structure [Penev and Predojević-Despić 2012]. This applies to the emigration flows, especially during the last two intercensal periods, i.e. after the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, when the political and economic crisis and the war left serious consequences throughout the country and deepened regional differences.

In Serbia, there is a very heterogeneous spatial distribution of the emigrant stock. Besides the main urban areas – Belgrade (10 municipalities), Novi Sad (2 municipalities) and Niš (5 municipalities), there are only 15 municipalities and cities (out of 168) from which originate more than 50% of people living abroad in 2011. Out of this number, 10 are smaller municipalities with total population in the country and abroad under 40 thousand (of which 4 are very small – with less than 20 thousand inhabitants). These are mainly municipalities of the Braničevo, Pomoravlje, Podunavlje and Bor districts, as well as the Sandžak municipality of Novi Pazar. These are generally typical emigration municipalities which have had the above-average shares of the population abroad for decades [Penev and Predojević-Despić 2012]. In addition, by quantifying the relative numerical importance of the observed emigrant stock, expressed through the *population abroad participation ratio (APR)*³ in the 2011 Census, generally very high values of that indicator are obtained for these municipalities (over 5, and in two municipalities over 10). There are also a very large number of municipalities with a negligible share of persons abroad in the total population of the municipalities (in the country and abroad). In 2011, there were more than 50 municipalities in Serbia with an APR by 50% lower than the average for Serbia.

EMIGRATION ZONES: 2011 CENSUS

In Serbia, based on the concentration of the population abroad, and not only the relative one, as well as on the percentile share of persons working or residing abroad in the total population (in the country and abroad), several zones of pronounced emigration are clearly identified. For the purposes of this paper, with its main objective to assess the basic characteristics of the migrant population stock which, according to the 2011 Census, has the largest concentration of population abroad, as well as the direction and intensity of migratory flows from Serbia, two zones of pronounced emigration were established. In order for the zones to be spatially continuous, the emigration zones also include municipalities that cannot be considered pronouncedly emigrational (at least not in terms of external migration), but which by other demographic characteristics, primarily by geographic location, are similar to their neighbouring municipalities with a very high share of people working or residing abroad.

³ In this case, the *population abroad participation ratio (APR)* is the share of municipality population working or residing abroad in total Serbian population abroad per share of the same municipality population in the country in the total population of Serbia in the country. It shows the relative concentration of population abroad by municipalities [Penev and Predojević-Despić 2012].

The oldest emigration zone is the Central-East Serbia Zone (CES Zone in further text), which began to form as early as the first great emigration wave in the second half of the 1960s. It is located in the central-eastern part of Serbia. Persons from these regions immigrated mostly to the western countries. CES Zone covers a territory of 14 municipalities in three administrative districts (all the municipalities of Braničevo and Bor districts, and municipalities of Despotovac and Svilajnac belonging to Pomoravlje district). This zone, mainly due to its territorial continuity, also encompasses the municipality of Bor and Majdanpek, which have a significantly lower share of population abroad and constitute an exception to other municipalities of CES Zone [for more details see: Penev and Predojević-Despić 2012].

In this Zone, the number of residents abroad continuously increased until the early 2000s. In the last intercensal period there was a decrease in the number of persons abroad (6.0%), but it was slower than the decrease in other areas, i.e. much slower than the average for Serbia (24.4%). The 2011 Census results also point to the scope and numerical importance of the emigrant stock from CES Zone, according to which out of 18 municipalities with the absolute majority of people from Serbia abroad, as many as 10 belonged to the central-eastern emigration zone. Every fourth citizen of Serbia abroad (26%) originates from CES Zone, while at the same time its population accounted for only 5% of the total, usual residents of Serbia. The largest number of people abroad in this zone originates from the municipality of Negotin (12.7 thousand in 2011), which in previous censuses had the highest number of persons abroad within CES Zone. Moreover, in 2011, Negotin was the second municipality in Serbia by the size of the emigrant stock, immediately after 10 Belgrade municipalities observed together.

According to the last two population censuses, the largest number of municipalities from the oldest Serbian emigration zone had at least twice the share of the population abroad than the average for Serbia. The 2011 Census recorded the highest percentile share of the emigrant stock, where nearly every fifth citizen (18.7%) of the zone lived abroad (APR value was as high as 5.3). There are also municipalities with a record-high shares of persons abroad in the total population of the municipality, even over 30% in 2011 (three neighbouring municipalities – Žabari, Kučevo and Malo Crniće), which also have very high levels of APR – even over 10 (Table 2). These three small municipalities have a population of less than 38 thousand, which represents only 0.5% of the total population, while on the other hand, more than 17 thousand people originating from these municipalities live abroad, which is 5.5% of the total emigrant stock of Serbia.

According to the 2002 and 2011 censuses, five Sandžak municipalities of Priboj, Prijepolje, Sjenica, Novi Pazar and Tutin (in the south-western part of Serbia) also belonged to the group of municipalities with the highest share of people working or residing abroad. Unlike CES Zone, in 1991, the Sandžak municipalities had low or moderately high share of persons abroad. A sudden increase in the number of persons abroad in this South-West Emigration Zone (SWS Zone in further text) is linked to the crisis and the wars following the

Table 2. Serbian citizens working or residing abroad in two “hot” emigration zones, 2002 and 2011, by municipalities

Zone / municipality	2002				2011			
	In the country	Abroad		APR	In the country	Abroad		APR
	Number of persons	Share in total population (%)	Number of persons		Share in total population (%)			
Serbia	7,477,974	414,839	5.3	1.00	7,157,387	313,411	4.2	1.00
CES Zone	395,834	86,748	18.0	3.95	351,532	81,516	18.8	5.30
Bor	55,695	1,445	2.5	0.47	48,502	1,018	2.1	0.48
Despotovac	25,463	7,392	22.5	5.23	23,065	5,840	20.2	5.78
Golubac	9,857	2,218	18.4	4.06	8,288	2,007	19.5	5.53
Kladovo	23,483	7,750	24.8	5.95	20,355	6,746	24.9	7.57
Kučevo	18,609	6,267	25.2	6.07	15,404	6,824	30.7	10.12
Majdanpek	23,579	1288	5.2	0.98	18,549	1,117	5.7	1.38
Malo Crniće	13,709	5074	27.0	6.67	11,247	5,519	32.9	11.21
Negotin	43,162	14,217	24.8	5.94	36,627	12,763	25.8	7.96
Petrovac	34,221	11,485	25.1	6.05	30,752	10,386	25.2	7.71
Požarevac	74,555	8,542	10.3	2.07	74,638	8,764	10.5	2.68
Svilajnac	25,355	7742	23.4	5.50	23,252	6,913	22.9	6.79
Veliko Gradište	20,489	5,854	22.2	5.15	17,459	5,839	25.1	7.64
Žabari	12,931	5,308	29.1	7.40	10,987	4,933	31.0	10.25
Žagubica	14,726	2,166	12.8	2.65	12,407	2,847	18.7	5.24
SWS Zone	214,550	30,968	12.6	2.60	218,464	24,232	10.0	2.53
Novi Pazar	85,700	10,560	11.0	2.22	99,186	9,925	9.1	2.29
Priboj	30,241	3,417	10.2	2.04	26,805	2,448	8.4	2.09
Prijepolje	40,962	4,709	10.3	2.07	36,430	4,560	11.1	2.86
Sjenica	27,834	5,935	17.6	3.84	25,899	2,751	9.6	2.43
Tutin	29,813	6,347	17.6	3.84	30,144	4,548	13.1	3.45

Source and note: see Table 1

dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, to the strengthening of inter-ethnic tensions and the great economic crisis that has affected the entire Serbia, and especially some of its peripheral parts. These municipalities are generally characterised by the majority of Bosniak/Muslim ethnicity, i.e. Islamic religion. It should be particularly emphasised that during the 1990s and 2000s as well, in the analysed municipalities the share of the largest ethnic group was markedly higher in the total emigrant population than in the total population of the municipality. Data of the last two censuses (2002 and 2011) indicate a complete turnaround in the analysed municipalities in terms of external migration. Between 1991 and 2002 the number of persons abroad increased by almost 6 times (from 5.4 to 31.0 thousand), and their share in the total population of SWS Zone from 2.3% to 12.6%. Between 2002 and 2011 there was a significant

decrease in the number of people abroad, of almost 21.8%, to 24.3 thousand persons. Although the decrease in this indicator is somewhat less than the Serbian average, it is significantly higher compared to CES Zone. This can be partially explained by the specific nature of emigration trends from this region during the 1990s and early 2000s, and by overcoming the causes of emigration, on the one hand, as well as the much less opportunity to obtain residence visas to Western countries, on the other hand. In addition, in the last intercensal period the process of return migration started on the basis of readmission agreements, and it is assumed that the census coverage of persons abroad from this region is slightly lower than in CES Zone.

Besides the two mentioned emigration zones CES and SWS, the 2011 Census did not register any other area of noticeable emigration that could be characterised as a pronounced emigration zone. It should be emphasised that there is an emigration zone consisting of two municipalities in southern Serbia – Bujanovac and Preševo. According to the 2002 Census and previous censuses, it is similar to CES Zone by the most important characteristics of the population abroad [Penev and Predojević-Despić 2012]. However, the paper does not analyse this emigration zone because the mass boycott of the 2011 Census by the ethnic Albanians caused the lack of even approximate data about the number and characteristics of persons working or residing abroad originating from the two municipalities.

LENGTH OF STAY

Data on length of stay abroad in *hot* emigration zones are the best indicators of the extent of regional differences in Serbia as far as the time is considered. According to the 2011 Census, out of the total number of Serbian citizens abroad, more than half (175 thousand or 56%) stayed outside the country for less than 10 years. The largest number of Serbian emigrants covered by the last census stayed abroad for less than five years: even one in four (79 thousand or 25%) less than a year, and between one and five years, 53.5 thousand persons or 17%.

One of the main causes of the huge emigration in the period immediately before the last census is the placement of Serbia on the Schengen “white” list in 2010, i.e. the long-awaited opportunity for Serbian citizens to travel visa-free and stay in the European Schengen area up to three months within a period of six months. Moreover, a large number of retirees returning from abroad belong to the group of the so-called transnational migrants, who have returned to live in Serbia but spend part of the year in the former country of residence. Therefore, the data of the last census are significantly different from the data of the previous census in 2002, when more than half (55%) people covered by the census resided abroad for more than 10 years. The largest number of people emigrated in the period between 1987 and 1997 (154 thousand or 37%), immediately before the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and during the severe crisis that followed. In addition to the abovementioned reasons, certain methodological differences compared to the 2002 Census, such as a different way

of enumerating students abroad, putting the focus on enumerating usual residents of Serbia and obtaining information on persons abroad, also influenced the identified differences in the length of stay abroad between the last two censuses.

In terms of the emigration zones there are apparent differences in the length of stay abroad (Table 3). As already pointed out, the residents of the central-eastern emigration CES Zone were the first to start going abroad, and after the initial wave their number was constantly rising. This affected the people of this zone to stay abroad longer compared to the country average, particularly in relation to the emigrant stock of the Sandžak municipalities, i.e. SWS Zone. According to the 2011 Census, the largest number of people from CES Zone stayed abroad for more than 10 years (44 thousand or 54%). In the 2002 Census, as many as two-thirds of people from this zone stayed abroad for more than 10 years, which shows that the last census covered significantly less the population that had emigrated abroad during the first emigration wave

Table 3. *Serbian citizens working or residing abroad by length of stay. Serbia and "hot" emigration zones, 2002 and 2011*

Length of stay	Serbia		CES Zone		SWS Zone	
	2002	2011	2002	2011	2002	2011
	Number of persons					
Total	414,839	313,411	86,748	81,516	30,968	24,232
Up to 1 year	20,027	79,006	2,754	18,254	1,257	9,068
1-4	69,617	53,528	10,656	9,208	8,502	4,432
5-9	74,953	42,487	13,192	10,099	8,952	3,055
10-14	78,982	40,432	18,526	10,386	5,684	3,318
15-19	28,822	28,776	8,232	8,217	841	2,408
20-24	26,991	30,297	7,901	10,942	553	1,206
25-29	22,831	9,619	6,848	3,810	428	230
30+ or unknown	92,616	29,266	18,639	10,600	4,751	515
	Structure (percentage)					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Up to 1 year	4.8	25.2	3.2	22.4	4.1	37.4
1-4	16.8	17.1	12.3	11.3	27.5	18.3
5-9	18.1	13.6	15.2	12.4	28.9	12.6
10-14	19.0	12.9	21.4	12.7	18.4	13.7
15-19	6.9	9.2	9.5	10.1	2.7	9.9
20-24	6.5	9.7	9.1	13.4	1.8	5.0
25-29	5.5	3.1	7.9	4.7	1.4	0.9
30+ or unknown	22.3	9.3	21.5	13.0	15.3	2.1

Source: SORS (special census data processing requested by the authors of this paper)

in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 2011, almost one in four emigrant from CES Zone stayed abroad for less than one year (22%), and every third emigrant (33%) less than five years, which represents a doubling of the share compared to 2002, when only 15% of persons stayed abroad for less than five years.

In SWS Zone, compared to CES Zone, there was a significantly higher share of individuals registered in 2011 who stayed abroad up to five years: 37% was abroad for less than a year, and 55% for less than five years. Only every fourth emigrant from this zone (5.7 thousand, or 23%) went abroad between 1992 and 2001. Given that in 2002 there were nearly 19 thousand people, i.e. 60% of the total number of emigrants from SWS Zone who had stayed abroad for less than 10 years, the 2011 Census registered a significantly smaller number of people who emigrated during the largest emigration wave of the 1990s.

RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

Germany and Austria are the two most important recipient countries for the population of Serbia, from the first emigration wave in the 1960s, to the last 2011 Census. Over time their “attractiveness” was losing its importance but nevertheless, these two countries registered the largest number of emigrants from Serbia in all the censuses. While in 1981, as much as 60% of Serbian people had worked or stayed in Germany and Austria, in 2011 the share of these two countries was reduced to 40%. It should be emphasised that for Germany, the census data are less realistic because the undercount is higher for people who reside abroad for a long time. At the same time, the share of other recipient countries such as Switzerland, and in the last two decades, Italy, has increased.

Observed by the zones, the heterogeneity of distribution of people abroad is less pronounced in countries of destination, as well as the difference in the structure of emigrants in countries in relation to the length of stay abroad (Table 4). Both zones have different countries with the largest number of emigrants from that area. According to the 2011 Census data, most emigrants from CES Zone resided in Austria (43%), and in Germany (46%) from SWS Zone. If in the recipient countries only the distribution of emigrants living abroad for ten years or less is observed, then it does not differ significantly from the distribution of the total number of emigrants from the said zone. This suggests that new migrants mostly go to the countries with already established migrant networks comprised of their relatives, friends, or members of similar groups. Compared to 2002, in CES Zone the number and share of persons residing in Italy increased (from 9% in 2002 to 12% in 2011), and in Germany decreased (from 13% in 2002 to 10% in 2011), which from the third place in 2002, fell to the fifth place of the list of “top” destination countries in 2011 for people from CES Zone. For emigrants from SWS Zone the number of persons and share in Germany decreased (by 8%), while it became increasingly popular to immigrate to Bosnia and Herzegovina (10%).

Table 4. *Serbian citizens working or residing abroad according to the length of stay and country of destination. Serbia and "hot" emigration zones, 2011*

Length of stay (in years)	Total	Austria	Germany	Swiss	Italy	France	Sweden	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Other and unknown
Number of persons									
Serbia	313,411	70,488	55,999	41,008	23,340	20,231	10,925	6,514	84,906
0	79,006	16,465	14,485	8,406	5,614	4,423	2,480	2,127	25,006
1–9	96,015	18,621	13,761	9,421	8,971	5,198	3,565	3,097	33,381
10+ and unknown	138,390	35,402	27,753	23,181	8,755	10,610	4,880	1,290	26,519
CES Zone	81,516	35,494	7,810	11,407	10,087	8,016	2,050	100	6,552
0	18,254	8,213	1,889	1,742	2,073	1,604	358	26	2,349
1–9	19,307	8,269	1,318	2,305	3,565	1,659	567	50	1,574
10+ and unknown	43,955	19,012	4,603	7,360	4,449	4,753	1,125	24	2,629
SWS Zone	24,232	1,358	11,214	1,540	191	691	1,398	2,579	5,261
0	9,068	597	4,374	563	75	217	476	824	1,942
1–9	7,487	446	3,238	350	79	230	454	1,129	1,561
10+ or unknown	7,677	315	3,602	627	37	244	468	626	1,758
Structure (percentage)									
Serbia	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0	25.2	23.4	25.9	20.5	24.1	21.9	22.7	32.7	29.5
1–9	30.6	26.4	24.6	23.0	38.4	25.7	32.6	47.5	39.3
10+ or unknown	44.2	50.2	49.6	56.5	37.5	52.4	44.7	19.8	31.2
CES Zone	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0	22.4	23.1	24.2	15.3	20.6	20.0	17.5	26.0	35.9
1–9	23.7	23.3	16.9	20.2	35.3	20.7	27.7	50.0	24.0
10+ and unknown	53.9	53.6	58.9	64.5	44.1	59.3	54.9	24.0	40.1
SWS Zone	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0	37.4	44.0	39.0	36.6	39.3	31.4	34.0	32.0	36.9
1–9	30.9	32.8	28.9	22.7	41.4	33.3	32.5	43.8	29.7
10+ or unknown	31.7	23.2	32.1	40.7	19.4	35.3	33.5	24.3	33.4

Source: see Table 3.

Note: Top five countries of destination in one of the analyzed areas have been listed.

ETHNICITY

The ethnic structure of people abroad, as in the entire Serbia, in areas of pronounced emigration is predominantly determined by the ethnic structure of the total population. Moreover, the structure of emigrants by ethnicity essentially depends on the so-called propensity to migrate of members of ethnic communities, which is best shown in the results of the 2002 Census [Predojević-Despić and Penev 2012]. Observed by the zones, the 2011 Census data indicate that the trend of ethnic differentiation of emigrants continued in the last intercensal period, not only by shares of certain ethnicities in the total emigrant stock, but also by their number. In CES Zone, the most numerous among persons abroad are Serbs (59%), while in SWS Zone they are mostly Bosniaks/Muslims (86%). In both zones the inhabitants of these ethnicities make the absolute majority of the total usual residents. Similar to the situation registered in the 2002 Census, SWS Zone in 2011 shows that the share of members of the major ethnicity Bosniaks/Muslims is lower in population in the country (80%) than in the population abroad (86%), while the share of Serbs in the total number of persons abroad from SWS Zone is significantly lower (7%) than the share of the same ethnicity in the total usual residents from that region (28%). In 2002 in SWS Zone the share of Bosniaks/Muslims abroad was up to 91% and of the population in the country (68%), while that of the Serbs was (5% and 30% respectively).

Regarding CES Zone in 2011, a large number of persons of unknown ethnicity was registered in its emigrant stock (as many as 20.2 thousand, or 25%), and the persons who did not declare ethnicity (6.6 thousand or 8%). This is a big difference compared to the situation in 2002, when a significantly smaller number and lower share of these two groups was registered (10 thousand or 11%) in the entire emigrant stock from CES Zone. The most important reasons include the already mentioned differences in the way of enumeration of the population abroad compared to the previous 2002 Census. Since the only source of information on the emigrant stock are family members in the country, it is possible that the persons who lived abroad for many years, as well as their family members, avoided to provide information on ethnicity, which mostly focuses on personal sense of affiliation, and represents the so-called subjective topic.

CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that in the last intercensal period 2002–2011 international migration of population in Serbia was much less intense than during the 1990s [ISS 2013], the available 2011 Census data indicate the continuing trend of emigration. Although the structural characteristics of migration (sex, age, ethnicity, country of destination, etc.) have not essentially changed, there are clear indicators that there have been new forms of international migration. This is indicated by the high number of persons residing abroad for less than one year, which also presents a huge difference compared to the previous 2002

Census. Progress in the process of Serbia's EU accession and placement on the Schengen "white" list in 2010 can be counted among the most important causes. However, the publication of the final and more detailed census data by SORS will provide more precise conclusions.

The 2011 Census results show that no new zones of high emigration in Serbia appeared during the 2000s. The 2002 Census defined three emigration zones: zone in the central-eastern part of Serbia, zone of southern Serbia consisting of municipalities of Bujanovac and Preševo and zone of five Sandžak municipalities in the south-western part of Serbia [Penev and Predojević-Despić 2012]. In this regard, the available 2011 Census results do not indicate the emergence of new high emigration zones. These are still the Central-East Serbia Zone and South-West Serbia Zone, and despite unavailable census data (due to the boycott of the ethnic Albanians), it is assumed that the area of the municipalities of Bujanovac and Preševo is still the "hot" emigration zone.

The 2011 Census results indicate that there are still similar differences between the "hot" emigration zones and other areas in Serbia, primarily in terms of the share of the population abroad in the total population and the value of the APR. There are also differences among the emigration zones, predominantly related to the length of stay abroad, ethnic composition of emigrants and top destination countries. In addition, there are differences within zones, primarily according to the ethnic composition of emigrants and APR by ethnicity. However, for further research and a thorough analysis of current migration flows and causes of the changes in the zones of high emigration, we should certainly wait for the final results of the 2011 Census to be published, regarding Serbian citizens working and residing abroad, as well as returnees from abroad.

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ОРИГИНАЛНИ НАУЧНИ РАД

ЕМИГРАЦИОНЕ ЗОНЕ У СРБИЈИ: РЕЗУЛТАТИ
ПОПИСА ИЗ 2011. ГОДИНЕЈЕЛЕНА ПРЕДОЈЕВИЋ-ДЕСПИЋ
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РЕЗИМЕ: Међународни миграциони токови углавном се анализирају из перспективе земаља дестинације. Истраживања у чијем су фокусу земље порекла значајно су мање заступљена, а посебно она која истовремено обрађују оба аспекта. Очигледан је и недостатак поузданих информација које садрже податке о миграционим токовима између земаља порекла и земаља пријема, о регионалном пореклу и демографској структури миграната. Ни Србија, иако има дугогодишњу емиграциону традицију, још увек нема задовољавајуће статистичке податке о међународним миграцијама. Пописни подаци о грађанима Србије који раде или бораве у иностранству, без обзира на релативно велики необухват, представљају основни извор статистичких информација о карактеристикама српске емиграције, и практично једини извор информација о њиховом регионалном пореклу и социо-демографским карактеристикама.

Циљ рада је био да се утврде основне промене које се тичу обима и структуре контингента становништва Србије на раду или боравку у иностранству до којих је дошло у међупописном раздобљу 2002–2011, а посебно према њиховом регионалном пореклу.

И поред тога што су у периоду 2002–2011. спољне миграције становништва Србије биле знатно мање интензивне него током 1990-их, расположиви подаци Пописа из 2011. упућују на закључак о настављању интензивног иселавања. Иако се структурне карактеристике миграната (пол, старост, национални састав, земље дестинације и др.) нису битније мењале, присутне су јасне назнаке да је дошло до

појаве нових видова спољних миграција. На то упућује и велики број регистрованих лица која у иностранству бораве краће од годину дана, што уједно представља и велику разлику у односу на 2002. годину.

Резултати Пописа 2011. показују да се током 2000-их у Србији нису појавиле нове зоне наглашене емиграције. То су и даље подручја у централноисточним деловима Србије (тзв. ЦИС зона) и у југозападној Србији (тзв. ЈЗС зона). Уједно, претпоставља се да се општине Бујановац и Прешево, као и 2002. године, могу окарактерисати као трећа „врућа“ емиграциона зона, али су, због бојкота Пописа 2011. од стране становништва албанске националности, оне изузете из разматрања.

Регионалне разлике су веома наглашене када се посматра удео лица која раде или бораве у иностранству. Оне су присутне и у погледу дужине боравка ван земље. Најранији масовни одлазак становништва је забележен у ЦИС зони, а њихов број се у након почетног емиграционог таласа стално увећавао. Према Попису из 2011. године, сваки четврти грађанин Србије на раду или боравку у иностранству (26%) је пореклом из те емиграционе зоне, док је истовремено то подручје учествовало са свега 5% у укупном уобичајеном становништву земље. Уједно је и њихов боравак у иностранству дужи у односу на републички просек, а нарочито у односу на дужину боравка емиграционог контингента из ЈЗС зоне. Посматрано по зонама, разлике по земљама дестинације су мање изражене него разлике у погледу дужине боравка у иностранству. У време пописа из 2011. из ЦИС зоне највише емиграната је боравило у Аустрији (43%), а из ЈЗС зоне у Немачкој (46%). У односу на 2002, у ЦИС зони је настављено повећање броја и удела лица која бораве у Италији, док је у ЈЗС зони видно порасла „популарност“ емигрирања ка Босни и Херцеговини.

Резултати Пописа 2011. указују да је задржана битно другачија етничка структура емиграната по зонама. У ЦИС зони међу лицима у иностранству најбројнији су Срби (59%), док је у ЈЗС зони највише Бошњака /Муслимана/ (86%). У обе зоне становници тих националности чине изразиту апсолутну већину и укупном уобичајеном становништву.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: међународне миграције, емиграциона зона, Србија, попис становништва Србије 2011