

The 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia

# TWO DECADES OF REFUGEEISM IN SERBIA

Vesna Lukić





Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia



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## FOREWORD

Bearing in mind the war-related events on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings, as well as the fact that the 2002 Census paid special attention to the persons who were forced to leave their residence and looked for a shelter in the Republic of Serbia, regardless of the fact whether those persons had a refugee status at the moment of census. The publication "Two decades of refugeeism in Serbia" is predominantly based on the data of the 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia. Also, a comparison has been made to the data from the 2002 Census, if they had been processed. Considering that the 2002 and 2011 Censuses were not conducted on the territory of the AP Kosovo i Metohija, all the data for the Republic of Serbia are presented without data for the AP Kosovo i Metohija.

The aim of this study on the forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and the related groups of population, as specific contingents, is to contribute to a better understanding of the living conditions of these persons in Serbia and their socio-economic integration through an analysis of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics, housing conditions and sources of households' income. The study represents a relevant basis for recognizing the needs and problems of forced migrants and their households and for creating measures of economic, healthcare and social policy, at the macro and meso level, aimed towards the improvement of the living conditions of these persons and their larger social inclusion. The publication "Two decades of refugeeism in Serbia" also aimed to gain some new and enhance the existing knowledge of forced migration, pointing out the need for an evaluation of the integration. It is intended for the broadest circle of users, from scientists in the field of demography, geography, sociology, history and other related disciplines, to the decision-makers at different levels (from the local to the national one), then for humanitarian and non-governmental organizations, refugee associations and other stakeholders. With publishing this study, the data of the 2011 Census of Population in the Republic of Serbia on forced migrants from former SFRY republics have become available to the public for the first time<sup>1</sup>.

Belgrade, May 2014

*Author*

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Photo: From the archive of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia

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Vesna Lukić, PhD<sup>2</sup>

### On the subject of the research

Contemporary society is marked by an increase in the scope, complexity and diversity of migration. According to the estimates of the United Nations, there were 232 million international migrants in 2013 compared to 154 million in 1990. According to the data obtained from governments, non-governmental organizations and UN agencies, the number of forced migrants at the end of 2012, amounted to over 45 million, out of which 15.4 million were refugees, 937 000 were asylum-seekers and 28.8 million were internally displaced persons (UN, 2013). Although both WWII and the Cold War caused significant refugee flows, formally speaking, the number of persons with refugee status reached its peak of 18.3 million in 1992 (UNEP, 2013).

The determinants, the legislative framework and the spatial and time references – all of them are important for any classification of migration. Within the scope of the spatial and time frame of migration the distance of relocation, the type of administrative and territorial border crossed by the migrant, and the duration – repetition (migration with the change of the usual place of residence, circular or daily) of migration (Lukić, 2007) are considered. Forced migration is predominantly considered as an equivalent to involuntary migration bearing in mind the most frequent causes for their occurrence (civil wars, revolutions, ethnic conflicts, different forms of human rights' violations, development projects and natural disasters). They result in refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons migration flows, so, in line with the spatial and time references of migration typologies, forced migration is most often international and in the case of internally displaced persons, internal migration within a certain country. As opposite to refugees, whose legal status has been established by the 1951 UN Convention and who seek refuge in another country, displaced persons leave their homes, but do not go outside the borders of the country, therefore have no formal and legal protection under international legal acts. The category of forced migrants also includes victims of human trafficking who were transported across the border or within the country during the exploitation. The definition of human trafficking, under the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Human Trafficking in Persons Especially

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Women and Children, adopted in Palermo<sup>3</sup>, which amends the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, emphasizes the coercive forced character of human trafficking.

Numerous authors, among whom are Petersen (1958), Kunz (1973, 1981), Richmond (1998) and Wood (1994), have been engaged in the categorization of forced migration. The definition of a forced migrant has been determined by the factors in migration process, which the authors accept as the relevant ones and there is no general agreement about who belongs to this population. Most often, it is the political factors that are considered as the cause of forced migration. In addition to “classical” refugees, who fit into the definition of refugee under the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, some authors also consider “economically motivated refugees” and “ecologically motivated refugees” as forced migrants (Huyck, Bouvier, 1983). Wood proposes a model of forced migration respecting the fact that groups of forced migrants are characterized by significant dynamics and that, due to different determinants, they create a number of diverse migration flows. He separates three basic groups of forced migrations’ causes (wars/political instability/exile; ecological crises/economic conditions unfavourable for life; ethnic/religious/tribal conflicts), pointing out that in practice the differences between the conditional factors of the model are less important due to the cumulative effects of two or more conditional factors on migration processes (Wood, 1994).

According to the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM), forced migration is the result of the action of both natural and social factors. It refers to refugees and internally displaced persons whose migration occurred due to conflicts, development policies and projects, natural or ecological disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters and famine (IASFM, 2013). As opposed to forced migrant, which is a broader term, the concept of refugee is strictly linked to the definition of refugee, according to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The main causes of refugee migration, according to the Convention, are based on the characteristics of the refugee or on his/her beliefs. Refugee can also refer to ecological refugee and some authors, such as Mayers (1997), advocate for the recognition of the concept “ecological refugees.” However, the UN Convention on Refugees does not include this group of persons, but only the refugees whose migration is the result of the action of political factors. A large number of ecological migrants relocate within the country so they do not meet neither this condition according to the Convention.

Having in mind that, according to the Convention, the main causes of refugee migration are political ones, the foreign policy and geopolitical factors have a big impact on the approval of the refugee status. The refugee policy, as an instrument of foreign policy, in connection to the approval of the refugee status in the USA, is documented in the literature by different authors (Zolberg et al., 1986; Hein, 1993). Hein points out that, even though developed countries intervene in order to provide enough labour force, refugees are used more by political rather than by economic interests (Hein, 1993). In connection to that, according to Castles, differences in the amount of donations to

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<sup>3</sup> Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Human Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime was adopted in Palermo in December 2000, “The Official Gazette of the RS – International treaties”, no. 6/2001.

refugees also show that the decision on the degree of humanitarian action also includes factors such as the strategic or political importance of the region. He refers to the data from the ALNAP reports on the amounts of humanitarian aid in USD per capita for different countries, which was the highest in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993 (Castles, 2006).

When it comes to the factors of influence on migration process, one should not neglect the role either of an individual or of the society. Different socio-economic and individual factors can directly or indirectly influence the migration. This is particularly important to point out when it comes to forced migration, where it is often considered that migrants do not have a possibility to choose in regards to relocation. Taking into account the interests and the actions both of individuals and of the society in the migration process, Hein points out that the basic difference between refugees and migrants lies in the relation of the state towards refugees, since refugees enjoy a special status within the social protection system (Hein, 1993). The categorization of migrants into refugees, internally displaced persons, etc., is the product of the international refugee regime, hence it is difficult to apply it in practice (Scalettaris, 2007). In the contemporary world it is increasingly difficult to establish the difference between economic migrants and refugees considering the strict criteria for the admission of migrants by more developed countries - signatories of the UN Convention on Refugees. The mutual connection between the asylum system and irregular migration has been discussed by several researchers studying migration (Jandl, 2004, Hysmans, 2006; Kraler, Rogoz, 2011). Pointing at the change in the character of forced migration, Castles emphasized that, even though governments are particularly interested in the differentiation between economic migrants and refugees, a large number of forced migrants have mixed motives (Castles, 2006). In many western countries it is possible to notice an increase of the unfavourable social and political climate in the public towards refugees, asylum-seekers and poor population (Mc Keary, 2007, Castles, 2008). As Neumayer underlines, there is a popular opinion that asylum-seekers are predominantly economic migrants, therefore false or artificial – “bogus”, rather than the real ones – “genuine” (Neumayer, 2005).

An increase in the scope and complexity of forced migration, as well as in the international migration in general is the consequence of the political, economic, social, ecological and other factors. This is why it is often the joint action of several determinants on the migration flows, as well as mutual connection between different types of migration. In connection to that, the official publication of the UNHCR state that “in the background of migration phenomena, there are complex and mutually interconnected patterns of political, economic, ethnic, ecological or human rights’ pressures, which are additionally complicated by the mutual action of domestic and international factors” (UNHCR, 1993, 1).

Bearing in mind all of the above, it can be noticed that there is the lack of harmonization between the official definition of refugee and the current migration processes and different types of forced migrants which require legal, humanitarian and other forms of protection and assistance. Since the 1970’s, the UNHCR has also expanded its humanitarian action onto internally displaced persons. Based on these grounds and having in mind rather restrictive formally-legal definition of refugee, the criticism of the current definition of refugee has developed, as well as a discussion about the need for its broadening and evolution (Gunning, 1989). Such definition would cover



different types of forced migrants, taking into account complex relations between the nature and types of refugees (under the Convention) and other forms of forced migration. For instance, besides for recognition of ecological refugees, there are authors, such as Doyle, who advocate for redefining of the definition of refugee, so that it would cover victims of gender-based persecution (Doyle, 2009). The limitation of forced migrants to refugees under the Convention reflects on the scope of these migration flows and the statistical data thereat appropriate measures and strategies at different levels that depend on the coverage of the population data for analysis. However, although “there is no completely satisfying definition of refugee in practice” as pointed out by Black (1993, 5), there is a fear that a broadening of the definition of refugee according to the UN Convention could weaken the refugee concept, as pointed out by De Brito, referring to opinion of other authors as well (De Brito, 2011).

The forced migration, and among which the refugee migration as well, is a complex international and interdisciplinary phenomenon. With an increase in the scope and complexity of migration, there is also an increase in the interest of researchers from different scientific fields (demography, geography, sociology, anthropology, history, international law, economy, psychology, international relations, etc.) in studying refugees. Refugees are also the subject of interest of international, public and non-governmental institutions and organizations for the purpose of protection and aid, but also for political, economic, legal, social and cultural reasons. The studies of refugees are very relevant for creating appropriate measures and policies. In the article on the occasion of 50th anniversary of refugee studies, Black emphasizes that their development has always been connected with the development of appropriate policies and in a close connection with the decision-makers in order to enhance the current knowledge and find suitable solutions for specific situations. Even though, the research impact onto the sector policies has been assessed as minimal in terms of application (Black, 2001).

### **International and national legal framework relevant for the defining of refugee**

The second half of the 20th century was marked by a large number of refugees. The greatest scope of the relocation of this type followed as a consequence of WWII. As Harrell-Bond puts it, “the forced migration is hardly new to people, but the refugees, as the problem we know today, are mostly the problem of the 20<sup>th</sup> century” (Harrell-Bond, 1988, 2). Due to the need to protect refugees in Europe after WWII, the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted in 1951. The Protocol adopted in New York in 1967 represents a modification of the Convention and it removed the time and geographic limitations of the Convention, taking into consideration that the 1951 Convention referred to refugees in Europe in the period after WWII, which prevented its broader application in practice. The 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol on Refugees represent the international legal framework for the protection and establishing of standards for the treatment of refugees. Although the signatory countries of these acts are under no obligation to provide asylum to refugees, in that way they are obliged not to expel or return refugees to the countries where their life or freedom would be threatened.

The original definition of a refugee from 1951 was expanded by regional legal acts – originally, in 1969, with the adoption of the Convention on Refugees by the Organization of African Unity, and then with the 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, which refers to refugees in the group of Latin America countries. Pursuant to these legal acts, refugee is any person who is, due to external aggression, occupation, foreign dominance, organized violence or events that seriously disturb the public order in any part or in the entire country of origin or the country of residence, forced to leave the place of his/her living in order to seek protection in another place outside the country of his/her origin. The need for an extended definition of refugee came out from the conflicts in these regions that took place during the process of decolonization. At the level of the European Union, the goal of the 2004 Directive of the European Union Council on the minimal standards and position of third-country nationals or stateless persons for acquiring refugee status, i.e. the status of persons who need international protection and the contents of guaranteed protection is to establish joint criteria for determining eligibility for refugee status and subsidiary form of protection. It regulates issues regarding the conditions for assigning and terminating of the status, as well as the rights of refugees and persons given the subsidiary protection (European Commission, 2004).

The increased complexity of the socio-economic circumstances in the contemporary world also reflects on refugee migration. Given the fact that more than 60 years have passed since the passing of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, even with the afore-mentioned modification, there is its lack of harmonization with contemporary migration flows. This question is solved within the scope of national legislations. According to the UN data for 2013, which are related to the member countries of this organization, a total of 142 countries, including also all the states created on the territory of the former Yugoslavia are signatories both of the 1967 Protocol on Refugees and the 1951 Convention.

Since 2011, the Republic of Serbia is a signatory of the 1961 UN Convention on the reduction of Statelessness. The Republic of Serbia is signatory of the 1951 UN Convention on the Protection of Refugees and of the 1967 Protocol on Refugee Status too. The Republic of Serbia's 1992 Law on Refugees<sup>4</sup> defines the status, rights and obligations of refugees in the Republic of Serbia. The need to enact the Law on Refugees had been imposed by the war events on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which caused large refugee flows from the territories of the former SFRY republics towards Serbia. In compliance with the Law on Refugees, the refugees are provided with admission, temporary accommodation and assistance in food, right to health and social protection, employment and education, as well as support in a matter of integration and solving of housing in the process of repatriation. The authors of the study entitled "Challenges of Forced Migration in Serbia" emphasize the high standards of the rights, stipulated by this law, "which equalise refugees from other republics of the former SFRY in Serbia with the citizens of Serbia, except in the case when it comes to employment at state services, which requires the citizenship of Serbia" (Group 484, 2012, 17). The specificity of the 2010 Law on Refugees, as well as of the Law on the Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Refugees<sup>5</sup> is that they limit the refugee status to the

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<sup>4</sup> Law on Refugees, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 18/92 and 45/02

<sup>5</sup> Law on the Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Refugees, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 30/2010



persons who fled from the territories of the former SFRY republics to the Republic of Serbia in the period 1991–1998. The category of refugee is defined as “the Serbs and citizens of other nationalities who, due to pressure from the Croatian authorities or the authorities in the other republics, the threat of genocide, as well as persecution and discrimination for reasons of their religious or national affiliation or political opinion, were forced to leave their places of residence in those republics and flee to the territory of the Republic of Serbia”<sup>6</sup>. Taking into consideration the time period that has passed since the war events in the region of the former SFRY republics, the new law on refugees covered both the category of refugees with refugee status, i.e. with refugee ID card, and the category of refugees who have acquired the citizenship and have the personal ID card of the Republic of Serbia. As Batrićević (2013) points out, “the notion of refugee in our positive law is determined in the manner which is sufficiently extensive to grant, at least at the normative level, the basic rights coming out from the refugee status to all those citizens of the former SFRY republics who have been, in the described sense, impacted by the negative consequences of the dissolution of the SFRY” (Batrićević, 2013, 550). An intense process of naturalization took place from 2001, when the adoption of the amendment to the Law on Yugoslav Citizenship simplified the procedure for the obtaining of the citizenship for refugees from the territories of the former SFRY republics. The obtaining of the citizenship is additionally facilitated by the passing of the Law on the Citizenship of the Republic of Serbia<sup>7</sup>. Considering the durability of refugeeism, the goal of the 2010 Law on the Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Refugees was also to define the normative framework for facilitation of solving the housing problems of refugees in the process of integration. Among other things, they have been given the possibility to buy-out the dwellings built by donors’ funds. The relevant by-laws are: Regulation on the provision of care for refugees<sup>8</sup>; Rules of procedure for registration of refugee<sup>9</sup>, Rules of procedure for refugee ID card<sup>10</sup>, Rules of procedure for refugee template record<sup>11</sup> and Regulation on more detailed conditions and measures for establishing the order of priority in solving the housing needs of refugees.<sup>12</sup>

The right to asylum is guaranteed by the Constitution of Serbia. In Serbia, the asylum policy is based on the Law on Asylum (2007)<sup>13</sup> which defines the conditions and procedure for obtaining and termination of the right on residence and protection, as well as the rights and obligations of the persons seeking asylum and those who have the right to asylum recognized in the Republic of Serbia. It promotes the principles of prohibition to expel and repatriate, non-discrimination, family unity, gender equality, care for persons with special needs, etc. It needs to be pointed out that the Law on Asylum does not apply to persons who have acquired refugee status pursuant to the Law on Refugees.

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<sup>6</sup> Law on Refugees, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 18/92 and 45/02

<sup>7</sup> Law on the Citizenship of the Republic of Serbia, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 135/04 and 90/07

<sup>8</sup> Regulation on the Provision of Care for Refugees, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 36/04

<sup>9</sup> Rules of procedure for registration of refugee, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 23/92

<sup>10</sup> Rules of procedure for refugee ID card, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 23/92 and 139/2004

<sup>11</sup> Rules of procedure for refugee template record, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 23/92, 22/94, 61/94

<sup>12</sup> Regulation on more detailed conditions and measures for establishing the order of priority in solving the housing needs of refugees, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 58/2011.

<sup>13</sup> Law on Asylum, “The Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 109/07

## Relevant national strategic documents

In the period from 2002 onwards, the Government of the Republic of Serbia has adopted two strategies that deal with the issues of refugees and displaced persons. The National Strategy for Resolving the Problems of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons was adopted in 2002 and revised in March 2011 for the period from 2011 to 2014. Both strategies are dedicated to finding of durable solutions for refugees from the former SFRY republics and the internally displaced persons from Kosovo i Metohija, with full respect of the freedom of choice of an individual. They are based on the concept of sustainable solutions for the refugee issue<sup>14</sup>, according to the UNHCR, and they consider two basic strategic goals/directions of action for the solving of the issue of refugees and IDP. These are: return and integration. The creation of the conditions for return to the place of prior residence implies full engagement on the part of the state and the international community. This primarily concerns the safety and the legal protection of the returnees, as well as the creation of efficient mechanisms for the return of property and other rights. The second strategic goal refers to the creation of the conditions for local integration by solving the basic life problems of refugees and internally displaced persons and their families (especially the most vulnerable ones). The plan is to ensure the support for the integration and the enabling of these persons for independent and, in comparison to the other citizens, economically and socially equal life by implementing different programmes. The emphasis is on the gradual closing down of collective centres, employment, solving of the housing needs, as well as on the enhancement of the property and legal status of refugees and internally displaced persons.

The 2002 National Strategy for the solving of the issue of refugees and internally displaced persons proposed, among other things, amendments to the Law on Refugees in regards to the issue of definition and the conclusion of agreements on dual citizenship with the refugees' countries of origin (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2002). These proposals have been realized in the later period. The Republic of Serbia has been applying the Agreement on Dual Citizenship concluded between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2003. It defines the conditions (registered residence of at least three years on the territory of a contracting state whose citizenship is being requested, respectfully at least one year if married to a citizen of that contracting state, etc.) under which a citizen of one contracting state can acquire the citizenship of the other contracting state<sup>15</sup>. Although Serbia does not have such agreement with Croatia, there are legal incentives for obtaining dual citizenship when it comes to this neighbouring state. Namely, it is possible to acquire the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia without losing the citizenship of the Republic of Croatia.

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<sup>14</sup> The concept is the subject of criticism, both on account of the fact that it imposes a degree of finality that does not exist in the real life and because it neglects the transnational approach to migration (van Hear 2004, Sorensen, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> Agreement on Dual Citizenship between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, "The Official Gazette of the FRY", International treaties, no. 2/03



Considering the durability of the refugeeism in Serbia, the National Strategy for the solving of the issue of refugees and IDPs for the period from 2011 to 2014<sup>16</sup> (2011) emphasizes that even though a large number of refugees, expellees and persons affected by war have been naturalized, they need further assistance in solving the issues of employment and housing and assistance with realizing the rights in the country of origin, which would significantly mitigate the economic aspect of the integration in the local communities in the Republic of Serbia for many of those people. The solving of the issue of refugees and internally displaced persons is based on the following principles:

- ◆ honouring of human rights;
- ◆ respecting of human dignity of each individual;
- ◆ being informed and voluntary decision-making;
- ◆ partnership between all relevant stakeholders;
- ◆ availability of rights and services on equal grounds for all;
- ◆ well-being of refugees and internally displaced persons;
- ◆ active participation of refugees and internally displaced persons in finding the best solutions (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a).

The Migration management strategy for Serbia<sup>17</sup> (2009) has recognized the refugees as a particularly vulnerable group. The solving of the problem of refugees is stated as one of the measures for the implementation of the policy in the field of migration management. This is to be done by creating conditions for integration and sustainable return of the refugees. The general goal of the Strategy is the management of migration in line with sustainable population policy, long-term needs of the economic development and the trends in the labour market of the Republic of Serbia. Numerous sector strategies also recognize refugees as a vulnerable population that needs to be covered by special programmes and measures in order to have a positive impact on the solving of the different issues of refugees. These are the Social protection development strategy<sup>18</sup> (2005), National youth strategy<sup>19</sup> (2008), National strategy on aging 2006–2015<sup>20</sup> (2006), Poverty reduction strategy for Serbia<sup>21</sup> (2003), National sustainable development strategy<sup>22</sup> (2008),

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<sup>16</sup> National Strategy for Resolving the Problems of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons for the period 2011 - 2014, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 17/11

<sup>17</sup> Migration management strategy, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 59/09

<sup>18</sup> Social protection development strategy, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 108/05

<sup>19</sup> National youth strategy, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 55/08

<sup>20</sup> National strategy on aging, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 76/06

<sup>21</sup> Poverty reduction strategy for Serbia, 2003

[http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDIOFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.kirs.gov.rs%2Fdocs%2FSSS\\_u\\_Srbiji\\_Rezime\\_i\\_matrice.pdf&ei=o\\_AWU\\_GsLcHoswbptIDYCW&usg=AFQjCNG-YoletcoXK6Gy9JC\\_dARndZ4nA&sig2=DdwBZE4oA5xDiosAXWU4Aw](http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0CDIOFjAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.kirs.gov.rs%2Fdocs%2FSSS_u_Srbiji_Rezime_i_matrice.pdf&ei=o_AWU_GsLcHoswbptIDYCW&usg=AFQjCNG-YoletcoXK6Gy9JC_dARndZ4nA&sig2=DdwBZE4oA5xDiosAXWU4Aw) (accessed on 12.02.2014)

<sup>22</sup> National sustainable development strategy, 2008

<http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&sqi=2&ved=0CEwOFjAE&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ekourb.vojvodina.gov.rs%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2FNACIONALNA%2520STRATEGIJA.doc&ei=uvwWU8XMNIT74QSoz4CAAQ&usg=AFQjCNEpNfrjVp7pX1prHE9NTXWBfbTw&sig2=yOtzSnyEqNT93U3ft323Xg> (accessed on 18.03.2014)

Republic of Serbia public health strategy<sup>23</sup> (2009), National strategy on improvement of women status and gender equality 2009–2015<sup>24</sup> (2008), National employment strategy for period 2005–2010<sup>25</sup> (2005) and National employment strategy for the period 2011–2020<sup>26</sup> (2011).

The National employment strategy for period 2005–2010 and the accompanying action plan stipulates special measures for stimulating employment of refugees and displaced persons through the following: setting up of the relevant database on unemployed refugees and displaced persons, granting of subsidies to employers for employment of refugees and internally displaced persons and including of refugees and internally displaced persons in public works. The more recent strategic document in this sector, the National employment strategy for the period 2011–2020 (2011) especially emphasises women refugees, within the scope of the implementation of the equal opportunities policy for all in the labour market and the creation of conditions for the employment of the more difficult to employ and vulnerable categories in the labour market. For this category of women, due to the difference in the unemployment compared to the total population, the National strategy on improvement of women status and gender equality 2009–2015 (2008) also envisages special programmes at the local level. The National youth strategy (2008) and the National strategy on aging 2006–2015 (2006) recognize the categories of refugee youngsters and elderly persons and their specific problems. The goal is to provide more adequate responses to the needs of the population who have fled from their homes and remained to live in the Republic of Serbia, in order to facilitate their integration into the economic, social and cultural life. It particularly emphasized the need for abolishing functional illiteracy and improving the level of primary education of elderly refugees. The Republic of Serbia public health strategy (2009) promotes the development of activities aimed at increasing the accessibility and availability of healthcare services to socially vulnerable groups of the population, including the refugees. As an anti-discrimination tool, the National sustainable development strategy (2008) also foresees programmes for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of marginalized groups, including refugees and internally displaced persons. The Poverty reduction strategy for Serbia (2003) points out that poverty is the most evident among the socially vulnerable groups (children, the elderly, the disabled refugees and internally displaced persons, Roma, poor rural population

<sup>23</sup> Republic of Serbia public health strategy, 2009

[http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCoQfjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.zdravlje.gov.rs%2Fdownloads%2Fzakoni%2Fstrategije%2Fstrategija%2520Javnog%2520Zdravlja%2520Republike%2520Srbije.pdf&ei=3PEWU\\_a2H8HQtObazYHgDQ&usq=AFQjCNFjh1h8gG3aEmVAHh\\_AZycwBFcuww&sig2=WMqCLtclC9C4nBlrcXKN2w](http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCoQfjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.zdravlje.gov.rs%2Fdownloads%2Fzakoni%2Fstrategije%2Fstrategija%2520Javnog%2520Zdravlja%2520Republike%2520Srbije.pdf&ei=3PEWU_a2H8HQtObazYHgDQ&usq=AFQjCNFjh1h8gG3aEmVAHh_AZycwBFcuww&sig2=WMqCLtclC9C4nBlrcXKN2w) (accessed on 15.03.2014)

<sup>24</sup> National strategy on improvement of women status and gender equality, 2008

[http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCoQfjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.zenskavlada.org.rs%2Fdownloads%2Fnacionalna\\_strategija.doc&ei=XflWU7uzBcbYtOa\\_11CYBw&usq=AFQjCNHxB-bXEP3h9NKnHGAZv4BqxVySjQ&sig2=TcqkYWAJctPF4oiHERAIQQ](http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCoQfjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.zenskavlada.org.rs%2Fdownloads%2Fnacionalna_strategija.doc&ei=XflWU7uzBcbYtOa_11CYBw&usq=AFQjCNHxB-bXEP3h9NKnHGAZv4BqxVySjQ&sig2=TcqkYWAJctPF4oiHERAIQQ) (accessed on 5.04.2014)

<sup>25</sup> National employment strategy for period 2005–2010, 2005

<http://www.google.rs/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCoQfjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.prsp.gov.rs%2Fdownload%2Fnacionalna%2520strategija%2520zaposljava%2520final%2520draft.doc&ei=3vMWU8mhJ4PRtAbmxIHYCO&usq=AFQjCNHXoZM0j9NKx6mRF4rF3XuOPZQw&sig2=PYZYRINGYUaNOuszWboOlq> (accessed on 10.04.2014)

<sup>26</sup> National employment strategy for the period 2011–2020, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 55/05, 71/05 – correction, 101/07, 65/08 and 16/11



and the uneducated). The standard of living of the refugees was influenced by the (temporary) lack of possibility to use the right to income and property from the republics of former Yugoslavia. For this reason, it is planned to assist the poor refugee families in regards to healthcare, employment and legal help in the regulation of their status and rights (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2003).

## Context of refugeeism in Serbia

During the civil war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Serbia received a large number of refugees from former SFRY republics, mostly the Serbian population from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The largest number of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina came to Serbia during 1992, while most of the refugees from Croatia sought refuge in Serbia in May and August 1995, after the Croatian army regained the territories held by the Serbian forces during the military operations *Flare* and *Storm*. The maximum number of refugees was registered by the 1996 Census of Refugees in Serbia, when 617 728 persons were registered, out of which 537 937 refugees and 79 791 war affected persons, who according to the international norms, did not have the right to the refugee status.

**Table 1:** Number of refugees in the Republic of Serbia 1996–2011

Year	1996	2001	2005	2008	2011
<b>Total</b>	<b>617 728</b>	<b>451 980</b>	<b>104 246</b>	<b>97 354</b>	<b>74 944</b>
Bosnia and Herzegovina	266 279	165 811	27 541	24 943	18 500
Croatia	330 123	284 336	76 546	72 411	56 363
Slovenia	6 173	1 685	157		81
Macedonia	2 932	148	2		1
No response	12 221	-	-		

Source: UNHCR, CRRS, 1996; UNHCR, CRRS, 2002; UNHCR, CRRS, 2007; CRRS, 2009; Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011b

In 2011, the persons with refugee status accounted for only 12% of the maximally registered number of refugees in Serbia in 1996. The decrease in the number of persons with refugee status in Serbia is the result of naturalization, return to the countries of origin, relocation to third countries, as well as the action of mortality among the refugee population. Over 60% of refugees, according to the 2001 Census of Refugees stated that they wanted to solve their status through integration (UNHCR, CRRS, 2002). Due to the need for integration, the biggest number of refugees terminated their refugee status in order to obtain personal documents of the Republic of Serbia. Out of 617 728 refugees, registered in the 1996 Census, “more than 200 000 persons acquired the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia, which represents the biggest integration process in Europe” (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009, 26). This process took place from the beginning of 2001, when the legislative possibilities were established in order to simplify the obtaining of citizenship for refugees (adoption of amendments to the Law on Yugoslav Citizenship). However,

after acquiring the citizenship of Serbia, a certain number of refugees did not submit a request for the issuance of a personal ID card (abolishment of refugee status is a pre-condition for that), keeping the refugee ID card as a form of a life strategy. As one of the reasons why a certain number of refugees persevere in their intention to remain in this status, they stated the feeling of security which this international status provides and the fear of losing accommodation (Serbian Council for Refugees, 2006). The example of Armenia (Ghazaryan, 2001) has also shown that the refugees postpone requests for citizenship of the host country and abolishment of the refugee status in order not to lose certain benefits.

“Through the process of return that has been implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia with different levels of success (31% of the returnees to Bosnia and Herzegovina and 18% of the returnees to Republic of Croatia), the number of refugees has been reduced by another 149 000. It is also estimated that 49 000 more refugees migrated to the third countries” (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009, 26). The largest numbers of those who have decided to move abroad have emigrated through the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the UNHCR to Canada, Australia and the United States of America, while it is estimated that around 40 000 persons have died (CRRS, 2009). The decision on integration or repatriation was also significantly influenced by the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the refugees and the length of their stay in Serbia (Lukić, Nikitović, 2004). The repatriation process is still present, but its effect on the number of refugees is negligible (Nikitović, Lukić, 2010). The data on registered return show that during 2013 the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia provided assistance for the return only to 30 families. Three families returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina and 27 to the Republic of Croatia (CRRS, 2014).

The number and share of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the total refugee population in the Republic of Serbia is in constant decrease, while the share of refugees from the Republic of Croatia increases. From Serbia to Bosnia and Herzegovina 31% of refugees have returned and 18% went back to the Republic of Croatia (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a). These data, among other things, point at bigger difficulties for the refugees from Croatia in Serbia in terms of their return compared to the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina. They refer to the problems in the field of returning their tenancy rights and illegally occupied property, unpaid pensions, validating working years and fear of ethnic discrimination or charges for war crimes. After the war on the territory of the SFRY, the Republic of Croatia has issued a large number of indictments against Serbs for war crimes, often with little evidence. Blitz believes that the goal of the massive indictment policy was to block the return and redistribute the guilt (Blitz, 2005). The problems regarding the return of refugees to Croatia are pointed out by numerous authors (Blitz, 2003, Harvey, 2006, Koska, 2009).

The crisis in Serbia during the last decade of 20th century, on the account of the political and economic disintegration of Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council sanctions and the NATO bombing, had its demographic and socio-economic consequences. The most important reason that has led to the reduction in the number of residents is the negative natural growth trend of the population, which was first recorded in Vojvodina in 1989 and then in Central Serbia in 1992 (Lukić, 2013). The last decade of 20th century was also the period of intensive emigration from the country. In the



period between two censuses (1991–2002), the number of persons abroad went up by over 140 000 (Penev, Predojević-Despić, 2012). As opposed to the original emigration flows that predominantly consisted of unqualified persons, during the 1990's the emigration from Serbia, especially migration of experts, have stepped up. It is estimated that at that time around 400 000 people left the FR Yugoslavia, including also around 30 000 of the highly educated people (Grečić, 2001). On the other hand, the immigration into the Republic of Serbia is not of significant scope. The total immigration population in the Republic of Serbia in 2011 amounted to 27 622 persons. The biggest number of immigrants is from China, Russian Federation and Romania and the main reasons for immigration were work and family reunification (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2013).

According to the 2002 Census of Population, the refugees accounted for 5% of the total population of Serbia (excluding the Autonomous Province Kosovo i Metohija). The inflow of refugees from the former SFRY republics during the 1990's temporarily mitigated the depopulation trend on the territory of Serbia. 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 be reduced by 333 305 persons (-5.9%) and that of Vojvodina by 124 666 persons (-6.3%). Adequate to the territorial distribution of these persons is also their impact on the demographic development of some areas and municipalities (Stevanović, 2005). 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 on their socio-economic characteristics on the territories where they have settled (Lukić, Matijević, 2006, Bubalo-Živković et al. 2001). The population projections show 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).

Although it has been more than 20 years since the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Serbia with its 57 076 refugees and 227 585 internally displaced in 2012 (UNHCR, 2012) continued to be the European country with the largest number of refugees and one of the countries in the world with protracted refugeeism. In 2008, the UNHCR included the Republic of Serbia among the five countries in the world (with Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Tanzania and East Sudan) with a protracted refugee situation, the solving of which requires a joint action and cooperation of the countries in the region<sup>27</sup> (UNHCR, 2008). The study on the state and needs of the refugee population, based on the research of this population in private accommodation and collective centres, conducted by the Commissariat for Refugees and the UNHCR, points out that: "...the requirements of around 200 000 former refugees whose needs have not been assessed by

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<sup>27</sup> The UNHCR defines protracted refugee situations as those where refugees have been in exile for five years or longer with no foreseeable implementation of a durable solutions.

this analysis should not be neglected too. They share the destiny of other citizens at the moment when Serbia is in transition and when there is a high poverty rate also among the local/host population" (CRRS, 2009, 6). Therefore, the study of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and the related groups of the population has started from the fact that there is a lack of a more complex consideration of these categories of population in the Republic of Serbia, both of their demographic characteristics and the degree of socio-economic integration.

The aim of this study is to generate new and deepen the existing knowledge in the field of forced migration, in Serbia and in general, but also point at the needs and problems of this specific group of the population. The data and analyses of the spatial distribution, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the forced migrants from former SFRY republics, their households and families, health vulnerability, housing conditions and sources of households' income of these persons are significant from the aspect of creating and applying relevant measures of economic, healthcare and social policy, as well as the policies of local and regional development. The spatial framework of the survey has enabled us to understand local and regional diversities in regards to certain topics. In comparison to year 2002, when the population of forced migrants was covered by the Census of Population, the spatial distribution, structure and living conditions of these persons have changed, which affects the necessity to adjust the activities aimed at solving their needs and problems. However, the precondition for the development of policies sensitive to the needs of the observed group of the population lies in reliable statistical data.

### About refugee statistics

When studying refugees, a large problem lies in the lack of appropriate, accurate and consistent data. As emphasized by Crisp, "while all standard papers on the topic of refugees are full of numbers, only few start to question the source or the accuracy of these statistics" (Crisp, 1999, 2). Data defects are consequence of different defining of the category of refugee, big fluctuations in the refugee population, as well as interests of relevant organizations, countries of origin, destination of refugees and donor countries. The changes in the scope of this population occur on the account of new inflows of refugees, repatriation, departure to third countries and the birth and death rates. The data on refugees can become obsolete quickly in time of conflict in the country of origin.

Even when the refugees are referred to as the persons who have that status according to the UN Convention, it is possible to come to different numbers, depending on the source of data and calculation (Crisp, 1999). The sources of statistical data on refugees can be the documentation of different national or international non-governmental and humanitarian organizations, collective centres or census of refugees. However, depending on the source, the data on refugees also differ in regards to the coverage, as well as the quality. The data obtained from humanitarian organizations, on the basis of the records on providing humanitarian aid, for instance, do not include the refugees who do not receive or who have stopped receiving aid. At the same time, it is possible to exaggerate the number of family members for the purpose of receiving aid. As for the collective centres, during the first days of crisis, when the arrivals of refugees are massive and their



fluctuations is high, it is exceptionally difficult to keep a precise statistics of refugees at collective centres in the open, while it is much easier when it comes to indoor collective centres with a smaller number of refugees. Since the increases in refugee population are most often better registered than their decreases, there is usually a tendency to exaggerate the number of refugees (UNHCR, 1996).

For humanitarian organizations and donors and for the receiving countries as well, the number and structure of the refugee population are very important in order to determine the needs in specific type of aid and define humanitarian programme goals and measures. However, when it comes to refugee-related statistics, it needs to be pointed out that there are also possibly contradictory interests of the countries of origins, host countries as well as other organizations, for political or financial reasons, in connection with presenting to the public the existence of a smaller or a bigger number of refugees, which then reflects on the statistics on refugees. If the refugee census is used as a source of relevant statistical data on refugees, questions in connection with the response to the census occur. The practice has shown that for many different reasons refugees sometimes do not register at the official institutions, therefore the real number of refugees is always higher than the official indicators of refugee censuses. Still, the quality and coverage of data that come from refugee censuses are the most adequate for scientific studies.

The vital statistics in Serbia did not make records on refugees while repatriation of refugees from the former republics of SFRY was registered only when it comes to an organized return. In order to establish the accurate data on the number and structure of the refugee population in Serbia, periodic censuses have been organized in cooperation with the UNHCR. Refugee censuses in Serbia, based on the principle of the issuance of refugee ID cards, were conducted by the UNHCR and the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia in 1996, 2001 and 2005.

The first systematic collection of data on refugees in Serbia was conducted by the 1996 Refugee Census. This census covered two categories of persons: refugees according to the international law and the Law on Refugees of the Republic of Serbia and other war affected persons who, according to the international norms, do not have the right to a refugee status. To the first category belonged 87% of the persons, while 12.9% of the persons had the status of war affected persons. The methodology of this census did not provide for a possibility of an analysis at the level of families and households. The next refugee census was conducted in 2001. According to unofficial information from the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, it is believed that around 10% of the refugee population was not covered by this census (Lukić, Nikitović, 2004). The third refugee census in Serbia, in 2005, set out which refugees continued to meet the criteria for remaining in the refugee status, as well as which persons needed to be deregistered if not meeting the criteria any longer. The refugees whose refugee status was confirmed were issued new refugee ID cards with the two-year expiry period and a possibility of extension upon the expiry. For persons for whom it was established during the registration procedure that they no longer meet the criteria under which they had the refugee status, the decisions have been made regarding the cessation of that status (UNHCR, CRRS, 2007).

The data on refugees according to the 2002 Census of Population in the Republic of Serbia were published in a separate publication "Refugee Corpus in Serbia". The identification of the contingent of refugee population, for the needs of that study, was based upon answers to the question regarding the place of living as of 31.03.1991 and the question on the status on the territory of the Republic of Serbia. In order for a person to be classified into the category of refugees, it was necessary, when responding to the second question, to opt for the answer "refugee from the territory of the former SFRY". The authors of this study stated several reasons for the incomplete coverage of refugees by the 2002 Census of Population. Some of the mentioned reasons are the non-reporting of the refugee status out of a desire to be included into the life flows in the new environment and 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 who could provide the relevant data to the enumerator (Lađević, Stanković, 2004).

### Methodological explanations

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 were not included in the total population, but were rather enumerated as temporarily present persons. The total population also covered the refugee population, the biggest part of which had already, by that time, resided on the territory of Serbia for several years.

In the Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census applied the concept of "usual population" for the first time. According to this concept, the total population of a certain place included the persons who lived in that place without interruptions for at least one year before the critical census moment, as well as the persons who lived in that place for less than 12 months, but with an intention to remain in it for at least one year. The refugees from former SFRY republics and internally displaced persons from Kosovo i 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 censuses data on the total number of residents in Serbia has been made difficult. Authors Penev and Marinković (2012) discuss the questions related to comparing the total population on the basis of different concepts applied in the last three censuses (1991, 2002 and 2011) that have to be taken into consideration.

The research in this study is mainly based on the results of the 2011 Census of Population. The identification of the contingent of population, which is the subject of the study, 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 has 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 and the main



reason for the departure 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.

Unlike the refugee censuses implemented by the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, the category of persons in this study has not been defined on the basis of a refugee status. Namely, in order to define the relevant category of the study on this subject, bearing in mind the time that has passed since the war events on the territory of the SFRY and the high naturalization rate, we have opted for the contingent of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics.

According to the recommendations of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia and for the purpose of comparability with the data from the 2002 Census of Population, the contingent which is the subject of the study consists of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and related groups of the population. These groups refer to the children of forced migrants born in Serbia and those who were born on the territory of the former SFRY republics and who came to Serbia for family reasons during the war period or immediately after the war in the region. 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. The research categories are:

- ◆ category 1 – persons who arrived to the Republic of Serbia from one of the former SFRY republics in the period between 1991 and 2002 and who stated forced relocation as the main reason for their arrival (forced migrants)<sup>28</sup>;
- ◆ category 2 – persons who were born in one of the former SFRY republics, who arrived in the Republic of Serbia in the period between 1991 and 2002 and who stated family reasons as the main reason for their arrival (family migrants)<sup>29</sup>; and
- ◆ category 3 – persons who were born on the territory of the Republic of Serbia and who are members of the family in which one of the parents belongs to category 1 (second generation)<sup>30</sup>. This group refers to the children of forced migrants. It needs to be mentioned that there are cases where the “children” are now already adults born on the territory of the Republic of Serbia and who lived for a certain period of time on the territory of one of the former SFRY republics.

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<sup>28</sup> Hereinafter category 1

<sup>29</sup> Hereinafter category 2

<sup>30</sup> Hereinafter category 3

Households of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics are defined as the households in which at least one member belongs to category 1. In line with the same principle, families of forced migrants from former SFRY republics are defined as those families in which at least one family member belongs to category 1.

The data have been processed at the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. The data in the tables, graphs and maps are shown in line with the Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics (NUTS)<sup>31</sup>, adopted in the period between the last two censuses. The defined statistical functional territorial units, i.e., the hierarchical levels are:

- ◆ NUTS 1: Serbia – North (Srbija – sever) and Serbia – South (Srbija – jug),
- ◆ NUTS 2: regions,
- ◆ NUTS 3: districts (areas)<sup>32</sup> and
- ◆ LAU 1: cities and municipalities.

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<sup>31</sup> Regulation on the nomenclature of statistical territorial units, "The Official Gazette of the RS", no. 109/09 and 46/10

<sup>32</sup> In this publication terms district and area are used as synonyms, i.e. both refer to the same territorial level.



## Forced migrants from the former republics of the SFRY in Serbia

### Number and spatial distribution of forced migrants

The 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia registered 277 890 forced migrants, which is 3.9% of the total population. The number of forced migrants in the period 2002–2011 was reduced by 101 245 persons. The biggest reduction in the number of these persons was recorded in the period 2001–2005, mostly as a consequence of naturalization (Table 2).

Between refugee censuses (1996, 2001, 2002 and 2005), in addition to the changes in the number of refugees, there have also been changes in the spatial distribution of this population on the territory of the Republic of Serbia. In the period 1996–2001, the percentage of refugees in Central Serbia without Belgrade and in Kosovo was reduced (around mid-1999, most of the non-Albanian population, including also the refugees, were relocated to other parts of Serbia), while the number of refugees went up in Belgrade and Vojvodina. The analysis of the spatial distribution of refugees in the 1996–2001 inter-census period, by the groups of municipalities in Belgrade, has shown that out of 16 Belgrade municipalities, the biggest increase in the number of refugees was registered in the suburban municipalities Sopot, Barajevo and Mladenovac (Lukić, 2005).

**Table 2:** Refugees in Serbia 1996–2005 and forced migrants 2002–2011, by regions

	1996	2001	2005	2002	2011
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>617 728</b>	<b>451 980</b>	<b>104 246</b>	<b>379 135</b>	<b>277 890</b>
Central Serbia without Belgrade	166 875	95 024	23 601	81 372	43 627
Vojvodina	259 719	217 438	50 363	186 463	142 600
Kosovo i Metohija	20 179	442	257	-	-
Belgrade	170 955	139 076	29 866	111 300	91 663
	Structure in %				
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Central Serbia without Belgrade	27.0	21.0	22.6	21.5	15.7
Vojvodina	42.04	48.1	48.3	49.2	51.3
Kosovo i Metohija	3.3	0.1	0.2	-	-
Belgrade	27.7	30.77	28.6	29.3	32.9

Source: UNHCR, CRRS, 1996; UNHCR, CRRS, 2002; UNHCR, CRRS, 2007; Lađević, Stanković, 2004

Even with further changes in the number of refugees, according to refugee censuses in 2001 and 2005 and the 2002 Census of Population, there have been no major changes in regards to the spatial distribution of these persons. More significant differences in the re-distribution of forced migrants by regions have been observed, again, only in 2011. These changes are adequate to the changes in the period 1996–2001 and are characterized by an increase in the concentration of forced migrants on the territories of Vojvodina and Belgrade, along with a decrease in their share on the territory of Central Serbia. Although a relatively small in numbers in order to have any

significant impact on the improvement of the demographic situation in Serbia, the population of forced migrants, not even with majority spatial distribution in the regions and cities that attract population anyway by internal migration, has not contributed to a reduction of depopulation, which is the most evident in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (Lukić, 2013). It is precisely in this region that the smallest number of forced migrants has been settled.

The 2011 Census of Population in the Republic of Serbia (without Kosovo i Metohija<sup>33</sup>) registered a total of 277 890 forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and the related population. Out of that number, 245 556 persons are forced migrants, 7 193 are persons who were born in one of the former SFRY republics, who arrived in the Republic of Serbia in the period between 1991 and 2002 and who stated family reasons as the main reason for their arrival (family migrants), and 25 141 are persons who were born on the territory of the Republic of Serbia and who are members of a family in which one of the parents belongs to the category of forced migrants. As an illustration, we state that the number of persons who resettled from the former SFRY republics to Serbia in the period 1991–2002, regardless of the reason for their movement, was 277 791.

**Table 3:** Forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and related groups of population in the Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census

Region	Total population	Total (1+2+3)		Category 1		Category 2		Category 3	
		number	share in total pop. (%)	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>7 186 862</b>	<b>277 890</b>	<b>3.87</b>	<b>245 556</b>	<b>3.42</b>	<b>7 193</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>25 141</b>	<b>0.35</b>
Beogradski region	1 659 440	91 663	5.52	80 392	4.84	2 628	0.16	8 643	0.52
Region Vojvodine	1 931 809	142 600	7.38	126 599	6.55	2 831	0.15	13 170	0.68
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	2 031 697	29 942	1.47	26 561	1.31	1 034	0.05	2 347	0.12
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	1 563 916	13 685	0.88	12 004	0.77	700	0.04	981	0.06
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and the related population make 3.9% of the total number of residents of the Republic of Serbia. Out of that, the biggest share (3.4%) goes to forced migrants. In comparison to 2002, the number of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and the related population 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 other two groups of the population together account for less than 1% of the total population of Serbia (0.1% of family migrants and 0.35% of the second generation). The biggest concentration of the observed population is on the

<sup>33</sup> The 2011 Census of Population was not conducted on the territory of the AP Kosovo i Metohija.



territory of the Region Vojvodine, where 142 600 persons who belong to the categories 1, 2 and 3 were registered, which makes 7.4% of the total population of this region.

In comparison to 2002, there have been certain changes in the concentration of forced migrants<sup>34</sup>, in terms that the share of this population on the territory of Vojvodina went up by 2.1% out of the total population of forced migrants (from 49.2% in 2002 to 51.3% in 2011). If observed by districts, there have been no changes in the spatial distribution of forced migrants. Most of these persons in Vojvodina still live in the Južnobački (56 132), Sremski (40 703) and Zapadnobački districts (14 988). Within Central Serbia, the most of the forced migrants live in the Mačvanski (8 975), Šumadijski (4 221) and Nišavski districts (4 325).

The largest concentration of forced migrants is in the cities of Belgrade (91 663) and Novi Sad (31 866). As much as 32.9% of forced migrants resettled from the former SFRY republics in the Republic of Serbia live 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. The biggest number of these persons, just like in 2002, live in the municipalities Zemun (21 417), Novi Beograd (12 458) and Čukarica (10 676). The resettlement of a large number of forced migrants to the municipalities Zemun and Novi Beograd was greatly influenced by migrant networks (Lukić, Matijević, 2005). Apart from Belgrade municipalities (Zemun, Novi Beograd, Čukarica, Palilula, Zvezdara, Voždovac, Rakovica, Grocka, Surčin, Obrenovac and Barajevo), more than two thousands of forced migrants were registered in four more municipalities in Central Serbia (Čačak, Šabac, Loznica and Kraljevo). Just like in the 2002 Census, in 2011 the biggest number of forced migrants on the territory of Central Serbia was recorded in larger municipalities in terms of population, whose centres represent the biggest urban agglomerations of Serbia, while only a few dozens of these persons were registered in some populationally small or border municipalities in the South-East part of the country (Stevanović, 2005, Lukić, 2005). In some of the municipalities with majority Bosniak/Muslim and Albanian populations (Tutin, Sjenica and Preševo), there is also a small number of forced migrants<sup>35</sup>.

The colonization between two world wars in the period 1919–1931 and the colonization after WWII in the period 1945–1948 reflected at the time on the changes in the number and structure of the population of Vojvodina. However, the impact of these colonisations is also visible in contemporary migration flows. The municipalities in Vojvodina, where refugees account for the biggest share in the total population are mostly the municipalities to which a large number of the colonists after WWII immigrated. One of the important factors in the selection of the destination of refugees was the existence of family and friend ties with the population colonized from the former Yugoslav republics (Bjeljac, Lukić, 2008). Namely, in the period 1945–1948, 14 560 families from Bosnia and Herzegovina and 9 979 families from Croatia migrated to the territory of Vojvodina. The colonized population settled in a small number of municipalities. Over 90% of the colonists from

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<sup>34</sup> After the brief overview of the basic groups of population that are the subject of this study, in further text, for the purpose of comparability with the 2002 Census, the notion of forced migrants will mean all three of the above categories.

<sup>35</sup> In these municipalities fewer than 40 forced migrants were registered in 2011.

Bosnia and Herzegovina moved to 13 municipalities, whereas 90% of the colonists from Croatia settled in 8 municipalities of Vojvodina (Đurđev, 1986).

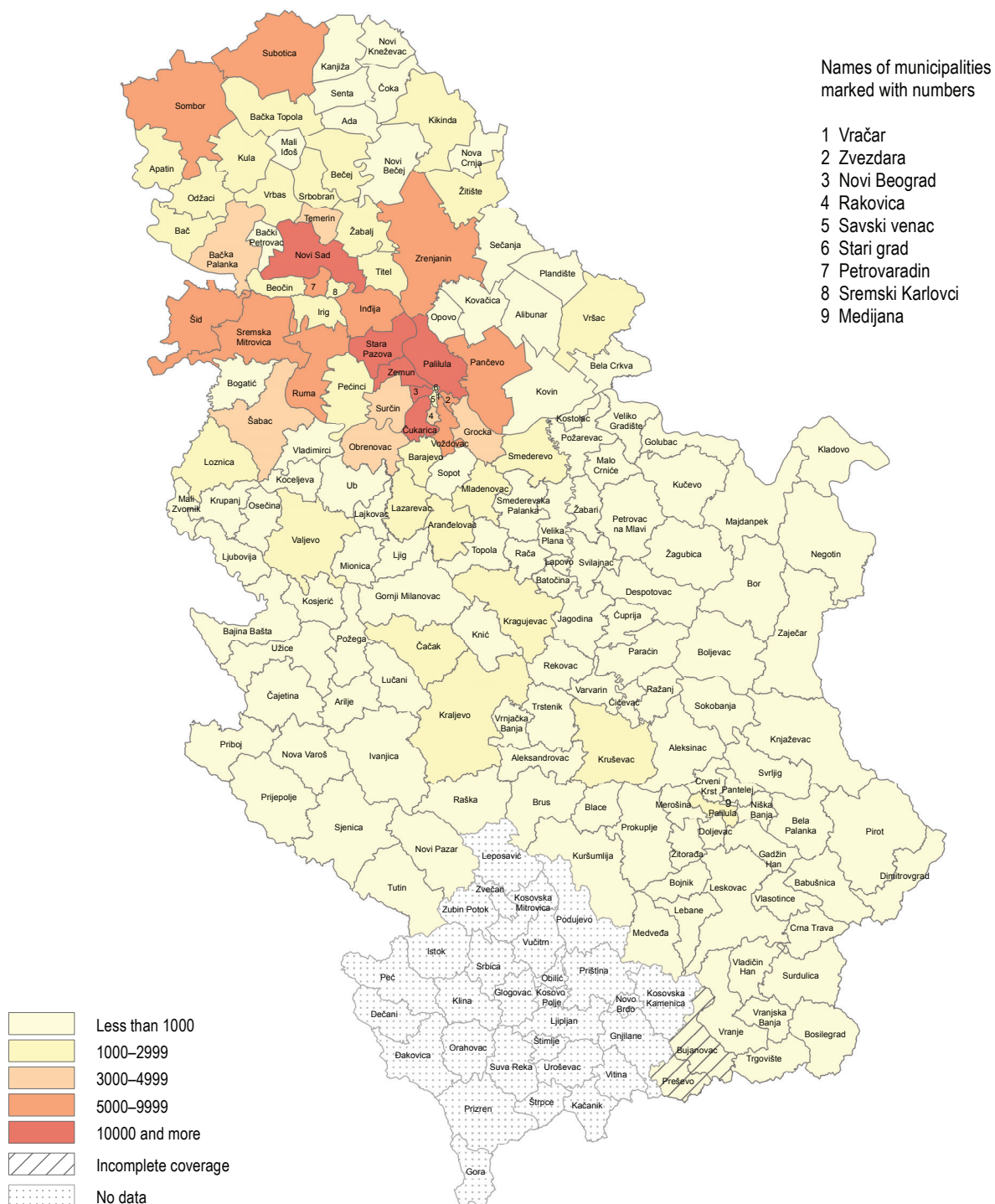
In 2011, on the territory of Vojvodina, besides Novi Sad, more than two thousands of forced migrants, were registered in the municipalities Stara Pazova, Inđija, Sombor, Ruma, Subotica, Šid, Pančevo, Petrovaradin, Zrenjanin, Sremska Mitrovica, Bačka Palanka, Temerin, Apatin and Kula. With an exception of Novi Sad, forced migrants are mostly concentrated in Stara Pazova, which was also the case in 2002. As much as 11.3% of the total population of forced migrants live in this municipality. Their settlement in a large number on the territory of the municipality Stara Pazova is a consequence of the action of migrant networks (Lukić, Matijević, 2006). If the population which formally has a refugee status is observed, according to the data of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrations, more than 2 000 of forced migrants from the former FRY republics with refugee status lived in the municipalities Sombor, Novi Sad, Stara Pazova, Zemun, Novi Beograd and Palilula in 2011. The biggest number of persons with refugee status was registered in the Zemun municipality (4 690) (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a).

The integration takes place on several fields and the degree of integration reached in one field is not necessarily positively correlated to the degree of integration reached in another. The findings of the survey of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics, conducted in four cities in Serbia in 2008, show that the refugees in cities with a bigger share of refugees have bigger rates of employment and property ownership and have higher income, but they are also politically and socially more marginalized in comparison to the refugees in cities with a smaller number of refugees (Dragojević, 2010).

If observed by the type of settlement, the majority of forced migrants – 177 304 live in urban settlements. The degree of urbanization of forced migrants (63.8%) is higher in comparison to the one of the host population (59.3%). Forced migrants account for 4.2% of the urban and 3.5% of the rural populations of the Republic of Serbia. The biggest degree of urbanization of forced migrants is in the region of Belgrade (79.6%).



**Map 1:** Distribution of forced migrants by municipalities and cities, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



In 2011, the share of forced migrants in the total population of Central Serbia is only 2.6%, while on the territory of Vojvodina forced migrants account for 7.4% of the population. In 2011, the group of five municipalities of Vojvodina that had the biggest share of forced migrants in 2002<sup>36</sup> includes the municipality Petrovaradin<sup>37</sup> instead of Ruma. The mentioned municipalities have the biggest share of forced migrants in the total population at the level of Vojvodina, as well as the entire Republic, which goes from 15.8% for Stara Pazova to 19.3% for Šid. "Šid is a municipality in Vojvodina, in which there were intensive migration flows between 1991 and 2002 that were under the direct action of the war events related to the dissolution of the SFRY", which also had an impact on the change in the national composition of the population of this municipality (Penev, 2006; 83). In addition to the family and friend ties, the socio-economic differentiation of refugees also significantly contributed to their territorial distribution in certain municipalities in line with the municipality's functions. The destination not only of refugees, but also of other migrants, is in most of the cases influenced by the proximity of cities with powerful catchment area (Lukić, Matijević, 2006). The periurban zones of Belgrade and Novi Sad are zones in which a larger number of favourable conditions for business, employment, development of crafts, small-sized economy, construction of residential, and production and warehousing space interlace and where prices of land and lease are lower compared to Belgrade and Novi Sad (Matijević, Tošić, Lukić, 2005).

The distribution of municipalities according to the share of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics within the total population in 2011 shows that no municipality of Serbia has more than 20% of this population, five municipalities have between 15 and 20% of them, five municipalities have between 10 and 15% and 20 municipalities have between 5 and 10% of forced migrants. 31 municipalities have from 2 to 5% of forced migrants. The observed population make up to 2% in most of the municipalities of Serbia, which according to Stevanović (2006), corresponds to the results of the analysis of the data from the 2002 Census of Population.

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%).

**Table 4:** Forced migrants from the former SFRY republics and the related groups of population in Serbia (%), the 2011 Census

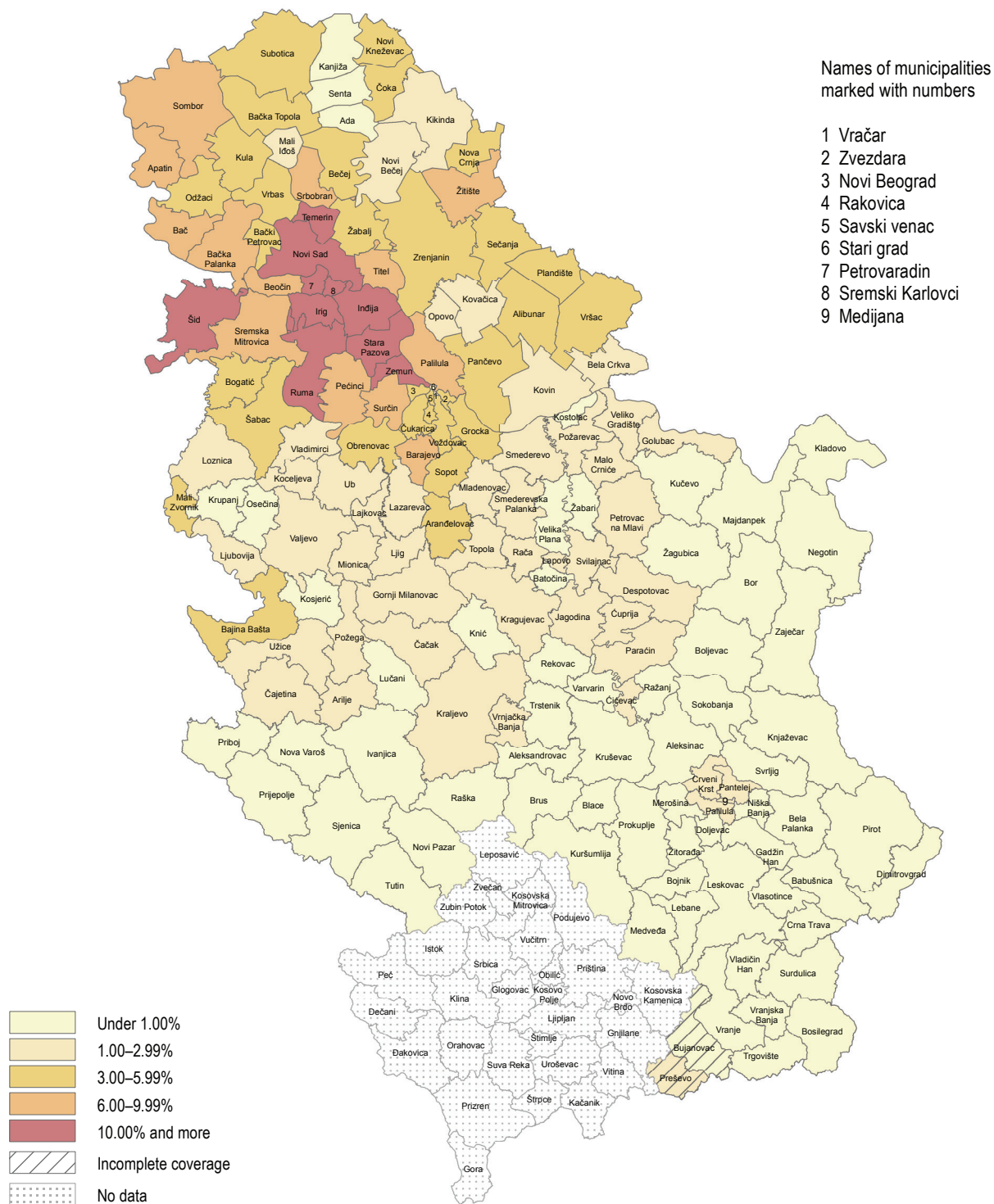
Region	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Beogradski region	32.7	36.5	34.4
Region Vojvodine	51.5	39.4	52.4
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	10.8	14.4	9.3
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	4.9	9.7	3.9
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...

<sup>36</sup> See Lukić, Matijević, 2006

<sup>37</sup> The municipality Petrovaradin was constituted in June 2002, after the Census of Population had been conducted.



**Map 2:** Share of forced migrants in the total population of the municipalities and the cities, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



*Time of arrival, number and spatial distribution of forced migrants by country of origin*

The data on the year of forced migrants' immigration to Serbia, registered in the 2011 Census, correspond to general dynamics of arrival of the biggest number of refugees. The refugees from the former Yugoslav republics started to arrive in Serbia since 1991, when Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence. Already in 1992, there was the first big wave of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the biggest number of refugees came from Croatia in the second half of 1995 (UNHCR, CRRS, 2007). After 2000, the number of persons from the former SFRY republics, who stated forced relocation as the main reason for their arrival in the Republic of Serbia, was considerably reduced and is only 3% of the total population of forced migrants in 2011.

**Table 5:** Forced migrants by the year of arrival in the Republic of Serbia, 2011

Year of arrival	Number	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>277 890</b>	<b>100%</b>
1991	39 382	14.2
1992	47 961	17.3
1993	11 785	4.2
1994	8 266	3.0
1995	101 543	36.5
1996	11 801	4.2
1997	11 870	4.3
1998	8 361	3.0
1999	3 100	1.1
2000	3 741	1.3
2001	3 496	1.3
2002	1 443	0.5

By dividing the period of the refugee adaptation into four time periods, Stein (1981) considers that after 4 to 5 years refugees have completed the biggest part of the adjustment. They reach certain stability after 10 years of refugeeism, when the recovery of the lost status continues, but at a slower pace and the effect of refugeeism is a lower status. The biggest number of forced migrants has been in Serbia for 16 year. The findings of a survey of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Serbia confirm that the length of stay in the host country represents a positive factor for local integration (Lukić, Nikitović, 2004). However, it is considered that this factor has a positive impact on the economic and socio-cultural adaptation, but not on the subjective one, for certain variables that act on the process of integration do not act independently, but rather gain in significance and effect in the combination with other factors (Montgomery, 1996).

According to the 2011 Census of Population, in the Republic of Serbia, there are 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 the other former SFRY republics, Slovenia and Macedonia, is significantly lower and they jointly account for 2.9% of the total observed population. Within the population of the Republic of Serbia, forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina accounted for 1.2%, while forced migrants from Croatia have had a share of 2.3%. The share of forced migrants from Macedonia and Slovenia together accounted for only 0.1% of the population of the Republic of Serbia in 2011.

In comparison to 2002, the share of forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina went down from 34.7% to 32.7%, while the number of persons from the 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 observed population (from 61.5% in 2002 to 64.4% in 2011), which is in line with the afore-discussed problems related to return of these persons, as well as difficulties in realizing their property and other rights in the Republic of Croatia.

**Table 6:** Forced migrants in the Republic of Serbia by the country of origin, the 2011 Census

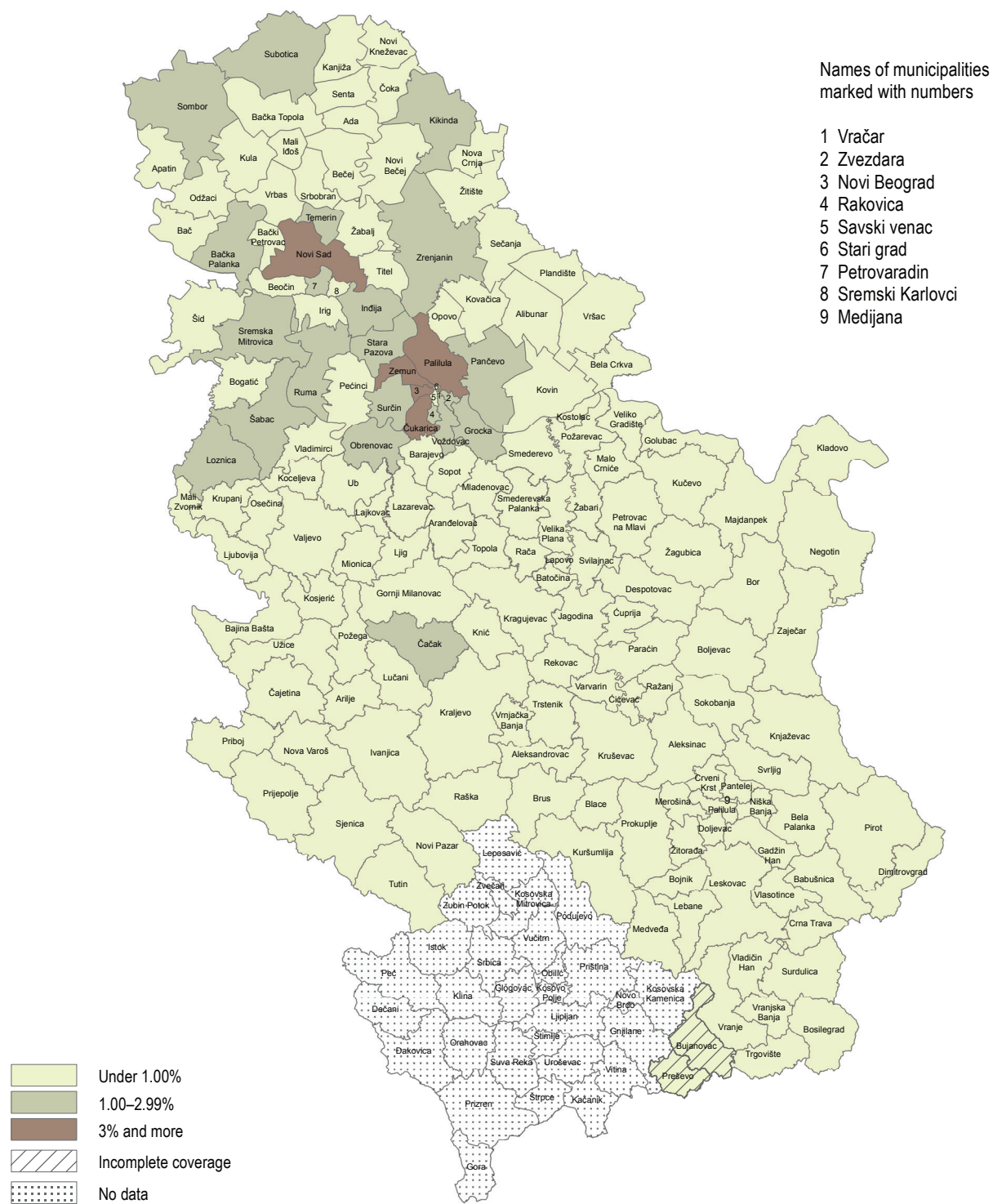
Region	Croatia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Slovenia	Macedonia	Unknown
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>162 721</b>	<b>82 598</b>	<b>4 196</b>	<b>3 044</b>	<b>190</b>
Beogradski region	53 148	27 708	1 185	892	87
Region Vojvodine	89 111	38 714	1 069	450	86
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	13 720	12 569	912	379	15
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	6 742	3 607	1 030	1 323	2
Region Kosovo i Metohija	-	-	-	-	-

In the Zlatiborski and Mačvanski districts, which border Bosnia and Herzegovina, more than 50% of forced migrants consist of persons from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If observed by municipalities, the percentage share of forced migrants originating in Bosnia and Herzegovina goes between 70 and 90% in the municipalities Priboj, Mali Zvornik, Ljubovija, Bajina Bašta, Nova Varoš, Sjenica, Loznica and Užice. It has also been shown earlier that the share of persons from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the biggest precisely in the population of refugees of the municipalities which adjoin this former SFRY republic (Lukić, Nikitović, 2004). The city of Novi Sad is also a prominent centre of concentration of forced migrants from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, according to the 2011 Census of Population, over 10% of all forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina lived there.

Similar to the model of forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the forced migrants from Croatia have settled in a large number in the part of Serbia neighbouring Croatia. The percentage share of persons originating in Croatia in the total number of forced migrants is biggest in the Zapadnobački and Sremski districts, that is, in the border municipalities Apatin (91.2%) and Šid (88.5%). More than 3% of the population of forced migrants from Croatia have settled in the municipalities: Novi Sad, Sombor, Šid, Ruma, Inđija, Stara Pazova and in Belgrade municipalities Zemun, Čukarica, Novi Beograd and Palilula.

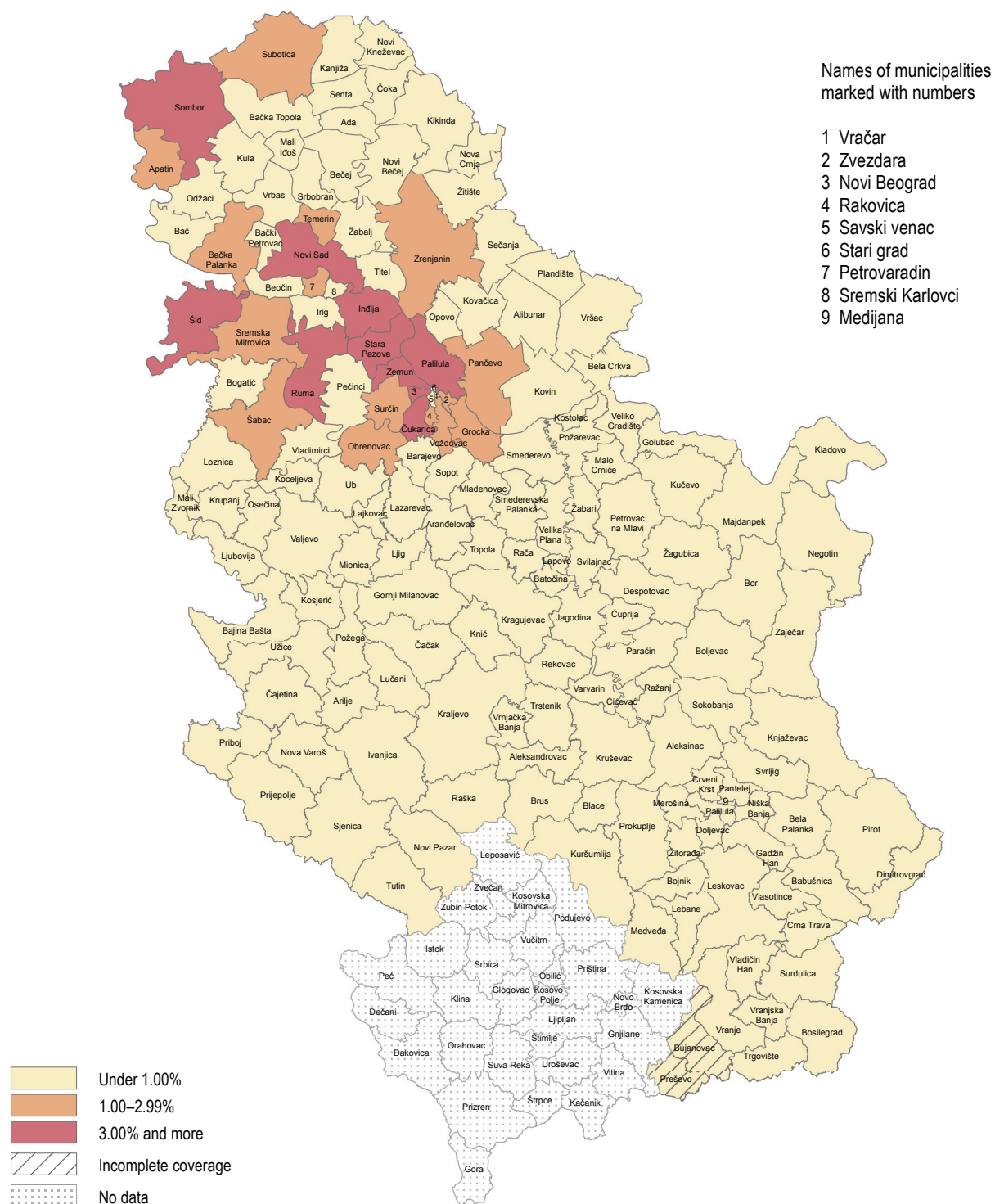
If observed by the type of settlement, the forced migrants from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina are concentrated in urban settlements to a somewhat higher degree (57 802 or 70.0%) in comparison to the forced migrants from Croatia (97 780 or 60.1%). The data on the spatial distribution of forced migrants in Serbia by the type of settlement confirm the earlier studies, which have also pointed at the fact that the refugees from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina have settled in urban settlements to a higher degree in comparison to the other refugees. Such distribution is a consequence of the fact that as much as 80% of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina used to live in urban settlements before the war in the former SFRY (Lukić, 2005).

**Map 3:** Distribution of forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina by municipalities and cities, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



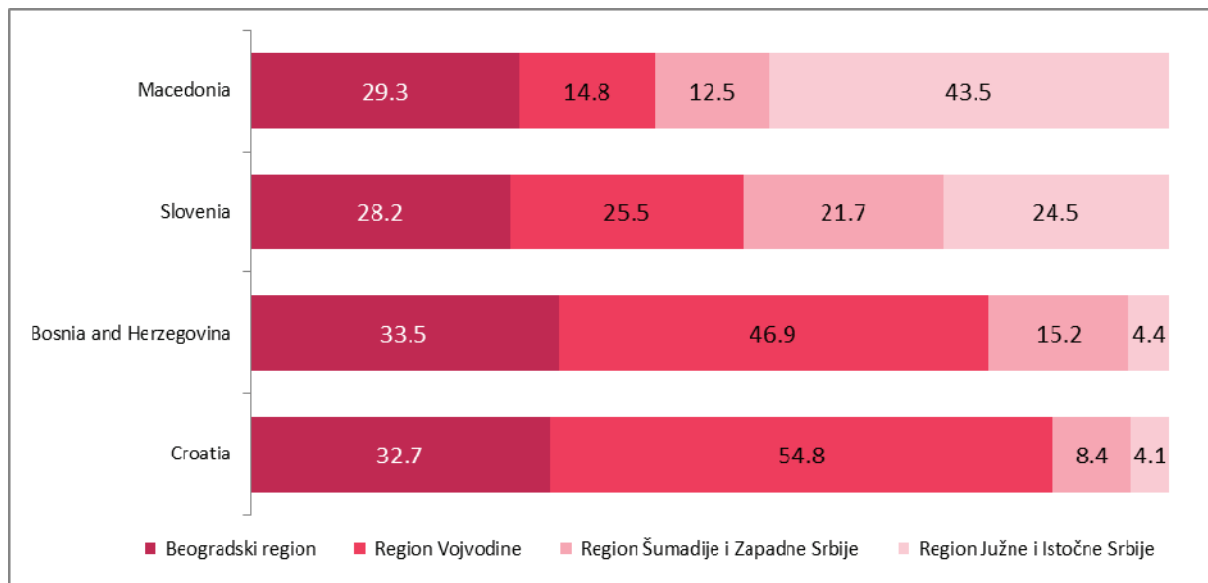


**Map 4:** Distribution of forced migrants from Croatia by municipalities and cities, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



Although relatively small-numbered compared to the two majority groups of forced migrants by the country of origin, the population that came from Slovenia has a high concentration in Belgrade (28.2%), Novi Sad (7.1%) and Kragujevac (3.9%). The forced migrants from the territory of Macedonia are the only group of the observed population that is more numerous on the territory of Serbia – South in comparison to Serbia – North.

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



### Country of birth and the citizenship of forced migrants

The acquiring of the citizenship of the host country is a legal dimension of the integration of refugees. As pointed out by Ager and Strang (2004), the domain of citizenship is a basis for establishing a process of integration. The majority of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics in Serbia have been born in Croatia (52.4%), the second place by the numbers hold persons born in Bosnia and Herzegovina (29.6%), followed by those born in Serbia (15.6%). Among the population of forced migrants, there is predominance of persons with the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia, while a large number of these persons have dual citizenship (37.7%). Although the Republic of Serbia joined the 1961 UN Convention on the Status of Persons With no Citizenship, in 2011 more than 3 000 forced migrants were apatrids. Most of forced migrants with no citizenship have been born in Croatia and the persons with no citizenship account for almost two percent of the total population of the forced migrants born in Croatia. Refugees can also be the *de facto* stateless persons (Batrićević, 2013). As opposed to apatrids, refugees have citizenship, but cannot or will not use the protection of their country (the country of origin) because they feel fear from the acts of its authorities on account of which they have fled abroad (Dimitrijević et al., 2005). These are the persons who legally (*de iure*) have the citizenship of a country, but in reality do not enjoy its protection (Paunović et al., 2010).

According to a survey on the needs of the refugee population conducted in 2008, the examinees miss different documents, both from the country of origin and the Republic of Serbia, including also the certificate of citizenship. Therefore, it is estimated that there is still a need for free legal aid for refugees. The following reasons were stated as the most frequent ones why persons cannot get the documents: lack of funds (33.6%) and safety reasons (22.0%) (CRRS, 2009). Having personal documents is one of the nationally specific indicators of social participation (Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit and the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2012). The lack of documents makes the process of integration more difficult, thus creating problems with the registration of residence, employment, medical treatment and education, as well as receiving social welfare. For instance, the findings of a study on the position of refugees in the labour market of the Republic of Serbia have pointed at differences with respect to the type of employment among refugees depending on the fact whether they have the citizenship or not. Namely, the highest shares of the informally self-employed and the informally employed were in the category of refugees with no citizenship of the Republic of Serbia, while there was a more significant share of the formally employed in the group of refugees with the citizenship of Serbia (Babović et al., 2007).

If observed by the state of birth, the forced migrants born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and other states have the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia in larger scope in comparison to the forced migrants born in Croatia. While more than two thirds of forced migrants born in Slovenia and around two thirds of those born in Bosnia and Herzegovina have the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia, in the case of the forced migrants born in Croatia this number is less than a half of the population. The forced migrants born in Croatia have the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia and the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia and of another state in almost the same number. The specificity of this population in comparison to the other forced migrants is reflected in a somewhat bigger share of persons with only the citizenship of another state, for which it can be assumed to be Croatia.

Dual citizenship creates options for mobility and facilitates transnational ties between Serbia and the former SFRY republics. In the case of extended refugeeism, the mobility enabled by dual citizenship improves the conditions for the life of people in terms that they have access to economic, social and cultural opportunities in both countries (Allen, Li Rosi, 2010). According to Sorensen, the so-called sustainable solutions need not to be limited to integration or repatriation, but rather a combination of these solutions consists of transnational, transregional and translocal strategies, where dispersive social networks are important factors of the political and economic development (Sorensen, 2004). The numerous problems faced by the returnees from Serbia to Croatia (Blitz, 2003, Harvey, 2006, Koska, 2009, Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a) have determined the strategy of these forced migrants in Serbia, characterized by a higher representation of persons with dual citizenship and the citizenship of another state. Namely, upon return to the Republic of Croatia the returnees who do not have the Croatian citizenship are treated as foreign citizens who are subject to complicated and expensive procedure for the recognition of the status of foreigner with temporary or permanent residence in the Republic of Croatia (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a). The existence of the returnee's transnational strategy is indicated by the results of the survey conducted in Croatia in 2010, according to which only every third Serbian returnee lives in Croatia. However, almost a half of the returnee's homes are regularly maintained, which leaves the long-term possibility of return open (Mesić, Bagić, 2011).

**Table 7:** Forced migrants by the country of birth and citizenship, the 2011 Census

Country of birth	Total		Citizenship							
			of the Republic of Serbia		of the Republic of Serbia and another state		of another country		no citizenship	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>277 890</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>162 128</b>	<b>58.3</b>	<b>104 709</b>	<b>37.7</b>	<b>7 757</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>3 296</b>	<b>1.2</b>
Bosnia and Herzegovina	82 345	100	50 857	61.8	28 201	34.2	2 501	3.0	786	1.0
Croatia	145 564	100	69 420	47.7	68 938	47.4	4 749	3.3	2 457	1.7
Slovenia	1 878	100	1 459	77.7	378	20.1	28	1.5	13	0.7
Other countries	4 131	100	2 588	62.6	1 264	30.6	239	5.8	40	1.0
Serbia	43 477	100	37 494	86.2	5 781	13.3	202	0.5	0	0.0
Unknown	495	100	310	62.6	147	29.7	38	7.7	0	0.0

The analysis of the structure of forced migrants by the state of birth and citizenship and by the regions in Serbia shows that the biggest share of persons with no citizenship is in the structure of forced migrants of the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije and the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije. The Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije is also specific by the largest share of persons with the citizenship of another state in the population of forced migrants. Most of these persons were born in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The share of persons with the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia in the total number of forced migrants goes from 57.1% for the Region of Belgrade to 71.1% for the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije.

## Mobility

The findings of the earlier studies show that the mobility of refugees in Serbia was very low in the first years of the refugeeism. Until 1996, almost two thirds (62.7%) of refugees did not change the settlement of residence, around 24% of them moved once, while 13.3% of them moved several times. It is believed that after arriving to Serbia, most of the refugees from the former SFRY republics went to the places where they had friends or family who helped them in the first days of the refugeeism and that this was the reason why they were bonded to a certain place (Matković, 1997).

After the initial phase of the refugeeism, in 2002, there was a reduction in the number of refugees who lived with family and friends (UNHCR, CRRS, 2002). This fact also had an impact on the spatial distribution of the refugee population. There is an assumption that after the predominant impact of the social networks, the economic factor gained in importance and that the refugees started to behave more like economic migrants. On the account of looking for better employment opportunities, internal migration started. This was pointed out by an increase in the concentration of refugees in Belgrade and Vojvodina, as the regions with the highest degree of economic development. It was also noticed that there was an increase in the impact of economic



factors on the decision on repatriation (Lukić, Nikitović, 2004). The attraction of Belgrade for refugees can be explained by significant opportunities which Belgrade, as the capital, provides, both for employment and for education. The high concentration of refugees in the capital is also shown by the results of the study of forced migration and ethnic processes on the territory of the former Soviet Union i.e. that “Moscow is the single most important destination for many refugees from other republics”, (Zayonchkovskaya et al., 1993; 205). In Sweden, Rashid (2009) concludes that internal migration has positive impact on the income of the households of the newly-arrived refugees. The other authors also came to the conclusions that internal migration for immigrants, and particularly for refugees, is a significant factor linked to employment. Refugees often move from the settlements with smaller job offer to cities that provide better employment opportunities (Potocky, Mc Donald, 1995; Bevelander, Pendakur, 2012).

Besides the attractiveness of the capital, different studies point at the attractiveness of rural settlements and smaller urban settlements of Vojvodina in the near proximity of larger cities for refugees. This phenomenon is connected to the large scope of daily migration flows from the observed settlements (Lukić et al., 2010; Lukić, 2012). The rural settlements of Vojvodina that have a positive migration balance in the second half of 20th century and a large volume of out-commuting flows of workers mostly belong to the municipalities that are part of the functional urban areas of Novi Sad and Belgrade. In rural settlements of Vojvodina, the study of the link between immigration and out-commuting has shown that there is a positive link between these two forms of mobility. In case of rural settlements of Vojvodina that belong to the municipalities with a large share of refugees in the total population, the values of the correlation coefficient are the highest and they imply the existence of a very strong positive link between the out-commuting and the immigration, while the proportion of the joint variability of these two variables is as much as 85% (Lukić, 2012). There is an assumption that for a large number of refugee commuters a combination of the proximity of bigger cities that provide more employment opportunities and the lower prices of real estate has had an influence on the selection of these settlements as the places to live in.

The internal migration in Serbia is caused by a joint action of several factors, such as the large regional disparities inherited from the socialist period, as well as contemporary transitional processes of the current economic reforms and the privatization and restructuring of big state-owned enterprises. The regional polarization of Serbia into the developed Belgrade and the area north of rivers Sava and Danube, on the one hand, and undeveloped area on the south, on the other, has not changed or been mitigated significantly over the decades. In 2011 in the Republic of Serbia, the immigration into cities accounted for 70.6% of the total number of internal migrants. The internal migration mostly involved female population which moved from rural settlements to the urban ones (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011b). Considering the selectivity of migrants by age, the emigration contributed to an accelerated aging of the population of rural settlements which also reflected on the reduction in the number of residents. In 2011, the share of the live-born children in urban settlements was 69%, while two times fewer babies were born in rural settlements (31%). It is indicative that in that same year, in around 200 settlements, there were no residents under 20 years of age (SORS, 2012a).

The undeveloped areas are characterized by demographic (emigration, depopulation, aging of the population), socio-economic (unemployment, lack of educated and qualified workforce, poverty) and infrastructural problems (undeveloped both traffic and utility networks of bad quality and networks of public institutions – institutions of culture, healthcare institutions, etc.). According to the Republic of Serbia regional development strategy for period 2007–2012, the insufficiently developed areas are the economically undeveloped areas with incomes less than 50% of the national average and the areas with specific problems of development: demographically endangered regions – reduction of population larger than of 40% in the period 1971–2002), border zones with structural and demographic problems – reduction of population in larger than 20% (1971–2002) and the unemployment rate bigger than 60%, and the Serbian municipalities in Kosovo i Metohija (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2007). The reduction of income is caused also by a decrease in the number of experts and specialists, by a reduction or complete absence of investments, gradual economic “decline” in the number of enterprises and unsolved legal and property relations within the scope of the initiated processes of privatization, frizzle of equipment, etc. The centres in which industry used to be the dominant economic sector (production of transportation means, textile and metal industries) were the most exposed to these processes. Most of the undeveloped areas of Serbia are traditionally emigration zones. The number of residents of the undeveloped areas, either on the account of emigration or on the account of the already disturbed demographic structure of the population, annually declines on an average ten times more than the average for Republic (Tošić et al., 2009). In 2011, the municipalities of the Republic of Serbia that belong to the fourth degree of development, with fewer than 50% of the average for Republic<sup>38</sup>, registered a small number of forced migrants. Only in six out of 23 of these municipalities there were more than 100 forced migrants from the former SFRY republics, out of which most of them in Mali Zvornik, the border municipality with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

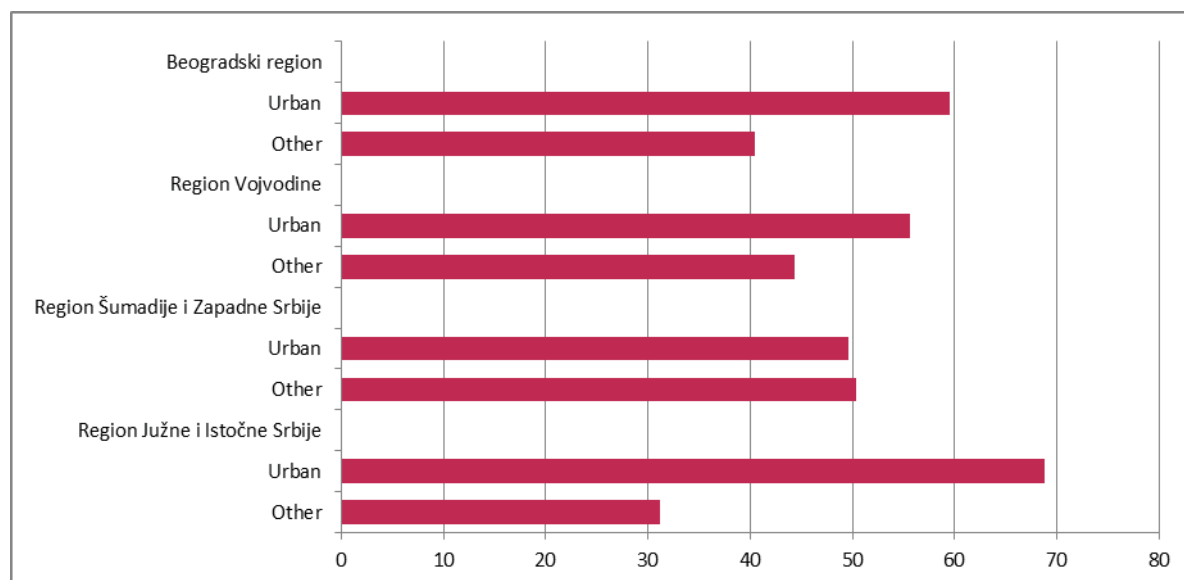
According to the 2011 Census data, out of the total number of forced migrants, 45 220 or 17.7% have migrated within the Republic of Serbia. Most of these persons moved from a settlement within one district to a settlement within another district, while the least represented is the local migration within the same municipality. The same conclusions can also be found in the analysis of the data by regions, since there are no major differences between the regions by the type of the predominant internal migration.

If observed by the type of settlement, urban settlements were more attractive for the forced migrants who participated in internal migration. Out of the total number of internal migrants, 57.3% moved to an urban settlement. The biggest disproportion in relation to the share of immigrated forced migrants by the type of settlement was in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, where only around one third of persons moved to rural settlements.

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<sup>38</sup> Regulation on the establishment of a unique list of development of the regions and self-government units for 2013, “The Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia”, no. 62/2013

**Graph 2:** Forced migrants involved in internal migration by the type of settlement and region of destination (%), the 2011 Census



The migration within the Republic of Serbia was equally participated in by male (49.2%) and female (50.8%) forced migrants. However, an analysis by regions shows that, while men and women equally migrated to the Region of Belgrade, women migrated to a slightly higher degree (52%) in the case of the Region Vojvodine (51.6%) and the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, while men had higher share (52.6%) in the case of the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije. An analysis of the data by sex and spatial migration pattern of the internal migration shows a specificity of South and East Serbia, where women migrate longer distances in a significantly lower degree compared to the other regions. If the migration distance is shorter and if this concerns moving to non-urban settlements, then there is predominance of female forced migrants in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije. In comparison to the forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a larger share of persons who have participated in internal migration after arriving to Serbia in the structure of forced migrants from Croatia.

**Table 8:** Forced migrants involved in internal migration by the region of origin, the 2011 Census

Regions	Total		Migrated from another settlement of the same municipality		Migrated from another municipality of the same district		Migrated from another district	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>45 220</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>8 196</b>	<b>18.3</b>	<b>10 414</b>	<b>23.0</b>	<b>26 510</b>	<b>58.6</b>
Beogradski region	16 262	100	1 682	10.3	4 623	28.4	9 957	61.2
Region Vojvodine	21 702	100	4 848	22.3	4 766	22.0	12 088	55.7
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	4 311	100	1 242	28.8	552	12.8	2 517	58.4
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	2 945	100	524	17.8	473	16.1	1 948	66.1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

By comparing the internal mobility of forced migrants and the local population's<sup>39</sup> one, according to the data of the 2011 Census of Population, it can be noticed that there is a significantly smaller share of forced migrants involved in the local migration (18.3% versus 28.5%) and a larger share in the migration between the districts (58.6% versus 49.8%) of the Republic of Serbia in comparison to the other population. An analysis by regions shows that the local population participates in the migration of a larger territorial range only when this concerns the Region of Belgrade, while in the case of forced migrants, this general phenomenon does not depend on the region. The characteristic of both groups in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije is that the population mostly migrated locally (within the same municipality). An important difference in the mobility between forced migrants and the host population lies in the sex structure of internal migrants also. While in the case of forced migrants there is a rather levelled-out number of women and men who participated in internal migration, in the case of the local population, as much as 62.1% of internal migrants are female. Female forced migrants and female members of the local population also have a different spatial internal migration patterns. For instance, for female forced migrants the migration within the same municipality account for only 18.8% versus 30.8% for other women.

When international migration is observed, 1 289 (0.3%) of forced migrants in Serbia resided abroad for less than a year in 2002, respectfully 2 029 (0.7%) in 2011. The share of persons who resided abroad for up to a year was smaller in 2011 for the host population (0.17%) than for the forced migrants. A more visible share of forced migrants residing abroad for up to a year in the total number of these persons was registered in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (1.6%).

**Table 9:** Forced migrants residing abroad for less than a year, the 2011 Census

	Total	Croatia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Germany	Austria	Switzerland	USA	Montenegro	Italy	Russia	Unknown and other countries
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>2 029</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>387</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>364</b>
Beogradski region	622	187	139	39	15	11	33	25	26	19	128
Region Vojvodine	1 066	327	172	100	102	60	38	41	37	31	158
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	116	19	21	6	6	3	9	5	9	1	37
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	225	51	55	21	16	13	6	10	5	7	41
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

<sup>39</sup> The local population refers to population without forced migrants.



The largest numbers of the forced migrants, who are abroad for less than a year, reside in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, former republics of the SFRY, from which most of these persons came anyway. Only 48 and 24 forced migrants with residence for up to a year were registered in other former republics of the SFRY – in Slovenia and Macedonia, respectively. The increased share of forced migrants in international migration is also indicated by the findings of Babić and Mesić (2007, 2011), that refer to the increase in the share of returnees from Serbia to Croatia who went to third countries in the total number of these returnees in the period 2006–2010.

### **Forced migrants – fertility of female population**

The average number of live-born children of women over 15 in the population of forced migrants is 1.46. The highest rate of cumulative fertility is 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. If observed by regions, there are no major differences, while the highest average number of live-born children is in the case of female forced migrants in the Region of Zapadna Srbija and Šumadija (1.54) and the lowest in the Beogradski region (1.36).

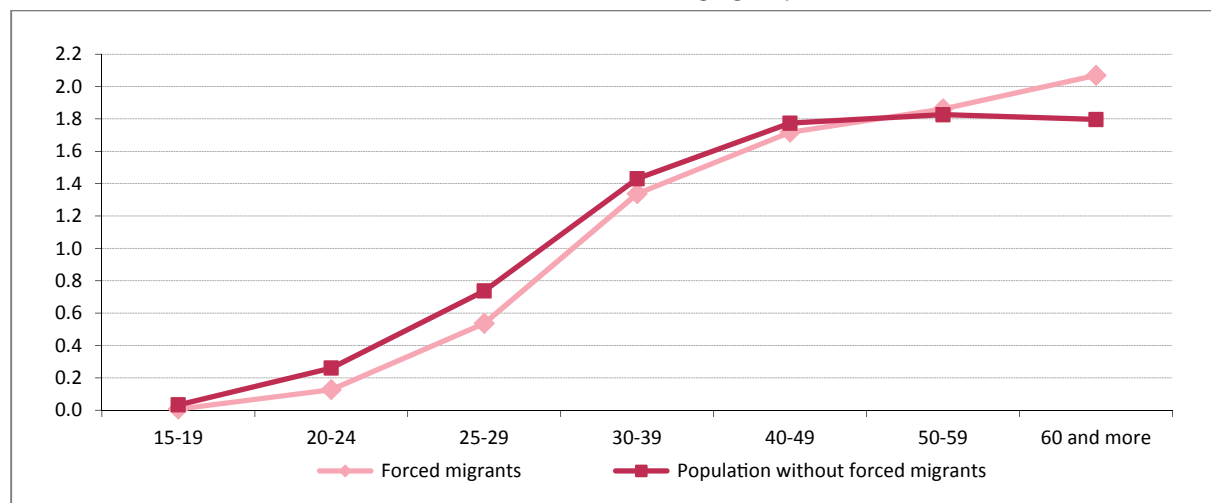
Since 1965, the scope of childbirths in Serbia has been below the level needed for the replacement of generations. The lowest level of fertility since the middle of 20th century was reached during the 2000's (Penev, 2009). In comparison to other countries, Kupizevski and others (2013) underline that with the total fertility rate of 1.4 in 2010, Serbia had lower fertility than the average for the European Union. As the reasons for the low fertility in the Republic of Serbia the researchers state a large number of abortions, economic crisis and high unemployment rate, which increase the feeling of uncertainty and lead to the intensifying of the postponing of childbearing (Rašević, 2008; Rašević, 2006b).

By comparing fertility of female forced migrants and the local women one 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 versus 1.45). The fertility of female forced migrants is a little 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 little 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 versus 1.80) and 25–29 (0.54 versus 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. In regards to the average number of live-born children, there are almost no differences between female forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina (1.48) and those from Croatia (1.50).



*Photo: From the archive of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia*



**Graph 3:** Female forced migrants and local female population, 15 years and over, by average number of live-born children and age group

If observed by regions, the average number of live-born children of female forced migrants over 15 is a little higher in comparison with the average number of live-born children of the local women in the Beogradski region and the Region Vojvodina (1.36 versus 1.26 and 1.51 versus 1.45), while it is lower in the other two regions of Serbia. However, both populations are characterized by the lowest fertility in the Beogradski region and the highest one in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije.

**Table 10:** Female forced migrants, 15 years and over, by number of live-born children and legal marital status, the 2011 Census

Republic of Serbia	Has not given birth	Women who have given birth by the number of live-born children						Average number of live-born children
		all	1	2	3	4	5 and more	
<b>Total</b>	<b>35 804</b>	<b>95 317</b>	<b>23 052</b>	<b>55 140</b>	<b>12 629</b>	<b>2 903</b>	<b>1 593</b>	<b>1.46</b>
Never married	29 577	4 062	2 101	1 459	354	106	42	0.20
Married	4 419	68 537	15 059	42 465	8 860	1 552	601	1.87
Widow	1 154	17 928	3 549	9 257	3 050	1 155	917	2.14
Divorced	494	4 628	2 279	1 890	345	85	29	1.48
Unknown	160	162	64	69	20	5	4	0.94

An analysis of the average number of live-born children by the legal marital status of the mothers, for both populations, shows that the most visible differences between these two populations are in the case of widows. Widowed forced migrants have 2.14 children on an average, while the local women have 1.88. In comparison with younger age groups of women, women who belong to older age groups had higher both marital and extra-marital fertility. An analysis of the fertility of women by the legal marital status shows that the average number of live-born children of never married women is highest in the age groups 40–49 and 50–59 (0.68; 0.65). The average



number of live-born children of ever married women (married, divorced and widows) have the biggest values for the women over 60 (2.13) and the women aged 50 to 59 (1.94). The biggest number of extra-marital childbirths was registered in case of female forced migrants who lived in the district of the City of Belgrade, and the Južnobački and Sremski districts.

**Table 11:** Female forced migrants, 15 years and over, by number of live-born children and legal marital status (%), the 2011 Census

Republic of Serbia	Total	Has not given birth	Women who have given birth by the number of live-born children				
			1	2	3	4	5 and more
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>27.3</b>	<b>17.6</b>	<b>42.1</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>1.2</b>
Never married	100%	87.9	6.2	4.3	1.1	0.3	0.1
Married	100%	6.1	20.6	58.2	12.1	2.1	0.8
Widow	100%	6.0	18.6	48.5	16.0	6.1	4.8
Divorced	100%	9.6	44.5	36.9	6.7	1.7	0.6
Unknown	100%	49.7	19.9	21.4	6.2	1.6	1.2

In the groups of female forced migrants aged 50–59 and over 60, 7.8% and 8.3%, respectively, have never given birth to any alive child. These values, for the women who have come out from their reproductive period, as emphasized by Rašević (2006a), point at an exclusion of wilful sterility, considering that the literature accepts that physiological sterility in any population is between 7% and 9%. More than a half of the women in the age groups 20–24 and 25–29 have not given birth to any alive child. The share of women who have not participated in reproduction is almost halved from the age group 30–34 (35.1%) and in the age group 35–39, 18.7% of women have not given birth to any alive child.

**Table 12:** Female forced migrants by age and number of live-born children (%), the 2011 Census

Number of children	15–19 years	20–24	25–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60 years and over
Without children	99.3	90.2	65.2	26.8	10.9	7.8	8.3
1-2	0.6	9.6	32.5	64.0	76.4	77.6	66.4
3-4	0.0	0.2	2.2	8.9	12.1	13.9	21.5
5 or more children	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.7	3.9
Cumulative fertility rate	0.01	0.13	0.54	1.34	1.72	1.86	2.07

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 years, 11.7% have given birth to three and more children, versus 6.7% in the age group 30–34. Like in the case of the total female population of the Republic of Serbia, also in the case of forced migrants it can be

concluded that the “moving of the structure in terms of an increase in the share of a lower order (one or two children) and a decrease in the share of the higher order of childbirths (three or four children, as well as five and more children) 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) concludes that the main reason for low fertility in the Republic of Serbia is the lack of progression from the second to the third child.

## Sex and age distribution of forced migrants

Opposite to economic migrants, who are predominantly the young at their reproductive age, when it comes to forced migrants and refugees, it is most frequently that the entire families or a larger number of one family members leave the state of origin (Lukić, Nikitović, 2010). That is why the structure of these populations is significantly different. As Gold puts it, the difference in the structure of the immigrant and the refugee flows is a consequence of the fact that the “refugee population includes many persons who would not leave their home voluntarily” (Gold 1989: 17). According to Hein (1993), age is an important demographic factor of economic integration too, which has inverse connection with socio-cultural adaptation (Montgomery, 1996).

The particularly vulnerable groups of forced migrants, with specific needs and problems, are women, children and elderly persons. “To be old in refugeeism is a double handicap because of the unification of the negative effects of two complex social phenomena: the old age and the refugeeism” (Kotal et al. 1998; 18). By emphasizing the need for more numerous researches of elderly persons in the population of refugees and migrants, Hatzidimitriadou says that, as opposite to women and children, elderly refugees are exceptionally in the focus both of researchers and the decision-makers, considering their relatively small number. However, migration statistics shows that the number of elderly refugees and migrants is on the rise, especially in the European countries (Hatzidimitriadou, 2010). The demographic structure of refugees has a large impact on the priorities of the UNHCR policies. The need for a specific UNHCR policy towards elderly persons, especially towards women, who are often more numerous in the age groups over 60, was stressed in 2000 (UNHCR, 2000). The activities of the UNHCR in the regions with the population affected by aging population, including also the former SFRY republics, had implications on the statistical monitoring of refugees aged 60 and over. The age limit of 60 for the needs of the statistical monitoring of elderly refugees by the UNHCR was established in compliance with the definition of elderly persons of the World Health Organization (UNHCR, 2001).

The asymmetry of the sex structure in favour of women is one of the basic characteristics of the population affected by war. 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. However, already in 1996, the ratio of men and women in the refugee population was 47.2% versus 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. The arrival of refugees at first had an impact on the higher number of women in the population of Serbia. However, after two decades of refugeeism there has been a change in the sex structure of forced



migrants, which is manifested in the increase of the share of men. In 2011, the population of the Republic of Serbia, without forced migrants (6,908,972), had a slightly smaller share of men (48.3%) in comparison to the forced migrants.

In 2002, the masculinity rate of the refugee population in Serbia amounted to 907.6, while in the case of the local population it was visibly higher (948.6). The most important causes for the process of feminization of the total population are said to be the decline in fertility, differentiated mortality by age and longer life expectancy of women (Penev, 2006b). 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). While female population is significantly more numerous in the group of forced migrants aged 70 and over (masculinity rate 706.9), the numbers of men and women aged from 35 to 60 are almost equal.

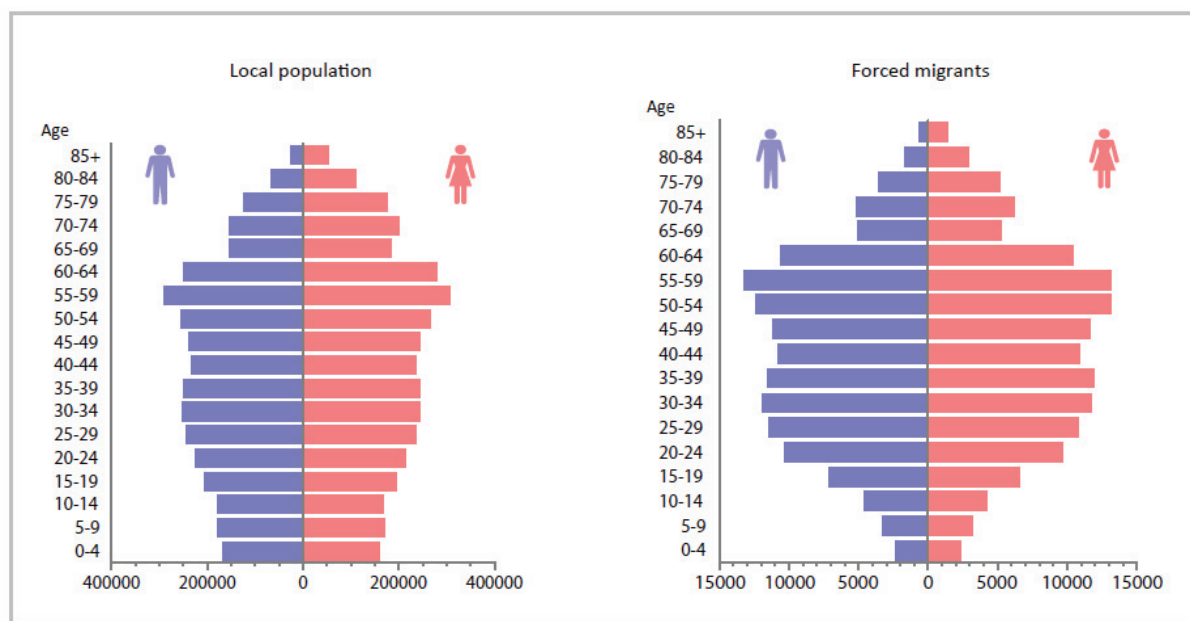
The age structure of forced migrants is characterised by higher representation of the older age groups. An analysis of the age structure by 10-year age groups shows that the share of persons aged 50 to 59 (51 967) is the most expressed, while in 2002 those were the persons aged 40 to 49. In the period between the two censuses, there has been an increase in the share of forced migrants aged 70 and over, while the share of children from 10 to 19 went down. In 2011, 6 717 of the eldest forced migrants (aged 80 and over) lived on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, out of which the biggest number in Belgrade.

**Table 13:** Age-sex structure of forced migrants by 10-year age groups (%), the 2002 and 2011 Censuses

Region	Sex	Total	0–9 years	10–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69	70 years and over
<b>2002</b>										
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	All	379 135	3.7	14.8	16.7	15.8	18.2	12.2	10.2	7.6
	Men	180 389	3.9	15.8	16.6	15.6	18.6	12.8	9.9	5.8
	Women	198 746	3.4	13.8	16.8	16.0	17.9	11.6	10.4	9.1
<b>2011</b>										
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	All	277 890	4.0	8.1	15.2	17.0	16.0	18.8	11.3	9.6
	Men	137 098	4.2	8.6	15.9	17.1	16.0	18.7	11.5	8.2
	Women	140 792	3.9	7.6	14.6	16.8	16.1	18.8	11.1	11.0
Beogradski region	All	91 663	4.5	7.2	15.0	18.6	15.5	18.3	11.6	9.2
	Men	44 876	4.7	7.7	15.6	19.0	15.6	17.9	11.7	7.9
Region Vojvodine	Women	46 787	4.3	6.8	14.4	18.3	15.5	18.7	11.5	10.5
	All	142 600	4.2	8.7	15.3	16.4	16.2	18.4	10.9	10.0
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	Men	70 506	4.3	9.2	15.9	16.7	16.2	18.4	11.0	8.2
	Women	72 094	4.1	8.2	14.7	16.2	16.1	18.3	10.7	11.8
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	All	29 942	2.6	8.4	15.2	15.6	16.4	20.8	11.6	9.4
	Men	14 695	2.7	8.9	16.5	14.8	16.0	21.0	12.0	8.1
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	Women	15 247	2.6	7.9	14.0	16.4	16.7	20.5	11.2	10.7
	All	13 685	2.2	7.2	15.4	14.9	17.4	20.6	13.6	8.8
Region Kosovo i Metohija	Men	7 021	2.2	7.3	15.5	14.5	17.2	21.3	14.3	7.6
	Women	6 664	2.1	6.9	15.2	15.3	17.6	19.8	12.8	10.2
Region Kosovo i Metohija	All	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

If observed by 10-year age groups, we see 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 in the age composition of the population of Serbia and in the case of the refugee corpus were also emphasized according to the data of the 2002 Census (Lađević, Stanković, 2004). The population aged 10 to 19 and the population 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. The least numerous 5-year groups are 5–9 (5 436) and 0–5 (5 747). The number in the 10–14 group is also low (8 820), while all other 5-year groups have more than 10 000 persons each.

**Graph 4:** Age pyramids of the local population and of the forced migrants, the 2011 Census  
local population    forced migrants



An analysis of the age structure by regions shows that in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije the most pronounced differences are in regards to the share of the age group up to 10 years of age in the population of forced migrants and in the host population. The bigger share of the population aged between 40 and 60 in the structure of forced migrants by age in comparison to the local population is particularly pronounced in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije.

Most of the forced migrants belong to the category of the working-age population. The changes in the percentage of shares of the basic functional contingents derived from the age and sex structures in the case of forced migrants show that in the period 2002–2011 there has been an increase in the share of pre-school children and persons aged 65 and over, while the share of the

mandatory-education contingent has been reduced. The number of children under 7 went up from 5 128 in 2002 to 6 942 in 2011. The biggest share of pre-school children and children aged 7 to 14 is in the municipalities Sjenica, Pazar, Preševo and Tutin. The share of the pre-school contingent in the structure of forced migrants in the municipality Tutin amounts to 6.2%, which is significantly more than the average for Serbia. Children aged 7 to 14 account for 11.4% of forced migrants in the municipality Sjenica and 11.8% in Preševo. In the period 2006–2008, the municipalities in Serbia with the biggest number of children per one woman were precisely the municipalities Tutin (2.35) and Preševo (2.31) (Rašević, Penev, 2009). Contrary to that, there are 32 municipalities in Serbia where there are no children aged up to 7 in the population of forced migrants.

At the time of the 2002 Census, the share of the elderly among the refugees was 12.7%, while among the local population it reached 16.9% (Penev, 2006b). The relation of this category in the above mentioned populations in 2011 was 13.6% versus 17.5%. Even with an increase in the share of forced migrants aged 65 and over in the total number of forced migrants in the period 2002–2011, the number of these persons went down from 47 286 in 2002 to 37 199 in 2011. The sex structure of the elderly forced migrants shows that there is prevalence of women (56.4%). Most of the forced migrants aged 65 and over live in the Region Vojvodine, out of which 11 169 are women. The municipalities with a small number of forced migrants (up to 100), in the Southeast Serbia, have the biggest share of persons aged 65 and over, in the population of forced migrants, which is even over 20%. These are municipalities Trgovište, Medveđa, Surdulica, Bojnik and Gadžin Han, which are already characterized by an advanced process of the population aging.

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%), while the share of the working-age contingent has gone up (from 73.4% to 75.7%) despite the decrease in the number. 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 contingent of the population aged 18 and over is the most numerous one and, although reduced in the period 2002–2011, it marks an increase in its share in the total population.

According to the data of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a), 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 significantly smaller share of children under 14 (2.7%), as well as other contingents, with a bigger and 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 these persons regardless of the refugee status.

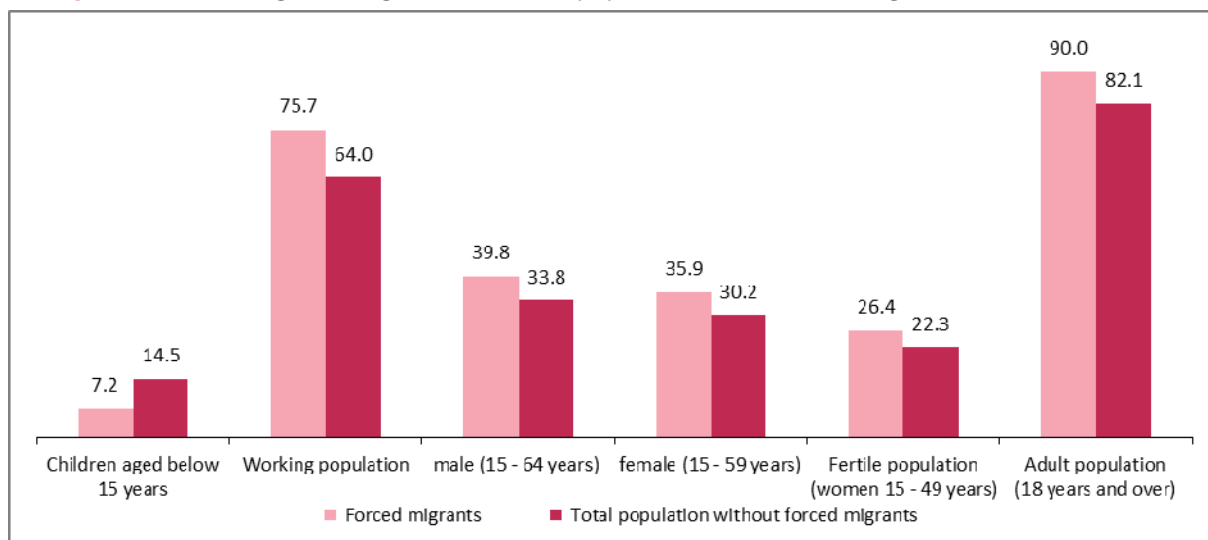
**Table 14:** Some functional age contingents of forced migrants, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Central Serbia		Vojvodina	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>277 890</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>135 290</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>142 600</b>	<b>100</b>
Under 7 years	6 942	2.5	3 288	2.4	3 654	2.6
7–14	13 061	4.7	5 905	4.4	7 156	5.0
65 years and over	37 199	13.4	17 813	13.2	19 386	13.6
Working-age	210 293	75.7	102 941	76.1	107 352	75.3
male 15–64 years	110 553	39.8	53 882	39.8	56 671	39.7
female 15–59 years	99 740	35.9	49 059	36.2	50 681	35.5
Fertile population (women 15–49 years)	73 370	26.4	35 879	26.5	37 491	26.3
Population aged 18 years and over	250 085	90.0	122 677	90.7	127 408	89.3

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 regions, forced migrants in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije are the ones of the biggest average age (45.0 years of age). In the municipalities Brus and Crna Trava, forced migrants are aged 55 on an average, while in the municipalities Sjenica, Tutin, Novi Pazar and Preševo, the average age of these persons is less than 40. For the forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina the average age was 46.1, while the persons from Croatia were a bit younger (47.0).

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). In the past fifty years, the share of the population aged under 14 in the total population of Serbia has almost halved, while the share of the older population has increased 2.5 times (Sekulić, 2011). The number of persons aged 80 and over is also on the rise (1.9% in 2002, 3.6% in 2011). According to the data for 2011, young people up to 15 years of age represent only 14.3% in the total population of the Republic of Serbia, which is less than the share of the population aged 65 and over (17.4%). The Region Južne i Istočne Srbije is the “oldest” one, where 19.3% of the population is aged 65 and over. The intensive population aging can be observed through the values of the old age dependency ratio. On account of the low birth rate, the number of persons aged under 15 is constantly going down and the projections suggest that it will continue to decrease. Contrary to that, the share of the persons aged 65 and over in the total population will significantly increase. Consequently, it is expected that the dependency ratio of the elderly will grow. According to the medium fertility variant, the rate of the demographic dependence of elderly population will increase to 38 in 2050 (Sekulić, 2011). That will exert more pressure on the public spending (primarily pensions, healthcare and social services).

**Graph 5:** Functional age contingents of the local population and of forced migrants (%), the 2011 Census



The comparison of the age structure of forced migrants with the age structure of the population of the Republic of Serbia in 2011 without forced migrants 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 its share in the population of forced migrants. In the population of forced migrants, there is a smaller share of persons aged 65 and over and twice as low share of children up to 14 years of age. 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, 2006b). The numbers of these contingents reflect on the value of the total age-dependency ratio, which is 26 in the case of forced migrants and 47 in the case of the host population. The old age dependency ratio is 18 for the forced migrants and 27 for the local population. There are differences between two populations in regards to the eldest ones. 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%. In comparison with 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 (CRRS, 2010). The majority of the returnees consists of the retired elderly persons, especially in the case of Croatia (Mesić and Bagić, 2007; Mesić and Bagić, 2011). The return of the refugees from Serbia to Croatia is, on this account, called “the return of the pensioners” (Blitz, 2005).

## Marital status of forced migrants

If observed by the legal marital status, most of the forced migrants aged 15 and over are married (56.2%). In terms of numbers, this is followed by persons who have never been married, then the widowed and the divorced persons. At the level of regions, the biggest share of persons who have never been married is on the territory of the Beogradski region (31.8%), with the share of these persons being higher than the average for the Republic. The biggest share of married persons is in the structure of forced migrants on the territory of the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, of the widowed in Vojvodina and of the divorced persons in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije. The available data did not allow study of marital/extra-marital union between forced migrants and the local population, which would certainly provide additional findings in the sphere of integration, even though this study is about co-ethnic migration.

**Table 15:** Marital status of forced migrants aged 15 and over, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>257 887</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84 787</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>131 790</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28 261</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13 049</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Never married	79 206	30.7	26 928	31.8	40 005	30.4	8 308	29.4	3 965	31.0	...
Married	145 800	56.5	47 631	56.2	74 617	56.6	16 197	57.3	7 355	56.4	...
Widows/widowers	23 333	9.0	7 053	8.3	12 526	9.5	2 623	9.3	1 127	8.6	...
Divorced	8 825	3.4	2 804	3.3	4 425	3.4	1 057	3.7	539	4.1	...
Unknown	723	0.3	371	0.4	217	0.2	73	0.26	62	0.5	...

By comparing the marital structure of the forced migrants with the local population in 2011, we can notice a smaller share of persons who are married (55.1%) and persons who have never been married (27.8%) and a bigger share of the widowed (11.7%) and the divorced persons (5.0%) in the case of the host population.

The marital structure of both sexes shows characteristics of the total population of forced migrants. However, both in the case of the forced migrants and in the case of the population of the Republic of Serbia without forced migrants, the marital structure of women is characterized by bigger shares of the widowed and the divorced and smaller shares of the married and the persons who have never been married, in comparison to the male population. These differences are explained by different age models for entering into the first marriage, different behaviour in regards to a new marriage and differences in the level of mortality (Petrović, 2006). The comparison of the representation of the widowed by age and sex shows that, as a consequence of the war, the share of widows aged 40–49 and 50–59 is higher in the case of forced migrants than in the case of the population of the Republic of Serbia without this segment of the population (5.9% versus 3.2%, 17.6% versus 12.5%).



In addition to the data on the legal marital status, the 2011 Census also collected the data on the persons living in an extra-marital union for the first time in the Republic of Serbia. The data on the persons living in an extra-marital union have been obtained on the basis of the statement of the person on the de facto marital status. In the case of forced migrants, 11 186 (4.3%) persons aged 15 and over lived in an extra-marital union in 2011. This form of union is most represented among the forced migrants in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, where 5.2% of the forced migrants aged 15 and over live in extra-marital union. If observed by sex, the cohabitation in Serbia is most spread among male forced migrants.

**Table 16:** Forced migrants aged 15 and over living in extra-marital union, by sex, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Population living in an extra-marital union	11 186	100	3 620	100	5 736	100	1 157	100	673	100	...
Men	5 924	53.0	1 924	53.1	3 089	53.9	572	49.4	339	50.4	...
Women	5 262	47.0	1 696	46.9	2 647	46.1	585	50.6	334	49.6	...

In comparison to the share of the local population aged 15 and over living in an extra-marital union (3.8%), forced migrants on an average live in extra-marital unions to a slightly higher degree (4.3%). With respect to the age structure of persons in an extra-marital union, the biggest share is that of persons aged between 30 and 39 in both populations. The differences in regards to the life in an extra-marital union between forced migrants and the local/host population can be noticed regarding the representation of extra-marital union among younger age groups. Namely, the share of persons under 30 in an extra-marital union is bigger in the host population. In the case of the lower age of the population, these differences are more expressed and they go from 14.8% vs. 11.5% for the persons aged between 25 and 29 to 2.4% vs. 0.4% for the persons aged 15–19. These differences can be partially explained by larger ethnic homogeneity of the forced migrants and a smaller share of the Roma population considering that, as emphasized by Mitrović (2013) and Stanković and Penev (2013), is early entry into informal marriage and high extra-marital fertility is typical for the Roma population in Serbia.

## Forced migrants by ethnicity

The structure of forced migrants by ethnicity shows high ethnic homogeneity, like in the previous censuses. The biggest share of forced migrants consists of the Serbs (94.2%), while other ethnicities are significantly less represented. The share of persons of Serbian ethnicity is higher in the case of forced migrants than in the total population of the Republic of Serbia. In comparison with 2002, the share of Serbs in the structure of forced migrants by ethnicity has increased by 1.6% (from 92.6% in 2002). After the Serbs, the most numerous are members of the Croatian ethnicity, while considerable number of the persons declared themselves as the Yugoslavs. Most of the Croats (2 847), Hungarians (254), Montenegrins (226) and Roma (189) came from Croatia, while the largest number of Bosniaks (185) and Muslims (250) is from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Table 17 shows the number and spatial distribution of the members of the ten most numerous ethnic groups of forced migrants, by regions.

**Table 17:** Forced migrants by ethnicity, the 2011 Census

Ethnicity	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>277 890</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>91 663</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>142 600</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29 942</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13 685</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Serbs	261 684	94.2	87 047	94.9	134 050	94.0	28 261	94.4	12 326	90.1	...
Croats	2 847	1.0	729	0.8	1 722	1.2	231	0.8	165	1.2	...
Muslims	345	0.1	71	0.1	158	0.1	84	0.3	32	0.2	...
Bosniaks	276	0.1	36	0.0	49	0.0	164	0.5	27	0.2	...
Slovenians	191	0.1	78	0.1	75	0.1	25	0.1	13	0.1	...
Macedonians	644	0.2	204	0.2	175	0.1	74	0.2	191	1.4	...
Montenegrins	506	0.2	181	0.2	262	0.2	38	0.1	25	0.2	...
Hungarians	425	0.1	38	0.0	372	0.3	7	0.0	8	0.1	...
Roma	394	0.1	86	0.1	236	0.2	21	0.1	51	0.4	...
Yugoslavs	991	0.4	381	0.4	481	0.3	74	0.2	55	0.4	...
Others	7 745	2.8	2 073	2.3	4 450	3.1	637	2.1	585	4.3	...
Unknown	1 842	0.7	739	0.8	570	0.4	326	1.1	207	1.5	...

The ethnically most homogeneous structure can be found among the forced migrants from Croatia, where 94.5% consist of the Serbs, while 5.5% are the persons of other ethnicities. Contrary to that, the biggest share of persons of other ethnicities can be noticed in the structure of forced migrants from Macedonia and Slovenia (7.78%).



The structure of forced migrants by ethnicity has affected the spatial distribution of this population. Namely, earlier surveys show that most of the refugees of the Muslim ethnicity from Bosnia and Herzegovina settled in municipalities of Serbia with a high share of this population in the total one, such as Sjenica and Tutin (Lukić, 2005). According to the data from 2011, the largest share of forced migrants who declared themselves as Bosniaks live in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (59.4%), predominantly in the Raški district (38%). The largest number of persons who declared themselves as Muslims live in the Region Vojvodine and Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (Raški and Zlatiborski districts). In Belgrade the Serbs account for the majority of forced migrants, while the Hungarians are concentrated in the districts of Bačka, close to the border with Hungary. If observed by ethnicity, 60.5% of forced migrants of the Croatian ethnicity live in the Region Vojvodine, mostly in the Južnobački, Srednjebanatski and Sremski districts. The Slovenians are almost equally concentrated in Region Vojvodine (39.3%) and Beogradski region (40.8%), while the Montenegrins (51.8%) and the Roma (59.9%) are in Vojvodina. The biggest number of the Macedonians lives in the Beogradski region (31.7%) and the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (29.7%), in the Nišavski district.

### **General and computer literacy, and educational attainment of forced migrants**

Formal education, employment, healthcare and housing constitute the socio-economic dimension of the refugee integration. The lack of the funds is often an obstacle for further formal education of children in the families of forced migrants, while students often get education and work at the same time. Most of the forced migrants in the Republic of Serbia in 2011 completed secondary school. The share of persons with no formal education and with incomplete elementary school, in the structure of forced migrants by educational attainment, is the lowest in the Beogradski region, while regions of Vojvodina and Šumadija i Zapadna Srbija have a little bigger share of these categories in comparison to the average for the Republic. The regional differentiation of the share of the population with college or university education in the educational structure of the population is very pronounced. The regions of Vojvodina and Šumadija i Zapadna Srbija have the share of persons with college- and university-level education below the country average, while the share of these persons in Region Južne i Istočne Srbije and Beogradski region is higher than the average for the Republic of Serbia. As much as 46% of all forced migrants from former SFRY republics who completed college or university live in the Region of Belgrade.

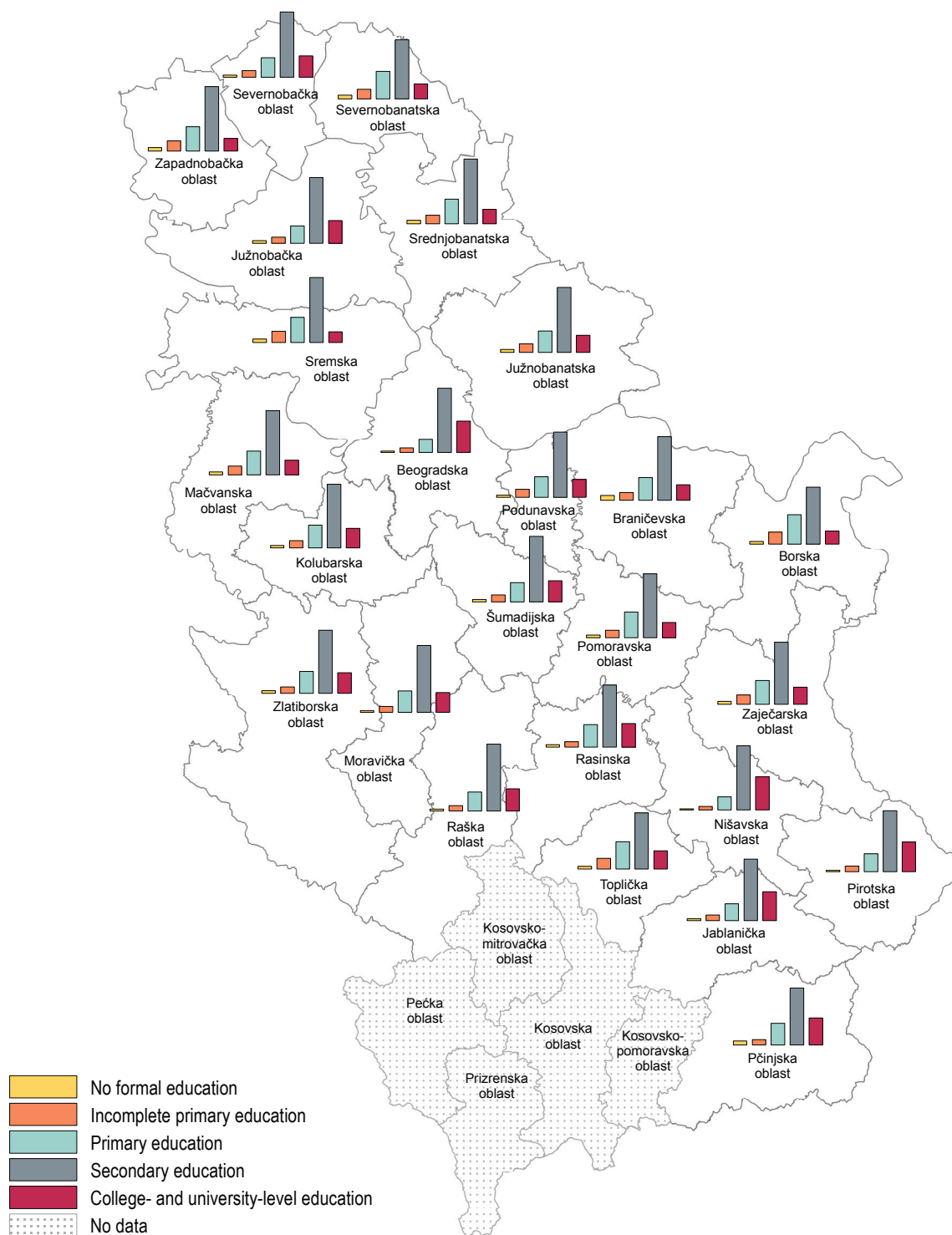
**Table 18:** Forced migrants aged 15 and over by educational attainment, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>257 887</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84 787</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>131 790</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28 261</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13 049</b>	<b>100</b>	...
No formal education	5 433	2.1	1 144	1.4	3 408	2.6	598	2.2	283	2.2	...
Incomplete primary education	15 647	6.1	3 417	4.0	9 740	7.4	1 752	6.2	738	5.7	...
Primary education	41 765	16.2	9 655	11.4	24 460	18.6	5 464	19.3	2 186	16.8	...
Secondary education	144 777	56.1	47 395	55.9	74 449	56.5	15 841	56.1	7 092	54.3	...
College- and university-level education	49 853	19.3	23 029	27.2	19 563	14.8	4 549	16.10	2 712	20.8	...
Unknown	412	0.2	147	0.2	170	0.1	57	0.2	38	0.3	...

The districts with the least favourable educational structure of forced migrants (high share of persons with no formal education and with incomplete elementary school, and a low share of persons with college or university education) are Sremski and Borski districts. The most favourable educational structure can be found among those forced migrants in Beogradski, Nišavski and Pirotski districts. There are also inter-municipal differences in the structure of forced migrants by the level of educational attainment. The most favourable educational structure of forced migrants can be found in the urban municipalities of the City of Belgrade. The biggest share of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics with college or university education is in Belgrade municipalities Stari grad (49.8%), Vračar (49.7%), Novi Beograd (44.1%), Savski venac (44,0) and in the urban municipality Medijana in Niš (39.3%), whereas the smallest one is in the municipalities Knić (2.6%), Kovačica (4.5%), Mali Idoš (4.7%) and Žabari (5.0%), and in the municipalities Preševo and Trgovište where no forced migrants have completed college or university. The least favourable educational structure, i.e., the biggest share of persons with no formal education can be found in the municipalities: Brus (32.2%), Kučevo (30.4%), Merošina (20.7%), Medveđa (20.5%) and Crna Trava (20.0%).



**Map 5:** Forced migrants aged 15 years and over by educational attainment, by areas, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



The forced migrants originating from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina have a little more favourable educational structure in comparison to the forced migrants from Croatia. The share of persons with no formal education and with incomplete primary school is bigger in the case of the persons from Croatia by 2%, while the share of persons with primary school is bigger by 4%. Contrary to that, the share of persons with college or university education is bigger in the population of forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina and it amounts to 26.6% vs. 15.8% for the persons from Croatia. These results confirm the earlier surveys on the topic of positive selectiveness of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Serbia by education (Lukić, Nikitović, 2004).

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 college or university 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. The differences in the level of education of forced migrants by sex that exist at the level of the Republic of Serbia can also be noticed at the level of regions. Most of the female forced migrants with no formal education and with incomplete primary school live in the municipalities Novi Sad, Zemun, Inđija and Ruma. These are predominantly persons aged 70 and over. However, the negative fact that is pointed out by the findings is that as much as 14 941 forced migrants under 35 have no formal education, have discontinued their primary education or have completed elementary school, out of which 7 046 are women.

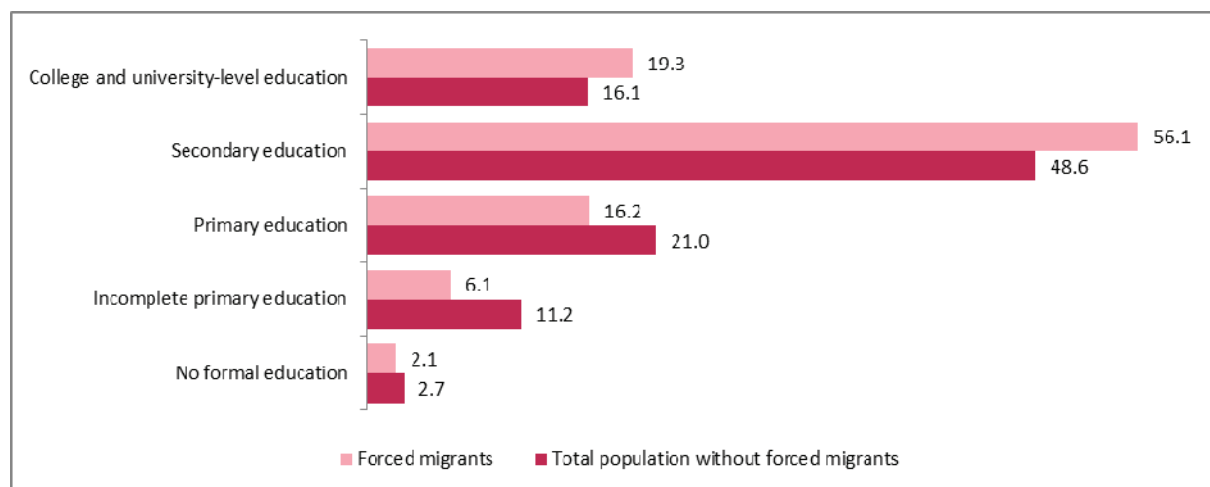
If observed by age groups, the biggest number of persons with secondary, college or university education is aged 30–49. In the category of the persons of this age, there is predominance of women within college or university-educated and of men in the case of secondary education. Persons with no formal education and with incomplete primary education are mostly aged 65 and over. What is unfavourable is the fact that a quarter of the persons 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 adaptation is positively related to the level of education.

In comparison with the data from the 2002 Census of Population, it can be observed that in the population of forced migrants there is a growth in the share of persons with secondary education (49.3% in 2002 vs. 56.1% in 2011) and those with college or university 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 Republic of Serbia, the number of forced migrants who have completed college or university has gone up from 46 299 to 49 853. In the period 2002–2011, in Vojvodina, as the region with the biggest number of



forced migrants, the share of men-forced migrants with college or university education has increased by 3%, while the share of women with the same level of education has gone up by 6%.

**Graph 6:** Local population and forced migrants aged 15 and over by educational attainment (%), the 2011 Census



Although there has been improvement trend of the educational structure of the population in the Republic of Serbia, the forced migrants from the former SFRY republics are a bit more educated in relation to the other population of Serbia aged over 15. In comparison with other population, their educational structure is characterized by a smaller share of persons with no formal education, with incomplete primary and primary education and a bigger share of persons with secondary education and college or university 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.

### *Literacy*

In 2011, 4 055 forced migrants aged 10 and over in the Republic of Serbia were illiterate. Out of that, 2 516 or 62% lived in Region Vojvodine, predominantly in the Sremski and Južnobački districts. The illiteracy rate of forced migrants goes from 1.0% for the Region of Belgrade to 1.9% for the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije. In comparison with the data from the 2002 Census of Population, in the population of forced migrants there has been significant reduction in the illiteracy rate at the level of the Republic of Serbia (from 2.9% to 1.5%). Persons aged 60 and over make the biggest

share (85.2%) of illiterate persons by age, followed by persons aged 50–59 (4.8%), while the smallest share can be found in the case of those under 19 (1.6%). If observed by the republic of the former SFRY from which they came to Serbia, there are no larger differences in illiteracy rate of the forced migrants.

The age structure of illiterate forced migrants differs, depending on the region of observation. Although the biggest number of the illiterate in all regions is over 60, there is a significant share of illiterate forced migrants aged 20–29 and 30–39 in the region of Belgrade (4.3%; 3.8%) and the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (3.8%; 9.6%). 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. That is why it is necessary to come up with activities focused on the reduction of the share of illiterate among younger forced migrants in order to increase their competitiveness in the labour market.

**Table 19:** Illiterate forced migrants aged 10 and over, the 2011 Census

Region	Illiterate persons	Illiteracy rate (%)	Illiterate persons by age (%)					
			10–19 years	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60 years and over
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>4 055</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>85.2</b>
Beogradski region	833	1.0	2.0	4.3	3.8	1.7	3.6	84.5
Region Vojvodine	2 516	1.8	1.3	3.1	1.9	2.0	4.5	87.2
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	457	1.6	0.7	1.8	2.8	3.7	6.3	84.7
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	249	1.9	4.6	3.8	9.6	4.2	8.4	64.8
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

In the population of illiterate forced migrants aged over 10 years, there are 3 461 women and 594 men. The illiteracy rate of women is significantly bigger (2.6%) in comparison with men's (0.5%). In the age structure of illiterate forced migrants by sex, there are big differences too. Over 90% of the illiterates are women aged 60 years and over, while the share of men of this age among illiterate persons amounts to 52.0%. Although fewer in numbers, illiterate men are 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%). The share of illiterate persons aged from 10 to 19 amounts to 5.7% for men vs. 0.9% for women.



Even with the tendency of decrease in the number and the share of illiterate persons in the total population of the Republic of Serbia, the illiteracy rate of the local population is a little higher in comparison with the illiteracy rate of forced migrants and it amounts to 2%. 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).

### *Computer literacy*

The results of a survey on the use of information and communications technologies (ICT) in the Republic of Serbia show that the use of computers and Internet by individuals and households is increasing. In the period 2012–2013, there has been an increase in the number of computer users by 2.3% or 6.9% in the case of Internet users (SORS, 2013a). In the 2011 Census, data on computer literacy were collected for the first time in Serbia. Computer literacy is defined as a capacity of a person to use basic computer applications when performing daily tasks (at work, at school, at home) (SORS, 2013b). In the population of forced migrants in Serbia, there is predominance of computer literate persons (55.9%), which is a little more than the share for the local/host population (51.3%). An analysis of the age and sex structure of forced migrants by computer literacy, shows that in the group of persons who were not computer literate, there is a bigger share of women and elderly persons. Persons aged 55 and over account for over 60% of persons who are not computer literate, while younger forced migrants aged 25 to 34, account for the biggest share (27.8%) of computer literate persons. The share of computer literate persons drops with the age and goes from 95.4% and 87.2% in the age groups 15–24 and 25–34 to 29.1% and 7.2% in the age groups 55–64 and 65 and over.

**Table 20:** Forced migrants aged 15 and over by computer literacy and sex, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Computer literate persons											
<b>Total</b>	<b>144 282</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53 399</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>69 585</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>14 137</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>7 161</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Men	73 496	50.9	26 922	50.4	35 409	50.9	7 291	51.6	3 874	54.1	...
Women	70 786	49.1	26 477	49.5	34 176	49.1	6 846	48.4	3 287	45.9	...
Computer illiterate persons											
<b>Total</b>	<b>113 605</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31 388</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>62 205</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>14 124</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5 888</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Men	53 270	46.9	14 460	46.1	29 479	47.4	6 533	46.3	2 798	47.5	...
Women	60 335	53.1	16 928	53.9	32 726	52.6	7 591	53.7	3 090	52.5	...

In the population of forced migrants aged over 15 years, 60.3% of persons from Bosnia and Herzegovina are computer literate, while the forced migrants from Croatia know how to use a computer to a smaller degree (51.8%). If observed by regions, similar to the host population, the above-average share of persons who are computer literate can be found in the population of forced migrants in the Beogradski region (62.9%), while the biggest share of persons who are not computer literate is within forced migrants on the territory of the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (49.9%). The computer literate forced migrants aged 65 and over mostly live in the Beogradski region (1 387 or 52.1%). While the shares of the computer literate and the computer illiterate forced migrants are almost equal in urban settlements (49% versus 51%), the share of the computer illiterate persons is twice as big in the settlements that are not of the urban type, both in the case of forced migrants and in the case of the host population. However, if the host population that lives in urban settlements is observed, it is more computer literate (59.5%) than the forced migrants living in cities.

### Economic activity of forced migrants

The labour market in the Republic of Serbia in the period 2005–2010 is characterized by the rise of unemployment, deterioration of the position of the young and persons of the lowest educational levels in the labour market, 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 employed persons (17.2% in 2010). Within the institutional framework, in addition to the Roma, persons with disabilities, victims of human trafficking and others, recognises refugees and internally displaced persons are



recognised as particularly vulnerable groups in the labour market (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a).

As pointed out by Radivojević (2006), the economic activity rate in Serbia has been declining continuously since 1953 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 and sex structures. The economic activity rate of men is characterized by a continuous decline, while the economic activity rate of women increased in the period 1953–1981, only to start falling down from 1991.

The economic features of forced migrants from the former SFRY republics (activity, industry, occupation and employment status) are an indicator of the degree of their socio-economic integration in Serbia. The position of this population in the labour market is important not only for the refugees themselves, but also for the society as well. The authors of the study on the position of refugees in the labour market<sup>40</sup> point to an unstable and unfavourable position of refugees in the labour market and the fact that they perform jobs below their qualifications more often in comparison with the local population (Babović et al., 2007). Other findings point to worse position of refugees in the labour market of host countries not only compared to the local population but also in comparison with economic migrants (Yu et al., 2007).

By applying the concept of the so-called 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 (48.8%) economically active forced migrants in the Republic of Serbia. Out of that, the biggest number performs occupation, while the number of unemployed persons is significantly smaller. Within the total number of unemployed persons, two thirds account for persons who used to work once and one third for those who are looking for their first job. If observed by sex, the economic activity rate of female forced migrants was 42.1% and that of men's was 55.7%. Female forced migrants are economically the most active in the Beogradski region, where they accounted for 46.2% of the active population of forced migrants.

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%. In comparison with the host population just like in 2002, it can be noticed that the economic activity rate of forced migrants is a little higher. 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 of forced migrants.

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<sup>40</sup> The study is 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.

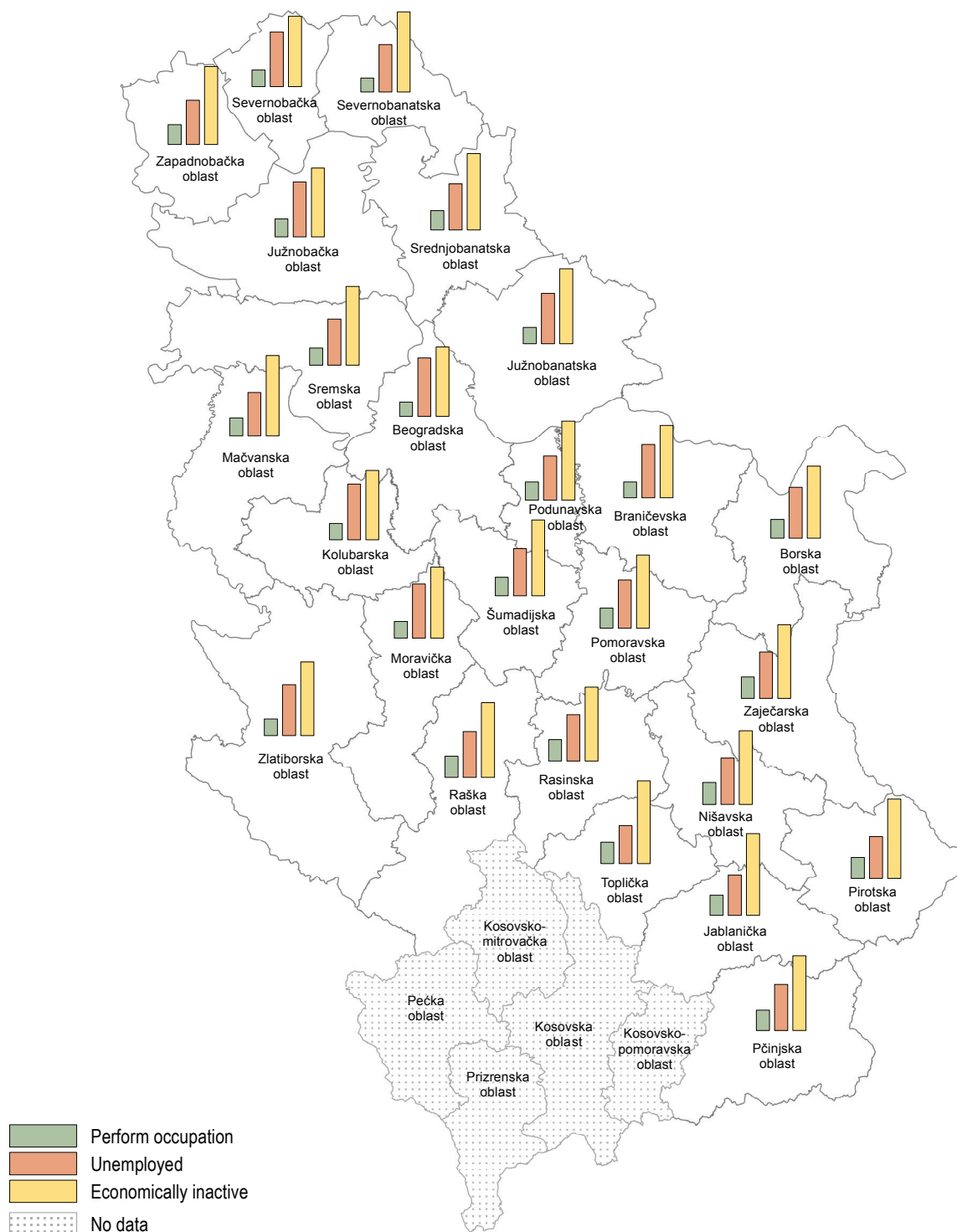
The most represented group among the economically active forced migrants in Serbia, like in the case of the local population, is the age group 30–49, which accounts for 28.7% of all economically active persons. The activity rates by age show a low activity rate of the young aged 15–19 (10.2%) and persons aged 65 and over (1.6%). Out of forced migrants aged 15–19, 1 398 are economically active, although they are mostly unemployed, as well as 592 persons over 65, who predominantly perform occupation. Just like in the case of the local population, the biggest activity rates are in the age groups 30–49 (79.5%) and 25–29 (74.0%), while the local population aged 65 and over is slightly more economically active than the forced migrants of the same age group.



Source: The archive of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia



**Map 6:** Forced migrants by economic activity, by areas, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



If observed by regions, the biggest share of economically active population (51.1%) and persons who perform occupation (80.4%) in the total number of forced migrants is in Beogradski region and the smallest is in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (46.7% and 70.1%). Just like in the case of local population, the first job is the hardest to get for the forced migrants in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, while the share of unemployed forced migrants who used to work once is the biggest in the Beogradski region. The largest share of economically active population in the total number of forced migrants is in the Južnobački, Beogradski and Kolubarski districts, whereas the smallest one is in the Toplički, Jablanički and Mačvanski districts.

**Table 21:** Economically active forced migrants, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>135 638</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46 874</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>68 352</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>14 026</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6 386</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Perform an occupation	102 854	75.8	37 675	80.4	50 560	74.0	10 140	72.3	4 479	70.1	...
Unemployed	32 784	24.2	9 199	19.6	17 792	26.0	3 886	27.7	1 907	29.9	...

**Table 21.1:** Economically active forced migrants, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	% of the total number of the employed	number	% of the total number of the employed	number	% of the total number of the employed	number	% of the total number of the employed	number	% of the total number of the employed	
Unemployed, used to work once	22 829	69.6	6 664	72.4	12 439	69.9	2 463	63.4	1 263	66.2	...
Unemployed, looking for the first job	9 955	30.4	2 535	27.6	5 353	30.1	1 423	36.6	644	33.8	...

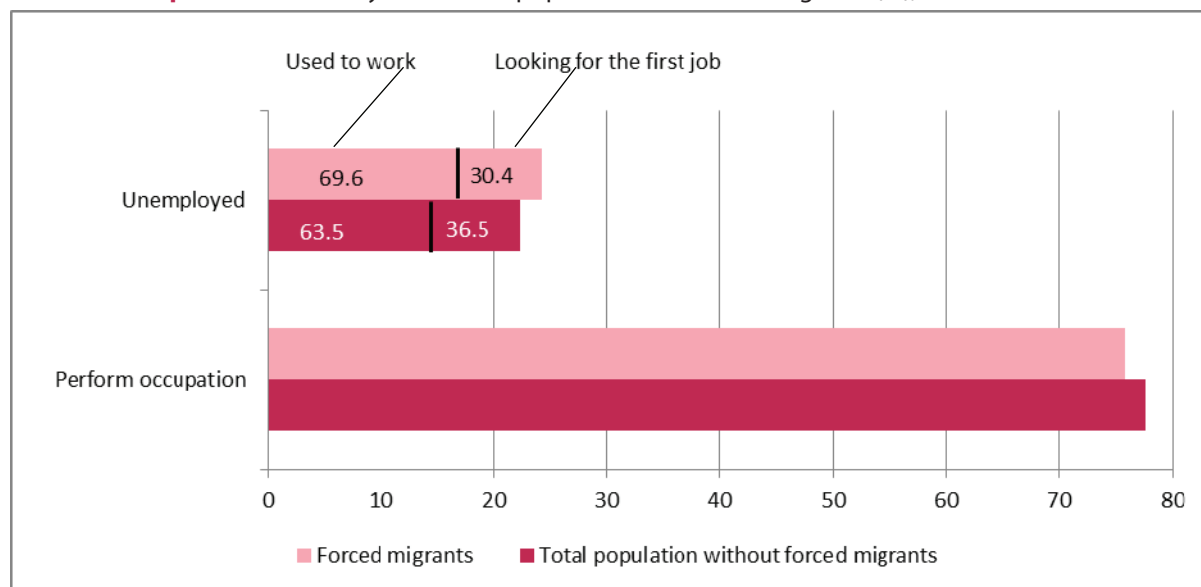
An analysis of economic activity by age and sex shows that in comparison with the average for the Republic of Serbia, there is above-average high activity rate of forced migrants aged 65 and over in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (3.3%) and in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (2.2%), as a consequence of high economic activity of men at this age. Another borderline category of active persons, aged 15–19, have the biggest values of activity rate in the Region Vojvodine. Most of these persons are looking for the first job. The difficulties that forced migrants experience in the labour market are corroborated by the fact that in the structure of persons looking for the first job, the persons aged 30–49 have the biggest share (37.1%). This problem is particularly expressed in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, where the share of persons aged 30–49 in the total number of



forced migrants looking for the first job amounts to as much as 40.8%. A detailed analysis of this category of unemployed persons has shown that in all the regions, except in the Beogradski region, this predominantly concerns women.

The population of forced migrants belongs to socially vulnerable groups, at risk of poverty and social exclusion. Unemployed forced migrants are particularly at risk of poverty, considering that there is an expressed link between unemployment and poverty. The issues related to employment and housing of forced migrants, as indicators of integration, are interconnected. During the 2002-2011 inter-census period, there has been a decrease in the refugee unemployment rate from 35.8% to 24.2%. This process became more intense after 2008. Namely, according to a survey on the needs of the refugee population conducted in 2008, the unemployment rate among the refugees amounted to 33%. Most of the employed refugees had irregular income as temporarily employed (51%), 38% had permanent employment and 8% were self-employed (CRRS, 2009). Even with the positive trend, the unemployment rate of forced migrants according to the 2011 Census was a little higher in comparison with the local population for which the unemployment rate was 22.3%. Around one third of unemployed forced migrants are looking for the first job. 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. Just like in the case of the local population, the highest unemployment rate of forced migrants is in Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (29.9%) and in Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (27.7%), while the lowest is in the Beogradski region (19.6%). The most expressed difference with regards to the unemployment rate of forced migrants and the one of the host population, with the value of 5.4% in favour of the local/host population, is in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije. If observed by sex, the unemployment rate of women, just like in the case of the local population, has the biggest value in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (33.2%).

Although men - forced migrants continue to be more economically active than women, 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. Female forced migrants account for 43.7% of the population who perform occupation (42.1% for the local population), which is equal to the share from 2002. If observed by regions, the share of female forced migrants in the total number of persons who perform occupation is biggest in the Beogradski region (46.5%) and smallest in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (40.7%). 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%).

**Graph 7:** Economically active local population and forced migrants (%), the 2011 Census

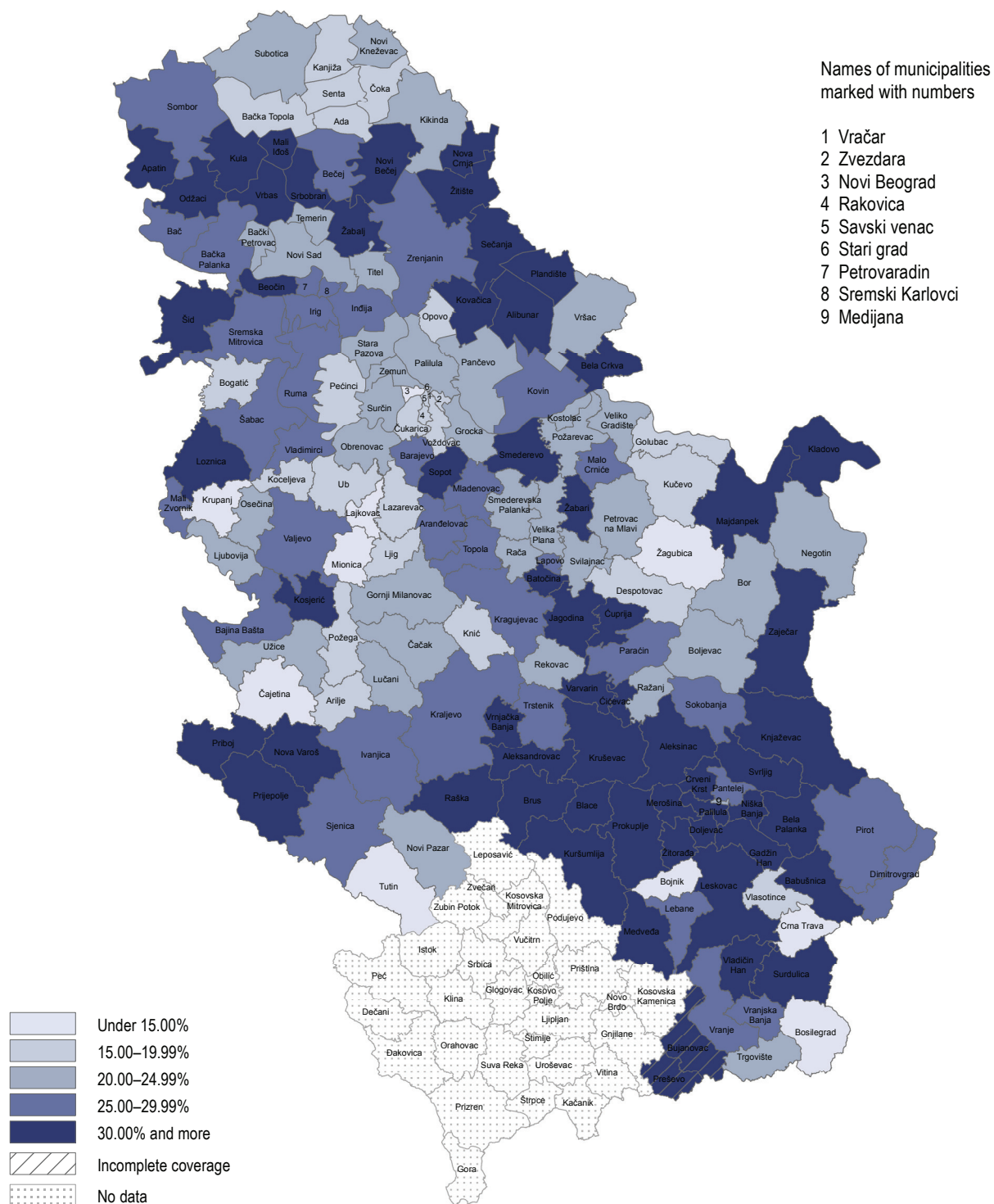
The biggest unemployment rate of forced migrants is in the municipalities Medveđa, Tutin, Brus, Doljevac and Bela Palanka, where only between 12 and 17% of forced migrants are employed. Contrary to that, Vračar, Arilje and Žagubica stand out as the municipalities with a high rate of employment of this population.

The position of young forced migrants in the labour market in Serbia is very unfavourable. If observed by age, the highest unemployment rate is the one of the young (15–24), which amounts to 43.9%. The goal of the Youth Employment Fund in the Republic of Serbia, founded in 2009, is to provide assistance with the acquiring of knowledge and skills and employment of the young who need special support, such as persons without qualifications or with low qualifications, persons with disabilities, Roma, returnees within the process of readmission and refugees and displaced persons, by organizing trainings and providing subsidies for employers for the employment of these categories (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a). It is also possible to observe differences in the unemployment rates of forced migrants and the local population by age groups. While forced migrants aged up to 29 have a higher employment rate in comparison with the other population of Serbia, all other age groups are unemployed at a higher percentage in comparison with the local population. The smallest differences in the unemployment rate between these two groups of population are at the age of 30–49.

The share of inactive persons in the population of forced migrants in 2011 was 51.2%, which is less than the value for the local population (59.0%). In the case of female population, there is a bigger share of inactive persons (57.9%) than in the case of male population (44.3%). In comparison with 2002 Census data, it can be noticed that there is an increase in the share of forced migrants with personal income (from 14.7% to 17.5%) and a decrease in the share of dependent population (from 37.9% to 33.7%). 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., 2013).



**Map 7:** Unemployment rate<sup>1</sup> of forced migrants by municipalities and cities, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



<sup>1</sup> Unemployment rate is the share of the unemployed persons in the total number of active population.

In the structure of persons with personal income, pensioners have the highest representation, with 98.6%. The share of pensioners in the total population of forced migrants in 2011 was 17.2%, which is less than in the case of the local population (22.9%). Although pensioners constitute a majority in the category of persons with personal income, even when this category is observed as a whole, its share in the total number of residents of Serbia without forced migrants is also bigger (23.3%) than in the case of forced migrants. 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 of origin. The share of dependent population of forced migrants, which was bigger in 2002 than in the case of the rest of the population, was smaller for forced migrants than for the local population in 2011. The biggest share of pensioners in the group of economically inactive persons is in the Beogradski region and the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, that is, in the Jablanički, Pirotski and Nišavski districts, while the biggest share of housewives is in the Mačvanski district.

**Table 22:** Economically inactive forced migrants, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>142 210</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>44 771</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>74 234</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>15 910</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>7 295</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Children under 15	20 003	14.1	6 876	15.4	10 810	14.6	1 681	10.6	636	8.7	...
Pensioners	47 861	33.7	16 962	37.9	23 021	31.0	5 062	31.8	2 816	38.6	...
Persons with income from property	685	0.5	130	0.3	466	0.6	59	0.4	30	0.4	...
Pupils / students	23 816	16.7	7 886	17.6	12 087	16.3	2 635	16.6	1 208	16.6	...
Persons who perform only housework at their own household (housewives)	30 166	21.2	7 168	16.0	17 331	23.3	4 128	25.9	1 539	21.1	...
Other	19 679	13.8	5 749	12.8	10 519	14.2	2 345	14.7	1 066	14.6	...

In all the categories of inactive population, except in the case of persons with income from property and children under 15, there is predominance of women. Of persons with personal income, women are more numerous than of men (51.7% for forced migrants and 57% for the local population), which is influenced by a large number of women in the category of pensioners. As pointed out by Radivojević (2006), older women move from the category of dependents to the category of persons with personal income as a consequence of the differential mortality by sex. The biggest difference in the structure of economically inactive forced migrants by sex is in the share of persons who perform only housework at their own household. This category includes 32.3% of inactive women and only 6.3% of inactive men.

The economic support programmes for refugees are implemented through the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia. The funds assigned for the economic



empowerment of refugees through income-creating activities are granted through cooperation with local self-governments and donors. This concerns micro-credits or provision of tools, materials and equipment, as well as programmes for additional vocational training<sup>41</sup>. The efficiency of the allocated grants over a longer period of time has proved to be different, depending on the local market conditions. Thus, according to the data from 2005, few business investments from the allocated income-creating loans proved to be sustainable over time in Kraljevo and Bor, while the experiences from Gornji Milanovac were positive (Group 484, 2005). It seems that the small amounts of these grants have an impact on their not so large economic effect, which does not surpass 20% in relation to the previous income level, so that their effects were bigger at the psychological level.<sup>42</sup>

### *Economic sectors*

The contemporary socio-economic development and changes in the structure of the Serbian economy have reflected on the economic characteristics of the labour force, primarily on the sector of economic activity. The share of employed persons in the primary sector has gone down concurrently with an increase in the importance of the secondary and tertiary sectors. Privatization, restructuring, as well as the modernization of economy, have had an impact on the creation of a new economic structure in which the significance of trade, traffic and transportation, financial, intellectual, personal and other services grows (Radivojević, 2006). In addition to the continuous increase in its share in employment, especially expressed since 1981, the tertiary sector of the economy in Serbia also marks a growth in its share in the Gross Domestic Product and in the overall economic activity, which is characteristic of post-industrial societies.

**Table 23:** Economically active forced migrants who perform occupation by economic sectors, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>102 854</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37 675</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50 560</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10 140</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4479</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Primary	6 709	6.5	403	1.1	4 632	9.2	1 323	13.0	351	7.8	...
Secondary	26 305	25.6	8 097	21.5	14 083	27.9	3 077	30.3	1048	23.4	...
Tertiary and the other	69 374	67.4	28 972	76.9	31 661	62.6	5 681	56.0	3060	68.3	...
Unknown	466	0.5	203	0.5	184	0.4	59	0.6	20	0.4	...

<sup>41</sup> For instance, the project "Small grants for the integration of refugees and displaced persons" financed by the European Union through the programme "Support for the enhancement of living conditions, rights and employment of refugees and IDPs in Serbia" 2010–2012.

<sup>42</sup> *Zdravo da ste*: Self-Help Projects for Refugees in Yugoslavia, Conference of Psychosocial Programmes within War-Affected Social Context, 1997–2005.

At the level of the Republic of Serbia, the service sector is most important for forced migrants, especially in the Beogradski region. As much as 22 325 forced migrants work in the field of retail and wholesale trade, followed, in terms of numbers, by persons employed in the processing industry (17 947) and construction (8 022). The share of employed persons in the primary and the secondary sectors is biggest in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, where forced migrants are less engaged in the service sector, while most of the employed persons in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries live on the territory of Vojvodina. The smallest number of forced migrants is employed in the real estate and mining.

**Table 24:** Economically active forced migrants who perform occupation by economic sector and sex, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Men											
<b>Total</b>	<b>58 240</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20 140</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29 475</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6 009</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>2 616</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Primary	4 736	8.1	278	1.4	3 432	11.6	787	13.1	239	9.1	...
Secondary	18 634	32.0	5 721	28.4	9 883	33.5	2 263	37.7	767	29.3	...
Tertiary with the other	34 571	59.4	14 024	69.6	16 032	54.4	2 922	48.6	1 593	60.9	...
Unknown	299	0.5	117	0.6	128	0.4	37	0.6	17	0.6	...
Women											
<b>Total</b>	<b>44 614</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>17 535</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21 085</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4 131</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1 863</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Primary	1 973	4.4	125	0.7	1 200	5.7	536	13.0	112	6.0	...
Secondary	7 671	17.2	2 376	13.6	4 200	19.9	814	19.7	281	15.1	...
Tertiary with the other	34 803	78.0	14 948	85.2	15 629	74.1	2 759	66.8	1 467	78.7	...
Unknown	167	0.4	86	0.5	56	0.3	22	0.5	3	0.2	...

While the tertiary sector in Serbia equally engages women (50.2%) and men (49.8%) forced migrants, the relation between male and female population in the primary and secondary sectors is 70 vs. 30 in favour of men. The largest number of female forced migrants that are employed in the secondary sector of industries live in Region Vojvodine and the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije. Trade, processing industry and construction employ mostly men, while female forced migrants, after the dominant trading industry, are engaged in a large number not only in the processing industry, but also in the sphere of healthcare, social protection and education. The predominant spheres that employ female forced migrants are: education, healthcare and social protection, as well as specialized, scientific, innovative and technical industries. Women account for 80% of all forced migrants employed in healthcare and social protection, 66% of those employed in education and 53% of those employed in the sphere of specialized, scientific, innovative and technical industries. If observed by age, most of the young forced migrants, aged 15–24, are employed in trade (26.4%) and processing industry (19.5%).



The sectoral structure of the forced migrants' employment in Serbia differs in relation to other population, in terms of smaller share of employed in the sphere of agriculture, forestry and fisheries and bigger in other industries. In comparison with the host population of Serbia, forced migrants are engaged to a higher degree in the industries of the tertiary and the other sectors (67.4% vs. 60.5%) and in the secondary sector (25.6% vs. 23.7%), and significantly less in the primary sector industries (6.5% versus 15.1%).

According to a survey conducted in 2006, there are also differences between the general population and refugees when it comes to additional work. Opposite to the local/host population, where additional work in agriculture is mostly represented, in the case of the refugee population additional work is mostly in construction, with a significant representation of the additional work in connection with the maintenance of dwellings and house help (Babović et al., 2007).

### *Occupation*

The first analysis of the economically active refugees by occupation and place of residence in Serbia was conducted on the basis of the data from the 1996 Census of Refugees. The data showed that most of the refugees were employed in production and administration, but it also pointed at the fact that the decision of refugees about where to settle depended on the type of work they were trained for. The share of agricultural workers among the economically active refugees was significantly bigger in Vojvodina than in other regions, while in Belgrade there were fewer employees in agricultural occupations, with a bigger share of office clerks and non-manufacturing occupations (UNHCR, CRRS, 1996).

The connection between the occupations of refugees and their spatial distribution in Serbia has also been proven by using the example of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Belgrade. Namely, findings have shown that most of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were active in agriculture before the exile, settled in the suburban municipalities of Belgrade that provided them opportunity for a continuation of work within this economic activity sector. In line with that, the biggest percentage of administrative workers and specialists, according to their previous occupation, settled in the central Belgrade municipalities. Based on that, it was concluded that a significant number of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Belgrade kept their prior occupation and, in line with that, settled in the appropriate municipalities that provided them the opportunities to continue to perform their occupation (Lukić, 2005).

In regards to the occupation which forced migrants performed in their new setting, their biggest share in 2002 was in the professional group of service and sales' workers (16.2%), the group of expert associates and technicians (15.1%) and in the group who performed elementary occupations (12.2%) (Lađević, Stanković, 2004). Service and sales' workers were the most frequent occupations of forced migrants in Serbia also according to the 2011 Census. Other groups of occupations that have been represented more were technicians and associate professionals (15.2%) and craft and related trades' workers (14.9%). The observed changes in the structure of occupations that occurred in the period 2002–2011, are reflected in the change of the third most represented group of occupations and the reduction in the share of persons employed in

elementary occupations and agriculture with a growth in the share of professionals, administrative workers and craft workers.

If observed by sex, female forced migrants are mostly employed in service and sales occupations (28.4%), as professionals (21.2%) as technicians and associate professionals (17.4%). Men are predominantly employed as craft workers (21.9%), plant and machine operators and assemblers (16.4%). While some groups of occupations engage more women, male forced migrants are more evenly represented in different occupations. If observed by different groups of occupations, in the occupational group of professionals and artists, almost two thirds of forced migrants are women. In the groups of service and elementary occupations, the majority are also women (59.2% and 55.8%, respectively).

The data on occupation from 2011 refer to all economically active forced migrants aged 15 and over who perform occupation. The maximum age limit has not been defined on the account of the fact that persons can be economically active even after exiting the working-age contingent (SORS, 2013c). Most of the forced migrants aged over 65 are employed in the group of agricultural, forestry and fishery and in elementary occupations. Young forced migrants, aged 15–24, are predominantly employed as service, sales' and craft workers. If observed by regions, it is possible to notice a concentration of persons employed in armed forces occupations in the Beogradski region, while a concentration in the Region Vojvodine is specific for agricultural workers. As much as 63% of all forced migrants employed in agriculture and related occupations live on the territory of Vojvodina.

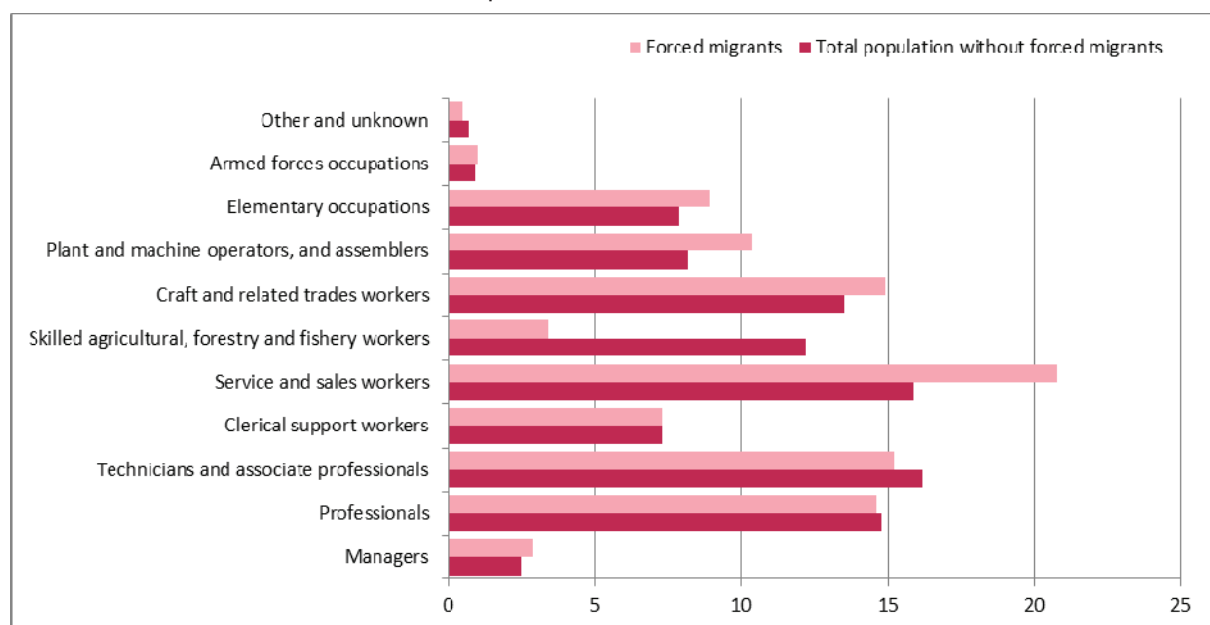
**Table 25:** Economically active forced migrants and local population that perform occupation, by occupation, the 2002 and 2011 Censuses

	Forced migrants			
	Republic of Serbia, 2002		Republic of Serbia, 2011	
	number	%	number	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>114 477</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102 854</b>	<b>100</b>
Managers	5 622	4.9	2 973	2.9
Professionals and artists	10 287	9.0	15 025	14.6
Technicians and associate professionals	17 232	15.1	15 670	15.2
Clerical support workers	5 001	4.4	7 464	7.3
Service and sales workers	18 490	16.2	21 431	20.8
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	9 959	8.7	3 491	3.4
Craft and related trade workers	12 945	11.3	15 286	14.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	12 011	10.5	10 719	10.4
Elementary occupations	13 915	12.2	9 188	8.9
Armed forces occupations	-	-	1 048	1.0
Others and unknown	9 015	7.9	559	0.5



By comparing professional structures of forced migrants and the local/host population of the Republic of Serbia, it can be noticed that the biggest differences are in terms of the share of agricultural and related occupations. Namely, forced migrants are significantly less employed in this group of occupations in comparison with the local population, while they are more employed as service and sales' workers. The groups of occupations with the predominance of women are the same for both populations (professionals, technicians and associate professionals, administrative support workers, service and sales' workers, and elementary occupations). While more than a half of forced migrants – agricultural workers live in the Region Vojvodine in line with spatial distribution of this population, the local agricultural population is concentrated in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije.

**Graph 8:** Economically active local population and forced migrants who perform occupation, by occupation (%), the 2011 Census



### *Employment status*

A little more than 5 000 (4.9%) economically active forced migrants who perform occupation are the own-account workers who work for themselves without engaging additional labour force, while 3 300 (3.2%) are employers who employ at least one person. A significant number of persons are employed on the basis of some kind of contract, mostly in the Region Vojvodine. Their rights and obligations, as well as their job depend on the type of the contract. Forced migrants employed as individual farmers and contributing (unpaid) members at a family land are a characteristic of Vojvodina and Šumadija i Zapadna Srbija.

In 2011, entrepreneurs employed 203 520 workers in the Republic of Serbia. If observed by economic sector of activity, retail and wholesale trade, and processing industry had the biggest share in the total number of entrepreneurs (SORS, 2012b). The predominance of small-size entrepreneurship in the sphere of trade and services is conditioned, among other things, by small investments that are required and the easiness of finding suitable labour force (Bolčić, 2008). Considering the most frequent occupations of forced migrants and the fact that the service sector engages most of the forced migrants, it is assumed that the same reasons also had an impact on forced migrants to start their own businesses in this field. The findings of the 2006 survey on the position of refugees on the labour market in Serbia showed that the biggest number of entrepreneurs and self-employed persons started their independent business after 2000. For a vast majority (85%), the most important reason to start their own business was to solve the problem of unemployment, while only 11% entered the field of entrepreneurship on the account of a business idea. A comparison between the socio-economic position of these persons in 2006 and before the refugeeism has shown that the forms of entrepreneurship and self-employment have significantly grown as a way of returning to the status of formal employment (Babović et al., 2007). Out of the total number of economically active forced migrants in Serbia in 2011, entrepreneurs accounted for 8 402 or 8.1%. Most of them were in the Region Vojvodine (51.3%) and in the Beogradski region (35.5%), whereas the fewest of them lived in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (3.5%).

By analysing the social profile of entrepreneurs in Serbia in 1992–2006, Bolčić (2008) points out a noticeable improvement in 2006 in comparison with 1992, in terms of a smaller share of persons with primary education (3.2% in 1992 vs. 0.7% in 2006), although the conclusion is that there is still dominance of entrepreneurs with secondary education (54.7% in 1992 vs. 56.4% in 2006). The share of entrepreneurs with college education amounts to 14.5%, respectfully to 28.3% in the case of the persons with university education (Bolčić, 2008).

Within the educational structure of forced migrants – entrepreneurs in Serbia in 2011, there is also predominance of persons with secondary education (67.7%), followed by persons with college or university education (27.1%) and persons with education up to the primary school (5.1%). There are 1 159 employers with college or university education who employ at least one person. Most of these persons live in the Beogradski region and they originate equally from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The entrepreneurs with incomplete primary education or with maximum of primary education are mostly persons from Croatia who independently carry out an activity in the Region Vojvodine. In comparison with the findings of Bolčić (2008), we can conclude that the educational structure of entrepreneurs – forced migrants in Serbia is less favourable in comparison with the local population. Although there is dominance of persons with secondary education in both social groups, the entrepreneurs – forced migrants have college or university education to a lesser degree, while more numerous are those who have low (primary) education, in comparison with other entrepreneurs.

**Table 26:** Economically active forced migrants who perform occupation, by employment status, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>102 854</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37 675</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50 560</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10 140</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4 479</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Employed person (in any sector of property – private, state-owned)	83 899	81.6	32 599	86.5	40 074	79.3	7 570	74.7	3 656	81.6	...
Employer (employs at least one person)	3 319	3.2	1 198	3.2	1 767	3.5	269	2.7	85	1.9	...
Own-account worker	5 083	4.9	1 783	4.7	2 541	5.0	547	5.4	212	4.7	...
Individual farmer	2 172	2.1	37	0.1	1 372	2.7	605	6.0	158	3.5	...
Contributing (unpaid) member in the shop of family household member	369	0.4	59	0.2	237	0.5	57	0.6	16	0.4	...
Contributing (unpaid) member on the family land	695	0.7	15	0.0	342	0.7	270	2.7	68	1.5	...
Works on the basis of a contract, authorial agreement on mediation and representation	2 845	2.8	962	2.6	1 515	3.0	254	2.5	114	2.5	...
Member cooperatives	137	0.1	69	0.2	59	0.1	7	0.1	2	0.0	...
Other	4 335	4.2	953	2.5	2 653	5.2	561	5.5	168	3.8	...

If observed by the country of origin, forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina perform occupation independently or they are employers (3.8% of the total the number of persons who perform occupation) in a larger scope in comparison with forced migrants from Croatia (2.9%) and those from other former republics of the SFRY (2.8%). The differences in regards to the employment status of forced migrants can be also noticed when it comes to the share of individual agricultural workers in the structure of economically active persons who perform occupation by employment status and the country from which they came from. Individual agricultural workers account for 2.4% of forced migrants from Croatia, respectfully 1.5% in the case of forced migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In comparison with forced migrants, the economically active local population to a lesser degree are employed persons (75.4%), employers (2.7%) and own-account workers (4.1%), and to a higher degree individual agricultural workers (9.5%) and contributing (unpaid) family members at family land (2.7%). The share of forced migrants who work on the basis of some kind of contract (2.8%) is not significantly different in comparison with the local/host population (2.5%), but in comparison with the local population (6.7%), the share of entrepreneurs in the structure of forced migrants by employment status is bigger (8.1%).

## Forced migrants with disabilities

In the Republic of Serbia there were 20 108 forced migrants with disabilities, which accounts for 7.2% of the total population of forced migrants in 2011. The largest number of forced migrants with disabilities came from Croatia (13 786 or 68.6%), while women (53%) and persons aged 65 and over are more represented. According to the data of the 2002 Census of Refugees, there were more (37 040 or 35.6%) health-endangered refugees in Serbia, out of which 61.5% belonged to female population. The largest number of health-endangered refugees belonged to the category of persons with chronic illnesses, while there were 1 837 (1.8%) persons with sensory/physical disabilities (UNHCR, CRRS, 2007).

The analysis of the age structure of forced migrants with disabilities in 2011 has shown that this population from Bosnia and Herzegovina has a little bigger share of persons with disabilities over 65 and a smaller share of persons with disabilities aged from 25 to 64, in relation to the forced migrants with disabilities from Croatia. In comparison with the host population, the share of persons with disabilities in the population of forced migrants is slightly smaller, by 0.8%. The age-sex structure of local/host population with disabilities also shows a predominance of women and persons aged 65 and over, although with a bigger share in relation to the forced migrants. The biggest differences between two populations can be noticed in age groups 30–49 and 50–64, due to the war. These age groups account for 11.9% and 34.3%, respectively, of forced migrants with disabilities, while the share of these age groups in the total number of the local population with disabilities is smaller and amounts to 8.6% for the age group 30–49 and 27% for the persons aged 50–64.

**Table 27:** Forced migrants with disabilities, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>20 108</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5 181</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11 580</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1 079</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>2 268</b>	<b>100</b>	...
	Sex										
Men	9 456	47.0	2 420	46.7	5 423	46.8	524	48.6	1 089	48.0	...
Women	10 652	53.0	2 761	53.3	6 157	53.2	555	51.4	1 179	52.0	...
	Age										
Under 15 years	142	0.7	49	0.9	79	0.7	4	0.4	10	0.4	...
15–24	331	1.6	73	1.4	193	1.7	27	2.5	38	1.7	...
25–64	9 535	47.4	2 344	45.2	5 461	47.2	577	53.5	1 153	50.8	...
65 years and over	10 100	50.2	2 715	52.4	5 847	50.5	471	43.7	1 067	47.0	...
	Type of settlement										
Urban	10 823	53.8	3 811	73.6	5 407	46.7	603	55.9	1 002	44.2	...
Other	9 285	46.2	1 370	26.4	6 173	53.3	476	44.1	1 266	55.8	...



The spatial distribution of forced migrants with disabilities in Serbia shows that most of these persons live in the Region Vojvodine (57.6%) and the fewest in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (5.4%). The data show that there is an above average share of persons with disabilities in the total number of the forced migrants in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (16.6%). The largest number of young forced migrants with disabilities, up to 25 years of age, live in Vojvodina. If observed by the type of settlement, forced migrants with disabilities are more settled in urban than in other settlements. However, it is possible to notice a difference in the predominant type of settlement of forced migrants with disabilities, depending on the age, region, as well as on the former republic of the SFRY which they came from. Out of the total number of persons with disabilities age 65 and over, as much as 57.6% live in urban settlements. In the Region Vojvodine and the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, a larger number of forced migrants with disabilities live in non-urban settlements than in the urban ones, while in the Region of Belgrade and the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije the situation is opposite. The spatial distribution of forced migrants with disabilities by the country of origin and the type of settlement in Serbia is adequate to the territorial distribution of these populations in general. While the share of forced migrants with disabilities from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who live in urban settlements, is 60.7%, such persons who came from Croatia live almost equally in urban (50.8%) and in other settlements (49.2%) of Serbia. If persons with disabilities in the Republic of Serbia, who are not forced migrants, are observed, contrary to the forced migrants they are mostly settled in rural settlements.

### Households and families of forced migrants

The political and socio-economic crisis in Serbia and the pauperization of the population have had an impact on the narrowing down of the choices of the family life's forms and the transformation pace of households and families (Predojević, 2006). The reduction in the number of households and the change of their structure, in terms of decrease in the average household size and increase in the number of one-person and elderly one-person households is also a result of negative demographic trends. The share of households with several families has also decreased, while the share of one-family households has gone up. Surveys' results show that the birth rate is positively correlated to an average household size, whereat the regional differences in the average household size are result of the different development of these areas, as well as the differential fertility by ethnicity (Đorđević, 2008).

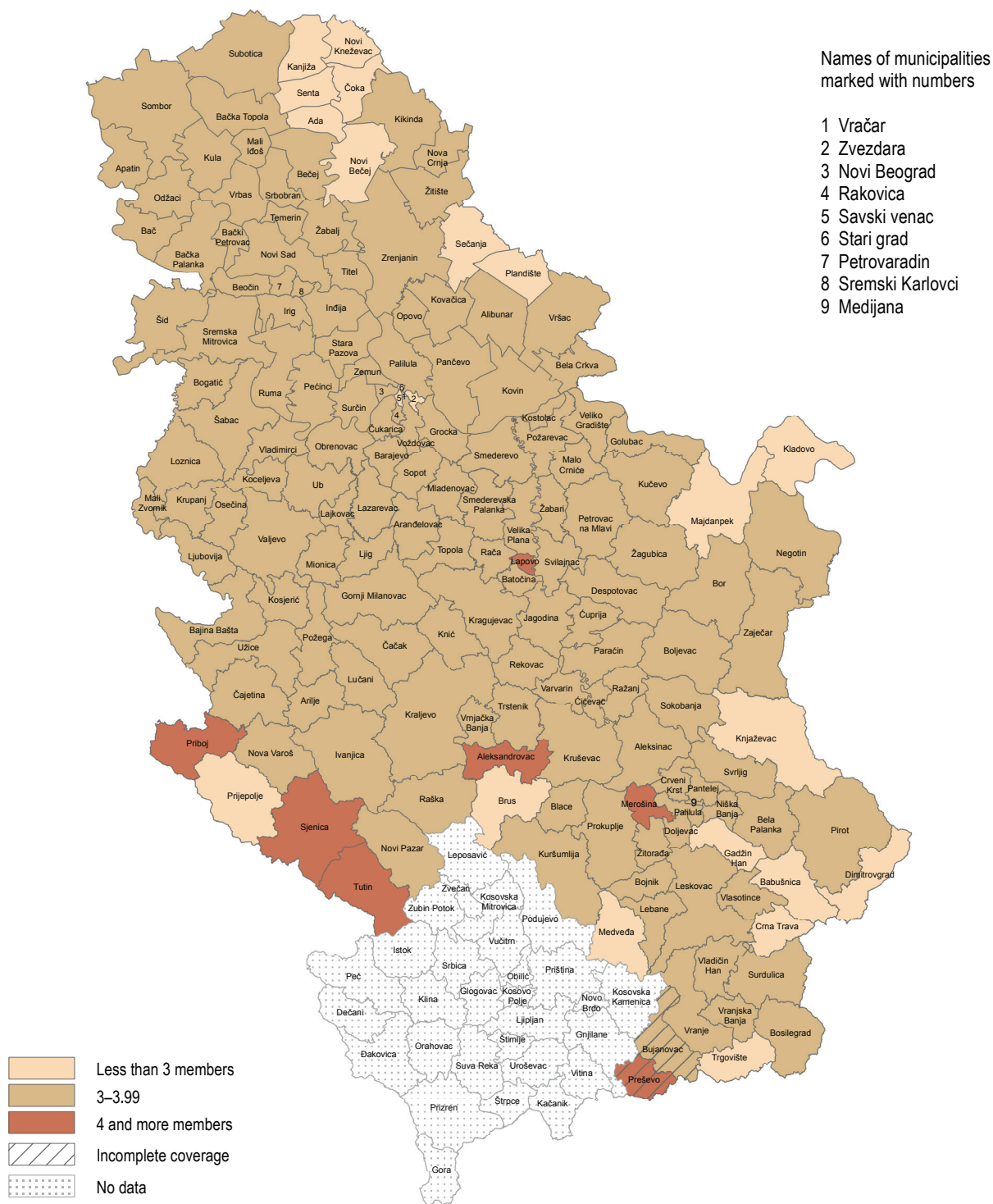
The 2002 Census of Population in the Republic of Serbia registered 157 310 households with refugees (where at least one member of a household was a refugee). The most represented were the four-member (26.8%), then the three-member (22.5%) and the two-member (20.1%) households, while the share of the households with six and more members was 8.4% (Lakčević et al., 2006). The structure by the number of members of the households with refugees differed from the same structure of the households of the local population, especially in a smaller percentage share of one-person households and a bigger share of the households with five and more members. Considering the spatial distribution of refugees, this mostly affected the number and the structure of the households in Vojvodina (Predojević, 2006).

According to the results of the 2011 Census, the total number of households included those households in which at least one member was enumerated who met the criterion of the usual resident of the place of census. The methodological changes did not have significant impact on the comparability of the data on households according to the Censuses of 2002 and 2011. The number of the households of forced migrants in Serbia in the period 2002–2011 has been reduced by 31 566, while the structure of households by the number of members has remained relatively unchanged. The average number of members of the households of forced migrants has been reduced from 3.4 in 2002 to 3.2 members in 2011 and even with the reduction, it is still a little above the average for the local households of the Republic of Serbia (2.9) in 2011. If observed by the type of settlement, the average number of members of the households of forced migrants is almost the same in urban (3.2) and in other settlements of Serbia (3.3). Among the municipalities in which the households of forced migrants on an average have more than four members, the following stand out: Sjenica, Tutin, Lapovo, Priboj, Merošina, Aleksandrovac and Preševo. On the contrary, the municipalities in which low values of the average household size have been recorded are: Crna Trava (1.8), Gadžin Han (2.4) and Vračar (2.6). The regional differentiation of the structure of the households of forced migrants by the number of members shows that there is an above-average share of one-person households in the Beogradski region, while the biggest share of households with more than five members is in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije.

The data on the number of members of households, from the registration of refugees in 2005, differ significantly from the data on the households of forced migrants according to the censuses in Serbia of 2002 and 2011. Namely, in order to keep different options open, many households had a strategy to leave just one member in the status of refugee, while other members of the same household acquired citizenship and obtained personal ID cards of the Republic of Serbia. In most of the cases, the household members who still had a refugee status belonged to the age group of 60 and over. In the structure of refugee households by the number of members, the biggest share included the one-member (42.2%) and the two-member households (24.5%) (UNHCR, CRRS, 2007). The comparison of data of the 2011 Census related to the households of forced migrants where at least one member is a forced migrant (125 744) and the households where all the members are forced migrants (72 604) shows a continuation of the above mentioned tendency. Namely, as opposite to the first mentioned group, in the structure of the households in which all the members are forced migrants by the number of members, the biggest share includes the two-member (26.8%) and then the one-member households (21.9%). The share of one-member households is twice as low in the group of the households where at least one member is a forced migrant in relation to the group of the households where all the members are forced migrants. The differences between these two groups can also be noticed in relation to the average number of members of the households, which is smaller for the households where all the members are forced migrants and it amounts to 2.7.



**Map 8:** Average size of households of forced migrants by municipalities and cities, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



**Table 28:** Households of forced migrants by the number of members, the 2011 Census

	Total	With 1 member	2	3	4	5	With 6 and more members	Average number of members	
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>125 744</b>	<b>15 883</b>	<b>28 072</b>	<b>28 788</b>	<b>30 844</b>	<b>12 562</b>	<b>9 595</b>		
Beogradski region	41 738	5 529	9 371	10 111	10 351	3 742	2 634		
Region Vojvodine	62 628	7 870	13 904	14 024	15 403	6 507	4 920		
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	14 405	1 690	3 197	3 015	3 462	1 626	1 415		
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	6 973	794	1 600	1 638	1 628	687	626		
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
		%							
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>22.9</b>	<b>24.5</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>3.2</b>	
Beogradski region	100	13.3	22.5	24.2	24.8	8.9	6.3	3.2	
Region Vojvodine	100	12.6	22.2	22.4	24.6	10.4	7.9	3.3	
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	11.7	22.2	20.9	24.0	11.3	9.8	3.3	
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	11.4	22.9	23.5	23.4	9.8	8.9	3.4	
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

The households of forced migrants accounted for 5.1% of the total number of households in the Republic of Serbia in 2011. If we compare the structure of the households of forced migrants and the households of the local population of Serbia by the number of members, it can be noticed that the households with two members (25.8%) have the biggest share in the second group, followed by the households with one member (22.8%), while in the case of forced migrants, these are the households with four and three members. The share of the households with one member in the total number of the households of forced migrants is almost twice as low in comparison with the households of the local population, which is partly a result of the different age structures. The trend of a bigger share of the households with five and more members in the structure of the households of forced migrants (17.5%) in relation to the other households (14.5%) has continued. If observed by municipalities, the share of the households of forced migrants with one member is exceptionally high for the municipalities: Žagubica, Vračar, Crna Trava and Gadžin Han and it goes from 25 to 34%. Big households with five and more members are the most represented in the municipalities Merošina, Golubac, Malo Crniće, Sjenica and Lapovo, where they account for over 40% of the households of forced migrants.

We can conclude that the changes in the number and structure of the households of forced migrants by the number of members are occurring in line with the transformation of households in Serbia in general, that is, in the direction of reducing the number and the average household size, increasing the number of one-person households and decreasing the number of households with five and more members. There is also a continued trend of a smaller share of one-person households and a bigger share of households with more than four members in the population of forced migrants in comparison with the local population, registered in 2002.

Special attention needs to be paid to the elderly refugee households, whose all members are over 65 and also to the elderly one-person refugee households. In 2002, 6 627 of such households were enumerated on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, which accounted for 38% of the total number of one-person refugee households (Lakčević et al., 2006). In the period 2002–2011, the number and the share of the elderly one-person households in this population has been reduced. Thus in 2011, there were 5 184 elderly one-person households of forced migrants or 32.6%. The biggest number of these persons is aged 70–74.

As pointed out by Rašević and Penev (Rašević, Penev, 2010), an abrupt increase in the number of the elderly households in the Republic of Serbia is the result of intensive demographic aging and the diversification of the family life model. The share of the elderly households in the total number of households in Serbia has gone up from 10.7% to 17.3% in the period 1991–2002 and this increase was more intense in Central Serbia than in Vojvodina. The elderly households of forced migrants have a smaller share in the total number of the households of forced migrants (9 846 or 7.8%) in comparison with the share of the elderly households in the total number of the households of the population of Serbia without forced migrants (424 702 or 17.9%) in 2011. Among the elderly households of forced migrants there is predominance of those in urban settlements with one member.

An analysis of the structure of the households of forced migrants by the family composition shows that in most of the cases this concerns one-family households (75%), mostly a married/consensual couple with children. There is a slightly lower share of one-family households in the total number of households in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije. Non-family households account for 14.7% of the total number of the households of forced migrants and within them, there is predominance of one-person households. The households in which all persons are forced migrants are mostly non-family households (23.5%).

**Table 29:** Households of forced migrants by the family composition, the 2011 Census (%)

	Total	Family households						Non-family households	
		households with one family				household s with two families	household s with three or more families	one- person	multi- person
		Married/ consensual couple without children	Married/ consensual couple with children	mother with children	father with children				
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16.6</b>	<b>48.0</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>9.7</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>2.1</b>
Beogradski region	100	16.2	48.5	8.7	1.8	8.4	0.5	13.2	2.7
Region Vojvodine	100	16.8	48.2	8.4	1.7	9.9	0.6	12.6	1.9
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	16.4	46.6	9.0	1.9	11.9	0.9	11.7	1.6
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	18.1	46.8	8.3	2.0	11.1	0.9	11.4	1.5
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

While one-person and multi-person non-family households of forced migrants are characteristic of the Beogradski region, the biggest share of the households with one family consisting of a married/consensual couple with no children is in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, where there is also the highest average age of forced migrants. If households are observed both by family composition and by the number of members, it can be noticed that multi-person non-family households mostly consist of two (85.8%) and then of three members (12.4%). The households of the "mother with children" and the "father with children" types most often have two members (69.4%) if this concerns a household with no other members or three members if this is a household with other members (63.9%).

When comparing the structure of the households of forced migrants and the households of the local population by family composition, one can notice a bigger share of the households of the married /consensual couple with children type (48.0% vs. 35.8%) and households with two families (9.7% vs. 8.3%) when this refers to the households of forced migrants. For the households in which all the persons are forced migrants, it is characteristic that there is a smaller share of the households of the married/consensual couple with children type (34.9%), the households with two families (4.6%) and there is a noticeable 2% bigger share of the households of the mother with children type in comparison with the households where at least one member is a forced migrant. The biggest number of households where all the members are forced migrants was recorded in municipalities Zemun and Novi Sad.

According to the results of the 2002 Census, 141 006 families were enumerated on the territory of Central Serbia and Vojvodina with at least one person who immigrated after the dissolution of the SFRY. If observed by the type of family, the share of the families of the "married couple with children" type (63.5%) and the share of the families of the "married couple with no children" type (23%) were the most significant ones. This is followed by "mothers with children" (10.9%), while the families of the "father with children" type (2.5%) had the lowest share (Lakčević et al., 2006). Taking into consideration a little lower share of the families with no children and with three and more children, approximately the same share of the families with one child and a higher share of the families with two children, the families with refugees have had an impact on the deceleration of the decline in the number of families with children in Serbia, as well as on their structure by the number of children (Predojević, 2006).

In 2011, 174 071 families were registered in Serbia in which at least one person was a forced migrant, out of which 112 199 (64.5%) in urban and 61 872 (35.5%) in other settlements. The number of families of forced migrants with children has gone up in the period 2002–2011 by 36 840, while the share of families with no children has gone down by 3 775. Compared to 2002, no major changes can be noticed in the level of representation of the family types in the total number of families of forced migrants. There is predominance of the share of families of the "married /consensual couple with children" type (62.5%) and the share of families of the "married/consensual couple with no children" type (16.4%). This is followed by "mother with children" (13.8%), while families of the "father with children" (2.8%) have the lowest share. In the period 2002–2011, in the population of forced migrants it is possible to observe an increase in the share of families of the "mother with children" type with a decrease in the share of families of the "married/consensual couple with no children" type. The number of families whose all members were forced migrants was 51 629.

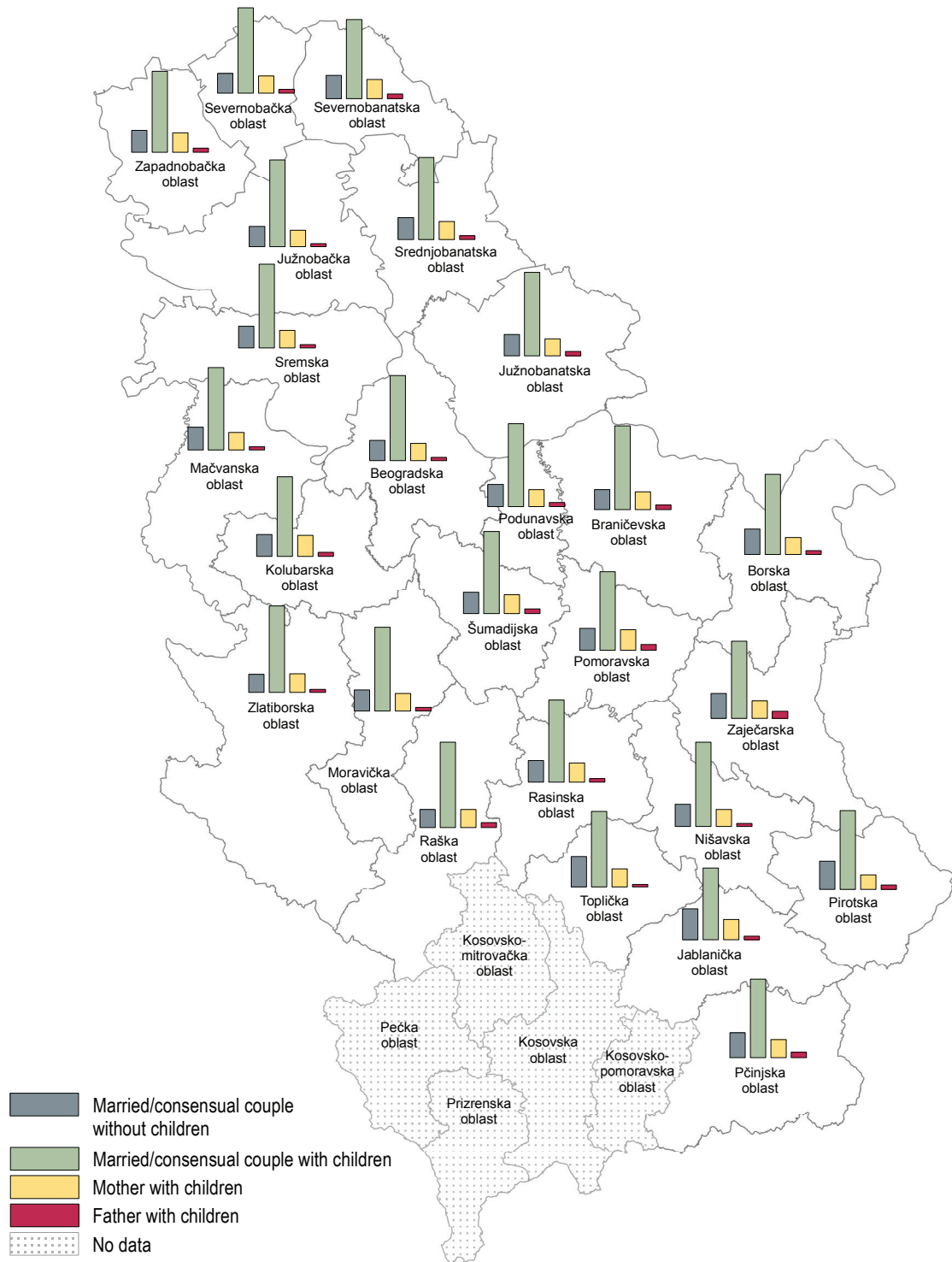
**Table 30:** Families of forced migrants by the type and the number of family members, the 2011 Census (%)

	Total	Family type					
		married couple without children	consensual couple without children	married couple with children	consensual couple with children	mother with children	father with children
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>							
Number of families	100	14.4	2.2	62.5	4.2	13.8	2.8
Number of members	100	9.0	1.4	72.3	4.9	10.2	2.1
<b>Beogradski region</b>							
Number of families	100	13.6	2.3	63.6	3.9	13.8	2.7
Number of members	100	8.6	1.5	73.3	4.5	10.2	2.0
<b>Region Vojvodine</b>							
Number of families	100	14.6	2.1	62.5	4.4	13.7	2.8
Number of members	100	9.1	1.3	72.2	5.2	10.2	2.1
<b>Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije</b>							
Number of families	100	14.9	1.9	61.3	4.1	14.7	3.1
Number of members	100	9.3	1.2	71.4	4.8	10.9	2.3
<b>Region Južne i Istočne Srbije</b>							
Number of families	100	16.3	2.4	59.5	4.9	13.7	3.1
Number of members	100	10.4	1.5	69.5	5.8	10.4	2.4
<b>Region Kosovo i Metohija</b>							
Number of families	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Number of members	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

If observed by regions, the share of families of the “mother with children” type is the highest in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, while families of the “father with children” type have the highest shares in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije and in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije. Families in urban settlements have lower shares of families of the “married couple with no children” (13.7%), “consensual couple with children” (3.9%) and “father with children” (2.7%) types in comparison with other settlements.

Families of forced migrants accounted for 8.2% of the total number of families in the Republic of Serbia in 2011. The share of these families in the total number of families by regions goes from 15.5% in Vojvodina and 11.8% in Belgrade to 3.2% in Šumadija i Zapadna Srbija and 1.9% in Južna i Istočna Srbija. The structure of families of forced migrants by type differs from the one of families of the local/host population by a significantly smaller share of families of the “married couple with no children” type (14.4% vs. 29.5%) and a bigger share of families of the “married couple with children” (62.5% vs. 47.7%) and the “consensual couple with children” types (4.2% vs. 3.1%). Opposite to families of forced migrants, the share of families of the “mother with children” type in the structure of families of the local population is the highest on the territory of the Beogradski region and it amounts to 17.8%, that is, to as much as 19.2% for urban settlements of Belgrade. The share of families of the “married couple with no children” type for both populations is the highest in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije and for the local families it reaches the value of as much as 39.6% in non-urban settlements of this region, which is caused by an advanced process of aging of the population in these settlements.

**Map 9:** Families of forced migrants by type, by areas, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census

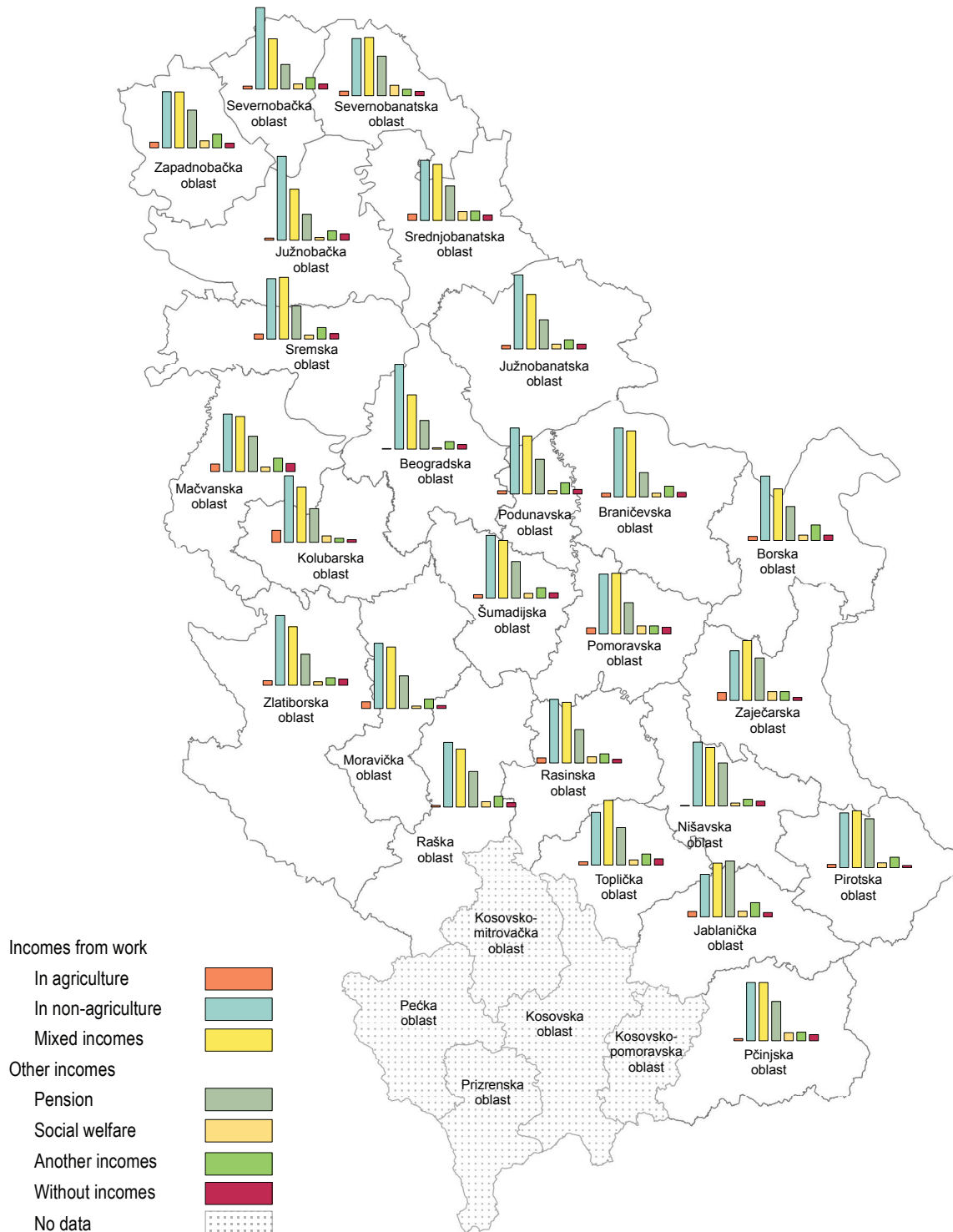




In 2011 the biggest number of the households of forced migrants had income on the basis of earnings or other allowance based on work (53 643 or 42.7%). There is predominance of the households with source of income in non-agriculture, 51 678 (41.1%) of them, while 38 477 (30.6%) households have mixed source of income. There are 3 532 households with no income, out of which the biggest number (1 906) is in the Region Vojvodine, more precisely in the Južnobački and Sremski districts. There is also a large number of the households of forced migrants without income in the Beogradski region (1 010 households). There are 2 379 households with income from social benefits and they are concentrated in Vojvodina, mostly in the Južnobački, Sremski and Zapadnobački districts. If observed by regions, the biggest share of vulnerable households with no income and with income from social welfare is in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije. The households of forced migrants without income, as an economically endangered category, are a phenomenon of urban settlements. As much as 2 189 or 62% of the households of forced migrants with no income live in urban settlements of Serbia, while the households with source of income from social welfare predominantly live in non-urban settlements (1 314 or 55.2%).

If observed by municipalities, most of the municipalities have up to ten households of forced migrants with no source of income, 50 municipalities have between 10 and 50 of such households, while in the municipalities Bačka Palanka, Šabac, Pančevo, Loznica, Sremska Mitrovica, Voždovac, Ruma, Zvezdara, Indija, Sombor and Subotica there live between 50 and 100 households of forced migrants without income. The municipalities Stara Pazova and Šid and the Belgrade municipalities Novi Beograd, Zemun and Čukarica are the place of residence for between 100 and 200 households of forced migrants that have no source of income. The biggest number of households with no income live in the City of Novi Sad (617), which is the place of residence also for numerous households of forced migrants whose source of income are social benefits (149 of households). The municipality Sombor is the municipality in Serbia with the biggest number of the households of forced migrants whose source of income are social benefits. On the territory of the municipality Sombor there are 182 such households.

**Map 10:** Households of forced migrants by sources of income, by areas, Republic of Serbia, the 2011 Census



**Table 31:** Households of forced migrants according to the source of income, the 2011 Census

	Total	Sources of household incomes													
		salary or other allowance based on work				other incomes						mixed		without income	
		in agriculture		in non-agriculture		pension		social welfare		another income		mixed		without income	
		number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1 965</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>51 678</b>	<b>41.1</b>	<b>21 239</b>	<b>16.9</b>	<b>2 379</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>6 474</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>38 477</b>	<b>30.6</b>	<b>3 532</b>	<b>2.8</b>
Beogradski region	100	76	0.2	19 532	46.8	6 610	15.8	305	0.7	1 697	4.1	12 508	29.9	1 010	2.4
Region Vojvodine	100	1 289	2.1	24 801	39.6	10 422	16.6	1 509	2.4	3 611	5.8	19 090	30.5	1 906	3.0
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	100	489	3.4	4 986	34.6	2 711	18.8	394	2.7	788	5.5	4 598	31.9	439	3.1
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	100	111	1.6	2 359	33.8	1 496	21.5	171	2.4	378	5.4	2 281	32.7	177	2.5
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The households of forced migrants account for 2.9% of the households whose source of income are pensions and for 2.8% of the households whose source of income is in agriculture. 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 relation between these two groups of households in the structure of the local households is 35.6% vs. 32.2% in favour of the households with other incomes, that is, 42.7% vs. 23.9% in the case of the households of forced migrants. The households with mixed sources of income, social benefits and without income are equally represented in the structure of households by source of income in the case of both populations. However, when it comes to forced migrants, the share of the households with income in agriculture and based on pension is smaller (1.6% vs. 2.8% and 16.9% vs. 29.4%), that is, the share of the households with source of income from non-agriculture and other income is bigger (41.1% vs. 29.4% and 5.1% vs. 4.3%). The share of the households by source of income in the total number of households is in line with the spatial distribution of forced migrants in Serbia. Based on this, the findings show that 82.5% of the households of forced migrants without income live in Vojvodina and Belgrade vs. 54.4% when it comes to the local/host households.

The analysis of the households of forced migrants by the number of members and source of income in 2011 shows that the households of forced migrants with source of income in non-agriculture are mostly four-member or three-member households. In the structure of the households with income in agriculture and from pension, there is predominance of the households with two members, both in urban and in other settlements. One-person households rarely have mixed sources of income; this type of income can usually be found in the case of the households with three, four or more members. A large number of members in the case of the households with

mixed sources of income are characteristic of non-urban settlements. The households with source of income from social welfare predominantly have one or two members, while the households with no income are predominantly one-person households, especially in cities. There are 414 households of forced migrants with four and more members in the Republic of Serbia without any income, most of which live in urban settlements. Social welfare is the source of income for 743 households with four and more members, most of which live in non-urban settlements of the Republic of Serbia.

By comparing the households of forced migrants based on number of members and on sources of income with the local households, it is possible to come to a conclusion that the biggest differences in the number of members are expressed in the case of the households with source of income from pension (30.6% vs. 46.4% with one member), social welfare (22.5% vs. 28.7% with one member and 29.5% vs. 18.4% with two members) and in the case of the households without income (45.3% vs. 58.6% with one member). In case of forced migrants, there is a bigger share of multi-member households with no income.

When it comes to the households where all the members are forced migrants in 2011, 38% of these households had income based on salary or other allowance based on work, which is by 5% lower in comparison with the households in which at least one person is not a forced migrant. The differences between these two groups of households are also reflected in a bigger share of the households with income from pension (17 162 or 23.6%), social welfare (1 755 or 2.4%) and without income (2 814 or 3.9%) in the case of the households where all the members are forced migrants. The biggest number of these households with no income are in Novi Sad (452), Zemun (132) and in the Belgrade municipality Palilula (117).

According to a survey on the needs of the refugee population conducted in 2008, 29% of the refugees had monthly income per household member that is smaller than the one needed for the implementation of the rights from the sphere of social protection (CRRS, 2009). If the source of livelihood of forced migrants members of the households in which all the persons are forced migrants are observed, in 2011 dependents were first (38.9%), followed by earnings or other allowances based on work (64 714 or 32.7%), pension (36 769 or 18.6%), social welfare (4 459 or 2.3%), income from property (1 219 or 0.6%) and other income. The main sources of livelihood were loans/savings and unemployment benefits in the case of 915 and 966 forced migrants, respectively, who lived in the above mentioned type of a household. Scholarships/student loans were the main source of livelihood for 188 of these persons. According to the findings of the Study on the Standard of Living in Serbia, the poverty index of the refugee population and of the population of former refugees integrated into the general population in the period 2002–2007 has gone down from 24%, as it was in 2002, to 7.4% in 2007, thus getting close to the values for the local/host population (13.6% in 2002 and 6.5% in 2007). However, although the improvement is evident, it needs to be pointed out that this survey did not cover all the refugees and that, as pointed out in the above mentioned study, the picture of the poverty of this population is still slightly worse (SORS, 2008). The findings of the analysis of the 2011 Census data show that the households, where all the persons were forced migrants, are economically worse off than the households in which at least one person is not a forced migrant.



## Housing conditions

Besides the symbolical indication of a new beginning for forced migrants, the solving of the housing problem also increases the feeling of belonging to the local community. With the onset of the crisis in the former SFRY and the arrival of first refugees, in addition to the accommodation in collective centres and shelters, the refugees were mostly received and accommodated by relatives and friends at their own homes. A survey conducted by the Institute for Social Policy, in cooperation with the UNHCR Office in Belgrade in 1993, when 95% of the refugees were accommodated with friends and family, shows that in the case of 2/3 of the families that received refugees the motive was a close family tie. The refugees in Serbia, according to the data of the 1996 Census, were mostly accommodated with family and friends (52%), then in rented houses and flats (19.5%), collective centres (9.4%) and at their own accommodation (8.4%) (UNHCR, CRRS, 1997). After the initial phase of refugeeism, the 2001 Census of Refugees showed a somewhat different distribution of refugees in Serbia by the type of accommodation. The biggest number of refugees (41.3%) lived in rented dwellings, while the percentage of the population living with relatives and friends was significantly reduced (28.3%) (CRRS, UNHCR, 2002). The longevity of the process of refugeeism and the unfavourable financial conditions of the host families themselves unquestionably had an impact on this phenomenon. An exceptionally positive indicator in this period is an increase in the number of refugees at their own accommodation to as much as 21.8% and a decrease in the number of persons in collective centres to 4.9%. A smaller number of refugees was settled in social institutions (0.5%).

Sub-tenancy as form of accommodation is an additional burden for the budget of refugees and, as shown by the findings of a survey of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Belgrade conducted in 2001, an important factor of influence on the indecisiveness when opting between integration and repatriation (Lukić, 2005). One of the indicators of social inclusion is precisely the risk of poverty rate by the type of ownership, calculated in relation to the basis for using the dwelling in which a household lives. In the period between two censuses of refugees in Serbia, 2001–2005, the share of refugees in collective centres was reduced from 4.9% to 4.2%, the share of refugees who live in rented dwellings mildly increased from 41.3% to 45%, while the share of the persons settled with family and friends remained almost unchanged. The refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina were accommodated with relatives and friends more than the refugees from Croatia who, at the time, owned a housing unit to a slightly higher degree. A part of the refugee population has sold or exchanged property in the place of their prior residence, thus obtaining the funds which enabled their economic integration in Serbia to a certain degree. A total of 1 169 persons, or 1.1%, lived in a dwelling built from donations (UNHCR, CRRS, 2007). According to a survey on the needs of refugees in the Republic of Serbia in 2008, the share of the households that own a dwelling was 29.5%, while the share of the households that live with relatives/friends was 19.7% of the total number of refugee households (CRRS, 2009).

Solving of the housing problem of refugees and former refugees requires significant and often unattainable funds for this population. Therefore, purchase of a housing facility has on a great scale depended also on the local real estate market, that is, on the price of the real estate in the respective municipality and settlement. An analysis of the type of settlement of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Belgrade in 2001 has shown that the smallest percentage of persons in their own accommodation was in the municipalities in the central part of Belgrade, bearing in mind the high prices of the real estate in these parts of the city. The biggest percentage of refugees lived in the facilities that they owned in the suburban municipalities Sopot, Obrenovac, Lazarevac, Barajevo, Grocka and Mladenovac and a significant number also lived on the territory of the municipalities Čukarica, Voždovac and Zemun. It is assumed that the solving of the housing issue of the refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Belgrade in these municipalities was also impacted by a significant number of weekend houses in the suburban municipalities which were financially more accessible for refugees (Lukić, 2005). On the territory of the municipality Zemun, two refugee settlements (Busije and Grmovac) were established in 1996 and 1997, when the land in this area was granted to the refugees from the former republics of the SFRY at very favourable prices.

According to the data of the 2011 Census, the biggest number of forced migrants from the former republics of the SFRY lives in dwellings. Around 1 300 households live in another type of a housing unit (business premises, premises occupied from necessity or collective housing units), out of which the biggest number is in the Beogradski region. In terms of the numbers of premises occupied from necessity by forced migrants, other than the City of Belgrade, the Sremski, Južnobački and Zapadnobački districts also stand out. Business premises as a housing unit are mostly used by the households of forced migrants in the City of Belgrade, then in the Južnobački and Sremski districts. The share of business premises occupied by forced migrants is the biggest in the Region Vojvodine and it amounts to 25.3% of this type of a housing unit. The persons with a refugee status to a higher degree occupy the premises that were not intended for living. In such premises live 7% of the total numbers of refugee households (CRRS, 2009).

**Table 32:** Housing units inhabited by forced migrants by their types, the 2011 Census

	Total housing units		Dwellings		Occupied business premises		Premises occupied from necessity		Collective housing units	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>123 603</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>122 223</b>	<b>98.9</b>	<b>879</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>439</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>0.1</b>
Beogradski region	40 658	100	40 006	98.4	410	1.0	204	0.5	38	0.1
Region Vojvodine	61 802	100	61 327	99.2	342	0.6	125	0.2	8	0.0
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	14 256	100	14 100	98.9	82	0.6	67	0.5	7	0.0
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	6 887	100	6 790	98.6	45	0.7	43	0.6	9	0.1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...



Like the other refugee hosting countries, Serbia also opted for the accommodation of refugees in collective centres in the period of their massive influx. In addition to the official collective centres, there was a number of unofficial collective centres, where the refugees moved in as a kind of emergency accommodation at facilities in the form of workers' barracks etc. The number of collective centres in the Republic of Serbia reached its maximum in 1996, when more than 70 000 persons were settled in around 700 collective centres (CRRS, 2009). Since then, the number of these centres and of the persons placed in them has been going down from year to year. The trend of closing down collective centres and finding permanent solutions for the housing problem of refugees has started in 2002, when the National Strategy for the Solving of the Issue of Refugees stipulated gradual closing down and reduction of the number of collective centres or the change of their purpose. The pace, priorities and the way of closing down collective centres depended, among other things, on the population structure. Depending on the population structure of the refugee population in the collective centres, the National Strategy for the Solving of the Issue of Refugees envisaged different solutions. For persons aged over 55 years, it was foreseen to have accommodation in refurbished collective centres that would be used as nursing homes or within the scope of expanded capacities of the current nursing homes and newly-built facilities. For the employable families, it was planned to have favourable conditions for buying up housing units through loans (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2002).

On the account of an accelerated closing down of collective centres, the number of refugees in some of them went down by more than a half and the closing down of these collective centres additionally depended on a significant reduction in the number of beneficiaries owing to the lack of rationale for their maintenance (Group 484, 2005). With the aid from foreign partners and donors in the period 1991–2008, 7 844 different housing solutions were provided (building of housing units, granting sites and building materials for construction of houses, granting packages of building material for completing houses that have been under construction, purchasing rural households) for 30 400 refugees. However, the donors mostly allocated their funds for the closing down of collective centres, although the refugees in private accommodation and in unofficial collective centres also lived under the difficult circumstances (CRRS, 2009).

In 2011, there were 967 refugees accommodated in 58 collective centres in the Republic of Serbia (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a). Although relatively few, the population settled in collective centres is the one with specific needs, it is unemployed at above-average levels, it is older and with a lower level of education in comparison with the refugees who do not live in collective centres. These are socially and health-wise the most vulnerable categories of refugees (extremely poor families, households with a disabled member, elderly persons without family care and single parents), whose property in the place of origin was destroyed. According to the results of a survey of the needs of refugees conducted in 2008, the biggest number of refugees in collective centres is from Croatia (76.1%). The population settled in collective centres is significantly older than the refugees who are in private accommodation. Persons aged over 60 account for 27.2% of the refugees in collective centres. More than a half of the households are one-person households, for whom the smallest numbers of programmes have been intended since the size of the household was taken as one of the factors for solving of the housing problem. During

the survey, the biggest number of these persons chose to be provided for through housing under socially protected conditions and for social housing with a possibility for buying them up (CRRS, 2009). In addition to the socio-economic problems, the psychological problems of the refugees in collective centres are also bigger than in the case of the refugees who are accommodated at families. "This has been caused by unfavourable conditions of the everyday life in the collective centres where there are mostly the elderly, ill persons with no means for livelihood and by the fact that with no perspective and hope the problems of refugee life seem much more serious for people in large groups than for those who live in families" (Dragaš, 2000).

In 2011, after Belgrade, the biggest number of collective housing units in which forced migrants lived was in the Raški, Južnobački and Podunavski districts. If observed by the types of collective housing units, forced migrants were predominantly settled in hotels, most of which were in the Beogradski region. Other hotels in which forced migrants lived were located in the Raški, Borski, Braničevski, Pirotski and Nišavski districts.

**Table 33:** Types of collective housing units in which forced migrants reside, the 2011 Census

	Total housing units	Hotel	Student, pupil home or boarding school	Institution of social welfare for adult and elderly persons	Other institutions	Half-permanent or temporal construction
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>
Beogradski region	38	16	1	1	10	10
Region Vojvodine	8	0	2	0	4	2
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	7	2	0	0	4	1
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	9	4	0	0	0	5
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...

Due to its geographic position, Serbia is an important transit area when it comes to irregular migrations. In the recent years, there is a noticeable increase in the number of asylum-seekers, as well as requests for asylum in the Republic of Serbia. Namely, out of a total of 2 723 persons who expressed an intention to have asylum in Serbia in 2012, 12% filed a request for asylum, in comparison with 8% in 2011. The most numerous among the irregular migrants in the Republic of Serbia in 2012 were citizens of Afghanistan and Syria (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2013). Due to the need to expand the accommodation capacities for asylum-seekers at the hotel "Obrenovac", in which refugees from the former republics of the SFRY were settled during the 1990's, one of the new temporary centres for the accommodation of asylum-seekers was opened in Serbia at the end of 2013.



Picture 1: Hotel "Obrenovac"

The biggest number of persons with a refugee status, originating from the former republics of the SFRY, lived at the largest collective centre in Krnjača (Belgrade). It is planned that the closing down of this centre, in which most of the refugees are from Croatia, will be completed by the end of 2014. A part of the housing needs of the refugees has been solved by building housing facilities for social and affordable housing in the settlement Veliki Mokri Lug. In order to solve the housing problem of the refugees in collective centres in Belgrade, there is an ongoing construction of a complex for social housing in the settlement Ovča, where 230 dwellings are foreseen for refugees.



Picture 2: Collective centre in Krnjača

Source: Photo files of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migrations of the Republic of Serbia

If observed by ownership and tenure status of the households dwelling in 2011, the biggest number of dwellings of forced migrants was privately owned (73.2%). As the basis for using the dwelling this is followed by sub-tenancy<sup>43</sup> (13.7%), family relation (7.2%) and rent<sup>44</sup> (5.1%). However, out of the persons who were refugees, only 29.5% have ensured ownership of the housing facility in which they live and out of that number, 73% requested building material for the completion of the construction or adaptation of the housing facility. By the housing status, 41.2% of the households are sub-tenants, while 19.7% of the households live in a housing unit on the basis of kinship. Around 15 000 refugee households declared that they wanted to solve their housing problem with a loan (CRRS, 2009).

In comparison with the average for the Republic of Serbia, as well as with other regions, forced migrants in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije are less owners and more renters of the dwellings. Around 7% of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants in all regions are used on the basis of kinship, while in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije such basis for using the dwelling is represented on lower scale. The biggest number of dwellings owned by forced migrants is in the Region Vojvodine.

**Table 34:** Dwellings inhabited by forced migrants according to the tenure status of the households, the 2011 Census

	Total dwellings		Ownership		Rent		Sub-tenancy		Kinship (lives at the parents', children's or relatives')		Other	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>122 223</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89 458</b>	<b>73.2</b>	<b>6 214</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>16 790</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>8 750</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>1 011</b>	<b>0.8</b>
Beogradski region	40 006	100	29 196	73.0	1 942	4.9	5 613	14.0	2 905	7.3	350	0.9
Region Vojvodine	61 327	100	45 386	74.0	2 442	4.0	8 439	13.8	4 509	7.4	551	0.9
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	14 100	100	10 253	72.7	1 076	7.6	1 868	13.2	834	5.9	69	0.5
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	6 790	100	4 623	68.1	754	11.1	870	12.8	502	7.4	41	0.6
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

When it comes to the municipalities Titel, Žitorađa, Sjenica, Osečina, Bosilegrad and Merošina, more than 90% of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants are privately owned. The above average use of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants on the basis of kinship (over 15%) can be noticed in the municipalities Priboj, Preševo and Bojnik. The municipalities in which a significant number of forced migrants has not solved their housing problem and that stand out are: Petrovac

<sup>43</sup> Sub-tenancy means that the household is using the whole dwelling or a part of the dwelling for a definite period of time, under a written contract or verbal agreement with the owner or lessee of the dwelling.

<sup>44</sup> Rent means that the household is using the dwelling for an indefinite period of time, under a rent-contract.



na Mlavi, Čičevac, Kanjiža, Ljig, Arilje, Brus and Batočina. More than 20% of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants in these municipalities are used on the basis of sub-tenancy. Similar situation can be found in the municipalities Svrlijig, Požega, Crna Trava and Medveđa, Novi Kneževac, Trgovište, Bor and Raška, in which more than 25% of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants are used on the basis of rent.

In comparison with forced migrants, other population of the Republic of Serbia owns a dwelling to a higher degree, while the habitation on the basis of rent, kinship and especially sub-tenancy is significantly less represented. For households with no member who is a forced migrant, 88.3% of dwellings are used on the basis of the ownership, while this is the case for 73.2% for the households of forced migrants. The Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, where the share of dwellings which forced migrants use on the basis of ownership is the smallest (68.1%), is at the same time the region with the biggest share of privately owned dwellings when it comes to other households (90.0%). Similar situation can be found regarding rent. The Region Južne i Istočne Srbije (1.2%) and the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije (1.5%), which have the smallest share of dwellings on the basis of rent in the total number of dwellings in which local population resides, are at the same time the regions with the biggest representation of dwellings rented by the households of forced migrants (11.1% and 7.6%, respectively). For both populations, sub-tenancy is the most represented in the Beogradski region and in the Region Vojvodine.

Habitation density is one of the nationally specific indicators of existential needs' deprivation (material deprivation), defined for the needs of social inclusions monitoring in Serbia. It belongs to the elementary indicators for the assessment of the minimal quality of housing conditions and is calculated as a ratio of households that have less than 8–10 m<sup>2</sup> per member of the household and as a ratio of households that have more than two persons per room (Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit and the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2012). The habitation density of the housing unit in which forced migrants live is presented on the basis of the floor space of the housing unit per person and the number of rooms per person. When calculating the number of rooms per person, the number of rooms includes the kitchen if it is bigger than four square metres. The biggest number of the households of forced migrants in 2011 resided in housing unit with 20–30 m<sup>2</sup> per household member (28.4%). In 21.5% of the household units there was less than 15 m<sup>2</sup> of the housing space per member. For comparison, the findings of a survey of persons with a refugee status from 2008 have shown that in 48.5% of the households there were less than 15 m<sup>2</sup> of the housing space per member (CRRS, 2009). The biggest number of the housing units inhabited by forced migrants where with up to 10 m<sup>2</sup> per household member is in the municipalities Zemun, Čukarica, Novi Beograd, Palilula and Novi Sad.

Also, in the case of the local households, the biggest number of persons in 2011 resided in housing units where there was 20–30 m<sup>2</sup> per household member (25.5%), while there was a somewhat smaller share of housing units with less than 15 m<sup>2</sup> of the housing space per member (16.2%) in comparison with the housing units inhabited by forced migrants. The housing units where there is up to 10 m<sup>2</sup> per household member account for 4.6% of the total number of housing units occupied by forced migrants, that is, 3.9% of the other housing units. The biggest difference between the housing units inhabited by forced migrants and those inhabited by the local/host population is in the share of housing units with more than 60 m<sup>2</sup> per household member. These

housing units are twice as represented in the structure of housing units by floor space when it comes to the households without forced migrants (12.1%) in comparison with the housing units inhabited by forced migrants (6.0%).

**Table 35:** Housing units inhabited by forced migrants by floor space and the number of rooms per person, the 2011 Census

	Dwellings by floor space per person							
	Total dwellings	up to 10 m <sup>2</sup>	10–14.9	15–19.9	20–29.9	30–39.9	40–59.9	60 m <sup>2</sup> and more
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>122 223</b>	<b>5 665</b>	<b>20 672</b>	<b>23 618</b>	<b>34 665</b>	<b>16 834</b>	<b>13 457</b>	<b>7 312</b>
Beogradski region	40 006	2 051	7 170	8 143	11 239	5 285	4 104	2 014
Region Vojvodine	61 327	2 204	9 185	11 280	17 970	8 991	7 428	4 269
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	14 100	958	2 943	2 808	3 602	1 770	1 314	705
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	6 790	452	1 374	1 387	1 854	788	611	324
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

If observed by the number of rooms, the biggest number of housing units inhabited by forced migrants in 2011 had from 1 to 1.5 rooms per person (37.2%) and from 0.5 to 0.9 rooms (27.4%). About 9 900 households of forced migrants had over 3 rooms per person, out of which most of them were in Novi Sad and Belgrade. At the same time, the housing units with up to 0.5 rooms per member were also the most numerous in these cities. The households without forced migrants predominantly resided in housing units where there was 1–1.5 rooms per person (40.3%), just like the households of forced migrants. Only 1.9% of their housing units had up to 0.5 rooms per person, while this was 2.3% in the case of forced migrants. There was an even bigger difference in the category of housing units with three and more rooms per person, which had a representation of 17.4% in the total number of housing units that were not inhabited by forced migrants and two times smaller representation (8.1%) when it comes to the housing units inhabited by forced migrants.

Infrastructural equipment is one of the nationally specific indicators of existential needs deprivation (material deprivation), defined for the needs of monitoring social inclusion in Serbia. The exclusion scale distinguishes the households whose housing space is completely unequipped with infrastructure (no electricity and water), that have only electricity, up to those that have both electricity and water, but are outside the zone of the public water supply and sewerage systems (Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2012). The biggest number of dwellings inhabited by forced migrants in 2011 had water supply system, sewerage and electrical energy installations. Meager equipment of these dwellings with water supply and sewerage installations can be noticed in the Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije, especially in the Mačvanski district. In this district, over 270 dwellings inhabited by forced migrants (6.8%) do not have water supply and sewerage systems. 55.1% and 84.6%, respectively, of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants in Serbia are connected to the public utility and water supply system. The other dwellings use pneumatic pump stations or there is a connection to the

local/village water supply system. The Sremski district (429) and the City of Belgrade (346) stand out by the number of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants that are without sewerage installations.

**Table 36:** Dwellings inhabited by forced migrants by installation, the 2011 Census

	Dwellings by installation									
	Total dwellings		Dwellings with water supply system		Dwellings with sewerage installations		Dwellings with electric energy installations		Dwellings with no installations	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>122 223</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>120 363</b>	<b>98.5</b>	<b>120 023</b>	<b>98.2</b>	<b>122 169</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Beogradski region	40 006	100	39 725	99.3	39 660	99.1	39 998	99.9	8	0.0
Region Vojvodine	61 327	100	60 626	98.9	60 456	98.6	61 296	99.9	31	0.1
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	14 100	100	13 452	95.4	13 369	94.8	14 091	99.9	8	0.1
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	6 790	100	6 560	96.6	6 538	96.3	6 784	99.9	6	0.1
Region Kosovo i Metohija	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Most of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants that are without installations are located in the Region Vojvodine. If observed by districts, according to the numbers of these dwellings without installations, Zapadnobački, Sremski, Beogradski and Zlatiborski districts stand out. About 1.5% of the dwellings are without water and 1.8% are without toilet. The findings of a survey of the refugees, conducted in 2008 showed that 8.1% of the households were without water and 13.8% were without toilet (CRRS, 2009). In 2011 little more than a half (52.7%) of the dwellings inhabited by forced migrants was without central heating or personal heating system, while only 16.4% were connected to the gas pipeline.

The desire of forced migrants to become independent and leave their relatives or collective accommodation has most often not been accompanied by suitable income. When it comes to sub-tenancy or rent as the basis on which the households of forced migrants use an dwelling, limited financial means had the influence onto the selection of a smaller housing space or a housing space that is not equipped with infrastructure. Since 2002, in order to ensure adequate living conditions, refugees have been beneficiaries of social habitation under protected conditions. The project “Za bolji život” (“For Better Life”), which started in 2014 and which is financed by the European Union, will finance 15 projects whose intention is to improve the life of forced migrants in Serbia, including also the persons who came from former republics of the SFRY. It is envisaged that there will be a solution found for social habitation for the beneficiaries who are settled in collective centres in Pančevo, Šabac, Kragujevac, Rača, Kladovo, Bela Palanka, Bujanovac, Vranje and Belgrade and providing of adequate conditions for the integration of refugees in the municipalities Arilje, Batočina, Bojnik, Kula, Ruma, Sombor, Topola, Vranje and Vrbas, in line with the afore-agreed Local Action Plans (CRRS, 2014).



**Photo:** From the archive of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia



## Findings and challenges ahead

The differences between refugees and other migrants that actuate the need for a different approach in the research arise from the fact that “refugees rarely start from the same initial points as the other migrants. Their networks are scarce, their families in the country of origin can be endangered, their documentation may be lost or their health have been affected by traumas and violence” (UNHCR, 2013a; 118).

In 2011, around 280 000 of forced migrants were registered in the Republic of Serbia, out of which a little more than a quarter had a refugee status. Apart from numerous factors, such as the NATO bombing and the UN Security Council sanctions that have contributed to an extended refugee crisis in Serbia, “while respecting all the efforts of the Republic of Serbia and international donors, it was the refugees who had contributed the most to the success of their own integration, by investing their means and resources”, (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a; 14). Namely, according to the data from the censuses of refugees from 1996 and 2001, although a little more than 60% of the persons expressed their wish to be integrated, the official orientation towards integration as a solution to the refugee issue has been present in Serbia only since 2002, when the Government adopted the first Strategy for the solving of the issue of refugees and internally displaced persons. By stressing out this fact, Dragojević (2010) points out to different state policies of Serbia and Croatia during the 1990’s that were focused on co-ethnic migrants from the former republics of the SFRY.

The concept of forced migrants’ integration is very complex. The formal and legal aspects of integration refer to the acquiring of citizenship, as well as the other rights in the country of asylum. Then, there is a process of ensuring economic independence and reaching the standard of living similar to the one the other citizens have and a social process of adaptation and inclusion into social life (Crisp, 2004). According to the UNHCR, integration of refugees is a dynamic and two-way process which requires efforts from both of the involved parties, including also the readiness of some refugees to adjust to the host countries, while not renouncing their own cultural identity (UNHCR, 2005). The subjective character of integration is also corroborated by the findings of researches conducted in France, Sweden, Ireland and Austria, which show that there are differences among refugees, governments, decision-makers and stakeholder institutions in comprehending the concept of integration. The complexity of integration is emphasized in the context of multiple sense of belonging and maintaining relations in the contemporary world of high technologies (UNHCR, 2013a).

In Serbia, The National Strategy for Resolving the Problems of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons for the period from 2011 to 2014 as well as numerous sectorial strategies cover forced migrants. As one of the strategic goals, the Strategy states the creation of the conditions for refugees, and in particular for the most vulnerable categories of refugees, who have decided to live in the Republic of Serbia, to equally solve their basic life problems with all other citizens and get integrated into the local community. The actions and objectives listed as priorities are the following:

- ◆ citizenship and status’ issues;

- ◆ employment and the right to work;
- ◆ education;
- ◆ healthcare protection;
- ◆ social protection;
- ◆ solving of the housing issue (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2011a).

By studying refugee migrations in Finland, Valtonen (2004) presents a framework for the conceptualization of the process of refugee integration, underlining that refugee integration is a process influenced by the institutional environment of the host country, as well as by the personal capacities of the immigrant population. Considering that this survey refers to the third-country refugees, the framework has included the economic, social, cultural and political spheres of life and it deals with emancipation, parity, inter-dependence (social reciprocity networks) and cultural integrity.

The publication “Two decades of refugeeism in Serbia” covers different aspects of the integration of forced migrants from the former republics of the SFRY 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. This is in line with the knowledge of the language and culture that have been recognized in literature as the factors that facilitate the process of integration (Ager, Strang, 2004). 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. However, the local/host population has been and is still facing the problem of unemployment.

The high standards of the rights, facilitated requirements for acquiring the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia and a possibility of dual citizenship are important factors for legal integration of the forced migrants from the former republics of the SFRY in Serbia. A large number of forced migrants have dual citizenship, whereas the forced migrants from Croatia are also characterized by a significant number of stateless persons, which suggests that they face difficulties in their access to documents. Numerous problems in the sphere of regaining tenancy rights and returning the illegally occupied property, unpaid pensions, recognition of the years of labour and other problems faced by these persons have determined the strategy of the forced migrants from Croatia in Serbia, which is characterized by higher representation of persons with dual citizenship and with citizenship of another state in comparison with the forced migrants from other republics of the former SFRY.

Although the mobility of forced migrants was not high in the first years of refugeeism due to a strong influence of social networks on the place of immigration, the data show that over time, the forced migrants, led by economic interests, became more mobile. By migrating over larger distances in comparison with the local/host population, their destinations are most often the urban settlements of the Republic of Serbia. Under the influence of internal migrations, the trend of concentration of forced migrants in Vojvodina and in Belgrade has continued, along with the decline in their numbers in the other regions of Serbia. There is a particularly small number of



forced migrants in the undeveloped municipalities. The data on the population residing abroad for up to a year show that there is a bigger share of forced migrants involved in this type of migration also in comparison with the local/host population. The biggest number of forced migrants who were registered in 2011 as persons who reside abroad for up to a year resided in Croatia. Generally speaking, the higher mobility of the forced migrants from Croatia is also backed up by the data on internal migrations, pointing at mobility as a strategy of this population.

If observed by sex, female forced migrants, as opposite to the local/host population, participate in internal migration almost equally with men and at larger distances compared to the local/host women. This suggests the migration of the entire families of forced migrants within Serbia, as opposite to the local/host women, who are predominantly involved in local migration between the settlements of the same municipality.

The biggest number of forced migrants belongs to the category of employable population, which suggests an importance of integration in the domains of employment and housing, especially bearing in mind that around a quarter of active forced migrants are unemployed. The integration process is particularly difficult for the elderly, as well as for the forced migrants with disabilities whose share in the younger age groups is bigger than in the case of the local/host population.

As a consequence of the war, the share of widows that belong to younger age groups is significantly higher in the case of forced migrants than in case of local/host women. In comparison with the share of the local/host population that lives in extra-marital union in the total population aged over 15, forced migrants live in extra-marital union in a slightly higher degree on an average, which could be caused by a lack of the necessary documents required for formal marriage.

The level of education is positively correlated with economic integration. The population of forced migrants in the Republic of Serbia has a little more favourable educational structure in comparison with the local/host population of Serbia aged over 15, with a bigger share of the persons with secondary, and college- and university-level education. Also, more than a half of this population is computer literate. However, the number (40 000) of forced migrants with primary education needs to be pointed out, as well as the fact that a quarter of these persons are aged 30–49, which reflects unfavourably on their competitiveness in the labour market and their socio-economic integration. Even with the tendencies of reducing the general illiteracy rate of forced migrants, there is a relatively negative trend of structural changes in the period 2002–2011, which is manifested in the rise in the share of illiterate forced migrants aged 20–29 and 30–39. This requires programmes and activities focused on the reduction in the share of illiterate population among younger forced migrants, along with the engagement of local communities.

In 2011 the unemployment rate of forced migrants in the Republic of Serbia in 2011 was 24.2%, which was a little higher than for the local/host population. Around one third of unemployed forced migrants were looking for their first job. The specific difficulties faced by forced migrants in the labour market are corroborated by the fact that in the structure of persons looking for the first job, the biggest share (37%) have the persons aged 30–49, among whom the most numerous are women. In the structure of unemployed forced migrants, there is predominance of older men in the group of persons who used to work once. The position of young forced migrants

in the labour market is very unfavourable, with the unemployment rate of the young (15–24) at the level of 43.9%. Category of persons aged over 50, which is difficult to employ, includes 27% of the unemployed forced migrants. The unemployment rate of women forced migrants is highest in the Region Južne i Istočne Srbije, where one third of economically active female forced migrants are unemployed.

According to the 2011 Census data, the service and trade workers were the most frequent occupations of forced migrants in the Republic of Serbia. Between the two censuses in 2002 and 2011, after the adoption of Law on Citizenship, which enabled the employment of the forced migrants in governmental institutions, the share of the forced migrants – clerks within the total number of the employed forced migrants has been increased. In comparison with forced migrants, economically active local/host population consists in a smaller percentage of employed persons, employers and own-account workers and, to a higher degree, of individual farmers and (unpaid) family workers at a family holding. This result confirms self-employment as one of the ways in which forced migrants adjust to the labour market in Serbia.

The average number of members of the households of forced migrants is a little higher in comparison with the other households in Serbia. There is a continued trend of a smaller share of one-person households and a bigger share of the households with more than four members in the population of forced migrants in comparison with the local/host population, registered in 2002. As a form of housing strategy, non-family households and households with two families are characteristic of forced migrants to a higher degree than in the case of the local/host population. Special attention needs to be paid to the categories of single-parent families and also elderly one-person households that account for one third of all households of forced migrants in Serbia and which can mostly be found in urban settlements. A household is an important economic unit of forced migrants. The households of forced migrants with no income, as an economically vulnerable category of households, are a phenomenon characteristic for urban settlements, while the households with sources of income from social benefits predominantly live in other settlements. The findings of the 2011 Census data analysis show that the households where all the persons are forced migrants are in a worse economic position than the households where at least one person is not a forced migrant. In comparison with the local/host population, there is a bigger share of multi-member households in the structure of households with no income in the case of forced migrants.

The biggest number of households of forced migrants living in business premises, premises occupied from necessity or collective housing units), is in the Beogradski region. In comparison with forced migrants, local/host population has an owned dwelling to a higher degree, while the habitation based on sub-tenancy, kinship and especially rent, is significantly less represented. However, the biggest numbers of dwellings inhabited by forced migrants in 2011 have waterworks, sewerage and electric energy installations, but only about a half of these dwellings are connected to the public utility network. Although a lot has been done in order to solve the housing problems of forced migrants at collective centres, further measures that will be focused on this population which live in inadequate premises are still required. A possibility of property disposition in the country of origin is directly linked to the solving of the housing needs of these persons.



The findings acquired on the basis of an analysis of different demographic and socio-economic characteristics of forced migrants in Serbia confirm that in the case of co-ethnic migration, integration is also a complex and long-lasting process that depends not only on the migrants themselves, but also on the socio-economic conditions in the host country. The solving of the existential issues of these persons and their inclusion in all forms of social life require certain time. In the countries with longer experience in admitting refugees and in organized resettlement, there is a pronounced need for longitudinal researches of refugee integration, that is, for the findings as to what happens with refugees in the long run with regards to their integration into local communities, their citizenship, family size, housing, attainment and adjustment of children, their contribution to the economy, etc. (Halpern, 2008). In the recent years, it is also possible to notice a rise in the interest in the questions of selection, admission and integration of refugees in the central European countries. Taking into consideration the link between the admission and the integration phase, it is recommended to make the efforts in order for the process of integration to start as soon as possible (UNHCR, 2009).

The contribution of the surveys and researches in the field of the integration of forced migrants and immigrants in general and of the researches and comparisons of different experiences of the first and the second generations of these populations, as well as their impact on local communities lies in the fact that they enable the gaining of knowledge for the future in the function of public policies. However, the scarce academic literature in this field shows that “it is difficult to find systematic studies on former refugee population” (Allen, Li Rosi, 2010; 17). After acquiring citizenship of the host country, the possibilities for research and survey of this population are limited, since statistical data are mostly not divided into the ones for refugees and the other naturalized citizens (UNHCR, 2010). Also, most of the literature on the topic of integration of immigrants does not specify the type of migration with a special view on refugees; the data on refugees are either not disaggregated or they are limited and cannot provide the answers to many questions of importance for comprehending the process of refugee integration (UNHCR, 2013b).

Within the scope of a study commissioned by the UK Home Office, Ager and Strang (2004) provide a theoretical framework for identification of the indicators of refugee integration, recommending the key indicators for general use at the level of policies. They represent a conceptual framework that links together the main domains of integration. These domains include the achievements and availability within the domains of education, employment, housing and healthcare, assumptions and practice with respect to the citizenship and the rights of refugees, the process of social ties within or between the groups in a community and barriers to these ties that arise from the linguistic and cultural scope, as well as fear and instability (Ager, Strang, 2004, 2008).

The increasing number of persons seeking asylum in the European countries has an impact on a growing need for the enhancement of the integration policies and for the evaluation of immigrations by using relevant indicators. The use of indicators enables the decision-makers to perceive the impact of specific integration policies on social changes. The UNHCR’s instrument for the evaluation of integration (IET – Integration Evaluation Tool) has been developed out of a need for an accurate and comparable indicators on the integration of refugees in Europe. It has been developed by the Migration Policy Group. The instrument contains qualitative and quantitative

integration indicators specific for the refugee population. It has been created as a part of an international project on integration which involved four Western European and four Central-European countries, with the aim to develop efficient refugee integration programmes. It covered a large number of qualitative and quantitative indicators (231) that are closely linked with the Common Basic Principles of the immigrant integration policy in the European Union<sup>45</sup>. The indicators have been put together into four groups (general, legal integration, socio-economic integration and socio-cultural integration), out of which the most numerous are the socio-economic indicators:

- ◆ 16 general indicators (impact of reception conditions on integration, mainstreaming of refugees into general policies...),
- ◆ 75 indicators of legal integration (family reunification...),
- ◆ 84 socio-economic indicators (employment, healthcare, housing...), and
- ◆ 46 socio-cultural indicators (language learning, participation, social orientation, education of children...) (UNHCR, 2013b).

The immigration into Serbia is not of any significant scope and in addition to the migrants from the former republics of the SFRY, it mostly includes citizens of China and the Russian Federation. In the recent years, it is possible to notice an increase in the number of asylum-seekers, as well as in the number of filed requests for asylum in Serbia. In order to respond to the challenges ahead, the obtained findings of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics, housing conditions and sources of income of the households of forced migrants from the territories of the former republics of the SFRY in Serbia can be observed in the context of local and regional policies, focused on the needs of the population of refugees and former refugees that tend to change over time. The acquired knowledge on the process of their integration can be used under the conditions of an increased number of asylum-seekers for whom Serbia has been a transit country on their way to the European Union for a few years now, but for whom there is a probability that they can start to opt for remaining and living in Serbia. As pointed out in the publication "Tools for the work and integration of immigrants in Serbia", published in 2012 within the scope of the project *Capacity building of the institutions of the Republic of Serbia for managing migrations and reintegration of the returnees*, "with its candidacy for the membership in the European Union, Serbia must also start to deal with the solving of the issue of integration of other migrant groups" (Kupiszewski et al., 2013, 9). Finding the appropriate integration framework facilitates the management of migrations, thus stimulating their positive effects, as well as full economic and social integration of migrants into the society. At the same time, it is also very important to measure the influence of different policies depending on the type of immigrants and their needs. Although this is a complex and a long-term process, successful integration is beneficial both for the forced migrants and the other types of immigrants, as well as the host countries, especially in the case of depopulation and decreasing the workforce contingent like in Serbia. In those terms, it is necessary to enhance the immigration policy on the basis of its evaluation that would be carried out continuously.

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<sup>45</sup> EU actions to make integration work, *Common Basic Principles*, European Commission  
[http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/EU\\_actions\\_integration.cfm](http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/EU_actions_integration.cfm) (accessed on 5.05.2014)



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**Table 1:** Forced migrants according to the 2011 Census of Population and changes in the numbers between two censuses

Municipality	Total population 2011	2011		2002		Index of change 2002–2011
		number of forced migrants	share in the total population (%)	number of refugees	share in the total population (%)	
Barajevo	27 110	2 198	8.1	2 730	11.1	73.2
Voždovac	158 213	5 874	3.7	8 690	5.7	64.8
Vračar	56 333	1 050	1.9	2 128	3.6	51.1
Grocka	83 907	3 858	4.6	5 991	7.9	57.9
Zvezdara	151 808	6 108	4.0	7 756	5.9	68.7
Zemun	168 170	21 417	12.7	21 835	11.4	111.9
Lazarevac	58 622	1 013	1.7	1 854	3.2	54.6
Mladenovac	53 096	1 388	2.6	2 167	4.1	63.2
Novi Beograd	214 506	12 458	5.8	16 028	7.4	78.9
Obrenovac	72 524	3 270	4.5	4 590	6.5	69.7
Palilula	173 521	10 470	6.0	11 286	7.2	83.3
Rakovica	108 641	4 551	4.2	5 656	5.7	73.4
Savski venac	39 122	1 714	4.4	2 971	7.0	62.7
Sopot	20 367	950	4.7	1 337	6.6	71.0
Stari grad	48 450	1 230	2.5	2 304	4.2	61.2
Čukarica	181 231	10 676	5.9	13 977	8.3	71.1
Surčin	43 819	3 438	7.8	-	-	-
Apatin	28 929	2 780	9.6	4 363	13.3	72.3
Kula	43 101	2 149	5.0	3 158	6.5	76.4
Odžaci	30 154	1 783	5.9	3 137	8.8	67.0
Sombor	85 903	8 276	9.6	11 912	12.3	78.6
Alibunar	20 151	746	3.7	1 020	4.4	83.3
Bela Crkva	17 367	287	1.7	621	3.1	54.1
Vršac	52 026	1 962	3.8	3 125	5.8	65.6
Kovačica	25 274	523	2.1	815	2.9	70.9
Kovin	33 722	941	2.8	1 756	4.8	58.5
Opovo	10 440	292	2.8	381	3.5	80.9
Pančevo	123 414	6 001	4.9	8 294	6.5	74.5
Planadište	11 336	503	4.4	838	6.3	70.9
Bač	14 405	1 050	7.3	1 561	9.6	75.9
Bačka Palanka	55 528	4 003	7.2	5 997	9.8	73.3
Bački Petrovac	13 418	439	3.3	639	4.4	75.2
Beočin	15 726	1 135	7.2	1 425	8.9	81.5
Bečej	37 351	1 616	4.3	2 489	6.1	71.3
Žabalj	26 134	1 545	5.9	2 348	8.5	69.3
Novi Sad	307 760	31 866	10.4	37 599	12.6	82.4
Srbobran	16 317	1 138	7.0	1 808	10.1	68.8
Sremski Karlovci	8 750	1 542	17.6	1 675	19.0	93.0
Temerin	28 287	3 494	12.4	3 826	13.5	91.3
Titel	15 738	1 286	8.2	1 806	10.6	77.2
Vrbas	42 092	1 480	3.5	2 380	5.2	67.8
Petrovaradin	33 865	5 538	16.3	-	-	-
Ada	16 991	148	0.9	309	1.6	53.4



**Table 1:** Forced migrants according to the 2011 Census of Population and changes in the numbers between two censuses (cont.)

The municipality	Total population 2011	2011		2002		Index of change 2002–2011
		number of forced migrants	share in the total population (%)	number of refugees	share in the total population (%)	
Kanjiža	25 343	151	0.6	288	1.0	57.1
Kikinda	59 453	1 618	2.7	2 910	4.3	62.7
Novi Kneževac	11 269	565	5.0	960	7.4	67.7
Senta	23 316	115	0.5	249	1.0	50.5
Čoka	11 398	386	3.4	685	5.0	68.5
Bačka Topola	33 321	1 724	5.2	2 775	7.3	71.2
Mali Iđoš	12 031	349	2.9	713	5.3	54.9
Subotica	141 554	6 782	4.8	9 534	6.4	74.6
Žitište	16 841	1 069	6.4	1 645	8.1	78.8
Zrenjanin	123 362	5 063	4.1	7 252	5.5	74.7
Nova Crnja	10 272	337	3.3	642	5.1	65.0
Novi Bečej	23 925	653	2.7	1 189	4.4	61.8
Sečanj	13 267	562	4.2	1 069	6.5	64.9
Indija	47 433	8 834	18.6	10 444	21.0	88.5
Irig	10 866	1 240	11.4	1 870	15.2	75.2
Pečinci	19 720	1 301	6.6	2 034	9.5	69.8
Ruma	54 339	7 259	13.4	9 859	16.4	81.3
Srem. Mitrovica	79 940	5 097	6.4	7 348	8.6	74.6
Stara Pazova	65 792	10 374	15.8	12 582	18.6	84.7
Šid	34 188	6 598	19.3	9 133	23.4	82.4
Arilje	18 792	201	1.1	359	1.8	59.1
Bajina Bašta	26 022	810	3.1	1 450	5.0	62.6
Kosjerić	12 090	86	0.7	205	1.5	48.6
Nova Varoš	16 638	42	0.3	131	0.7	37.9
Požega	29 638	479	1.6	780	2.4	66.9
Priboj	27 133	236	0.9	458	1.5	57.6
Prijepolje	37 059	86	0.2	336	0.8	28.0
Sjenica	26 392	35	0.1	94	0.3	38.2
Užice	78 040	825	1.1	1 379	1.7	63.9
Čajetina	14 745	180	1.2	392	2.5	48.6
Valjevo	90 312	1 565	1.7	2 554	2.6	65.5
Lajkovac	15 475	308	2.0	545	3.2	62.4
Ljig	12 754	242	1.9	358	2.5	77.6
Mionica	14 335	252	1.8	492	3.0	59.1
Osečina	12 536	67	0.5	198	1.3	40.5
Ub	29 101	618	2.1	987	3.1	69.1
Bogatić	28 883	933	3.2	1 561	4.7	68.3
Vladimirci	17 462	421	2.4	678	3.3	72.4
Koceljeva	13 129	136	1.0	292	1.9	55.6
Krupanj	17 295	68	0.4	199	1.0	39.4
Loznica	79 327	2 091	2.6	5 645	6.5	40.4
Ljubovija	14 469	247	1.7	500	2.9	58.4
Mali Zvornik	12 482	606	4.9	1 574	11.2	43.4

**Table 1:** Forced migrants according to the 2011 Census of Population and changes in the numbers between two censuses (cont.)

The municipality	Total population 2011	2011		2002		Index of change 2002–2011
		number of forced migrants	share in the total population (%)	number of refugees	share in the total population (%)	
Šabac	115 884	4 473	3.9	7 001	5.7	67.7
Gornji Milanovac	44 406	709	1.6	1 381	2.9	55.2
Ivanjica	31 963	135	0.4	394	1.1	37.8
Lučani	20 897	190	0.9	390	1.6	57.6
Čačak	115 337	2 272	2.0	3 439	2.9	67.0
Despotovac	23 191	292	1.3	636	2.5	50.8
Paraćin	54 242	636	1.2	1 134	2.0	60.0
Rekovac	11 055	101	0.9	270	2.0	45.7
Jagodina	71 852	838	1.2	1 613	2.3	51.3
Svilajnac	23 551	420	1.8	808	3.2	56.2
Čuprija	30 645	364	1.2	682	2.0	58.6
Aleksandrovac	26 522	70	0.3	200	0.7	38.2
Brus	16 317	59	0.4	158	0.8	42.9
Varvarin	17 966	138	0.8	273	1.4	56.6
Kruševac	128 752	1 236	1.0	2 159	1.6	58.5
Trstenik	42 966	220	0.5	499	1.0	50.0
Ćićevac	9 476	119	1.3	218	2.0	62.1
Vrnjačka Banja	27 527	475	1.7	877	3.3	52.3
Kraljevo	125 488	2 064	1.6	3 323	2.7	60.1
Novi Pazar	100 410	186	0.2	483	0.6	33.9
Raška	24 678	174	0.7	288	1.1	66.4
Tutin	31 155	16	0.1	66	0.2	22.7
Arandelovac	46 225	1 466	3.2	2 472	5.1	61.7
Batočina	11 760	80	0.7	158	1.3	52.7
Knić	14 237	125	0.9	300	1.9	47.3
Kragujevac	179 417	1 965	1.1	3 098	1.8	62.5
Rača	11 503	153	1.3	294	2.3	58.6
Topola	22 329	351	1.6	759	3.0	52.3
Lapovo	7 837	81	1.0	202	2.5	41.9
Bor	48 615	224	0.5	545	1.0	46.9
Kladovo	20 635	186	0.9	334	1.4	63.8
Majdanpek	18 686	91	0.5	221	0.9	52.7
Negotin	37 056	278	0.8	687	1.6	47.5
Veliko Gradište	17 610	308	1.8	464	2.3	77.8
Golubac	8 331	106	1.3	217	2.2	58.0
Žabari	11 380	106	0.9	297	2.3	40.8
Žagubica	12 737	33	0.3	105	0.7	36.6
Kučevo	15 516	122	0.8	391	2.1	38.0
Malo Crniće	11 458	166	1.5	285	2.1	70.4
Petrovac na Mlavi	31 259	438	1.4	867	2.5	55.8
Požarevac	61 697	923	1.5	2 117	2.8	53.0
Kostolac	13 637	111	0.8	-	-	-
Boljevac	12 994	75	0.6	180	1.1	50.9



**Table 1:** Forced migrants according to the 2011 Census of Population and changes in the numbers between two censuses (cont.)

The municipality	Total population 2011	2011		2002		Index of change 2002–2011
		number of forced migrants	share in the total population (%)	number of refugees	share in the total population (%)	
Zaječar	59 461	450	0.8	1 100	1.7	45.5
Knjaževac	31 491	183	0.6	327	0.9	65.9
Sokobanja	16 021	112	0.7	239	1.3	54.3
Bojnik	11 104	51	0.5	82	0.6	73.0
Vlasotince	29 893	133	0.4	270	0.8	54.3
Lebane	22 000	37	0.2	131	0.5	32.1
Leskovac	144 206	664	0.5	1 298	0.8	55.4
Medveđa	7 438	43	0.6	82	0.8	76.3
Crna Trava	1 663	10	0.6	33	1.3	46.5
Aleksinac	51 863	406	0.8	957	1.7	47.0
Gadžin Han	8 389	54	0.6	108	1.0	62.1
Doljevac	18 463	110	0.6	157	0.8	75.0
Merošina	13 968	91	0.7	129	0.9	74.7
Ražanj	9 150	42	0.5	149	1.3	35.1
Svrljig	14 249	76	0.5	177	1.0	52.0
Niška Banja	14 680	76	0,5	231	1,5	34.7
Niš	245 557	3 470	1,4	4 554	1,9	72.8
Babušnica	12 307	78	0.6	125	0.8	79.8
Bela Palanka	12 126	78	0.6	231	1.6	39.8
Dimitrovgrad	10 118	79	0.8	132	1.1	69.6
Pirot	57 928	415	0.7	656	1.0	69.9
Velika Plana	40 902	356	0.9	761	1.7	50.9
Smederevo	108 209	1 442	1.3	3 157	2.9	46.3
Sm. Palanka	50 284	541	1.1	1 320	2.4	45.8
Bosilegrad	8 129	44	0.5	81	0.8	65.9
Bujanovac	18 067	138	0.8	333	0.8	98.7
Vladičin Han	20 871	87	0.4	249	1.1	40.0
Vranje	73 944	405	0.5	1 001	1.1	47.8
Preševo	3 080	34	1.1	351	1.0	108.9
Surdulica	20 319	98	0.5	165	0.7	64.9
Trgovište	5 091	14	0.3	56	0.9	30.7
Vranjska Banja	9 580	47	0.5	-	-	-
Blace	11 754	77	0.7	152	1.1	60.0
Žitorađa	16 368	135	0.8	226	1.2	66.1
Kuršumlija	19 213	68	0.4	221	1.0	34.3
Prokuplje	44 419	374	0.8	679	1.4	60.0

**Table 2:** Forced migrants by ten-year age groups and sex, the 2011 Census

Region	Sex	Total	0–9	10–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69	70 and over
REPUBLIC OF SERBIA	All	277 890	11 183	22 499	42 268	47 191	44 562	51 967	31 439	26 781
	Men	137 098	5 697	11 754	21 751	23 474	21 986	25 597	15 748	11 091
	Women	140 792	5 486	10 745	20 517	23 717	22 576	26 370	15 691	15 690
Beogradski region	All	91 663	4 118	6 640	13 769	17 059	14 239	16 744	10 625	8 469
	Men	44 876	2 089	3 465	7 015	8 508	6 980	8 011	5 244	3 564
	Women	46 787	2 029	3 175	6 754	8 551	7 259	8 733	5 381	4 905
Region Vojvodine	All	142 600	5 985	12 369	21 826	23 419	23 045	26 196	15 475	14 285
	Men	70 506	3 057	6 466	11 220	11 771	11 447	13 006	7 730	5 809
	Women	72 094	2 928	5 903	10 606	11 648	11 598	13 190	7 745	8 476
Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije	All	29 942	785	2 511	4 566	4 677	4 896	6 213	3 477	2 817
	Men	14 695	396	1 307	2 425	2 176	2 353	3 083	1 768	1 187
	Women	15 247	389	1 204	2 141	2 501	2 543	3 130	1 709	1 630
Region Južne i Istočne Srbije	All	13 685	295	979	2 107	2 036	2 382	2 814	1 862	1 210
	Men	7 021	155	516	1 091	1 019	1 206	1 497	1 006	531
	Women	6 664	140	463	1 016	1 017	1 176	1 317	856	679
Region Kosovo i Metohija	All	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

**Table 3:** Marital structure of forced migrants aged 15 and over, by sex, the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Men											
<b>Total</b>	<b>126 766</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41 382</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>64 888</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13 824</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6 672</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Never married	45 567	35.9	14 868	35.93	23 436	36.12	4 934	35.69	2 329	34.91	...
Married	72 844	57.5	24 003	58.00	37 110	57.19	7 901	57.15	3 830	57.40	...
Widowers	4 251	3.4	1 217	2.94	2 309	3.56	498	3.60	227	3.40	...
Divorced	3 703	2.9	1 080	2.61	1 915	2.95	453	3.28	255	3.82	...
Unknown	401	0.3	214	0.52	118	100.00	38	0.27	31	0.46	...
Women											
<b>Total</b>	<b>131 121</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43 405</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>66 902</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>14 437</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6 377</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Never married	33 639	25.7	12 060	27.78	16 569	24.77	3 374	23.37	1 636	25.65	...
Married	72 956	55.6	23 628	54.44	37 507	56.06	8 296	57.46	3 525	55.28	...
Widows	19 082	14.6	5 836	13.45	10 217	15.27	2 125	14.72	900	14.11	...
Divorced	5 122	3.9	1 724	3.97	2 510	3.75	604	4.18	284	4.45	...
Unknown	322	0.2	157	0.36	99	0.15	35	0.24	31	0.49	...



**Table 4: Educational attainment of forced migrants aged 15 and over by sex the 2011 Census**

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Men											
<b>Total</b>	<b>126 766</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41 382</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>64 888</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13 824</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6 672</b>	<b>100</b>	...
No formal education	873	0.7	155	0.4	576	0.9	77	0.6	65	1.0	...
Incomplete elementary school	4 807	3.8	855	2.1	3 150	4.9	546	3.9	256	3.8	...
Elementary school	18 263	14.4	3 930	9.5	10 991	16.9	2 383	17.2	959	14.4	...
Secondary school	77 094	60.8	24 792	59.9	40 246	62.0	8 328	60.2	3 728	55.9	...
High school/university	25 542	20.1	11 586	28.0	9 850	15.2	2 465	17.8	1 641	24.6	...
Unknown	187	0.1	64	0.2	75	0.1	25	0.2	23	0.3	...
Women											
<b>Total</b>	<b>131 121</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>43 405</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>66 902</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>14 437</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6 377</b>	<b>100.0</b>	...
No formal education	4 560	3.5	989	2.3	2 832	4.2	521	3.6	218	3.4	...
Incomplete elementary school	10 840	8.3	2 562	5.9	6 590	9.9	1 206	8.4	482	7.6	...
Elementary school	23 502	17.9	5 725	13.2	13 469	20.1	3 081	21.3	1 227	19.2	...
Secondary school	67 683	51.6	22 603	52.1	34 203	51.1	7 513	52.0	3 364	52.8	...
High school/university	24 311	18.5	11 443	26.4	9 713	14.5	2 084	14.4	1 071	16.8	...
Unknown	225	0.2	83	0.2	95	0.1	32	0.2	15	0.2	...

**Table 5: Economically active forced migrants by sex the 2011 Census**

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Men											
<b>Total</b>	<b>76 337</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25 252</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39 425</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>8 065</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3 595</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Perform occupation	58 240	76.3	20 140	79.8	29 475	74.8	6 009	74.5	2 616	72.8	...
Unemployed	18 097	23.7	5 112	20.2	9 950	25.2	2 056	25.5	979	27.2	...
Unemployed used to work once	12 851	71.0	3 765	73.7	7 119	71.5	1 314	63.9	653	66.7	...
Unemployed looking for the first job	5 246	29.0	1 347	26.3	2 831	28.5	742	36.1	326	33.3	...
Women											
<b>Total</b>	<b>59 301</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21 622</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28 927</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5 961</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>2 791</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Perform occupation	44 614	75.2	17 535	81.1	21 085	72.9	4 131	69.3	1 863	66.8	...
Unemployed	14 687	24.8	4 087	18.9	7 842	27.1	1 830	30.7	928	33.2	...
Unemployed used to work once	9 978	67.9	2 899	70.9	5 320	67.8	1 149	62.8	610	65.7	...
Unemployed looking for the first job	4 709	32.1	1 188	29.1	2 522	32.2	681	37.2	318	34.3	...

**Table 6:** Economically inactive forced migrants by sex the 2011 Census

	Republic of Serbia		Beogradski region		Region Vojvodine		Region Šumadije i Zapadne Srbije		Region Južne i Istočne Srbije		Region Kosovo i Metohija
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Men											
<b>Total</b>	<b>60 740</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>19 613</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31 072</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6 630</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3 425</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Children under 15	10 332	17.0	3 494	17.8	5 618	18.1	871	13.1	349	10.2	...
Pensioners	22 940	37.8	7 986	40.7	10 712	34.5	2 601	39.2	1 641	47.9	...
Persons with income from property	489	0.8	86	0.4	342	1.1	38	0.6	23	0.7	...
Pupils / students	11 172	18.4	3 806	19.4	5 542	17.8	1 245	18.8	579	16.9	...
Persons who perform only housework at their own household (housewives)	3 821	6.3	803	4.1	2 366	7.6	465	7.0	187	5.5	...
Other	11 986	19.7	3 438	17.5	6 492	20.9	1 410	21.3	646	18.9	...
Women											
<b>Total</b>	<b>81 470</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25 158</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43 162</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9 280</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3 870</b>	<b>100</b>	...
Children under 15	9 671	11.9	3 382	13.4	5 192	12.0	810	8.7	287	7.4	...
Pensioners	24 921	30.6	8 976	35.7	12 309	28.5	2 461	26.5	1 175	30.4	...
Persons with income from property	196	0.2	44	0.2	124	0.3	21	0.2	7	0.2	...
Inactive population pupils / students	12 644	15.5	4 080	16.2	6 545	15.2	1 390	15.0	629	16.3	...
Persons who perform only housework at their own household (housewives)	26 345	32.3	6 365	25.3	14 965	34.7	3 663	39.5	1 352	34.9	...
Other	7 693	9.4	2 311	9.2	4 027	9.3	935	10.1	420	10.9	...



**Table 7:** Households of forced migrants by the number of members and sources of income the 2011 Census

	Sources of household incomes						
	salary or other allowance based on work		other incomes			mixed	without income
	in agriculture	in non-agriculture	pension	social welfare	another income		
<b>REPUBLIC OF SERBIA</b>	<b>1 965</b>	<b>51 678</b>	<b>21 239</b>	<b>2 379</b>	<b>6 474</b>	<b>38 477</b>	<b>3 532</b>
Number of members of the household	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	13.1	9.8	30.6	22.5	24.0	0.9	45.3
2	23.2	17.1	47.1	29.5	24.3	14.3	29.2
3	20.2	27.6	13.9	16.8	22.2	23.0	13.8
4	22.2	34.0	5.3	19.8	20.6	25.0	8.4
5	12.3	7.7	2.0	6.8	6.2	18.8	2.6
6 and more members	8.9	3.8	1.1	4.7	2.7	18.0	0.8
urban	261	38 481	13 571	1 065	3 678	23 716	2 189
Number of members of the households	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	14.6	11.2	31.0	23.2	26.8	0.9	47.9
2	25.7	18.1	46.0	29.3	22.9	15.7	27.5
3	20.3	28.3	14.3	17.0	22.4	24.9	13.5
4	23.8	33.0	5.8	20.4	20.5	26.0	8.4
5	11.9	6.7	1.9	5.6	5.2	17.5	2.1
6 and more members	3.8	2.7	1.0	4.5	2.1	15.0	0.5
other	1 704	13 197	7 668	1 314	2 796	14 761	1 343
Number of members of the households	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	12.9	5.8	29.9	22.0	20.2	0.8	41.0
2	22.8	13.9	49.1	29.6	26.0	12.0	31.9
3	20.2	25.6	13.1	16.6	21.9	20.0	14.3
4	22.0	37.0	4.5	19.3	20.7	23.4	8.3
5	12.4	10.7	2.1	7.7	7.5	21.0	3.4
6 and more members	9.7	7.0	1.3	4.9	3.5	22.8	1.1

The 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia

**TWO DECADES OF REFUGEEISM IN SERBIA**

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