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## **LA POPULATION DES BALKANS À L'AUBE DU XXI<sup>ÈME</sup> SIÈCLE**

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

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**SESSION: MIGRATION IN THE BALKANS**

## **CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF FORCED MIGRATION FROM THE FORMER SFRY REPUBLICS IN SERBIA**

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**Abstract:** The scarce academic literature on former refugee population is partly 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 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. Also, a 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 AP Kosovo and Metohija, all the data for the Republic of Serbia are presented without data for the AP Kosovo and Metohija.

**Key words:** forced migrants, fertility, employment, education, Serbia

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. According to the 1996 Census of Refugees the maximum number of refugees was registered (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 were abroad shorter than one 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 refugees 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 refugees, according to the 2002 Census of Population in the Republic of Serbia, were published in a publication "Refugee Corpus in Serbia." The authors of this study stated several reasons for, in their opinion, the incomplete coverage of refugees by the 2002 Census of Population. Some of the mentioned reasons were the non-reporting of the refugee status out of a desire to be included into the life flows in the new environment, as well as the unavailability of a certain number of refugees at the time of the Census (subtenants, seasonal workers, etc.), i.e. the fact that there was no person present who could have provided the relevant data to the enumerator (Lađević, Stanković, 2004).

In the Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census for the first time applied the concept of "usual population",. The refugees 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 according to the 2011 Census, the comparability of the 2002 and 2011 censuses data on the total population in Serbia has been made difficult.

In order to capture 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 is comprised of people who fled to Serbia from the former Yugoslav republics in the period 1991-2002, stating "forced relocation" as the main reason for their arrival to Serbia. Moreover, it included their children born

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in the Republic of Serbia, as well as family members who had fled with forced migrants, but stated “family reasons” as the reason for migration. The last category has been partially defined also due to the assumption that there would be persons who 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 also the period after the signing of 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 data of 2011 Census and 2002 Census. In order to define the relevant category of the study, unlike the refugee censuses implemented by the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, the “refugee” category of persons 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 obtaining of citizenship for 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 emphasise 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 on the basis of answers to several questions, foreseen by the methodology of the 2011 Census of Population. This is how the data on the person’s place of birth, on whether the person had lived in the place of permanent residence without interruption since birth, whether the person ever lived/resided outside the Republic of Serbia without interruptions for a year and more, on the year of arrival in the Republic of Serbia, on the country in which the person used to live, the main reason for the departure and family members have been obtained. It needs to be noticed that there is a possibility of “statistical invisibility” of a part of forced migrants from the 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 reasons” as the reason for migration. 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. The average age of children of forced migrants at the moment of 2011 Census was 10.8.

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

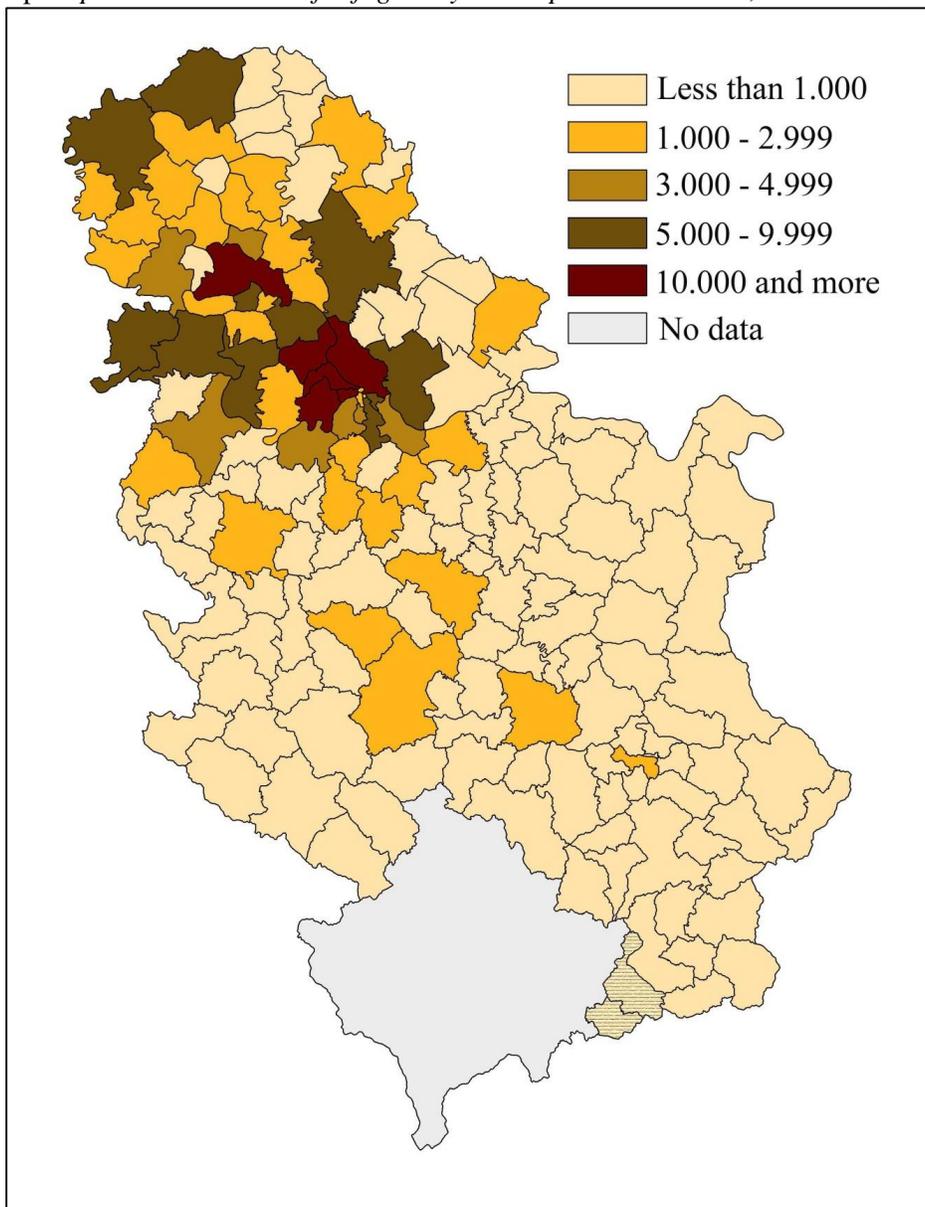
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2011</b>
	617, 728	451, 980	104, 246	379, 135	277, 890
Vojvodina	259, 719	217, 438	50, 363	186, 463	142, 600
Central Serbia without Belgrade	166, 875	95, 024	23, 601	81, 372	43, 627
Belgrade	170, 955	139, 076	29, 866	111, 300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

Source: Lukić, 2015

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.).

Map 1 *Spatial distribution of refugees by municipalities in Serbia, the 2011 Census*



The concentration of the observed population in 2011 was in the Region of Vojvodina, where 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 larger 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 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 in the Belgrade has increased in the 2002–2011 inter-census period by 3.6%, respectfully by 1.5% in the case of Novi Sad. In 2011, the group of five municipalities that had the biggest share of forced migrants was almost the same as in 2002 (Lukić, Matijević, 2006), though one included the municipality Petrovaradin<sup>1</sup> and the other municipality Ruma. These municipalities had between 15 and 20% share of forced migrants in the total population.

The inflow of refugees 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 refugee migration on the population growth of Serbia, in the period 1991–2002, has shown that the refugees had a more significant impact on the population growth of 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 development of some 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 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%).

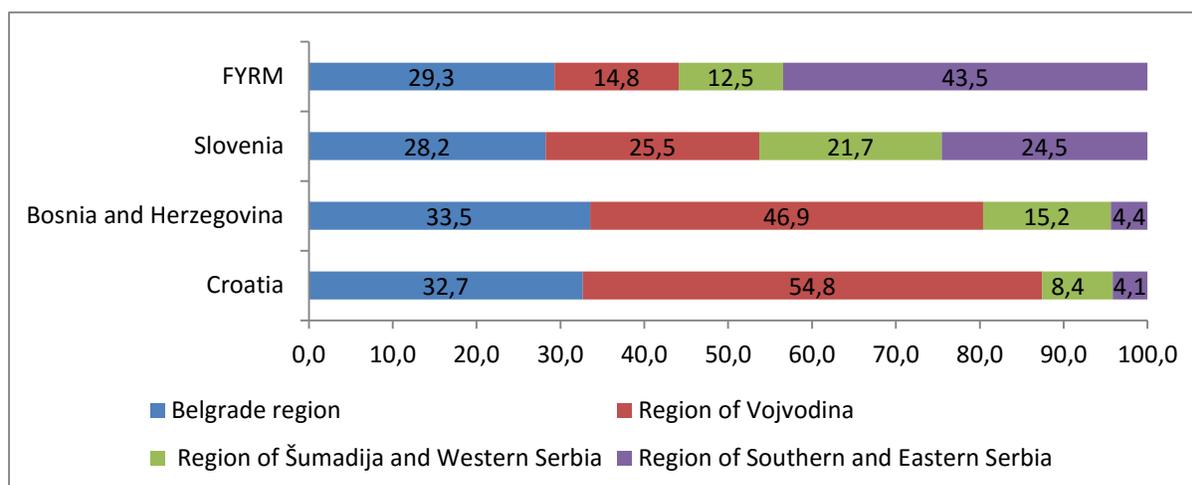
The findings of various researches and surveys show that, other than on the growth of the number of residents, the refugees have not had a more significant impact on the changes of the natural increase of the population or their socio-economic characteristics on the territories where they have settled (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, older refugee population compared to the population of emigrants and the processes of repatriation and resettlement of refugees to third countries (Nikitović, Lukić, 2010).

According to the 2011 Census of Population, in the Republic of Serbia there were 162 721 registered forced migrants from Croatia and 82 598 from Bosnia and Herzegovina. If observed by the country of origin of forced migrants, it can be seen that almost two thirds of these persons 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 the observed population.

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

Graph 1 *Forced migrants by the former SFRY republic of origin and place of residence in Serbia by region (%), the 2011 Census*



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 and the unknown country of origin were halved. An increase can be noticed only when we talk about the share of forced migrants from Croatia in the total of the 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 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 average number of live-born children 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.

By comparing fertility of female forced migrants and the local/host ones in the Republic of Serbia, on the basis of the data of the 2011 Census, it can be concluded that the average number of live-born children is the same for both populations (1.46 vs. 1.45). The fertility of female forced migrants is a bit higher only in the group of women aged 50 to 59 and 60 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 in the average number of live-born children between female forced migrants and other women in Serbia 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 the forced migration and the life in refugeeism.

The share of female forced migrants who have not participated in reproduction is almost halved from the age group 30–34 (35.1%) and 18.7% of women have not given birth to any live-born child in the age group 35–39. 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, for female forced migrants it can also be concluded 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).

#### Sex and age distribution

According to all the features of demographic age, 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 residents. 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), while the studies of the age-sex structure of emigrants showed lower average age of these persons in relation 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, which were looking for shelter on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, women accounted for over two thirds of the adult population. This point to asymmetry of the sex structure in favour of women as one of the characteristics of the population affected by 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 2002, the masculinity rate of the forced migrant population in Serbia amounted to 907.6, while for local population it was visibly higher (948.6). The most important causes for the process of feminization of the total population in Serbia are said to be the decline in fertility, differentiated mortality by age and longer life expectancy of women (Penev, 2006). 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 age structure of forced migrants according to 2011 Census data is characterised by higher representation of the older age groups. An analysis of the age structure by 10-year age groups shows that the share of persons aged 50 to 59 (51,967) is the most expressed, while in 2002 those were the persons aged 40 to 49.

Table 2. *Age-sex structure of forced migrants by 10-year age groups in Serbia (%), the 2002 and 2011 Censuses*

	Sex	Total	0–9	10–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69	70 and over
<b>2002</b>										
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>All</b>	379,135	3.7	14.8	16.7	15.8	18.2	12.2	10.2	7.6
	<b>Men</b>	180,389	3.9	15.8	16.6	15.6	18.6	12.8	9.9	5.8
	<b>Women</b>	198,746	3.4	13.8	16.8	16.0	17.9	11.6	10.4	9.1
<b>2011</b>										
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>All</b>	277,890	4.0	8.1	15.2	17.0	16.0	18.8	11.3	9.6
	<b>Men</b>	137,098	4.2	8.6	15.9	17.1	16.0	18.7	11.5	8.2
	<b>Women</b>	140,792	3.9	7.6	14.6	16.8	16.1	18.8	11.1	11.0

On an 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). If observed by 10-year age groups, we see the differences in regards to the share of these age groups in the population of forced migrants and in the local population. The share of children up to 10 years of age is twice smaller in the population of forced migrants. Large differences in regards to the share of children up to 10 years of age between the two populations were also emphasized according to the data of the 2002 Census (Ladević, Stanković, 2004). The population aged 10 to 19 and the aged 60 to 69 and over 70 also have a smaller share in the population of forced migrants than in the host population. Contrary to that, the population aged 20–29, 30–39, 40–49 and 50–59 accounts for a bigger share in the structure of the forced migrants by 10-year age groups.

Most of the forced migrants belong to the category of the working-age population (75,7%). Despite the decrease in the number in the period 2002–2011, 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. In this period 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, the comparison of the age structure of forced migrants to the age structure of the local/host population of Serbia in 2011 shows that the share of the fertile contingent is smaller in the case of the host population (22.3%). The share of working-age (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 refugees 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 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, the smaller share of elderly persons in the age structure of forced migrants can 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 of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2011b) that refer to the age structure of forced migrants from former SFRY republics with 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.

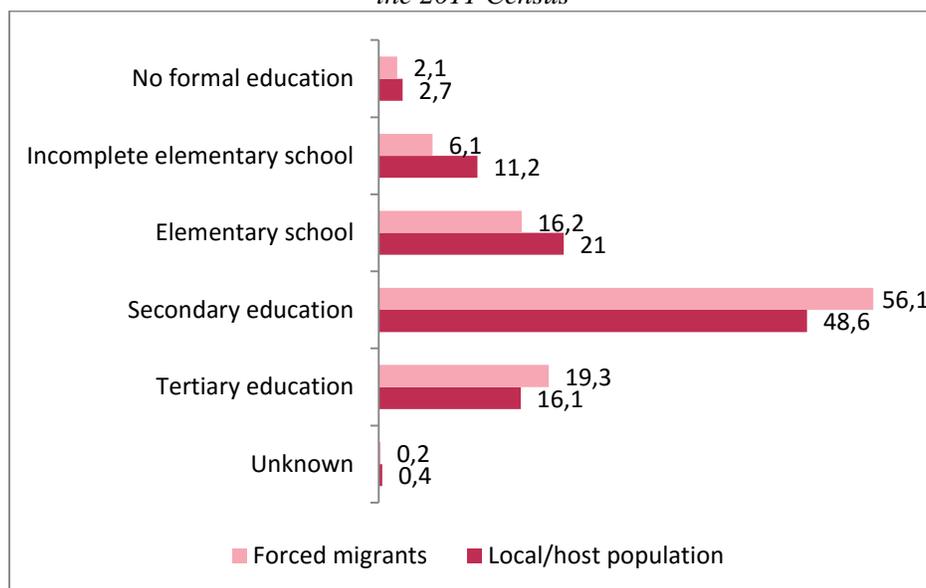
#### Literacy and educational attainment

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

In 2011 most of the forced migrants from the former SFRY republics in Serbia had secondary education. In comparison to the data from the 2002 Census data, there is a growth in the share of persons with secondary education (49.3% in 2002 vs. 56.1% in 2011) and those with tertiary education (13.6% vs. 19.3%), with a decline in the share of persons with no formal education (5.0% vs. 2.1%), with incomplete primary education (9.2% vs. 6.1%) and primary education (21.1% vs. 16.2%) in the population of forced migrants aged 15 and over. Still, the data shows unfavourable fact that a quarter of the forced migrants with primary education are at the age 30 to 49, which reflects negatively on their competitiveness in the labour market bearing in mind that the economic integration is positively related to the level of education.

There are big differences in the level of education with respect to the sex of forced migrants. Women account for 84% of all forced migrants with no formal education. At all levels of education, the share of men is bigger in comparison to the share of women, 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 in the case of the population aged 60 and over.

Graph 2 *Local population and forced migrants aged 15 and over by educational attainment in Serbia (%), the 2011 Census*



Although there has also been improvement trend in the educational structure of the population in the Republic of Serbia, the forced migrants from the former SFRY republics are a bit more educated compared to the local/host population of Serbia aged over 15. In comparison to local population, their educational structure is characterized by a smaller share of persons with no formal education, with incomplete primary and primary education, as well as a bigger share of persons with secondary and tertiary education. A bigger share of persons with secondary education and college or university education in the population of forced migrants in comparison with the local population was also registered with the 2002 Census of Population 2002 (Stanković, Lađević, 2004). As for the lower education, the differences between men and women, although in favour of men in both populations, are more expressed in the case of forced migrants.

Research on the literacy showed that, in comparison to the data from the 2002 Census of Population, in 2011 there has been significant reduction in the illiteracy rate of forced migrants at the level of the Republic of Serbia (from 2.9% to 1.5%). 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 changes in the age structure of illiterate forced migrants in the period 2002–2011 are characterized by small fluctuations in the share of the age groups by literacy. Still, it is possible to notice an increase in the share of illiterate persons aged 20–29 (from 1.6% to 3.3%) and aged 30–39 (from 1.4% to 2.9%), with 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 of structural changes. The illiteracy rate of women is significantly bigger (2.6%) in comparison to men's (0.5%). But in the age structure of illiterate forced migrants by sex, there are big differences too. Over 90% of the illiterate persons are women aged 60 and over, while the share of men of this age among illiterate amounts to 52.0%. Although fewer in numbers, illiterate men are those of different age and belong to the age groups 20–29 (12.3%), 30–39 (9.8%), 40–49 (9.1%) and 50–59 (11.1%).

Although the tendency of 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 relation between the values of the illiteracy rate by sex for these populations is in line with this. The illiteracy rate of the host population amounts to 3% for women and 0.7% for men. Illiterate persons aged up to 19 account for 3.6%

of the illiterate population, which is more than in the case of forced migrants. When discussing the level of the illiteracy rate of the local population, we must emphasize that it is significantly influenced by the ethnic structure of the population. The shares of illiterate persons among the population of some ethnicities 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 by the high unemployment, high share of long-term unemployment in the category of the unemployed, expressed regional differences in regards to employment and economic activity and significant share of informal employment in the total number of the employed persons. 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 the impact on the scope of the working-age contingent through the age-sex structure.

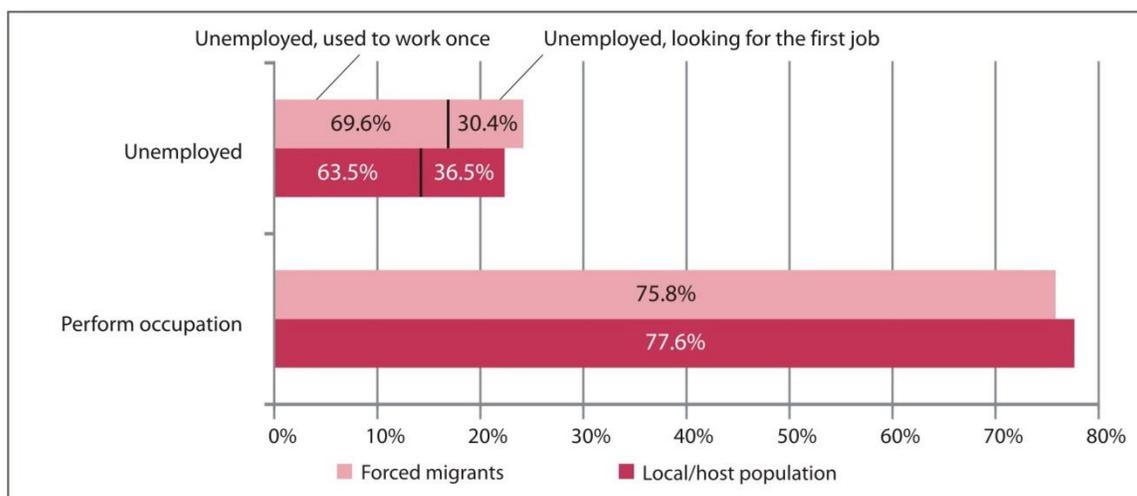
The position of the forced migrants in the labour market is important for their prosperity, but also for the Serbian society as well. Researchers<sup>2</sup> pointed to an unstable and unfavourable position of refugees from the former SFRY republic in the labour market in Serbia (Babović et al., 2007). By applying the concept of the current activity in the 2011 Census of Population in Serbia, the 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, where the biggest number performed occupation. In the period 2002–2011, the share of the economically active population within the forced migrants has gone up from 47% to 48.8%, that is, from 64.2% to 75.8% for the persons who perform occupation. The economic activity rate of the host population in 2011 was 41.0% and just like in 2002, it was lower than the economic activity rate of forced migrants. These differences can also be observed by comparing the values of the economic activity rate of the male population (48.3% vs. 55.7%) and the female population (34.2% vs. 42.1%) of the local population and the forced migrants in 2011.

Although the economic activity rate of forced migrants is higher than one for 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 the positive trend, the unemployment rate of forced migrants, according to the 2011 Census, was a bit higher in comparison to the local population, for which the unemployment rate was 22.3%. If observed by sex, the relation between the unemployment rates of forced migrants and the ones of the local population was 23.7% vs. 21.5% for men and 24.8% vs. 23.6% for women. Within the total number of unemployed forced migrants in 2011, two thirds accounted for persons who used to work once and one third for those who were looking for their first job.

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<sup>2</sup> 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.

Graph 3 Economically active local population and forced migrants (%), the 2011 Census



Male forced migrants continue to be more economically active than female, but it can be observed that there is an increase in the share of economically active female forced migrants in the total female population of forced migrants from 39.3% in 2002 to 42.1% in 2011. In the structure of unemployed forced migrants by sex, equally to the local population, there is predominance of men (55.2%), especially in the group of persons who used to work once (56.3%).

The ratio between the economically active and the inactive forced migrants provides the value of the economic dependence coefficient of 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). The share of pensioners in the population of forced migrants in 2011 was 17.2%, which was less than in the case of the local population (22.9%). The reasons for this should not be sought only in the differences in the structure of these populations by age and sex, but also, as pointed out by Lađević and Stanković (2004), in the difficulties which forced migrants face in the exercising of employment related rights in the former SFRY republics from which they came from. It is worth noting the differences in share of persons who perform only housework at their own household that amounted 21.2% of forced migrants and 14.0% of local economically inactive population.

In five municipalities with the largest share of forced migrants in the total population, the differences in population's economic activity structures between forced migrants and local population (i.e. population without forced migrants) are merely between 0,1 and 1,2%. 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 in 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 social benefits and without income are equally represented in the structure of households by source of income in the case of both populations.

### Conclusions

The research on change of demographic and socio-economic structure of forced migrants from former SFRY republics and its effects in Serbia has been enabled on the basis of answers to several questions, foreseen by the methodology of the 2002 and 2011 Censuses in Serbia. The data on citizenship indicate a high level of legal integration of forced migrants in Serbia. 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, due to small number of forced migrants in comparison to the total population of Serbia and similarity in the age-sex structure and reproductive behaviour of the forced migrants and the host population. Although a relatively small in numbers to have any significant impact on the improvement of the demographic situation in Serbia, the population of forced migrants, not even with spatial distribution,



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