



IOM International Organization for Migration

# LABOUR MIGRATION PATTERNS, POLICIES AND MIGRATION PROPENSITY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

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## 1. Introduction: setting the context of research

MAREK KUPISZEWSKI<sup>1</sup>, ANNA KICINGER<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1. The aim of the research

The development of migration processes in the Western Balkans continues to attract the attention of migration stakeholders in Europe. The aim of the presented research is to offer interested readers and policymakers an insight into the dynamics of labour migration in the countries of the Western Balkans: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia<sup>2</sup>, Montenegro, Serbia and UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo<sup>3</sup>. The study offers an overview of current labour migration trends and migration policies in the region. Special attention is paid to the evolution of migration in the Western Balkans and its impact on both migration policies and future migration flows. A tentative insight into possible future labour migration flows is offered, based on a survey of migration propensities in all countries under review.

### 1.2. The context of the research

Three important issues shape the current migration flows in the region: the history of the region, existing migrant networks, and migration policies. All countries have traditionally been source countries of labour emigration. The emigration continued even during the cold war period, when citizens of then Yugoslavia enjoyed relative freedom of movement in comparison to nationals of other communist countries, such as Albania, where leaving the country was impossible. All countries of the region became important migrant sending countries in the 1990s. The widespread migratory networks throughout Europe created by nationals of Western Balkan countries were further reinforced by waves of newcomers: war refugees and labour migrants. The wars and ethnic tensions of the decade resulted in huge population shifts, the consequences of which are felt to this day. The

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1 Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research, International Organization for Migration; Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization, Polish Academy of Sciences; Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw School of Economics.

2 In line with UN recommendations, we use the name “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” throughout this text. However, when we quote or refer to third-party sources, we use the name as it appears in the source document.

3 Hereinafter referred to as Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. The terms used, the designations employed and the presentation of material throughout the report do not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of IOM concerning the legal status of the territories, their authorities or their frontiers or boundaries.

issue of the return of war refugees and internally displaced persons assumed highest importance. Post-conflict challenges dominated the migration concerns in the region in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Today, as the settlement of refugees and displaced persons both within and outside the region is progressing, labour migration is receiving greater attention as an important migration challenge for the Western Balkans.

In shaping the labour migration system of the Western Balkan countries, the role of the migration policies of the countries under review is and will remain of crucial importance. Of primary importance is also the EU migration policy, and EU-Western Balkan cooperation on migration. The cooperation on migration policy issues between Western Balkan countries and the EU is part of the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) as the overarching theme of EU relations with the Western Balkans. The three main aims pursued by SAP encompass political and economic stabilization in the region, the promotion of regional cooperation, and the preparation for potential future EU membership by Western Balkan countries. The relations between the EU and Western Balkan countries within the SAP are based on individual agreements between the EU and each of the countries. However, the EU also encourages regional cooperation among the Western Balkan countries themselves.

The cooperation process on migration policy between the EU and the region led to the considerable ‘Europeanization’ of their migration policies, already well before their EU accession (such was also the case in Central and Eastern European countries). However, it should also be stressed that the main focus of cooperation with the EU has been on irregular migration. This is important in view of the fact that Western Balkan countries have to various extents been countries of origin, of transit and destination for irregular migrants. Therefore, the bulk of efforts and initiatives have concentrated on raising the institutional capacity to control and protect the borders in the region, as well as on fighting organized crime and the smuggling and trafficking of human beings.

Given the importance of such challenges as combating irregular migration and managing the return of nationals, labour migration flows are currently not at the centre of migration concerns in the region. However, domestic political and economic reforms, as well as the progress towards EU integration, are likely to result in greater political stabilization and economic growth in the countries under review. This may be expected to lead to increased flows of economic migrants both within and to the region, which in turn will surely place labour migration management issues higher on the agenda of migration priorities in the countries concerned.

### **1.3. The contents and the methodology of the research**

The present publication consists of seven chapters, including this introduction. The second chapter offers an overview of migration processes in Western Balkan countries after 1990, based on a critical desk review of relevant literature and the identification of key issues addressed. The availability, comparability and quality of data on migration and labour migration are discussed in Chapter 3 with the aim of bridging the gap between formulating migration policies and the assessment of migration processes. The appendix to this chapter contains data compiled from national and international sources. Chapter 4, based on data presented in Chapter 3, examines the most recent migration trends and their impact on demographic and labour market developments in the Western Balkans. Chapter 5 assesses the migration propensity in each of the countries reviewed. The assessment of the migration potential is based on a representative survey conducted in the countries concerned in early 2009. Chapter 6 reviews existing labour migration policies and attempts a synthesis of key developments, trends and issues in the migration policies of the region. Finally, the concluding chapter summarizes the key findings of previous chapters, identifies the most important migration challenges and offers policy recommendations.



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. Labour migration in Western Balkan countries – a review of literature and historical trends

MAREK KUPISZEWSKI<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.1. Introduction

This study covers Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo, Montenegro, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Serbia. They will be collectively referred to as the Western Balkans, even if the actual geographic scope of this term is wider.

The focus of this study will be on labour migration during the last decade; however, there are also some references to earlier sources. This literature review does not aim at full coverage of the entire literature on labour migration in the Western Balkans. Such an exercise would be beyond the scope of this study and require much more time and resources. Instead, it aims at the identification of main trends described in the literature and the main problems and issues.

The review consists of two parts. The first is organized along geographical-historical lines, country by country, taking into account the gradual dissolution of what was at the time the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and her successor states and the formation of newly independent states. Each country section contains subsections on immigration, emigration and remittances.

The amount of research focusing on labour migration is considerably smaller than the research on migration in general. The most likely explanation is that in countries of origin and of destination general migration data are more readily come by than on labour migration *per se*. Apart from this scarcity, data on labour migration also often contain systematic errors arising from national legislations that foresee exemptions from the work permit obligation for certain categories of labour migrants. A full discussion of data availability and coverage is presented in Chapter 3. Where there is only limited access to the literature and data on labour migration, the review covers migration in general. The second part (penultimate section) looks at the processes, transversal and theoretical issues that can be identified in all or most of the countries of the region. The ultimate section of this chapter offers some concluding remarks.

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When considering migration processes, we need to examine both stocks and flows of migrants. Stocks in destination countries have accumulated over time, especially in those which, in the past, actively pursued the recruitment of *Gastarbeiter*. Flows show the current dynamics of the process. Therefore, these two measures should be treated separately. In Europe, the quality of migration data compared to data on other demographic phenomena is rather poor (Poulain, Perrin and Singleton, 2006). The countries of the Western Balkans have encountered even more problems with migration statistics, which is understandable given the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, the prolonged war period in the 1990s and the consequences for the countries in the region.

## **2.2. Labour migration to and from Albania**

### *Emigration*

Until the fall of communism in 1990, Albania remained a closed country. Apart from those who managed to escape in the late 1940s (Sauvy, 1980), emigration was almost impossible under communism and was treated as high treason, with penalties imposed not only on migrants, but also on their families (Vullnetari, 2007).

The occupation of West European embassies in 1990 opened a new era from the point of view of both political and population development of Albania. Contrary to what might have been expected, the first emigration involved a meagre 4,975 persons (Bërxfholi, Doka, Asche, 2003), though long-term implications were much more significant. More than 300,000 Albanians (Carletto *et al.*, 2004:2) left the country in 1991 and 1992, many via a mass boat emigration to Italy in 1991. The period 1993-1996 was characterized by relative stability and growth of the Albanian economy, supported by the remittances sent home by migrants and which accounted for up to one-fourth of the country's GDP (Korovilas, 1999). Vullnetari (2007:33) estimates that by the mid-1990s some 400,000 Albanians lived abroad, the overwhelming majority (some 90%) in Greece. The period of tranquillity ended abruptly with the collapse of financial pyramids, or Ponzi schemes as they are also known, which, together with other financial flows, had also been fuelled by the funds remitted, among others, by migrants. According to Korovilas (1999: 409) in 1996 the equivalent of around 50 per cent of Albanian GDP was poured into such financial constructions. The collapse of the scheme in 1997 provoked serious political unrests and caused massive impoverishment and new waves of emigration.

The period after 2000 was relatively uneventful – greater political and economic stability had led to the stabilization of migration flows, albeit on quite a high level, sustained by regional disparities and, despite some improvements, the still weak and vulnerable Albanian economy.

The main country of destination was Greece (364,000 emigrants in 2001), followed by Italy (165,000), Germany (10,000) and Switzerland, France, Serbia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey hosting between one and five thousand Albanian migrants each (Bërxfholi, Doka, Asche, 2003). This is in line with the findings of Misja (1996), who identified Greece, Italy, Germany, Turkey, France and Belgium as the main destinations for Albanians. Based on the Greek 2001 population census, Cavoundis (2004) estimated stocks of Albanian migrants in Greece at 438,000 or 57.4 per cent of the total foreign resident population. According to Barjaba (2000) and based on official Albanian data, 800,000 Albanians lived abroad in 1999, 500,000 in Greece alone,

and a further 200,000 in Italy. IOM (2008a) estimated the number of Albanians living in Italy in 2007 at 376,000, and ISTAT (2008) put the figure at 401,000 in 2008.

Recent years witnessed a decline in emigration numbers, in part owing to a more realistic perception by prospective Albanian migrants of opportunities in Europe, partly because of tighter admission policies and border controls and the often unfriendly attitudes in host countries (IOM, 2006a).

IOM (2008a), following King and Vullnetari (2003), noted a drop in male predominance among Albanian emigrants from around 80 per cent in the 1990s to some 60 per cent in the early 2000s. Data from the Italian *Istituto nazionale di statistica* (ISTAT, 2008) suggest that this trend continues; indeed, in 2008, the share of men among Albanian migrants in Italy had dropped to 55 per cent. King and Vullnetari (2003) noted that the increase in the share of women among migrants is mostly due to family reunification, as independent female migrants are normally to be found only among the most educated migrants.

The main push factors are poverty, high unemployment, especially among young adults, poor medical care or difficult access to such (Barjaba, 2004), poor living conditions and a perceived lack of safety and security in Albania (IOM, 2008b). A survey conducted by IOM (2008b) found that 67 per cent of emigrants left Albania because of economic difficulties. Among the pull factors, Barjaba (2004) cites cultural motivations, curiosity, educational ambitions and career development, as well as family reunification and better prospects in destination countries (IOM, 2008b). Besides these, contacts with other Albanians abroad are cited by 46 per cent of respondents as the main pull factor.

By now, migration has become a major national business: Baldwin-Edwards (2005) estimates that by the early 2000s, one-fifth of the Albanian population emigrated. This figure was further increased by Holmes, Menzel and Schlink (2007), who estimated that by the end of 2004, one-quarter of the country's population had emigrated. The official government estimate, cited by IOM (2005a), puts the number of Albanians living abroad at 1.093 million, compared to a total population of 3,142 million living in Albania (INSTAT 2007). According to such estimates, the share of Albanian migrants is equal to 34.8 per cent of the total population in Albania, or over one quarter of all Albanians, including expatriates, worldwide.

Given the specificity of Albanian emigration, Barjaba (2000) formulated what Vullnetari (2007) referred to as an "Albanian model" of migration, viz. predominantly characterized by survival emigration, abnormally high emigration rates, a high but decreasing incidence of irregular migration, high volatility, repeat or circular migration and high instability in migrant behaviour. It should be noted that all these features, except perhaps extremely high emigration rates, are also typical of emigration patterns from poorer former socialist states such as the Baltic Countries, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, from the former Soviet republics in Central Asia as well as from Ukraine and Moldova, which most closely resembles emigration from Albania. Therefore, it might be more appropriate to label this model "post-Soviet" rather than "Albanian".

### *Immigration*

According to the National Strategy on Migration, Albania is predominantly an emigration country. As referred to in the previous section, Albanian migration patterns are characterized by high volatility and a high degree of repeat or circular migration.

An inversion of the migration pattern occurred in 1999, when some 450,000 – 500,000 Albanian refugees from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 returned to Albania, with the result of temporarily destabilizing the local economy. In the end, many moved on to other countries, while others eventually returned to Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 (Vullnetari, 2007). At the same time an outflow of some 100,000 Albanians was noted (Kule *et al.*, 2002).

The World Bank estimates the number of migrants entering Albania in 2005 at around 83,000 (2008b), the majority from Greece (IOM, 2008a). However, as reliable data are limited, the actual numbers cannot be ascertained.

IOM (2008b) research shows that there is a positive attitude in Albania towards return migration among households with a migration history or other involvement in migration. Secure employment is the key factor conditioning return migration. Yet, 60 per cent of respondents felt that reintegration upon their return was difficult, and only eight per cent reported receiving any assistance upon return (IOM, 2008b:34). However, as King and Vullnetari (2003) argue, the Albanian migration system is in constant flux, therefore return migration may be viewed as just another step to emigration.

The length of stay abroad reduces the propensity to return. For example, Markova and Black (2005) established that Albanian migrants who have lived in London for several years sell their property in Albania and purchase houses in London. These findings are in line with research conducted by Bonifazi, Conti and Mamolo (2006), which indicates that Albanian migrants<sup>2</sup> have integrated relatively well into Italian society, and that the number of those who do not intend to return increases with the length of their stay in the country. The steady increase in the share of female emigrants who leave to join their husbands abroad (King and Vullnetari, 2003) reinforces the above findings. The Albanian authorities may be well advised to heed these signs since they are a strong indication that many migrants have settled abroad permanently or intend to do so.

### *Remittances*

Baldwin-Edwards (2005) estimates that remittances sent to Albania account for as much as 17 per cent of Albanian GDP. According to Holmes, Menzel and Schlink (2007), in 2004 Albania received one billion US dollars in remittances, or 14 per cent of GDP, exceeding both direct foreign investment and official development aid. IOM (2005a) estimates are similar for 2004 and slightly lower for preceding years, accounting for between 10 and 22 per cent of GDP. For its part, the World Bank<sup>3</sup> estimates that in 2008 remittances reached USD 1.495 billion. The most recent estimates by the World Bank and the Bank of Albania (IOM, 2008a) put remittances at between 13 and 15.4 per cent of GDP for the years 2003 – 2007. Although the use of informal channels for the transmission of remittances prevails (IOM/ILO, 2007), the use of formal channels has increased (Hernández-

2 Because of the methodology adopted, migrants socially excluded were not included in the sample.

3 [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/RemittancesData\\_July09\(Public\).xls](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/RemittancesData_July09(Public).xls)



Coss *et al.*, 2006). The Draft National Strategy on Remittances (IOM, 2006b; IOM/ILO, 2007) acknowledges the importance of remittance management and the shift from informal to formal transfer channels.

Remittances are initially used for basic consumption and, at a later stage, when basic needs have been met, for housing and investment in individual enterprises (IOM/ILO, 2007; Vullnetari, 2007). Although there can be little doubt that at the microlevel remittances are of benefit to households, there is some evidence that they may decrease the level of economic activities of farming families (Miluka *et al.*, 2007). According to Markova (undated), while remittances are a means to alleviate poverty, that benefit most likely accrues to those able to migrate or to send a family member abroad and thus does not reach those too poor to migrate; as such, remittances discriminate between the poor and non-poor. Moreover, the long-term substantial improvement of living conditions for those receiving remittances remains yet to be confirmed (Arrehag, Sjöberg and Sjöblom, 2005).

There is no agreement as to the developmental effect of remittances. Nicholson (2004), who supports the idea that remittances and return migration serve local development, sees them as an agent of change and a cost-effective development factor. On the other hand, in a survey conducted among Albanian migrants, Arrehag, Sjöberg and Sjöblom (2005) did not find evidence of any significant impact of remittances on family well-being and economic development.

### **2.3. Labour migration to and from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (from 1992 until 2003), Serbia and Montenegro (from 2003 until 2006) and Serbia (from 2006)**

The complex title of this chapter reflects very nicely the complexity of the political changes in that part of the region and, in consequence, the complexity of the task undertaken. The geography of population and migration for what became in 1992 the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is very complex, as the changes of political geography brought with it changes in the population and migration statistics that are very difficult, if not impossible, to trace.

In this section the migration literature for two states, namely the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which existed from 1992 until 2003 and its successor state, Serbia and Montenegro (2003 - 2006) will be reviewed. This is made possible by the fact that, unlike all other cases, the change of the name of the state was not associated with the change of its international boundaries, therefore the statistics assembled for both states refer to the same geographical territory.

#### *Emigration*

During the 1990s and into early 2000, the step-by-step disintegration process of the former federal state of Yugoslavia was the main factor influencing migration waves. Grečić, Petronijević and Willis (2007) enumerate three categories of push factors: economic, political and ethnic, all of which are directly linked to the disintegration process.

The availability of data on labour migration is very limited and the literature on that subject, therefore, generally scarce. Whenever confronted with this difficulty, we will turn to general migration data and migration literature as proxies for labour migration. The 2002 census shows that 415,000 Serbian citizens had gone abroad, mostly to Germany, Austria, Switzerland and France (Pavlov, Grečić

and Petronijević, 2008). However, as is the case concerning an emigration count during a census, the numbers were severely underestimated. Vukovic (2005, Table 4, p.146) estimates that at the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century nearly four million Serbs and Montenegrins were abroad, mainly in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1.4 million), the USA (0.65 million) and Germany (0.45 million). Other countries with relatively large numbers are Canada and Austria (0.2 million each), Croatia (0.18 million), Australia (0.15 million), France (0.14 million) and Switzerland (0.11 million), with others hosting less than 100,000 migrants altogether. According to most recent estimates (IOM, 2009, citing the Ministry of Economy and Regional Development) in 2008 there were one million Serb migrants in the USA, 0.5 million in Germany, 0.3 million in Austria, 0.2 million in Canada, 0.13 million in Australia and 0.12 million in France and Switzerland. The total number of emigrants was estimated at 2.53 million. In the same publication, the Ministry of Diaspora estimates the number of Serbs abroad at between 3.9 and 4.2 million, while IOM (2007a) put their numbers at between 3.2 and 3.8 million.

Over time, the characteristics of international emigration from Serbia and Montenegro changed (Pavicevic, 2004): In the 1970s migration was dominated by mostly unskilled or semi-skilled migrant workers, who took short or medium-term employment and either returned home or had their families join them after some time abroad. In the 1990s this pattern changed to involve the migration of entire families, often without precise plans for the future and weak links with the home country. Pavicevic (2004) also noted an increase in the level of education of emigrants.

The geography of migration from Serbia (and earlier Yugoslavia) has changed over time. Post-WWII emigration had been directed at Western Europe, especially Germany and other German speaking countries. In recent years, neighbouring countries began to be attractive for migrants from Serbia. Pavlov, Grečić and Petronijević (2008:29) noted that over 8,000 work permits were issued by the Croatian authorities to Serbian citizens in 2008, together with 2,500 extensions. However, Serb migrant stocks in neighbouring countries are very much smaller than those in the major receiving OECD countries. Serb migrants mostly work in the construction, shipbuilding and hospitality sectors. Some migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina or Romania, countries from where labour migrants had come in the past to find work in Serbia.

### *Immigration*

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia and Montenegro have not, in general, attracted labour migrants, at least not until recently. However, the presence of return migrants and refugees has increased significantly. In the early 1990s, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a destination country for refugees, mostly ethnic Serbs. The refugee population swelled to over half a million in 1992, originating mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina (over 349,000) and Croatia (167,000) (United Nations, 2002). The 1998 war in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 generated around 200,000 to 250,000 internally displaced persons, most of them Serbs and Roma from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, seeking refuge in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (United Nations, 2002). Most recent UN estimates (United Nations, 2006) refer to 512,000 foreigners living in the country, equal to five per cent of the population.

A very comprehensive statistical account of the labour market and labour migration to and from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the last years, focusing especially on the period 2004-2007, can be found in Pavlov, Grečić and Petronijević (2008), who offer both detailed statistics and characteristics concerning local economic activities and the labour force. They particularly point to the steady recovery of the national economy, coupled with persistent emigration, which led to the

increasing demand for foreign labour. Over recent years labour market vacancies have increased to around 60,000 to 65,000 and some of them will have to be filled by labour migrants. In 2006 (Pavlov, Grečić and Petronijević, 2008:36-37) around 4,800 permanent and 16,600 temporary residence permits were issued to foreigners, and 5,200 and 16,200, respectively, in 2007 with 1,700 permanent and 5,400 temporary residence permits issued to nationals from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia and Albania. This points to the emergence of a well integrated and functioning regional labour market. According to the same authors, out of total of 11,100 visa applications, 6,500 were issued to Romanian nationals, 4,200 to Chinese and less than a thousand to Albanian, Indian and Iranian nationals. Such data indicate that the Serb migration system ranges well beyond the region and Europe itself. The Serbian National Employment Service issued between 1,000 and 1,700 thousand work permits a year in the period 2005 – 2007, with the largest numbers going to Chinese, Macedonians and nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina, followed by Romanian, Greek, Russian, Bulgarian, Slovenian, Italian, Austrian, American, French, Ukrainian and Hungarian nationals. The number of permits issued to Romanians and Bulgarians dropped significantly in 2007, a clear result of their EU membership. Labour migration to Serbia consists predominantly of male migrants, which may indicate that labour immigration to the country is still at the pioneering stage.

### *Remittances*

Holmes, Menzel and Schlink (2007) estimate that remittances sent to Serbia account for 12 per cent of Serbian GDP. Twenty per cent of remittances originate in Germany, reaching EUR 243 million in 2006, in addition to three million euros sent to Serbia as pension payments. This latter cash flow is important in that it supports the potentially most vulnerable and ageing social group. Based on government sources, IOM (2009) estimates the volume of remittances sent to Serbia in 2005 to be equal to 1.2 billion US dollars. This is in line with the World Bank (2006) estimate that in 2003 remittances equalled 1.4 billion US dollars. IOM (2009) reports that the largest remittances originate in Germany, Switzerland, the US, Austria, Croatia and the Russian Federation. According to the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (Holmes, Menzel and Schlink, 2007), remittances from Germany more than doubled between 2002 and 2006. According to IOM (2007a), remittances are mainly used for consumption, education and healthcare. A substantial share also goes towards the improvement of housing and living conditions, the purchase of vehicles and investment in a business (IOM, 2007b). Dragutinovic-Mitrovic and Jovicic (2006) noted that remittances to Serbia are mainly sent through unofficial channels. Generally speaking, however, the development effect of remittances is said to be limited (Dragutinovic-Mitrovic and Jovicic, 2006:24), although increased spending on consumption may have a poverty-reducing indirect effect. Moreover, as increased remittance spending is correlated with the import of consumer goods, it may be assumed that the wealth-creating effect eventually again redounds to the benefit of migrants' host countries.

## **2.4. Labour migration to and from Croatia (from 1991)**

The literature concerning migration to and from Croatia is quite limited. IOM (2005b:11) stated that, "To date, there has been no systematic research done on labour migration flows in Croatia (...)". Four years later, the situation has not changed significantly, although some new publications have emerged.

### *Emigration*

The *IOM Migration Profile of Croatia* (IOM, 2007b) offers a comprehensive overview of all forms of migration in Croatia, including statistical data provided by the Croatian authorities and from host countries, as well as a literature review. While it is not a scientific paper as such, anyone interested in migration processes in Croatia should read it.

In addition to all previously cited caveats, it should be noted that the migration statistics are blurred by the transmutation of what were originally internal migrants who moved between the republics of the former Yugoslavia, into international migrants following the drawing of international boundaries between what had become independent states.

The war was the most important push factor in the first half of 1990s, driving many people into emigration or internal displacement. UNHCR (1995, Table 6) estimated the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) in Croatia in 1993 at 344,000. Emigration was facilitated through the lifting of visa requirements by France, Italy and Sweden on humanitarian grounds for migrants from the former Yugoslavia (United Nations, 2002). However, this also entailed a significant emigration and loss of the skilled and highly skilled workforce. IOM (2005b) notes that the early 1990s witnessed the most acute loss of the skilled workforce in Croatian shipyards. According to Lajić (2002; after IOM, 2005b), 11.9 per cent of the Croatian population, or over half a million Croatians, lived abroad in 2001.

Wiskow (2006) presented a brief description of the migration strategy adopted by medical professionals. She noted that international migration (mostly to Slovenia, Western Europe and the US, and nurses moving, in particular, to Italy), professional mobility (especially to the pharmaceutical industry) and internal migration upwards along the rural-urban hierarchy were the three strategies pursued to improve personal opportunities and professional development. A questionnaire conducted among medical students in their final year (Wiskow, 2006) revealed that 76 per cent considered emigrating, most of them in anticipation of higher wages abroad (47%). Though such survey results should be treated with some caution (see Chapter 5), they should not be ignored, especially as brain drain is a serious problem in Croatia as also in the entire Western Balkan region (see Section 9).

Large-scale emigration, combined with the development of the local economy, has given rise to selective labour shortages. IOM (2005b) noted that the number of work permits issued to foreign workers in Croatia rose from 4,700 in 2000 to 8,400 in 2003, and that the significant number of requests for foreign labour had been submitted by the shipbuilding industry.

### *Immigration*

A useful categorization of migrants is found in Božić (2007) as: re-emigrants, labour migrants, consumers and expatriate descendants of migrants. He also outlines some of the difficulties accompanying immigration, such as those faced by returning Croatian refugees to find accommodation, as well as inter-ethnic tensions, especially involving Chinese migrants. IOM (2007b) cites data received from the Government of Croatia on the number of permanent residence permits issued between 1995 and 2006 amounting to 24,000. Since 2003, the number of permits issued has declined by more than half from 2,073 to 947, and the Government of Croatia (2007) reported that between

## *2.5. Labour migration to and from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (from 1991)*

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1995 and 2006, 118,000 temporary residence permits had been issued. According to IOM (2007b) between 5,000 and 10,000 work permits and business permits were issued annually between 2000 and 2006. Of the foreign workers who applied for a permit in 2006, 16 per cent had a university education and one per thousand a doctorate (Government of Croatia, 2007). IOM (2007b) noted that the educational qualifications of applicants had been rising since 1990, when semi-skilled and skilled labourers were the majority. In 2006, over two-thirds of all applicants had completed secondary education. Most applications for work permits are submitted by men (85%) and adults aged between 46 and 60 (IOM, 2007b).

### *Remittances*

Given the volume of emigration from Croatia, remittances have become a significant part of the Croatian economy. Schrooten (2005) noted that in 2003 Croatia was among the post-socialist countries receiving the highest remittances per capita. Research conducted by Poprzenovic (2007) indicates that in Croatia remittances are mainly invested in real estate or in the development of human capital, rather than spent on consumption. She concludes that while remittances do not reduce poverty, they help some families to avoid being caught in a poverty trap.

## **2.5. Labour migration to and from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (from 1991)**

### *Emigration*

According to the 2002 population census, 35,000 Macedonians had gone abroad (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2009). However, this number appears improbably low. Basing himself on various sources, Markiewicz (2006) estimates the stock of Macedonians abroad at around 300,000, while the Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2009) put the number as high as 400,000, or 20 per cent of the population in 2007. The same publication also notes a change in the composition of recent migration as involving a larger share of young, female and highly educated migrants from urban areas. The role of migrant networks has also been pointed out. Officially, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2009) divides emigration into three streams: a) family emigration and family reunification, b) emigration of the highly skilled and c) temporary emigration. Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2009) and IGCMP (2009), based on data from host countries, the countries receiving the largest numbers of Croatian migrants are Australia (84,000 in 2006), Italy (78,000 in 2007), Germany (62,000 in 2006), Switzerland (61,000 in 2005), followed by the USA (52,000 in 2002), Canada (37,000 in 2006) and Serbia (26,000 in 2002). Though the available data are difficult to compare (see Chapter 3 for explanation), the figures above are an indication of the magnitude of emigration from the country of population of 2.1 million in 2008. The authors warn that the data are neither comparable nor exact and this concern is shared by the State Statistical Office of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (2008), which notes that reliable research on migration from the country is difficult because of inadequate data.

The State Statistical Office of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (2008) analyses short-term emigration of Macedonians based on Labour Force Surveys. The number of short-term migrants varies substantially from year to year (some 3,000 in 2005, around 17,000 in 2006). It is uncertain whether this variation is due to the statistical characteristics of the method used or reflects actual

social processes. What can be shown, however, is that the level of education of workers has been increasing consistently over time (2001 – 2006) and this process may be linked to an increase in the share of migrants aged between 25-34 relative to those aged 15-24 or 35 and above. Moreover, men predominate in short-term migration. From a statistical point of view, the changes in overall trends over time seem to be much more robust than changes in numbers.

A major and recurring problem for the country is brain drain, which is further aggravated by the fact that no significant return migration is observed (State Statistical Office of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 2008). While Horvat (2004) sees some positive aspects in the emigration of the highly skilled, this presupposes that some of them will return. The issue of brain drain is discussed in a broader geographical perspective in Section 9.

### *Immigration*

Immigration to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is limited. The interdepartmental group responsible for developing the migration policy of the country (IGCMP, 2009) reports that the 2002 population census showed 86,000 immigrants, or 4.3 per cent of the total population, slightly below the 93,000 (4.8%) of the previous census of 1994. Among the immigrants counted in the 2002 census, 63 per cent were from Serbia and Montenegro and around ten per cent from Greece. According to IOM (2007c) 1,900 migrants had a residence permit, the majority from Serbia and Montenegro. Estimates by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2009) and IGCMP (2009) point to a drop in the number of temporary permits from 10,400 in 2000 to 7,900 in 2007, and from 600 to 400 for permanent residence permits. Marriage and family reunification were the two principal reasons to apply for a permit. Permit holders were predominantly young, female (mainly owing to marriage and family reunification) and with elementary education. Temporary permit holders originated mainly from Serbia (29%), Albania (21%) and Turkey (7%), with some others from Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the USA and Greece (IGCMP, 2009).

The number of work permits issued by the National Employment Agency for the period 2004 – 2007 did not exceed 1,000 per year. The largest inflow of foreign workers was registered from Serbia and Montenegro (Bakiu *et al.*, 2008), most of whom were in possession of a work permit and had secondary or tertiary education (IGCMP, 2009).

### *Remittances*

At USD 155 million in 2005, remittances accounted for 2.7 per cent of GDP and 160 per cent of foreign direct investment (FDI) (Bakiu *et al.*, 2008; Bimbilovski, 2007). Since it is estimated that only 15 per cent of remittances are sent through official channels (Center for Research and Policy Making, cited after State Statistical Office of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 2008), the actual impact of remittances on the economy may be presumed to have been much larger: GDP would have increased by 15 per cent and total remittances, remitted through both official and unofficial channels, would have been equal to 1,033 million US dollars. IGCMP (2009) puts the volume of remittances even higher at USD 1,418 million (2009). The Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2009) estimates the net gain in private transfers to the country at USD 985 million in 2008. It also noted that the net amount of money transferred annually has been increasing since 1993 by a factor of 24.5, acknowledging the growing importance of remittance transfers in the country's budget and economy.

## 2.6. Labour migration to and from Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 1992)

### *Emigration*

The emergence of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state in 1992 was marked by instability in the wider region of the former Yugoslavia and large war-induced migration and displacements. There were two main waves of war-induced migration, the first in 1992 with the outbreak of war, and the second in 1995, following the Srebrenica massacre. Based on UNHCR data, Tabeau and Bijak (2005: 210) estimate the number of refugees and internally displaced persons from Bosnia and Herzegovina in November 1992 at 2.627 million, 537,000 of whom outside the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 714,000 in Croatia, 495,000 in Serbia and Montenegro, and 810,000 internally displaced in Bosnia. Massive internal migration and displacements throughout the wider region of the former Yugoslavia were accompanied by intense international emigration, which further accelerated in the 1990s and following the lifting of visa requirements for citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina by France, Italy, Sweden and Switzerland (United Nations, 2002). The World Bank (2008) estimates the number of migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2005 at 1,472 million, equal to 37.7 per cent of the total population resident in the country.

United Nations (2002) estimates based on host country statistics, put the number of migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina to developed countries from 1993 to 1994 at around 800,000, while the net migration balance for the period 1990-1995 in Bosnia and Herzegovina stood at -43 pro mille (United Nations, 2002). Official estimates (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008) put the number of individuals who renounced their citizenship in order to acquire another nationality, mostly in Austria and Germany, at 43,000.

Low income, the absence of prospects and the lack of economic development are among the main push factors, the existence of substantial social networks abroad, the attraction of living in economically developed societies and better and higher educational and professional opportunities are among the main pull factors (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008).

### *Immigration*

In view of the importance and magnitude of migration to and from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the amount of literature is rather disappointing. Existing research focuses mainly on finding and analysing numbers, which in itself is not an easy task, given the turmoil of 1990s in the country, but literature on the mechanisms and patterns of migration, reasons and consequences is absent and even more so any attempt to place the migration processes within a theoretical analytical context.

According to the Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers (2008), foreigners coming to Bosnia and Herzegovina are mostly citizens of neighbouring countries such as Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, or Chinese. In 2006, Bosnia and Herzegovina was host to 5,247 foreigners with residence permits, of whom 35 per cent were from Serbia and Montenegro and 10 per cent from Croatia. In 2007, 2,731 work permits were issued, of which 38 per cent for citizens of Serbia, China (17%), Croatia (12%) and Montenegro (4%) (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Council of Ministers, 2008),.

The return of migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina from Western European countries occurred in the late 1990s, when their temporary humanitarian protection status in third countries was with-

drawn. The outflow of this category of migrants from Germany was much higher than the inflow between 1996 and 1998 (United Nations, 2002). Marinković (2007) also noted that the returnees were originally from rural areas and the elderly and therefore not economically productive.

### *Remittances*

Because of its large diaspora, in the early 2000s Bosnia and Herzegovina was among the four largest recipients of remittances per capita in the world (World Bank, 2006) and among the top six in terms of the share of remittances in GDP (IOM, 2007d) which, in 2003 stood at 16.9 per cent (Schrooten, 2005). The IOM/IASCI (2009) report suggests that the income of households with a remitting migrant is 20 per cent higher than for other households.

## **2.7. Labour migration to and from Montenegro (as of 2006)**

With 627,000 inhabitants in 2007 (Annex I) and a per capita GNI (World Bank Atlas method) of USD 6,440 (13,920 USD PPP) in 2008, Montenegro is small in terms of both population and economic activity, even though unemployment dropped to 0.8 per cent in 2007 from 27.3 per cent in 2005 (Pavlov, Grečić and Petronijević 2008, Annex I). In the short period since the separation of the Republic of Montenegro from the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2006, only a negligible amount of literature has appeared on independent Montenegro (literature on migration to and from Montenegro predating its independence has been discussed in previous sections of this overview).

### *Emigration*

There are two overviews of migration in Montenegro, a migration profile prepared by IOM (2007e) and a brief overview by Pavlov, Grečić and Petronijević (Annex I, 2008). The most important feature pointed out in both publications is the transition of Montenegro from an emigration to an emigration and immigration country.

There are no estimates of the number of emigrants to be found in the literature, but data from the employment agency of Montenegro indicate 55,000 labour emigrants (IOM, 2007e). The total number of migrants may be estimated at 130,000 to 140,000, which is consistent with the estimated size of the Montenegrin diaspora provided by IOM (2007e). Although fragmented, the information on the geographic distribution of the Montenegrin diaspora indicates Serbia as the most important host country with 69,000 Montenegrins recorded in the 2002 census (IOM, 2007e). Smaller numbers of Montenegrins live in other Yugoslav successor states, foremost Croatia with 5,000 Montenegrins recorded in the 2001 population census. Over 20,000 Montenegrins live in Germany and Switzerland (IOM, 2007e).

### *Immigration*

Most labour migrants in Montenegro came from the territory of the former Yugoslavia (Pavlov, Grečić and Petronijević, 2008, Annex I). According to IOM (2007e) in 2007 there were 39,000 foreign citizens with a work permit in Montenegro, of which 56 per cent arrived from Serbia, 27 per cent from Bosnia and Herzegovina and 11 per cent from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 with most migrants working in



## 2.8. Labour migration to and from UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo (as of 2008)

seasonal labour sectors, such as tourism and catering (47%), agriculture (21%), construction (14%) and trade (9%) (IOM, 2007e).

### *Remittances*

There is very little data on remittances to Montenegro. IOM (2007e), based on data from the Central Bank of Montenegro, informs that remittances and workers' compensations increased from 4.0 per cent of GDP in 2002 to 7.3 per cent in 2006, a significant contribution to the country's wealth. In absolute terms, EUR 87.5 million were remitted in 2006 (Central Bank of Montenegro, 2007) and EUR 29.5 million in the first two quarters of 2009 (Central Bank of Montenegro, 2009).

Reliable accounts and statistical data on labour migration are too few and inadequate to allow an insight into the situation and its evolution, and much more research is needed to gain a better understanding of migration dynamics and mechanisms in the country.

## **2.8. Labour migration to and from UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo (as of 2008)**

Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 has been under the temporary administration of the United Nations (UNMIK – United Nation Mission in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244) since 1999 before declaring independence in 2008. However, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 has been recognized by only 63 states<sup>4</sup> as an independent country and this circumstance leads to many problems concerning reliable statistics, in particular concerning the failure to distinguish migrants from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 as separate from migrants from Serbia.

Very little research is available concerning the period from February 2008 onwards following the declaration of independence. While some research results have been reported in the section on Yugoslavia and the successor states, others pertaining strictly to Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, are summarized below.

Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 had a per capita annualized GDP of EUR 1,150 in the first half of 2008, (UNDP/USAID, 2008), one of the lowest in Europe. The population of Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 is estimated at 2.1 million and is the youngest in Europe, with a median age of about 25 years (Pavlov, Grečić and Petronijević, 2008). The unemployment rate is very high with some 40 per cent of the population unemployed in 2008. Against this socio-economic background, remittances account for 15 per cent of GDP (CIA, 2008) and render the economy extremely dependent on migration. Indeed, the combination of widespread and pervasive poverty (Vathi and Black, 2007), high unemployment and a very young population make Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 a prime example of a labour emigration location.

### *Emigration*

The IMF (2005) estimated that out of a total worldwide Kosovar population of 2.4 million, 467,000 resided outside Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 in 2003, of whom 217,000 were Albanian Kosovars and

<sup>4</sup> As of 10 November 2009; <http://www.kosovothanksyou.com/>.

250,000 Kosovars of other ethnicities (around half of the total non-Albanian population). UNDP (2005a) assessed that between 350,000 and 400,000 Kosovars lived abroad, most of them in Germany and Switzerland. According to Mustafa *et al.* (2007), most Kosovars live in Germany (39%), Switzerland (23%), Italy, Austria, the UK, Sweden and the USA. The Kosovar diaspora includes about 315,000 Albanians and 100,000 Kosovar Serbs and other minorities (Mustafa *et al.*, 2007).

The majority of emigrants (59%) left after 1989, during the second wave of emigration and after the autonomy of the province was abolished and massive displacements and the compulsory draft into the Serb army occurred (Mustafa *et al.*, 2007).<sup>5</sup> As in other countries of the region, the emigrant population is dominated by male migrants (two out of three migrants are males). Nearly two-thirds (63%) emigrated because they were dissatisfied with their family's financial situation, and another 25 per cent out of dissatisfaction with the economic situation. Dahinden (2005) noted that the level of skills and other qualifications of migrants had increased over time. This is a cause for concern and UNDP/USAID (2006) noted that the emigration of, well educated civil servants who seized the opportunity to study abroad under various fellowship schemes, was detrimental to the administrative capabilities of Kosovo/UNSCR 1244.

Emigration is a typical survival strategy (Reineck 1991). Given that 57 per cent of Kosovars have acquired the nationality of their host country and another 19 per cent have obtained residence permits and have held them for five to ten years (Mustafa *et al.*, 2007), it may be presumed that return migration, if at all, will be very limited during their economically active lives. However, owing to strong family ties, this trend may change when they reach retirement. IOM (2009) also noted that some migrants had to leave their host countries upon expiry of their temporary protection status.

### *Immigration*

The number of foreign nationals migrating to Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 is small. IOM (2009) reports 3,500 applications for temporary residence permits in 2006, mainly by migrants from Turkey and China. However, there was also a relatively large inflow of Kosovar return migrants in the late 1990s in response to the political stabilization following the NATO intervention and, in turn, the withdrawal of their temporary protection status (*Duldung*) by Germany. The European Stability Initiative (2006) estimated that 174,000 Kosovars left Germany at that time, the largest return movement from any EU country.

### *Remittances*

Mustafa *et al.* (2007) shows that one in five Kosovar households received remittances and the authors label them as "critical" for their livelihood. The authors further estimate that remittances account for USD 170 million, and that contributions in kind reached a value of USD 22 million, while a further USD 125 million is contributed by "diaspora tourism", totalling USD 317 million overall. Other estimates put the value of remittances between EUR 375 million (IMF (2006), quoted after Vathi and Black, 2007) and EUR 540 million (Korovilas (2006), quoted after Vathi and Black, 2007). Clearly, not only households, but the economy as a whole depends to a large extent on remittances. Vathi and Black (2007) estimate that recently remittances account for around 16 per cent of GDP and have remained stable. It is therefore crucial for the government to ensure swift and close cooperation with

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5 The first wave occurred in 1960s, the third after the outbreak of war in 1998 (Hoti, 2003).

the diaspora. The respondents in the survey used by Mustafa *et al.* (2007) remarked that this was not the case and that the failure to do so could, in the long term, contribute to the deterioration of the economic situation. On the other hand, given that remittances are to large extent (almost one half, according to Mustafa *et al.*, 2007) used for consumption purposes, their developmental impact is limited. In addition, the Economic Strategy and Project Identification Group (ESPIG, 2004) predicts a decrease in the amount of remittances. This may have occurred already and the European Stability Initiative (2006) reports that, based on household budget surveys, remittances have declined. Moreover, it is expected for this trend to continue, as stricter visa requirements and reinforced border management reduced the emigration rates from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 in recent years.

## 2.9. In search of processes, transversal issues and an explanation of migration in the Western Balkans

### *Explaining the migration phenomenon*

There have been several attempts to explain the processes in a particular region based on general migration theories and the specific conditions of the region. If we look at the push and pull factors of migration, it is clear that during the wars that ravaged the Western Balkans, the obvious reason for emigration was to flee from life-threatening conditions and ethnic cleansing. However, in peaceful times the main reason for emigration is poverty, in particular lack of or insufficiency of income. This is borne out by a survey conducted by IOM (2005b:52) where 84 per cent of respondents cited the prospect of better wages for the same job as their reason to migrate to Italy. Another 6.7 per cent wanted to earn a certain amount of money. Keeping in mind all applicable caveats, such as non-representativeness of the research and the particular professional group investigated (shipbuilders), one may assume that pecuniary gains are the main reason also for the general population to migrate, a motive for emigration which is encountered in all questionnaires (see previous sections). Research conducted by Grečić (2002) shows that 25 per cent of scientists surveyed in 1995 wanted to emigrate because of low living standards in the country and 19 per cent cited an uncertain future. The corresponding figures for students were 30 per cent and 19 per cent, respectively. Researchers cited higher earnings and better working conditions as the main pull factors for 21 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively. Subsequent surveys conducted in 2005 by Grečić (2006) confirm these emigration motives, in addition to excessively high unemployment, a derelict infrastructure and unreliable public services (i.e. electricity shut-downs and lack of running water) and poor social conditions. Barjaba and King (2005) noted many other factors besides purely economic reasons to emigrate, such as political turmoil and social instability, and the search for an orderly rather than merely affluent life.

Çaro and van Wissen (2007) place the process of emigration within the context of transformation. They observed that transformation from a centralized communist, planned and inefficient economy to a modern competitive economy fuelled emigration both in terms of opportunities (pull factors) and push factors (transition-related temporary economic deterioration), while migration itself also encouraged and sustained transformation processes by siphoning off surplus labour and facilitating the transfer of knowledge, know-how and cultural and behavioural patterns. This argument is in line with the theoretical concept of European migration cycles, defined by Okólski (2009) which states that removing the surplus labour from most European economies was a necessary step towards modernization. They also noted that international migration in turn triggered internal migration to fill vacancies arising in emigration regions.

*Migration and development*

The relationship between migration, remittances and development is far from clear. In recent years research and discourses have focused on migration as a catalyst for the circulation of financial, human and social capital as agents of development. The reality, however, is much more complex. De Haas (2007) concludes that at the micro level, migration and remittances serve as an insurance mechanism designed to cushion any economic downturns at home. This is in line with the views and findings in Stark (1991). De Haas (2007) acknowledges the benefits of remittances for individual households, but also warns that they are no panacea for all structural deficiencies of developing nations. His main argument is that the conditions created by the state receiving remittances determine the long-term development outcome. Very characteristically, de Haas (2007) shows that it is very difficult to posit scientific “laws” as to the impact of remittances on development. Indeed, the influence of the conditions in which remittances are received and used is so important that any generalization on their eventual or immediate socio-economic impact may be questioned quite easily. It is for that reason that it may be said that remittances provide the potential for development, but not development itself.

A much disputed issue is the relationship between migration and development in the Balkan context. Çaro and van Wissen (2007) listed positive and negative effects of emigration from Albania. They mentioned among the former the inflow of remittances, the transfer of skills and education by return migrants and a reduction of unemployment at source. They also noted that remittances were often used to establish new enterprises, generating more income and further reducing unemployment. Among the negative consequences they listed a decrease in the local population. Of particular relevance is the fact that this population decrease has a clearly regional dimension, with remote rural regions being the most affected. Changes in the age and sex structure are also mentioned as negative consequences of migration, as well as the separation of households which often leads to social and family problems. Last, but not least, brain drain is cited as an important negative phenomenon (Çaro and van Wissen, 2007). Though these positive and negative effects of migration noted by Çaro and van Wissen (2007) refer to Albania, it is quite likely that they are similarly relevant for any country in the region suffering large-scale emigration.

Miluka *et al.* (2007) looked at the impact of migration on the agricultural sector in Albania and established that migration by a member of a rural household on average results in a decrease in the number of hours worked in agriculture by the remaining members of the household, as the additional non-agricultural income provided by remittances allowed them to work less. As such, remittances did not lead to increased investments in farms and land, and often led to the emigration of the entire household instead and the resulting abandoning of farms.

The role of remittances in long-term economic growth is far from clear (Catrinescu *et al.*, 2009). However, as shown earlier, remittances play a significant role in the balance of payments and constitute a substantial part of GDP in Albania, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, Bosnia and Herzegovina and other countries of the region. Research conducted by Poprzenovic (2007) shows that remittances reduced inequality in Croatia, but Vathi and Black (2007) find that they had the effect of increasing income disparities in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. A very interesting perspective on migration, development and remittances is presented by the European Stability Initiative (2006). They argue that migration is the link between rural Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and the global economy. Recent changes leading to a decrease in emigration and an increase in return migration undercut the subsistence of rural communities and may lead to the dissolution of traditional patriarchal families and their

transformation into nuclear family units, which, according to the European Stability Initiative, may lead to increased poverty and social problems. They are also sceptical concerning the alleged developmental role of remittances, and argue that they are most often used for consumption and poverty alleviation purposes, but not for future development. They continue to state that a reduction in remittance flows would lead directly to the worsening of living conditions, as there are no social mechanisms available that could help to replace the lost income.

At the macroeconomic level the benefits of remittances are less clear. In the Western Balkan region they are an important source of convertible currency for governments, contribute a substantial part of GDP and often offset trade deficits. However, they are quite volatile and imply risks as states become too dependent on them (IOM, 2005a). Economic crises, such as the current one, as well as the integration of migrants into host societies may impact on the amount of money sent back home. In consequence, governments would be well advised not to rely too heavily on remittances as a form of additional income.

#### *Brain drain vs. brain gain*

The issue of brain drain and brain gain is much debated in the literature and appears to be the problem identified by researchers and the governments in the region. Gëdeshi *et al.* (1999; after Çaro and van Wissen, 2007) note that 45 per cent of research and teaching staff had emigrated from Albanian institutes and universities. Gëdeshi and Black (2006) provide similar numbers: 50 per cent over the period 1990–2005. Vukovic (2005) notes that the democratization and liberalization in Serbia after 2000, combined with the ease to build networks led to increased outflows of highly qualified Serbs. Moreover, the author sees no policy measures taken by the state aimed at reducing this outflow. Gëdeshi and Black (2006) found that 70 per cent of researchers and academics emigrated with their families, a clear sign that they intended to rebuild and stabilize their lives abroad. It is unlikely that they will return, which represents a substantial intellectual, pecuniary and developmental loss for their country of origin. UNDP Albania (2000) noted that the selective admission policies of certain countries, notably Canada, are some cause of concern in sending countries (Albania in this case). Also Grečić (2002, 2006) sees brain drain as a loss for society, as do Janeska (2003) and Horvat (2004) in relation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The IGCMP (2009) estimated that up to 20 per cent of the population with tertiary education have left the country. IOM (2005b) presented an interesting study of the impact of emigration on the shipbuilding industry in Croatia. The emigration at the beginning of this century of a relatively high number of experienced and still young, highly qualified workforce left the shipyards struggling to meet their contractual obligations and forced them to import labour from abroad (mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovakia and Ukraine). Shipyards also have to cover the costs of additional training of the labour needed to replace the emigrants. The situation is far from becalmed, as 65 per cent of pupils in shipbuilding vocational schools consider emigration.

However, brain drain is not the only negative result of skilled migration, as the so-called brain waste, which occurs with the employment of skilled migrants in unskilled jobs. Grečić, Petronijević and Willis (2007) observe that among migrants from Serbia and Montenegro with at least high-school education, 35 per cent were deskilled. In contrast, brain gain or brain circulation is a more positive facet of migration. However, there is a lack of research able to establish whether, and if so which, benefits in fact accrue to sending countries as a result of the emigration of their highly skilled nationals, and any list of positive aspects of this category of migration is short. Research

by Nicholson (2004) points to a group of migrants who return and invest in their own enterprises not only their savings, but also their newly acquired skills, know-how and business contacts, thus contributing directly to the economic revival of their countries of origin. This is a positive accent in a generally bleak debate; however, much more investigation is needed to quantify the costs-benefit balance of brain drain/brain gain. The short list of benefits may well be owing to a silent assumption adopted by governments and researchers that highly skilled emigration always generates losses, and that therefore an investigation into the gains is redundant and superfluous.

## 2.10. Conclusions

The Western Balkan region is an exceptional area for any researcher of migration. It is characterized by very high cumulative outflows where the number of expatriates in some cases exceeds the population in the country of origin by one in five (Brücker, 2002). A large part of migration is characterized by the search for economic survival, accompanied by substantial brain drain, together with a reluctance to return, which is further discouraged by the ambivalence on the part of countries of origin to facilitate returns, sometimes in the absence of sound institutional arrangements able to absorb and enhance the benefits from remittances (Catrinescu *et al.*, 2009).

Yet, despite the important social and economic changes connected with migration, and being perceived as some kind of “laboratory”, migration remains a poorly researched area (Vukovic, 2005). Vathi and Black (2007) speak of ‘monitoring’ rather than ‘researching’ migration in the region. This may in part be owing to the fact that the vast majority of research on migration in the Western Balkans is funded by international organizations or under international or bilateral assistance projects. The mandate and objective of such international study and assistance programmes is to identify and offer solutions for particular problems and situations, where the inherent monitoring function is obvious, predominant and justified. However, as a result of an approach that is inherently one of monitoring and observing, such research fails to contribute enough to an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of observed processes, and to anticipate future developments and potential problems.

According to Cavounidis (2004), among the Western Balkan countries, migration from Albania dominated by far, to the extent of making flows from the territory of the former Yugoslavia appear relatively insignificant. This is also evident in the literature: migration from Albania has been studied with utmost care, both from a descriptive and theoretical perspective, whereas migration from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, perhaps with the exception of Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, has not been investigated and analysed to the same extent and is often impressionistic and limited to a description of flows. The review of literature clearly shows that, despite the existence of a large number of studies, there is still much room for an in-depth investigation of migration in most of the countries of the region and an attempt at synthesising and theoretizing of available knowledge.

### 3. Statistical data on labour migration in the Western Balkans

FREDERIK HENDRIK FLINTERMAN<sup>1</sup> AND DOROTA KUPISZEWSKA<sup>2</sup>

#### 3.1. Introduction

Understanding the meaning of migration statistics is of paramount importance for any policymaker. The definitions underpinning migration statistics vary from country to country, while different definitions may coexist in a country. As a result, the data produced by statistical offices are very often not comparable. In particular, published statistics are difficult to compare if they come from various sources using different definitions, indicators and time frames. A good grasp of migration data is indispensable for a sound understanding of migration processes, and to ensure this is the main objective of this chapter. The statistical offices in the Western Balkan countries emerged in many cases as a result of political change and still have many conceptual, methodological and technical problems to solve. We hope that this overview of statistical practices will help statistical offices to improve their systems and reduce definition-incurred discrepancies. Finally, for any researcher of migration in the Western Balkans, Annex I provides a useful compendium of statistics on migration in general and on labour migration in particular, while the chapter itself offers comprehensive information on the data sources.

The chapter covers the identification of labour migration data sources and the collection of data on this subject, and assesses the availability, comparability and quality of data on Western Balkan countries covered by the current study. Data concerning migration from/to the following Western Balkan countries are investigated: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. The Western Balkan countries only provide very limited migration data. Statistics produced by the main destination countries for labour migrants from this region proved to be a much more complete source of information and are analysed in detail. A large part of the analysis concerns overall migration data instead of labour migration data, because it is frequently impossible to distinguish between different types of migration flows and migrant stocks in migration statistics, and specific labour migration data are often not available.

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The following countries outside the Western Balkan region are considered to be important destinations for labour migrants from this region, and are therefore taken into account in the data collection:

- Germany, Italy, Australia, Canada and the United States, attracting migrants from all Western Balkan countries;
- Greece, the main destination for Albanians;
- Austria and Switzerland, important for the immigrants from all former Yugoslav areas;
- Sweden and Slovenia, for migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina and from Serbia, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and Montenegro;
- Denmark and Norway, for migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- Hungary, for Serbs;
- the United Kingdom.

The following section describes in detail which sources were consulted in this study, the geographical coverage of the data sources, and the structure of the sources. The third section discusses how international migration statistics are produced and the strengths and limitations of the main data sources for these statistics. In the fourth section, we present the structure and the availability of labour migration data for the Western Balkan countries. The fifth section addresses the issue of the differences in definitions in migration statistics and discusses the comparability of migration data between data sources, among countries and over time. The two last sections assess the data quality by discussing the reliability, validity, consistency, coverage, frequency and timeliness of the collected data.

The annex contains tables with the collected data on migration flows and stocks. Flow data refer to the number of migrants who changed their place of residence in the space of one year. Stock data provide information about the number of persons living or working in a country on a specific day (usually 1 January). For each country, data produced by the country as well as data from the main destination countries are presented. The time span of the data collection was from 2000 up to the most recent data.

### **3.2. Main sources of statistics presented in the study**

This section gives an overview of the sources of migration data consulted for this project. The following sources are described: the National Statistical Institutes (NSIs), the databases of Eurostat, the OECD, the ILO and the UN, as well as *Migration profiles* prepared by the IOM. This section also elaborates on special data collection projects of these organizations, such as the Joint Migration Questionnaire and the SOPEMI network. Data were collected from several sources because no single source can provide all needed information and all sources suffer from the problem of missing or unreliable data. Most data were collected from the Eurostat database and other sources were used to close the gaps in the migration data, as far as possible.

#### *National Statistical Institutes*

The European National Statistical Offices or National Statistical Institutes (NSIs) are the main institutions that collect migration data. They produce their own statistics and supply Eurostat, OECD, the ILO, the UN and other international organizations with data. Furthermore, the NSIs are usually



### 3.2. Main sources of statistics presented in the study

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responsible for providing the data for the Joint Migration Questionnaire (see next paragraph) and also conduct surveys, such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS).

#### *Eurostat and the Joint Migration Questionnaire*

The statistical office of the European Communities (Eurostat) maintains an online database. Eurostat aims to produce reliable and comparable statistics, and coordinates its work with organizations such as OECD, the UN, the IMF and the World Bank. Furthermore, it stimulates cooperation of NSIs and other suppliers of migration data through the European Statistical System (ESS) (Eurostat, 2008). International migration data are available in the *Population and social conditions* section of the database. This section contains data on population stocks by citizenship sex and age and by country of birth, sex and age, as well as migration flow data by sex, age and citizenship, country of destination, and country of previous residence.

Migration data are collected for the 27 European Union member states, most Eastern European countries, the Western Balkan countries and selected other countries, including some main destinations of labour migrants from the Balkan region, such as the United States. The database contains annual data on international migration from 1999 onwards, as far as supplied to Eurostat by the NSIs within the Joint Questionnaire on Migration Statistics. Moreover, census data on population by citizenship and country of birth are provided.

The Joint Questionnaire on International Migration Statistics (Joint Migration Questionnaire or JMQ) is administered by Eurostat in cooperation with the United Nations Statistical Division, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and the International Labour Organization. As part of the JMQ, population stock and migration flow data are requested from national statistical institutes (Bijak and Kupiszewska, 2008). Data on acquisitions of citizenship and labour force statistics are requested as well. The JMQ is sent annually to the NSIs, including those of all the Western Balkans countries, and the supplied data are loaded into the online database. However, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are the only Western Balkan countries that have provided Eurostat with some migration data up to now. The Eurostat database can be accessed from: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/population/data/database>.

#### *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*

The International Migration Database (IMD) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) contains data collected through the Continuous Reporting System on Migration (SOPEMI). The network consists of national correspondents appointed by the OECD secretariat with the approval of the authorities of member countries. It covers all OECD member countries except Iceland. The database provides annual series for the ten most recent years, generally from 1997 to 2006 (OECD, 2008a). Furthermore, the OECD publishes the International Migration Outlook, which is also based on information collected by the SOPEMI network. In addition to the data published in the Statistical Annex, the SOPEMI reports analyse migration trends and migration policy. In addition, a specific analysis for separate OECD member states is provided.

The IMD and SOPEMI reports provide data on stocks of foreigners by nationality, stocks of foreign-born population by country of birth, inflows and outflows of foreigners by nationality, acquisition of

nationality by country of former nationality, stocks and inflows of foreign workers by nationality<sup>3</sup>, as well as stocks of foreign-born workers by country of birth (OECD, 2008a). The data come mostly from population registers, registers of foreigners and censuses. The data on stocks of foreigners and foreign-born in the United Kingdom is based on the labour force survey (LFS). Further, the stock data for foreign labour and foreign-born labour are based on the LFS for most countries. However, for Denmark and Norway the data are based on the population registers, and for Hungary and Austria on permit data. Germany uses a microcensus for data on foreign labour.

The OECD also maintains the Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries (DIOC). The database contains mainly data from the 2000 round of censuses or, in a few cases (for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden), from population registers. Some data not available from censuses or registers originate from labour force surveys (in this case, data averaged over the period 1998-2002 were presented) (OECD, 2008b). DIOC includes data on immigrants by citizenship, occupation, employment sector, labour force status, duration of stay, field of study and by sex and age. The IMD and DIOC databases can be accessed from <http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx>, under the *Demography and Population/Migration Statistics* section.

The OECD does not collect data from the statistical offices (or other sources) located in the Western Balkan countries.

#### *International Labour Organization*

The International Labour Migration Database (ILM) was launched by the Bureau of Statistics of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1998. Labour migration data are available from 1998 to 2007. In 2008, the ILM was integrated into LABORSTA, the database of the ILO Bureau of Statistics. The aim of the database is to systematically collect migration-related statistical information of ILO member states and make the data widely available and easily accessible. For European countries, the ILO is collaborating with the Joint Migration Questionnaire which is administered by Eurostat. For other countries, the ILO uses a similar questionnaire. The ILO aims to provide data for all UN member countries. Currently, the database provides data for 86 countries, which include Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and most main destination countries for labour migrants from the Western Balkans.

The ILO collects data on foreigners by sex and citizenship, foreign labour by sex and citizenship, inflows by sex and citizenship, inflows of foreign labour by sex, citizenship, occupation, employment status and economic sector, citizens abroad by sex and country of destination, outflows of citizens by sex and country of destination, and outflows of employed citizens by sex and country of destination. However, data on outflows and stock of citizens abroad are not available for the Western Balkan countries. Likewise, the labour migration flow data and foreign labour stock data by occupation, employment status and by economic sector are not available by citizenship and are therefore not useful for studying migration of the citizens of the Western Balkan countries.

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3 The OECD IMD database contained also some data on inflows of foreign workers by nationality, based on statistics on residence and work permits. Since November 2009, these data are no longer accessible (the access has been discontinued due to a large number of missing data).

The data of ILM are based on information provided by national statistical offices and research institutions within the surveys conducted by the ILO in 1998, 2000 and 2001, as well as the information from the Joint Migration Questionnaire coordinated by Eurostat. The primary sources of migration statistics are usually either statistical surveys or administrative records (ILO, 2008). The ILM database can be accessed from <http://laborsta.ilo.org/>.

#### *United Nations Population Division*

The United Nations Global Migration Database (UNGMD) is being developed by the United Nations Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. At the time the current study was being prepared, the UNGMD database was still in its test phase and only data from censuses (traditional and register based) were available for many countries (United Nations, 2008). UNGMD can be accessed from <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/>.

Statistics collected for the Global Migration Database was the basis for the preparation of the “International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision” online database<sup>4</sup> and CD-ROM (United Nations, 2009). Wherever possible, migrant stocks were estimated based on the number of foreign-born in the country, otherwise data on the number of foreigners were used. In the online database, the estimates for the period 1990-2010 are presented (in 5-year intervals). The estimates give the overall number of migrants without any disaggregation by country of birth or citizenship, but may provide information about the overall stock of migrants (separately for male and female) in the Western Balkan countries (except Serbia and Montenegro).

#### *IOM Migration Profiles*

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has prepared *Migration Profiles* for a number of countries, including Albania (IOM 2008a), Bosnia and Herzegovina (IOM 2007d), Croatia (IOM 2007b), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (IOM 2007c), Montenegro (IOM 2007e) and Serbia (IOM 2008d, IOM 2009). In these profiles, a number of migration data are presented to assess the migration situation in the country. A common template for the contents of the report for each country was adopted, with sections on immigrants, emigrants, remittances, migrant communities/diasporas and irregular migration. Following a similar template, an updated report was prepared in 2009 for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by the Interdepartmental Group for the Creation of Migration Policy of the Republic of Macedonia (IGCMP 2009). The profiles constitute a useful source of data, especially for statistics not available in international databases described above, for example data on residence permits provided by the ministries of interior.

### **3.3. Primary sources of migration data**

This section presents the background of the secondary sources of migration data described in the previous section. The statistical offices and international organizations obtain their data from different types of primary sources: administrative records, population censuses and other surveys.

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<sup>4</sup> Available at <http://esa.un.org/migration> (last accessed on 24.10.2009).

### *Administrative records*

The main source of migration information in Europe are administrative records. Many European countries have comprehensive population registers that contain information on the persons lawfully residing in the country. These registers can provide information on the total stock of foreigners and/or foreign-born in a country, as well as on the size of immigration flows (based on the number of registrations of persons who arrived from abroad) and emigration flows (based on the number of deregistrations of people who left the country) (Kohler, 2008). Countries with population registers of relevance for this research are, e.g., Austria, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.

The Western Balkan countries also have population registers, but they are not as well developed as in EU and EFTA countries. According to Perrin (2008), “the system is still based on paper registers (books) in Albania and Montenegro. [...] The coverage of existing population registers is often limited to citizens (Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, Albania) or citizens and foreigners having a permanent residence permit (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia). In all [Western Balkan] countries, the registration of emigrations is not effective. In fact, only a negligible part of emigrations is usually recorded. [...] In addition, in Albania the registration cannot be performed efficiently due to the absence of a clear system of addresses.”

Another administrative source of migration information can be residence and work permits. The permit system was developed to regulate international migration and can provide information on specific subsets of migrants, such as labour migrants (Kohler, 2008). Depending on the country, information on the total number of valid permits, the number of permits issued in a certain period, and the period for which the permits issued are valid can be available. Countries with comprehensive residence permit registers or registers of foreigners are, e.g., Germany, Greece, Hungary and Slovenia. Such registers also exist or are being developed in the Western Balkan countries (Poulain and Perrin, 2008).

Work permits could be a valuable source of information on labour migration. In many countries, foreign citizens are required to have a special work permit to take up employment. Very often, the work permits state the particular type and duration of work for which it is issued. The permit system can provide various types of relevant statistics: new applications for permits, new permits granted, and newly activated permits. Furthermore, the accumulated number of permits to work in a country can provide stock data on foreign workers (Hoffmann and Lawrence, 1996). Countries using permit data for labour migration statistics are, e.g., Hungary, Norway, Italy and Germany.

A third administrative source of information on migration from the Western Balkans are records on visas. Visa holders are often grouped into specific categories by purpose of entry; therefore, administrative records on visas can also provide information on specific migrant groups (Kohler, 2008). Countries using data on visas for labour migration statistics are, e.g., the United States of America and Australia.

### *Population censuses*

Population censuses are a major source of information on the stock of foreigners and foreign-born, as most of them include information on the country of birth and/or citizenship of all residents (Kohler, 2008). Censuses are usually conducted every ten years in most EU and EFTA countries. However, some countries replaced the traditional with a register-based census. In Australia and Canada,

the most recent censuses were in 2001 and 2006; in the US in the year 2000. In the 2000 round of censuses, the censuses were also conducted in Albania (April 2001), Croatia (31 March 2001), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (31 October 2002) and Serbia (31 March 2002, at that time the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). The Albanian census included a question on country of birth, but not on citizenship or nationality. On the territory of Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the most recent census was conducted in 1991 (i.e. before the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).

#### *Sample surveys*

The European Union Labour Force Survey (LFS) is a quarterly sample survey of private households, conducted by statistical offices throughout the European Union, EFTA (except Liechtenstein) and Candidate Countries: Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey (Eurostat, 2009). Labour force surveys are also conducted in the other Western Balkan countries. Eurostat has developed a standardized LFS questionnaire for all cooperating countries. The labour force surveys provide much information concerning labour migration. Country of birth, citizenship and country of previous residence are in most cases recorded (Kohler, 2008). The ILO uses data based on the LFS for their statistics on labour migration. In the United Kingdom, statistics on population stock by citizenship and by country of birth are based on the labour force survey. Other countries using the LFS for the production of some migration statistics are Greece, Italy, France and Spain (Marti and Rodenas, 2007).

The International Passenger Survey (IPS) is the basis for migration flow statistics in the UK. The IPS is a survey of a random sample of passengers entering or leaving the United Kingdom (Office for National Statistics, 2009).

#### *Strengths and limitations of different sources*

In European countries, administrative records are the main reliable source of migration statistics. Relative to world standards, the systems are well organized and in most countries the coverage is generally quite complete, at least as far as immigration is concerned. However, in some countries, in particular in the Western Balkan countries, this is not the case.

The main weakness of administrative sources is that it may be difficult to convert administrative data into usable data for research (Kohler, 2008). First, this is because concepts, definitions and classifications within an administrative system can be very different from those needed by researchers. Second, such concepts, definitions and classifications can differ among countries. Third, administrative records may miss certain useful information. For example, information on short-term migration can be missed or there might be no data on various characteristics of migrants, such as occupational status or level of education. Moreover, official statistics capture only legal migration (Kupiszewska and Nowok, 2008).

The strength of population censuses and surveys is that they are more likely to reflect the real status of the responding persons than registers. The response has no consequence for the respondents (although they might be worried that it does). Moreover, while the inclusion/exclusion in registers may affect the legal status of the migrant, answering surveys has no such effects. On the other hand, data from registers are more likely to deviate from reality. For example, people can register as resi-

dents to gain social benefits when their actual place of residence is in another country; similarly, they can provide false information to obtain a residence or work permit. Therefore, the reliability of census and survey data tends to be higher than for data from administrative sources (Kohler, 2008). The main weakness of censuses is that, in most countries, they are conducted only every ten years.

Household surveys can provide specialized information, however they often suffer from small sample sizes and cannot therefore serve as a reliable source of information on the characteristics of foreign workers. Second, household surveys often do not collect data among collective living quarters, where many foreign workers live (Kohler, 2008).

### **3.4. Data structure and availability**

In this section we describe which data are available on labour migration from/to the Western Balkans, and the differences in data availability between the main sources of migration statistics. Furthermore, the differences in data availability between different countries will be discussed.

#### *Data structure*

According to Hoffmann and Lawrence (1996), it is important to collect five key data sets on migrant workers: the stock of foreign workers in a country; the stock of migrant workers from that country working abroad; the inflow of foreign workers; the outflow of migrant workers and, of particular relevance for the Balkan region, the return flow of migrant workers, viz. those returning to their previous country of residence after having worked abroad. The main point of collecting data is to provide estimates of the size of the groups, the direction of change in the group, and the scale of those changes. In the above classification, the criterion of citizenship has been selected as apposite for the policymaking needs; however, the authors noted that country of birth or ethnic origin “are frequently preferred in demographic, social and economic analysis” (Hoffmann and Lawrence, 1996).

For this project, similar targets apply. Stock data were collected for the Western Balkan countries on the total population stock, births, deaths, net migration, population by citizenship, population by country of birth, population abroad by citizenship, and population abroad by country of birth. Flow data were collected on emigration by citizenship, emigration by next country of residence, immigration by citizenship, and immigration by previous country of residence. Other more specific data collected are acquisitions of citizenship by previous citizenship, number of valid residence permits by citizenship, residence permits issued during each year by citizenship, stock of foreign workers by citizenship, stock of foreign workers by country of birth, and inflows of foreign workers by citizenship.

Where possible, the main stock and flow data were collected by sex and five-year age groups. The time range is from 2000 up to the most recent year for which data were available. Most often, this was 2008 for stock data, and 2007 for flow data. Data were collected from both the Western Balkan countries themselves, and the main countries of destination for labour migrants from Western Balkan countries.

#### *Data availability*

Most EU and EFTA countries are able to provide annual statistics on their population by citizenship, sex and age. Annual data on the population by country of birth are less readily available. In many

countries, such data are only based on the national census. Furthermore, most EU countries have data on migration flows by citizenship, by country of next residence and by country of previous residence.

**Table 3.1: Thematic scope of migration data in various sources**

	Eurostat/ JMQ	IMD (OECD)	SOPEMI reports	LABORSTA (ILO)	UN GMB
<b>Stock data</b>					
<b>Population by</b>					
citizenship	+	+	+	+	+
citizenship, sex and age	+	s	s	s	+
country of birth	+	+	+	-	+
country of birth, sex and age	+	±	s	-	+
<b>Workers by</b>					
citizenship	+(1)	+	+	+	-
citizenship, sex and age	+(1)	s	-	s	-
country of birth	-	+	+	-	-
country of birth, sex and age	-	s	s	-	-
<b>Flow data</b>					
<b>Immigration by</b>					
citizenship	+	+	+	+	-
citizenship, sex and age	+	s	-	s	-
previous country of residence	+	-	-	-	-
previous country of residence, sex and age	+	-	-	-	-
<b>Immigration of workers by</b>					
citizenship	-	+(2)	-	+	-
citizenship, sex and age	-	s(2)	-	s	-
<b>Emigration by</b>					
citizenship	+	+	+	-	-
citizenship, sex and age	+	s	-	-	-
next country of residence	+	-	-	-	-
next country of residence, sex and age	+	-	-	-	-
<b>Emigration of citizens by</b>					
next country of residence	-	-	-	+	-
next country of residence, sex and age	-	-	-	s	-
<b>Acquisition of citizenship by</b>					
citizenship	+	+	+	-	-
citizenship, sex and age	-	-	-	-	-

*Notes:* + available; - not available; s only by sex; ± by sex and age only available for census years, other years are just by sex; (1) data on workers by citizenship are collected by Eurostat through the JMQ, but are not published in the online database; (2) data not accessible since November 2009.

*Source:* Authors' own elaboration.

Tables 3.1-3.5 illustrate the availability of migration data. A short overview of the information by type of stock or flow data potentially available in the databases described earlier can be found in Table 3.1. The table clearly shows that Eurostat is a very important source of migration information. Many general types of stock and flow data are available, some of which (immigration by previous country of residence and emigration by next country of residence) are not available anywhere else. Most annual Eurostat data are available by sex and age. In all analysed secondary sources of migration statistics, data are available by citizenship rather than by country of birth. In particular, data on migration flows by country of birth are not collected. Specific data on labour migration are much less available than overall migration data. Some data on immigration of workers are available from the OECD International Migration Database, the SOPEMI reports and ILO's LABORSTA, but there are many gaps in the data concerning labour migrants from the Western Balkans. The OECD (IMD and SOPEMI reports) is the only source providing some information on stocks of foreign labour by country of birth. Specific permit data are not separately available in the databases consulted for this research, although some of the available migration statistics are based on permit data. Some data on permits issued in the Western Balkan countries were extracted from *Migration Profiles*.

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 compare the availability of the different types of migration data by country. Table 3.2 shows that the availability of information provided by the Western Balkan countries themselves is very low. Only Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have recently started sending data to Eurostat for the JMQ; however, their data do not reflect the real volume of migration (see the section on data comparability, in particular Table 3.7). Some stock data are available from censuses, mainly in the UNGMD. Separate permit data are not available in any of the investigated sources, except very limited data presented in *Migration profiles*. This poor data availability implies that the analysis of migration in the Western Balkan countries has to rely mainly on data from the main countries of destination.

**Table 3.2: Availability of overall migration data prepared by the Western Balkans countries**

	Stock data		Immigration flow data		Emigration flow data	
	by citizen-ship	by country of birth	by citizen-ship	by previous country of residence	by citizen-ship	by next country of residence
Albania	-	c (1)	-	-	-	-
Bosnia and Herzegovina (2)	-	-	-(*)	-	-	-
Croatia	c	c	+	±y	±y	±y
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	c (3)	-	±y	±y	±y	±y
Serbia	c (4)	c (4)	-(*)	-	-	-
Montenegro	c (5)	c (1)	-	-	-	-
Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 (2)	-	-	-	-	-	-

*Notes:* + available, - not available, c only census data available, ±y some years are missing, (\*) only a few numbers on residence permits issued available in IOM's *Migration Profile*, (1) only total number of foreign-born, (2) census data outdated, most recent census was in 1991, (3) data by national or ethnic affiliation, (4) 2002 census covered Serbia and Montenegro, (5) only total number of foreigners.

*Source:* Authors' own elaboration.



The availability of data provided by the main countries of destination for migrants from the Western Balkan countries is shown in Table 3.3. The data availability differs greatly from country to country. In a number of cases there are gaps in the time series. Data availability from Australia, Canada and the United States is limited, in particular data on population stocks by citizenship are missing. For many countries, population stock data by country of birth are only available from the census. In Germany, no data on population stock by country of birth exist at all. Data on outflows from Greece and reliable data on flows from/to the UK are missing. Slovenia provides data on migration flows by next or previous country of residence only for Slovene nationals. The three Scandinavian countries are the only ones for which a complete set of data, listed in Table 3.2, is available.

**Table 3.3: Availability of overall migration data prepared by the main destination countries**

	Stock data		Immigration flow data		Emigration flow data	
	by citizen-ship	by country of birth	by citizen-ship	by previous country of residence	by citizen-ship	by next country of residence
Australia	-	c	+	±y	+	±y
Austria	+	±y	+	+	+	+
Canada	-	c	+	±y	±y	±y
Denmark	+	+	+	+	+	+
Germany	+	-	+	+	+	+
Greece	±y	c	±y	-	-	-
Hungary	+	c	+	-	+	-
Italy	±a	c	±y	±y	±y	±y
Norway	+	+	+	+	+	+
Slovenia	+	+	+	±n	+	±n
Sweden	+	+	+	+	+	+
Switzerland	+	c	+	-	+	-
United Kingdom	±y	±y	-	-	-	-
United States	-	c	+	-	-	-

Notes: + available, - not available, c only census data available, ±y some years are missing, ±n only for Slovene nationals.

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

The availability of specific labour migration data is even more limited, as shown in Tables 3.4 and 3.5. In the Western Balkan countries, only a limited amount of data on the number of work permits is available (published by IOM in *Migration Profiles*), without any disaggregation by country of origin of migrants. Additionally, there are data on the number of citizens of the Republic of Serbia working abroad (by country of destination) from the 2002 Census. All main destination countries provide some relevant data on stock or inflow of workers, but no specific data on the outflow of foreign or foreign-born workers. However, no country provides inflow and stock data for all years covered in this study. Data on stocks of foreign labour by country of birth are missing for most of the countries, or are only reported for “born in Former Yugoslavia”.

**Table 3.4: Availability of labour migration data prepared by the Western Balkan countries**

	Stock data	Inflow data	Outflow data
Albania	-	± (1)	-
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-	± (1)	-
Croatia	-	± (2)	-
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	-	-	-
Serbia	± (3)	± (4)	-
Montenegro	-	-	-
Kosovo/UNSCR 1244	-	-	-

*Notes:* + available, - not available, (1) only total number of work permits issued in 2006, (2) only total number of work permits issued in 2000-2006, (3) only data on stock of citizens of the Republic of Serbia working abroad (2002 Census data); (4) only the number of residence permits issued for the purpose of the employment contract.  
*Source:* Authors' own elaboration.

**Table 3.5: Availability of labour migration data prepared by the main destination countries**

	Stock data		Inflow data		Outflow data	
	by citizen-ship	by country of birth	by citizenship	by previous country of residence	by citizen-ship	by next country of residence
Australia	-	-(*)	+	-	-	-
Austria	+	±y	-	-	-	-
Canada	-	-(*)	-	-	-	-
Denmark	±y	±y	-	-	-	-
Germany	+	-	±y	-	-	-
Greece	+	+	-	-	-	-
Hungary	±y	-	±y	-	-	-
Italy	+	-	±y	-	-	-
Norway	±y	-	+	-	-	-
Slovenia	±y	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	±y	+	-	-	-	-
Switzerland	-	c	+	-	-	-
United Kingdom	±y	-	-	-	-	-
United States	-	±y	-	-	-	-

*Notes:* + available, - not available, (\*) only data on stock of workers from "Former Yugoslavia" available, c only census data available, ±y some years are missing.  
*Source:* Authors' own elaboration.

### 3.5. Data comparability

In this section, the differences between the data sources in relation to the definitions used for migration statistics are assessed. Furthermore, this section discusses the effect of differences in definitions on the comparability of the data collected for this project.

#### *Comparability between countries*

The definitions used in migration statistics are very important, as they specify which persons are included in the statistics and which are not. However, definitions are often not stated specifically or only very vaguely. The definitions can differ because of two main general reasons. First, there are differences in the laws and rules concerning administrative records (such as population registers) and other primary sources. Second, the way in which statistics are prepared based on the raw data can differ. The differences appear between countries, but also between national statistics on nationals and foreigners or between national statistics on immigration and emigration (Kupiszewska and Nowok, 2008). For example, the criteria for registering populations and the conditions for granting permits vary across countries, which means that measurements differ greatly even if the data derive from the same type of source (OECD, 2008a; United Nations, 2008).

The UN formulated recommendations to improve data quality and comparability. According to the UN, a long-term migrant should be defined as: *a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year. A short-term migrant is a person who moves to a country other than that of usual residence for a period of at least 3 months, but less than a year; except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage* (United Nations, 1998:18).

**Table 3.6: Flows to/from Croatia according to EU statistics and Croatian statistics**

Immigration to Croatia from Germany, Austria and Italy according to Croatian immigration data (Immigration HR) and EU country emigration data (Emigration)								
	2002		2003		2004		2006	
<b>Sending country</b>	<b>Emigration</b>	<b>Immigration (HR)</b>	<b>Emigration</b>	<b>Immigration (HR)</b>	<b>Emigration</b>	<b>Immigration (HR)</b>	<b>Emigration</b>	<b>Immigration (HR)</b>
Germany	13,728	1,340	11,876	1,278	12,240	1,354	10,283	1,205
Austria	1,604	314	1,964	286	2,097	246	2,136	305
Italy	333	179	249	167	221	184	n.a	241
Emigration from Croatia to Germany, Austria and Italy according to Croatian emigration data (Emigration HR) and EU country immigration data (Immigration)								
	2002		2003		2004		2006	
<b>Receiving country</b>	<b>Immigration</b>	<b>Emigration (HR)</b>	<b>Immigration</b>	<b>Emigration (HR)</b>	<b>Immigration</b>	<b>Emigration (HR)</b>	<b>Immigration</b>	<b>Emigration (HR)</b>
Germany	12,990	1,446	11,497	1,020	10,352	939	8,543	840
Austria	3,152	738	2,896	1,119	2,903	951	2,351	1,074
Italy	1,310	24	2,290	24	1,727	24	n.a.	43

Source: Eurostat.

Notes: Croatian flow statistics are missing for 2005.

**Table 3.7: Flows to/from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia according to EU statistics and statistics produced by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

Immigration to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia from Germany, Austria and Sweden according to immigration data reported by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Immigration MK) and the EU country emigration data (Emigration)

Sending country	2002		2004		2005		2006	
	Emigration	Immigration (MK)	Emigration	Immigration (MK)	Emigration	Immigration (MK)	Emigration	Immigration (MK)
Germany	3,367	18	2,797	29	2,080	31	1,959	34
Austria	387	6	466	3	469	7	573	12
Sweden	21	1	26	2	18	5	36	9

Emigration from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Germany, Austria and Sweden according to emigration data reported by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Emigration MK) and the EU country immigration data (Immigration)

Receiving country	2002		2004		2005		2006	
	Immigration	Emigration (MK)	Immigration	Emigration (MK)	Immigration	Emigration (MK)	Immigration	Emigration (MK)
Germany	3,950	0	3,260	191	2,620	225	2,509	121
Austria	1,665	0	1,516	15	1,393	34	951	43
Sweden	146	0	195	1	220	8	307	24

Source: Eurostat.

Notes: Flow statistics produced by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are missing for 2003.

The data published by international organizations are based directly on information provided by the countries and generally suffer from the above-mentioned differences in definitions. For the JMQ, the data based on the UN definition of long-term migrant are requested, but only few countries are able to comply. The OECD has produced standardized estimates of total inflows for long-term immigration flows, but without disaggregation by citizenship. These estimates were published in the SOPEMI reports 2006-2008. However, the OECD warns that the data of its International Migration Database, as well as the data in the statistical annexes of the SOPEMI reports, including the breakdown by citizenship and country of birth, are national data and not standardized and, therefore, not always comparable at the international level (OECD, 2008a).

Differences in definitions can lead to huge discrepancies between statistics on immigration flows produced by receiving countries and those on emigration flows produced by sending countries, as illustrated in Tables 3.6 and 3.7. Table 3.6 shows data on migration flows between Croatia and three EU countries, and Table 3.7 on flows to and from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. For each year, the first column is based on EU statistics, the second column on the statistics of Croatia or the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Both tables suggest a significant undercounting of migrants in Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia;

however it should be borne in mind that the definition used in Germany is very wide (see below). This statistical discrepancy is even larger in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia than in Croatia. The differences in definitions that can underlie discrepancies in migration statistics are addressed in the rest of this section.

#### *Duration of stay and permit validity*

The minimum duration of stay in the destination country necessary to be counted in international migration statistics can differ greatly between countries. Some countries, such as Germany, do not take duration of stay into account at all. Most countries use a criterion of three or six months or one year. In some countries, however, different limits for immigration and emigration exist. Moreover, different time limits can apply to different groups of foreigners. Generally, in all EU countries the intended duration of stay, time limit for registration or duration of the validity of the residence permit are used rather than the actual duration of stay. This allows to avoid a systematic delay of the production of migration statistics or the need for revisions of statistics (Nowok, Kupiszewska and Poulain, 2006). Table 3.8 gives an overview of the variation in definitions used for migration flow statistics in European countries. The table shows that only few countries follow the UN recommendations and use the one-year of stay criterion, which demonstrates the difficulties in harmonizing migration statistics at the global level.

The main settlement countries, namely Australia, Canada and the United States, base their immigration statistics mostly on permanent residence permits (Lemaitre, 2005). Some data are available for short-term migration flows, but without the breakdown by citizenship. Western Balkan countries which provided international migration data also use definitions that differ from the UN recommendations. Croatia only records permanent migration movements. According to Poulain and Perrin (2008), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has no duration of stay criterion for migration movements of nationals, and uses the three-month criterion for migration movements of foreigners.

#### *Differences between the data published in various secondary sources*

It can be that migration statistics published in various secondary sources, such as Eurostat or OECD databases, differ. The problem is illustrated in Table 3.9. In this particular case the differences can probably be explained by a different way of producing the statistics: data presented in the Eurostat database were provided by the NSI, based on the population register, while the data in the OECD IMD were provided by the Ministry of Interior and show the number of issued residence permits. In some other cases, the metadata may be insufficient to explain the discrepancies.

**Table 3.8: Duration of stay criteria in international migration definitions**

		None		3 months		6 months		1 year		Permanent		Expiry of permit
		NAT	FOR	NAT	FOR	NAT	FOR	NAT	FOR	NAT	FOR	FOR
Austria	Immigration			x	x			[x]	[x]			
	Emigration			x	x			[x]	[x]			
Australia	Immigration								(p)			p
	Emigration									x		x
Canada	Immigration								(p)			p
	Emigration											
Croatia	Immigration									x		x
	Emigration									x		x
Denmark	Immigration	x			x(1)			x(2)				
	Emigration					x	x					
Germany	Immigration	x	x									
	Emigration	x	x									
Greece	Immigration								p			
	Emigration											
Hungary	Immigration			x	x(2)				x(1)			
	Emigration			x							x	p
Italy	Immigration	x	x(2)		x(1)				(x)(1)			
	Emigration							x	x			
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Immigration	x			x							
	Emigration	x			x							
Norway	Immigration	x							x			
	Emigration					x	x					
Slovenia (3)	Immigration			x	x					x		
	Emigration			x							x	p
Sweden	Immigration							x	x			
	Emigration							x	x			
Switzerland	Immigration								p	x		p
	Emigration									x		x
UK	Immigration							x	x			
	Emigration							x	x			
USA	Immigration								(p)			p
	Emigration											

Sources: Kupiszewska and Nowok (2008), Lemaitre (2005), Lemaitre *et al.* (2007), OECD (2008c), Poulain and Perrin (2008).

Notes: NAT nationals, FOR foreigners, (1) refers to non-EEA citizen, (2) refers to EEA citizens, (3) criterion applied up to 2007 (since 2008, the one-year rule has been implemented), p based on issued or expired residence permits, (p) permit data available, but not by citizenship, [x] may be available in the future.

**Table 3.9: Flows to Italy according to Eurostat and OECD data**

Country of citizenship of migrants	Data source	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Albania	Eurostat	31,992	-	25,885	46,587	36,646	27,340	-	-
	OECD	31,185	27,949	39,114	-	29,605	17,104	16,117	29,272
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Eurostat	1,313	-	1,240	1,908	1,999	1,328	-	-
	OECD	1,797	-	2,954	-	2,437	1,436	1,556	2,584
Croatia	Eurostat	1,361	-	1,076	2,190	1,397	1,336	-	-
	OECD	2,548	-	3,919	-	3,195	1,893	1,491	1,816
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Eurostat	3,712	-	3,545	5,462	5,005	4,297	-	-
	OECD	3,939	4,670	5,233	-	4,280	3,423	3,570	5,290
Serbia and Montenegro	Eurostat	5,130	-	3,850	5,481	6,397	5,221	-	-
	OECD	5,296	6,020	8,192	-	6,260	3,369	3,864	5,716

Source: Eurostat, OECD IMD

Notes: - Data not available.

### 3.6. Data quality

This section discusses the quality of the data collected. The following concepts are taken into account: reliability, validity, coverage, consistency over time, frequency, and timeliness. Validity and reliability refer to whether the statistics achieve their goal of capturing the reality. Consistency refers to the consistent use of definitions over time, and coverage refers to the question whether all groups that should be included are in fact captured by the migration statistics. Finally, frequency and timeliness show how often and how rapidly new statistics become available.

Data from registers are usually reliable, but some information can be wrong. Information on citizenship, country of previous residence, country of next residence, and country of birth can be incorrect. It is sometimes not obligatory to provide such information or it cannot be checked in official documents, so reliability can be reduced. Reliability of emigration statistics is usually much lower than for immigration statistics, in particular in the Western Balkan countries, because people who migrate tend not to deregister in their country of previous residence (Lemaitre *et al.*, 2007; Perrin, 2008; Poulain and Perrin, 2008).

In the Western Balkans, the validity of statistics may be open to doubt. In Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, the estimates of the usual resident population fail to take international migrations into account. The migration estimates in other Western Balkan countries do not reflect migrations realistically. For example, the observed net migration is often positive, whereas the opposite is true in reality (Perrin, 2008).

In some countries, only permanent migration is recorded, which means a lower coverage of total migration flows in these countries. Examples of countries recording mostly permanent migrations are Australia and Croatia. The Western Balkan countries have more coverage problems. The coverage of the population registers of Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and Albania are limited to citizens, and the registers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia are limited to citizens and foreigners with permanent residence permits.

For obvious reasons, irregular migrants are unlikely to be recorded in population registers,<sup>5</sup> so any statistics based on this source will not cover irregular migration. A portion of irregular migrants can be counted through censuses and surveys, but migration will mostly be underestimated when using official administrative sources. Regularization programmes can provide insight into the number of former illegal immigrants and contribute to a better evaluation of the foreign population stock at a given time. However, it is not always possible to conclude in which year the migrants entered the country (OECD, 2008a; United Nations, 2008). Furthermore, more specialized surveys, such as the labour force surveys, can have limited coverage of foreign workers because of the small sample sizes (Kohler, 2008), in which case they are unable to provide reliable information on their detailed characteristics.

The consistency of international migration statistics was not an issue in the period covered by this research. None of the main destination countries and the Western Balkan countries changed its definition of migrants or foreigners. However, it is worth noting the change of the definition in Slovenia, which introduced the one-year duration of stay criterion in 2008 (but flow data for 2008 are not available yet).

The frequency of overall migration information collection is sufficient and most countries produce annual statistics. Only population stock data by country of birth are less frequently available, as most countries only collect this information through their censuses. Therefore, short-term changes in population stock by country of birth cannot be monitored. Further, the frequency of most labour migration statistics is very low, which means that the changes in labour migration flows and in foreign labour stocks are even harder to estimate.

The timeliness of international migration statistics in the databases of international organizations may not seem very impressive. In the early spring of 2009, the most recent flow data were only for 2006 and the most recent stock data for January 1, 2007. However, such delay is necessarily incurred for data validation.

#### *Other quality issues*

Expired permits are sometimes counted in addition to the number of people who deregistered from the population register to avoid undercounting in emigration data. However, information about the country of destination is then missing. The time of registration or the date when a permit is issued may be taken in the statistics as the date of migration. In such cases, statistics do not precisely reflect the actual timing of the movement (Kupiszewska and Nowok, 2008).

### **3.7. Problems of identifying persons from the former Yugoslav countries in migration statistics of the EU and EFTA countries**

It is important to note another problem concerning data on flows and stock of migrants from the former Yugoslav countries. The disaggregated data reported for individual countries (country of citizenship, country of birth, or country of previous/next residence) may be incomplete, and some persons may appear under another heading, for example within a separate 'Former Yugoslavia' aggregate or added to the 'Other Europe' category. An additional technical problem relates to the

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<sup>5</sup> The only exception in the EU is the population register in Spain.



changes in the structure of the databases and country codes in the wake of political changes. For example, in the Joint Questionnaire on International Migration Statistics, the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were under the code YU. In 2003, the code CS was introduced for Serbia and Montenegro and then, in 2007, the codes RS for Serbia and ME for Montenegro. NSIs might have introduced the changes in their databases with a delay and the data sent to Eurostat and other international organizations might have been wrongly coded. Moreover, the data coded as the number of persons born in Serbia (RS) or in Montenegro (ME) might not include a large group of persons, as it might be impossible to determine if a person registered as born in Serbia and Montenegro was in fact born in Serbia or Montenegro. The stock and flow data disaggregated by country do not show Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 as a separate item. Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 is treated together with Serbia (in the JMQ under the code RS – “Serbia including Kosovo/UNSCR 1244”).

### 3.8. Summary and conclusions

Many detailed and rich sources for general migration data exist, but for these primary sources the production of migration statistics is not a main goal. Still, statistical offices and international organizations have a broad range of statistics available on stocks of foreigners and/or foreign-born persons and on migrant flows. The Joint Questionnaire on International Migration Statistics is a prime example of a collective effort by several organizations to gather high quality statistics. However, the Western Balkan countries themselves provide very limited migration information, and specific labour migration data are scarce in all the focus countries of this study. Therefore, the analysis of labour migration in the Western Balkans has to rely predominantly on migration data from the main countries of destination (except for the Western Balkan countries themselves), taking into account both limited data on labour migration as well as available data on overall migration.

The data produced by the statistics offices of Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia show large discrepancies when compared against data from the countries of destination, which means that, besides the limited availability, the comparability between emigration data from sending countries and immigration data from the countries of destination is also an issue. Moreover, due to the differences in definitions of migration, it is often not possible to directly compare flows to and/or from various European countries, and the definitions used in the international migration statistics should be taken into account when analysing the data.

Various sources have gaps in time series and the scope of information varies. However, by combining data from many sources it was possible to gain an impression of legal migration from and to the Western Balkans (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia). Unfortunately, the collected data do not also provide insight into irregular migration. Nevertheless, the data presented in the Annex, supplemented by tables with more detailed information concerning age and sex structure of migrants, wherever possible, constitute a unique and comprehensive collection of quantitative information. They document the size of and changes in population stocks and flows and present a sound, factual basis for the discussion of migration processes in the Western Balkan region. Additional data, not covered by this study, for instance data concerning asylum seekers and refugees, irregular migration or remittances, may be found in the *Migration Profiles* series prepared for individual Balkan countries (IOM 2007b,c,d,e, 2008a,d, 2009; IGCMP 2009).



## 4. Migration and population change in the Western Balkans – what the data reveal

MAREK KUPISZEWSKI<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1. Introduction

The current chapter looks at the migration processes in the Western Balkans from a demographic and labour market perspective in general, and labour migration in particular. It aims to identify the dynamics of migration and their impact on the labour market and population development. Relative to the populations of the countries of origin, the stocks of migrants from Western Balkan countries in host countries are the largest in Europe, and among the largest in the world. Therefore, the impact of migration on labour supply and demographic development is very significant. Furthermore, migration modifies the population size and structure both directly and significantly. Because of the direct link and interdependence of population size and structure and the performance of social and healthcare systems (Bijak, Kupiszewska, Kupiszewski, 2008), migration has important long-term repercussions on such policy issues. The analysis is presented on a country by country basis, and common trends and main differences are highlighted in the concluding section.

In the existing literature an analysis of migration movements between Western Balkan countries is hard to find, even though it is an important, albeit difficult to assess, phenomenon. Relatively little published information is to be found and few Western Balkan countries publish their own comprehensive migration statistics; thus, these migration flows remain largely unobserved, uncharted and uncommented. Unlike migration movements among Western Balkan countries, migration to and from the EU, the USA, Canada or Australia and countries of the Western Balkans can be more readily monitored based on host country statistics.

Subject to the availability of data, the period between 2000 and 2008 will be analysed, though to a large extent based on some arbitrary estimates.<sup>2</sup> Each country section is divided into subsections

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1 Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research, International Organization for Migration; Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization, Polish Academy of Sciences; Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw School of Economics.

2 Unless stated otherwise, all data are taken from the Appendix I. Chapter 3 provides a thorough discussion of data sources, including their definitions, strengths and weaknesses. A substantial part of the study is based on estimates for which the following simple rules were applied: whenever available, data collected by national statistical offices were used. If unavailable, data collected by international organizations were used. Data by citizenship were used

concerning migrant flows, stocks,<sup>3</sup> labour migration and the impact of migration on the population size and demographic structures. Because of the lack of data (see Chapters 2 and 3 for an explanation) Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and Montenegro will not be analysed as separate entities.

## 4.2. Albania

### *Flow of migrants*

Emigration from Albania, calculated as the difference between population size at the beginning and end of a period and natural change,<sup>4</sup> declined from 30,000 in 2000 to 13,800 in 2006 and 1,200 in 2007.<sup>5</sup> Albanian statistics offer no other information on migration flows. A drop in the negative net migration is in stark contrast to the flows of Albanians observed in receiving countries, and the increase in the stocks of Albanian migrants abroad (see below). For the period 2001 – 2007, total cumulative net migration calculated in the same way stood at 74,000.

No useful insight into the emigration process from Albanian is to be gained from the data collected by receiving countries, as only some and not all countries collect such data. Moreover, the definition of ‘immigrant’ is not the same in all countries (see Chapter 3), making any comparison of flows very difficult.

Greece and Italy host the largest numbers of Albanian migrants. From 2000 to 2006, Italy received between 47,000 (2003) and 16,000 (2006) new migrants from Albania, though the general trend was decreasing. Though data are available for Greece they differ substantially, showing 37,000 and 100,000 for 2006 and 2007, respectively. The number of migrants entering the US has also increased steadily over the years to reach 8,000 in 2006. Other countries report between several hundred to a few thousand Albanian migrants a year.

### *Stocks of migrants*

A rough estimate of the number of Albanian migrants abroad in 2001, based on statistics of the main receiving countries, amounts to some 675,000. In 2007, that number had increased to 935,000, or by 39 per cent.<sup>6</sup> According to the National Statistical Service of Greece, the stock of Albanian migrants increased between 2001 and 2006 from 438,000 to 482,000. However, Triandafyllidou, Maroufouf and Nikolova (2009, citing the Greek Ministry of Interior) estimate that the total in 2008 included 185,000 migrants of Greek origin holding Albanian citizenship.<sup>7</sup> The second most impor-

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in the first step. If unavailable, data by place of birth were used. If data for a certain year were unavailable, the data for the nearest year were used instead. In addition, all estimates based on third-country statistics are limited to the data from the most important receiving countries, which vary according to the different Western Balkan countries. Clearly, this makes a comparison of the results impossible. Frequently, no data from Western Balkan countries are available. Given the importance of migration among them, flows and stocks may be considerably underestimated.

- 3 Understood as stocks of foreign citizens or stock of foreign-born. This note applies to all references to the term “stocks of migrants” in this paper.
- 4 The net migration balance is calculated based on the population accounting equation. Hereinafter this will be referred to as “calculated from the population accounting equation”.
- 5 Dyrmyshi (2009) gives a very similar estimate.
- 6 A similar figure is given by Barjaba (2005).
- 7 For information on the Greek minority in Albania, see Human Rights Watch, 1995.

tant host country is Italy, where the stock of Albanian migrants increased from 164,000 in 2001 to 402,000 in 2008, or by 245 per cent. In addition, between 2000 and 2007 up to 50,000<sup>8</sup> Albanians acquired another nationality.

### *Labour migration*

Much less information is available on the economic activity of Albanian immigrants in destination countries. Based on estimates (see footnote 2), in 2000, 100,000 Albanians worked in Greece and 91,000 in Italy, with their numbers increasing to 187,000 and 148,000, respectively, in 2006. According to a survey conducted by Lyberaki and Maroukis (2004), the majority of Albanian male immigrant in Athens worked in construction (41%), industry (31%) or in business or were self-employed (together 25%), with only very few unemployed (4%). Female migrants found employment in domestic services (34%), business and self-employment (together 19%); however, a large number were either unemployed or housewives (35%). Obviously, it is not possible to generalize from such data for the entire Albanian migrant population.

Although the data on the stocks of migrants as such and stocks of labour migrants are not comparable, the latter increased more rapidly, which suggest that, over time, migrants either increasingly focus on employment, or that there is an increase in legal migration for employment. It may be that migrants had previously found work in the black economy, but it is more likely, that Albanians are being better integrated into host societies and have stronger migration networks to assist and support their insertion into labour markets. Recent sociological research by Hatziprokopiou (2003) and Lyberaki and Maroukis (2005) in Greece, and King and Mai (2008) in Italy, strongly support this hypothesis.

Given persistently high unemployment levels in Albania, the outflow of workers should not be a problem for the country as it reduces unemployment and may be seen to act as a ‘safety valve’ to ease social pressure and avoid any unrest. On the other hand, the loss of skills is a considerable problem, and the depopulation of rural and peripheral areas and the declining productivity in some economic sectors at the subregional and local levels as a result of emigration, are a cause of serious concern<sup>9</sup> (Carletto *et al.*, 2004; IOM, 2008b).

### *Demographic impact of migration*

The cumulative demographic impact of emigration is very significant: by 2007, the Albanian migrant population abroad was equal to 30 per cent of the resident population in Albania. Moreover, the age selectivity of migration (King and Mai, 2008:77), has affected the age structure of Albanian society (see the change in the age pyramid over time in ISTAT, 2008:8). According to the WHO<sup>10</sup>, until very recently Albania was characterized by a very high total fertility rate of 2.4 (2000) and a very young population, which is in stark contrast to the age pyramids of many European and other industrialized countries. However, in 2007 the total fertility rate had declined to 1.3, giving rise to concerns about the country’s future demographic development since, in the long term, low fertility

8 This number is arrived at by imputing missing data only for the countries listed in the Annex I. Before imputing missing data, the figure stood at 32,000. Data imputation is a procedure where the value of missing data is assumed.

9 Rural depopulation initially occurred as a result of significant internal rural to urban migration in early 1990s, exacerbated by the more recent international emigration.

10 <http://data.euro.who.int/hfadb/tables/tableA.php?w=1024&h=768>

combined with the sustained emigration of predominantly young persons will lead to a reduction in the number of young, productive adults and an increase in older age groups. The initiation of the ageing process has been noted by policymakers and researchers (Germeñji, 2005). Return migration could partially compensate population ageing as it would involve the return of relatively young people; however, according to Germeñji (2005), there is no sign of this taking place at present. The discussion of the consequences of the ageing process is beyond the scope of this chapter, but should not go unheeded by policymakers.

### 4.3. Bosnia and Herzegovina

#### *Flows of migrants*

Net migration for the period 2000 - 2007, calculated from the population accounting equation, is positive at around 63,000, but drops sharply towards the end of the period, owing to a substantial negative net outflow from Bosnia and Herzegovina, estimated from flow statistics of destination countries. This is commensurate with the change in migrant stock figures in host countries and available naturalization statistics, according to which 254,000<sup>11</sup> citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina acquired the nationality of their host countries between 2000 and 2007.

Emigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina, computed on the basis of the statistics of selected receiving countries, has declined from 49,000 in 2001 to 30,000 in 2007. The most marked decline was registered in emigration numbers from Bosnia and Herzegovina to the USA, which dropped from 24,000 in 2001 to 4,000 in 2007. Outflows to Germany and Austria fell by about half, whereas the flows to Slovenia increased by a factor of 6 to 12,000, in line with the general tendency of the growing importance of migration between former Yugoslav republics. There are no data available on migration between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

The volume of return migration to Bosnia and Herzegovina from countries for which data were available<sup>12</sup> has decreased, with the exception of Italy.

The available host countries data on flow of migrants suggest that at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced annual negative net migration of less than 10,000.

#### *Stocks of migrants*

According to estimates from the major receiving countries, the stock of Bosnian and Herzegovinian expatriates increased from 1,033,000 in 2001 to 1,110,000 in 2007, a rise of about seven per cent, or of 77,000 individuals.

Migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina live mainly in Croatia, where 457,000 were registered at the time of the last census, but only 7,000 actually held Bosnia and Herzegovina citizenship. This discrepancy is the result of emigration by displaced persons during the recent war. The remaining most important destination countries are Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Germany was host to 169,000

11 The volume prior to data imputation was 202,000.

12 No immigration data on citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Croatia or the USA are available; while migration figures from Croatia were low at between 1,000 and 2,000.

migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2008, up from 156,000 in 2001, and Austria hosted 82,000 in 2008, a drop from 108,000 in 2001, which is most likely the result of late returns of individuals who had their temporary protection status withdrawn, or who felt that it was safe to return. Substantial numbers of Bosnian and Herzegovinian nationals live in Switzerland (39,000 in 2008), Slovenia (32,000 in 2008), Italy (27,000 in 2008), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (17,000 in 2002) and Denmark and Sweden (over 10,000 each in 2008).

#### *Labour migration*

The estimated stock of labour migrants in the most important destination countries increased from 160,000 in 2000 to 218,000 in 2006. Germany recorded the most significant increase from 100,000 to 144,000, or a rise of 44 per cent. Given that statistics are available from very few countries and, in particular, do not include such important receiving countries as Croatia and the USA, the actual numbers of workers from Bosnia and Herzegovina are likely to be considerably higher.

#### *Demographic impact of migration*

The size of the stock of expatriates in 2007 was equal to around 29 per cent of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That represents a very substantial loss, the impact of which will be visible over time as the population ageing process progresses. As emigration dynamics have been moderate in recent years, there is no direct threat to the demographic development generated by new migration. However, the extremely low total fertility rate of 1.19, the lowest in Europe in 2005,<sup>13</sup> means that new generations will be only slightly more than half the size of preceding generation. This low fertility may be attributed, among other factors, to the emigration of a substantial share of the population of procreation age. Entering the second demographic transition is another reason. It is, therefore, of paramount importance from a demographic point of view to develop policies aimed at encouraging return migration. That may not be an easy task. Data from the German *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (2008) show that at the end of December 2007, 85.5 per cent of Bosnian and Herzegovinian nationals had been in Germany for more than 10 years already, the average length of stay being 19 years. Therefore, many migrants are well established, have made their lives in the receiving society and may be presumed to be unwilling to return.

## **4.4. Croatia**

### *Flows of migrants*

Net migration in Croatia, calculated from the population accounting equation, grew from -52,000 in 2000 to 14,000 in 2001, and to 86,000 by 2008. Net emigration for 2002 – 2007 fluctuated between 8,000 and 15,000. Croatian emigration statistics are substantially lower than the statistics concerning Croatian immigrants recorded by receiving countries. Such differences are a relatively widespread phenomenon (Nowok, Kupiszewska and Poulain, 2006). According to host country statistics most Croatian emigrants move either to Germany and Austria, or neighbouring countries such as Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Other destination countries are Italy, the USA and Slovenia.

<sup>13</sup> <http://data.euro.who.int/hfadatabases/tableA.php?w=1024&h=768>

Croatian returnees represent the largest inflows and, according to Croatian statistics, accounted for with over 91 per cent of total immigration to Croatia annually between 2000 and 2007. Most of them return from Germany and Austria; however no data on immigration from neighbouring countries are available. Immigration declined from 29,000 in 2000 to 15,000 in 2007.

#### *Stocks of migrants*

No noticeable change in the stock of Croatians expatriates has been observed since 2003, which continued to fluctuate between 550,000 and 560,000. The majority of Croatians live in Germany (240,000 in 2008), followed by Austria (57,000), Switzerland (38,000) and Italy (21,000). In 2003, 41,000 Croatian-born individuals were recorded in the USA and a similar number in Canada (39,000 in 2006). Clearly, Croatian emigrants prefer European, German-speaking destinations. Between 2000 and 2007, 58,000 Croatian nationals acquired the nationality of their host country, the majority of around 48,000 in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

Based on data obtained from the Croatian Ministry of Interior,<sup>14</sup> as of May 2009 some 32,000 migrants had obtained residence permits in Croatia, the largest share going to citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (13,800) and a further 5,000 to migrants from Serbia and Montenegro. Altogether, over 20,400 immigrants originated from the former Yugoslavia (with the exception of Slovenia). Most migrants from the countries of the Western Balkans hold permanent residence permits (9,400), followed by temporary residence permit holders (8,400) and business permit holders (2,600).

Two other significant groups of immigrants in Croatia were citizens of the old EU member states (8,300 permits) and the new EU member states (4,800 permits). Less prominent groups of migrants were from China, Russia and the USA, with less than a thousand permits each. Since 2006, the number of residence permits issued has increased to around 30,900.

#### *Labour migration*

Between 2000 and 2006, the number of Croatian workers recorded in destination countries varied between 221,000 and 242,000, the majority in Germany (between 195,000 and 180,000) around 25,000 workers in Austria (2001) and between 10,000 and 14,000 in Italy.

#### *Demographic impact of migration*

As of 2008, approximately 12 per cent of the Croatian population lived abroad, which is not excessively high and should not be a cause for concern.

The probability of large-scale return migration is low: data from the *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*<sup>15</sup> (2008) indicated that at the end of December 2007, 89.2 per cent of Croatian citizens in Germany had been living there for more than ten years, with an average length of residence of 26.2 years. These migrants may be expected to have settled in Germany for good and are unlikely to contemplate returning again to Croatia, at least not before retirement. There is no indication in the available statistics on return migration to invalidate this hypothesis.

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14 Data received via the IOM Office in Zagreb.

15 Federal Ministry for Migration and Refugees, Nürnberg.



In the past, Croatia experienced large-scale migration flows, but in recent years there has been a stable pattern of moderate emigration and immigration, together with a substantial component of return migration as well as immigration from neighbouring countries. However, although the share of returns in total migration numbers is substantial, it is not significant in real terms as total migration numbers are low.

#### **4.5. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

##### *Flows of migrants*

Net migration, calculated from the population accounting equation, for the period 2000 – 2008 stood at -34,000, and changed from a negative flow of -3,000 in 2000 and 2001, to a positive one in 2007 and 2008. Absolute values are small with the exception of 2002 (-25,000), which looks more like a post-census adjustment rather than actual migration.

During the period 2002 to 2007 net migration recorded by the Macedonian authorities is positive, with annual variations of between one and two thousand. The largest share of inflows is of Macedonian citizens, generating a net gain of over 2,000 in 2005 and 2006. If this observation is commensurate with actual social processes, it would be very important from a policymaking point of view. However, it may be only a statistical artefact due to the eagerness with which return migrants register their arrival in order to have access to social services, such as education, health services, social security benefits and the like. It is for the same reasons that emigrants often do not report their departure so as not to lose access to the same services because of their absence from the country.

It is likely that national statistics fail to capture all flows of Macedonian citizens, and this can be verified by consulting the data collected by host countries. For Germany, Austria and Slovenia, emigration and immigration data for citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are available and they suggest a stable negative net migration, fluctuating between 2,000 and 4,000 persons a year.

##### *Stocks of migrants*

Available flow data reveal no substantial recent migration from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. However, such findings do not coincide with data on stocks of migrants from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia abroad, which point instead to a regular annual increase. In fact, between 2000 and 2008, their number grew from 230,000 to 319,000, an increase of 89,000 or 39 per cent, and an indication that around 10,000 migrants from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia move abroad every year.

As to immigration, between 1,200 and 2,200 migrants enter the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia annually (Trajanov, 2009), and less than 1,000 work permits are issued per year, mostly to Serb, Turkish and Greek citizens (Trajanov, 2009).

In 2008, Italy hosted the largest expatriate community of around 78,000 from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, a threefold increase from 26,000 in 2001, followed by Germany and Switzerland, with 66,000 and 60,000, respectively, a gradual increase from 52,000 in 2001 in Germany,

and a small or no increase in the case of Switzerland. Finally, Australia is host to a stable Macedonian migrant community of just under 50,000.

#### *Labour migration*

The number of migrant workers from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is difficult to estimate in the absence of data for the principal receiving countries, particularly Germany and Switzerland. Based on available data and imputing missing values, as specified in footnote 2, the number of labour migrants might have increased between 2000 and 2006 from around 30,000 to some 40,000; however this estimate has to be treated with caution as it may contain a large margin of error.

#### *Demographic impact of migration*

The stock of migrants from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is equal to 16 per cent of the resident local population. Moreover, between 2000 and 2007, around 32,000 expatriates acquired the nationality of their host country, notably Austria, Germany, Switzerland and the USA.

### **4.6. Montenegro and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (from 1992 until 2003) and its successor states: Serbia and Montenegro (2003-May 2006) and Serbia (from May 2006)**

#### *Flows of migrants*

The volume of annual migration to the most important receiving countries declined from 75,000 in 2000 to 61,000 in 2005 (host country statistics). The largest flow of 33,000 migrants was recorded in Germany in 2000, which subsequently declined to 18,000 in 2005 and to 11,000 in 2006. In all, over half of all emigrants left for Germany in that year, which is partly owing to the dominant position of Germany in the migration system of Serbia and Montenegro, and partly to the very liberal German definition of migration (see Kupiszewska and Nowok, 2008). At the same time, migration to other countries declined, sometimes substantially, as in the case of Canada. The only exception to the drop in the numbers of migrants from Serbia and Montenegro was the outflow to Austria, which increased from 7,000 in 2000 to 12,000 in 2005.

Between 2000 and 2006, immigration to Serbia and Montenegro also declined from approximately 99,000 to around 30,000. However, the emigration and immigration numbers are not comparable as emigration estimates are based on data for a different group of countries than those for immigration. The sharpest drop in migration occurred from Germany to Serbia and Montenegro, where numbers dropped from 89,000 in 2000 to 20,000 in 2005. Returns from Austria and Switzerland also declined in this period. In general, both the intensity of migrant flows and the stock of Serbs and Montenegrins abroad declined between 2000 and 2005.

### *Stocks of migrants*

According to selected host country data, the stock of Serb and Montenegrin migrants (and from the former Yugoslavia) has decreased from 1.143 million in 2000 to 736,000 in 2006, and further to 715,000 in 2007 (total numbers for citizens of Serbia and of Montenegro). This drop is mainly owing to the rapid decline in the numbers of Serbs and Montenegrins living in Germany from 737,000 in 2000 to 282,000 in 2007. However, if the over 264,000 nationals of the previous Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the subsequent Serbia and Montenegro, who acquired the nationality of their host countries are included, it is likely that the contraction would be less notable.

### *Labour migration*

Somewhat inconsistent with the above statement are the stabilizing the numbers of labour migrants from Serbia and Montenegro, which fluctuated between 625,000 and 680,000. It is expected that owing to permanent settlement, the associated family reunification and the resulting reduction in the share of working family members, will in future reduce the proportion of labour migrants in the total migrant population.

### *Demographic impact of migration*

The rapidly falling immigration numbers and rising naturalizations (32,000 and 50,000 in 2000 and 2005, respectively) of Serb and Montenegrin citizens in host countries, suggest that not all migrants will be ready and willing to return to Serbia and Montenegro in the future. This hypothesis is reinforced by the data on the share of children born abroad to parents of Serb or Montenegrin citizenship in the total Serb and Montenegrin population abroad. Data for Germany as of the end of 2007 (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*, 2008) indicate that 23.2 per cent of Serbs and Montenegrins living in Germany were born there.

## **4.7. A comparative perspective and conclusions**

Table 4.1 provides a simple synthetic overview of the migration development and the impact of migration on the original population. Even a brief look will lead to the conclusion that the migration regimes of Western Balkan countries are very distinct. Two countries, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, have an extremely high share of around 29 to 30 per cent of their populations abroad, ranking them high among the countries with the highest expatriate communities in the world. Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro (until 2006) and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have a high albeit much smaller share of their populations abroad compared to the two former countries.

The change in the stock of migrants abroad in the seven-year period shows the combined effect of the dynamics of migration flows and naturalizations. The most prominent change was observed in Albania (+39%) and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (+36%). These changes are very significant and should be a cause of concern for policymakers, as they reduce the probability of return migration and may lead to the depopulation and an unfavourable change in the age structures of the local population if this trend should continue.

Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro experienced moderate changes, with Croatia recording a decline in the number of Croatians living abroad, although in absolute terms this decline is smaller than the number of Croatian citizens naturalized abroad. The pool of Serb and Montenegrin expatriates diminished by 36 per cent between 2000 and 2006, partly due to naturalizations, which increased rapidly, and partly because of return migration.

In some countries of the Western Balkans there are signs that migration patterns are changing, notably a transition from what were previously strictly emigration countries to emigration and immigration countries, with a dominant emigration component. This is in line with the modification of migration processes observed in other European countries (Okólski, 2009). The countries reviewed are at different stages of their transition process: Croatia is clearly very advanced and may soon have to face all the problems immigration countries have to cope with. Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Serbia and Montenegro are characterized by immigration, dominated by the return of their own citizens and, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, immigration from a neighbouring country, notably Serbia and Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, respectively. Albania is perhaps the country least affected by the transition process, with small inflows of both foreigners and returning nationals, though demographic data do not reflect the important circular or short-term “pendulum” nature of Albanian migration. There are also signs of the establishment of internal Western Balkan migration networks, in which migrants from neighbouring countries will play an increasingly important role. However, this phenomenon is poorly documented owing to inadequate or lacking data.

**Table 4.1: Selected characteristics of migration in Western Balkan countries for the period 2000 – 2007**

	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Serbia and Montenegro
Population (millions) (2007)	3.153	3.844	4.441	2.042	8.051 (2006)
Estimated lower limit of the stock of migrants residing abroad, according to selected host country statistics (thousands) (2007)	935	1.110	523	282	736
Persons residing abroad as a percentage of the resident population in 2007 (%)	30	29	12	15	9 (2006)
Change of migrant stocks in selected receiving countries between 2000 and 2007 (%)	39	7	-4	36	-36 (2000–2006)
Estimated lower limit of persons who obtained the nationality of their countries of residence between 2000–2007 (thousands)	50	254	58	32	279 (2000-2006)
Estimated lower bound off the stock of labour migrants 2006 (thousands)	342	218	217		218

*Source:* Estimates based on data from Annex I.

*Note:* The data on migrant stocks are not comparable as for each Western Balkan country a different set of receiving countries was taken into account. See footnote 2 for information on methodology of estimates.

The impact of labour migration on the labour markets and the demographic development of countries of origin will be analysed from a short-term and long-term perspective. Migration theory posits that the majority of migrants are young, and large-scale migration therefore modifies the age structure in source countries and depletes the working age population. This is also the case with emigration from the Western Balkans, where the age pyramid of the local population has been significantly affected. In demographic terms, the transition from what were overwhelmingly emigration countries to emigration and immigration countries would mean a deceleration in the rate of depopulation and at least the partial compensation through immigration.

High unemployment in the countries of the region means that the loss of labour through migration generally is not a serious problem for the local labour markets; however, and as referred to in Chapter 2, the emigration of highly skilled nationals is a serious loss with repercussions throughout the local economy and also the education system. For now, emigration acts to reduce pressure on the national labour markets. However, it should be borne in mind that, while such generalizations hold true for national labour markets, they may not be similarly applicable to local labour markets, or concerning the employment possibilities of certain professional categories or specialists. The indifference of the effects of migration on labour markets may change if economic growth can be maintained and once the current economic and financial crisis is overcome. Another factor of change may be the EU-supported policies that link migration and economic development. That will confront policymakers with the serious challenge of acting to reduce emigration and increase immigration.

In the long term, as the research by Bijak, Kupiszewska and Kupiszewski (2008) has shown for European countries, large-scale migration may create an income gap for social services, notably for social security and healthcare systems. As long as the generation of the parents of migrants are still working, this income gap will be manageable. However, as the baby-boom generation retires, the deficits in social and healthcare service budgets will continue to increase and, in the absence of other and compensating measures, lead to serious budgetary imbalances. The young age structure of the populations in Western Balkan countries may postpone the onset of such problems for a while longer than is the case in European countries, but cannot obviate them totally.



## 5. Assessment of migration propensity in Western Balkan countries

MAREK KUPISZEWSKI<sup>1</sup>

### 5.1. Introduction

Anyone involved in determining demographic, economic and social policies aspires for obvious reasons to foresee and be able to anticipate the future development of a given population. Over the last two decades, migration has been the most important element in population development in the Western Balkan region; therefore, many policymakers are interested to have a reasonable assessment of future migration flows. Assessing the propensity for migration in these countries is one option.

### 5.2. A short outlook at methodological issues and terminology

To assess the future migration in the Western Balkans, the need for reliable and up-to-date data immediately becomes obvious. Western Balkan countries, which only recently emerged from armed conflict and political strife and territorial divisions (see Chapter 2) lack sufficiently long data series to enable any data-based forecasting. In addition, the coverage and quality of the data available is insufficient (Chapter 3). Such difficulties are not limited to demographic data, but apply to general statistics as well, which makes it difficult to employ econometric models and extrapolation techniques. Recourse to experts is also limited since they would need to consider and work with data that are not readily available.

It was therefore a reasonable decision to conduct a survey on migration propensity. It is a stand-alone deterministic method, though statistical errors are inevitable, as referred to later on. It should be noted that surveys do not allow the forecasting of migration propensities. In fact, the method was termed as a forecasting method owing to the widespread practice of treating it as though it were able to do this. Some examples of this understanding of surveys can be seen in Boswell (2000), Alvarez-Plata, Brücker and Siliverstovs (2003) or Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2008). Also Fassmann and

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<sup>1</sup> Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research, International Organization for Migration; Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization, Polish Academy of Sciences; Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw School of Economics.

Hintermann (1997) tacitly interpret migration propensity as forecasting migration and directly compare their results with the results of forecasts based on econometric methods.

The responses to the survey question concerning the willingness to emigrate partly indicate an intention to migrate, without, however, actually considering the actual ability of the interviewee to emigrate. As such, they partly reflect existing frustration and despair. Despite this limitation, the responses are an indication of the attitude towards emigration in a given society and the possible reaction of the people if the political or economic situation were to worsen, even if not the actual intention to migrate. Therefore, it is more appropriate to refer to the results of such surveys as an indication of the self-declared migration intentions or the general migration propensity, rather than as a migration forecast.

In this study we will use the term “migration propensity” rather than “migration potential” for two reasons. First, the term propensity suits the nature of the survey outcome better in that it indicates intentions rather than realities. Second, the term “migration potential” is not defined in demography and is highly misleading (Kupiszewski, 2002); moreover, it has a very precise - and very different - meaning in social geography (viz. population potential).

### **5.3. Previous assessments of the migration propensity in Western Balkan countries**

The idea of such surveys is not new and a number have been conducted in Europe, mostly ahead of the 2004 EU enlargement. We will focus on nationally representative surveys, leaving aside those focusing on selected subpopulations, as the latter are of little if any use in assessing intended future flows. The representative survey method was used by Fassmann and Hintermann (1997), IOM (1998) and Alvarez-Plata, Brücker and Siliverstovs (2003) to estimate the possible emigration from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU countries. The authors do not associate the survey directly with migration forecasting, and prefer to use instead the somewhat euphemistic term of “migration potential”.

There is some demand for the assessment of migration propensity. Group 484 (2008:22) sees it as a tool with which to assess the likelihood of Serbian citizens emigrating in large numbers, and therefore as a warning device for governments of potential receiving countries. However, as has been argued in the previous section, the tool may be oversensitive owing to factors not directly linked to migration, such as frustration, general unhappiness or hopelessness and lack of prospects.

A number of surveys on migration propensity were conducted in the Western Balkans. First, the study by IOM (1998) covered Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (including Serbia and Montenegro) and, more recently, UNDP (2005b) conducted a survey for Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. Božić and Burić (2005) conducted a survey replicating Fassmann and Hintermann’s (1997) methodology for Croatia. A very interesting insight into the migration propensity and “views and perceptions” in the Western Balkans is provided by Balkan Monitor (Gallup, 2008 a, b, 2009). The Gallup study contains results for 2008 and 2006, allowing the identification of very recent changes. We will use these results to identify long and short-term changes, if any, in the attitudes towards migration.

It is of obvious interest to be able to identify the dynamics of migration propensity by comparing the results of the survey discussed in this chapter with other surveys conducted in the past. However, direct comparisons of results of various surveys are impossible and no attempt to do so is made



here. However, the changes in positive and negative attitudes towards migration are so far-reaching that it may be assumed that they represent actual trends.

Another study by Božić and Burić (2005), using Fassmann and Hintermann (1997) definition of migration potential, estimated that the total migration potential in Croatia was equal to 12.5 per cent of the population. The survey results are not directly comparable, but clearly the willingness to emigrate then and now has declined dramatically, both in Croatia and in Serbia as well as Montenegro, as the current negative replies to the question concerning serious consideration given to emigration for more than three months exceeds 90 per cent in Croatia and Serbia, is very close to 90 per cent for Montenegro, and only in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia does it stand at 73 per cent. According to UNDP (2005b), in September 2005, 69 per cent of Albanians and 89 per cent of Serbs in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 had no intention to emigrate. By December 2005, the respective proportions were 92 per cent and 54 per cent. In this study, the proportion stood at 59.9 per cent for the total population, indicating an increased propensity to emigrate. However, the methodology of research, which is not specified in the UNDP study, may have a significant impact on results.

Gallup (2009) conducted two surveys in 2006 and 2008 and identified a decrease in the share of persons who would “like to move to another country” over this period, though to a different extent: Croatia had the lowest percentage, with 12 per cent and 7 per cent respectively in 2006 and 2008. With 15 per cent, the prospective emigration intention in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 is low; though it should be noted that 13 per cent of respondents refused to reply or said they did not know. In 2008 the migration propensity in other countries varied from 20 per cent in Montenegro to 25 per cent in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. At 31 per cent (2006), the migration propensity in Albania is relatively high. However, the degree of migration propensity at any one time is a static measure and the evolution can be traced only by comparing the respective propensity to migrate over time. Such a comparison shows that the steepest drop occurred in Montenegro, where the propensity to migrate in 2009 had dropped by nearly one half since 2006; and in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and Croatia the propensity to migrate also declined to 56 per cent and 58 per cent of the 2006 level, respectively. In contrast, in 2008 the percentage change in Albania was insignificant at only 3 per cent under the 2006 measure.

#### **5.4. The IOM 2009 nationally representative survey of migration propensity in Western Balkan countries**

This section presents the methodology used for the current survey and interprets the result of the survey.

##### *Methodology of research*

The survey was commissioned by IOM Budapest to the MillwardBrown SMG/KRC in Warsaw<sup>2</sup> where the research in all Western Balkan countries was coordinated. The survey was conducted in all countries on nationally representative adult populations aged 18-65 years in early 2009 (see Annex II for details of the survey in each country). The research was based on the Paper and Pencil Interview

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2 I would like to thank Mr Michał Węgrzynowski of MillwardBrown SMG/KRC for his very skillful and efficient coordination of the research.

(PAPI), as it was assumed that telephone interviews would be biased since the access to telephones in the various countries surveyed is very unequal. All field work was planned for January and February 2009 to ensure maximum comparability between countries. The only exception was Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, where field work was delayed and conducted instead in March and April 2009.

The following questions were asked:

“Have you ever seriously considered migrating abroad for more than three months? Please indicate the response which best characterises your situation.

- a) No, I never seriously considered going abroad.
- b) Yes, but I decided to stay at home.
- c) Yes, I am leaving for another country within six months to take up employment.
- d) Yes, I am leaving for another country within six months for family reasons.
- e) Yes, I am leaving for another country within six months for other reasons.
- f) Yes, I am going to leave for another country in the future, but do not know exactly when.
- g) I already live/work in another country.”

Kupiszewski (2002) already criticized the lack of information on the magnitude of statistical error for figures given in earlier research on migration propensity. To avoid this problem in this research, confidence intervals have been calculated for each variable. Because of technical limitations (very large tables) the confidence intervals are presented solely on graphs.

#### *Self-declared migration intention in Western Balkan countries: results of the survey*

The nationally representative results of the survey are shown in Table 5.1. The first and paramount observation to be made is that the emigration intentions are not very widespread in most countries of the Western Balkans. This is in line with the Gallup (2009) findings. Accumulated replies 1 or 2 (“No, I never seriously considered living abroad” and “Yes, but I decided to stay home”) to the question “Have you ever seriously considered migration abroad for more than three months”, showed that less than 10 per cent of the adult Serbian and Croatian population and less than 20 per cent of the Montenegrin and Bosnian and Herzegovinian population planned to emigrate. Only in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 did the emigration propensity exceed 40 per cent (Table 5.1). The confidence intervals for the answers to question 1 are smaller than  $\pm 3.6$  percentage points, and  $\pm 3.2$  percentage points for question 2 (Figure 5.1).

More revealing is a closer look at replies 1 and 2, separately. The average (unweighted) 56.4 per cent chose option 1: “No, I never seriously considered living abroad”, and 24.2 per cent on average chose option 2: “Yes, but I decided to stay home.” A lower than average and statistically significant proportion (43.8%) of those selecting option 1, and a higher than average and also statistically significant proportion (32.8%) of those selecting option 2 in Albania suggests that there may be some factor responsible for the unmet demand for migration.

In Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 the proportion of those who never seriously considered emigration (40.0%) is also below average. This is also the country where the share of those who considered emigration but decided to stay is one of the lowest (19.9%), together with Montenegro (19.5%) and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (18.6%). All differences are statistically significant.

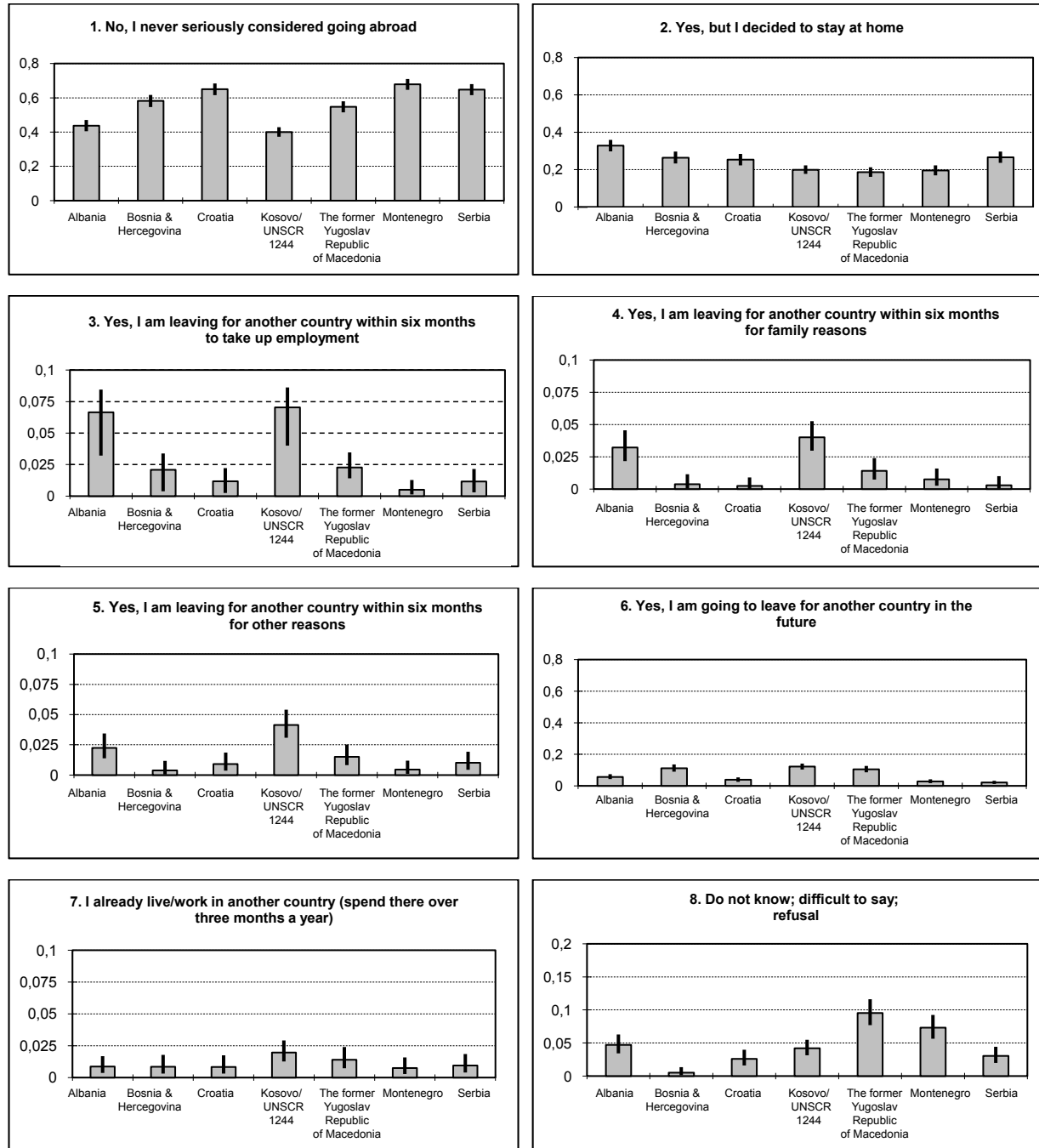
Table 5.1: Declared emigration intention in the countries of West Balkans

		Have you ever seriously considered migrating abroad for more than three months?							
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
		No, I never seriously considered going abroad	Yes, but I decided to stay home	Yes, I am leaving for another country within six months to take up employment reasons	Yes, I am leaving for another country within six months for family reasons	Yes, I am leaving for another country within six months for other reasons	Yes, I am going to leave for another country in the future	I already live/work in another country (spend yearly over three months there)	Do not know; difficult to say; refusal
% in rows	N=								
<b>Mean (unweighted)</b>		56.4%	24.2%	3.0%	1.5%	1.5%	6.9%	1.1%	4.6%
Country									
Albania	932	<b>43.8%</b>	<b>32.8%</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>3.2%</b>	2.3%	5.7%	0.9%	4.7%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	768	58.2%	26.4%	2.1%	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>11.2%</b>	0.8%	<b>0.5%</b>
Croatia	791	<b>65.1%</b>	25.3%	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	0.9%	<b>3.9%</b>	0.8%	<b>2.6%</b>
Kosovo/UNSCR 1244	1230	<b>40.0%</b>	<b>19.9%</b>	<b>7.0%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>4.1%</b>	<b>12.2%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	4.2%
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	924	54.8%	<b>18.6%</b>	2.3%	1.4%	1.5%	<b>10.5%</b>	1.4%	<b>9.5%</b>
Montenegro	860	<b>67.9%</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	0.7%	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	0.8%	<b>7.3%</b>
Serbia	858	<b>64.8%</b>	26.6%	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	1.0%	<b>2.1%</b>	1.0%	<b>3.1%</b>

**Bold - statically significantly higher or lower than the mean.**

Source: MillwardBrown SMG/KRC (Poland), 2009

**Figure 5.1: Replies to question: “Have you ever seriously considered migrating abroad for more than three months?” with confidence intervals**



*Black lines at the top of each bar denote confidence intervals*  
 Source: MillwardBrown SMG/KRC (Poland), 2009.

The low share of those who wanted to emigrate but decided to stay may either be due to a well organized and facilitated migration system, including support for the migration process from the state and international organizations, or to the strong motivation and determination of those who decided to emigrate to actually do so.

Let us now look at the share of people who intend to emigrate. Both low per capita income and high unemployment are among the most important emigration factors cited in the literature (Jennissen, 2004), therefore Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are particularly vulnerable to emigration. Indeed, these three countries together with Albania have a high share of positive replies (options 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7; Table 5.1) to the question on migration intentions in our survey. Today, 29 per cent of Kosovars would like to emigrate, which is a relatively high percentage, but in the 1990s in the survey conducted by IOM (1989) that same percentage would have been considered a very moderate result.

Overall, between 15.2 per cent of the population aged 15 to 65 years in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, and 1.7 per cent in Montenegro intend to emigrate within six months from the date of the survey (options 3, 4 or 5; see Table 5.1). A high emigration propensity is also revealed for Albania (12.1%), whereas the propensity to migrate is low in Croatia (2.3%), Serbia (2.5%) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (2.9%). In addition, 12.2 per cent of Kosovars, 11.2 per cent of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 10.5 per cent of Macedonians declare an emigration intention in the future. Respondents from other countries show a low propensity for future emigration, perhaps with the exception of Albanians, 5.7 per cent of whom plan to do so. One should be quite cautious when interpreting such declarations, as a relatively distant horizon makes them ideal for venting frustrations with everyday life, as well as for those who dream but do not act on their dreams.

Under a third (29.4%) of Kosovars replied positively to the question on their intention to emigrate (options 3 to 7, Table 5.1) either in next six months or in the more distant future, including also those who replied that they already worked abroad. A relatively high propensity was also revealed by people from Albania (18.7%), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (17.1%) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (14.9%). On the other hand, Croatians (7.0%), Montenegrins (5.3%) and Serbs (5.5%) were much less prone to migrate. However, the interpretation of such aggregated indicators is difficult for the reasons already mentioned in the previous paragraph.

We will now turn to the key subject of this study, namely labour migration. In the survey the question concerning the reason for emigration was restricted to those who declared their intention to migrate within the next six months. Those who plan to emigrate at a later date in the future were not asked for their motivations, as the reliability of their replies would be difficult to assess. The share of those who intend to emigrate to work abroad (option 3 in Table 5.1) varied from 7.0 per cent in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and 6.7 per cent in Albania, to 0.5 per cent in Montenegro and 1.2 per cent in Serbia and Croatia (Table 5.1). Somewhat surprising, it is only in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia that this category (option 3 in Table 5.1) represents a majority of those who plan to emigrate within the next six months (options 3, 4 or 5 in Table 5.1); in all other countries the share of prospective labour migrants is between 44 per cent and 47 per cent, except Montenegro, which stands out with only 30 per cent of respondents intending to migrate to take employment, with family reasons being the most important migration factor (44%), while 41 per cent of Serbs and 40 per cent of Croatians intend to migrate for other reasons.

**Table 5.2: Reasons for planned migration among interviewees declaring their intention to emigrate within six months**

	Labour	Family	Other
Albania	54.9%	26.5%	18.6%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	73.3%	13.2%	13.6%
Croatia	50.3%	10.8%	38.9%
Kosovo/UNSCR 1244	46.4%	26.4%	27.2%
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	43.7%	27.1%	29.2%
Montenegro	29.6%	43.9%	26.4%
Serbia	47.0%	12.2%	40.8%

Source: MillwardBrown SMG/KRC (Poland), 2009

The theoretical interpretation of these findings is quite difficult. If, pursuant to Faist's (2000) proposal describing the evolution of migration systems in Germany, we pose a hypothesis that the emigration cycle starts with the migration of pioneer workers followed by a transition towards an increasing share of migration of family members on the family unification ticket and other migrants, it would be possible to infer that, with 73 per cent of declared labour migrants, Bosnia and Herzegovina is at the initial stage of the cycle, all other countries somewhere in the middle of the cycle and Montenegro at an advanced stage (see Table 5.2). In practical terms, the predominance of labour migration also means increased remittances in the future, whereas family migration often indicates the transition from short-term circular migration to a more stable long-term migration pattern.

### 5.5. Conclusions: declining migration propensity in Western Balkan countries

The analysis of intentions to remain in one's home country and not to migrate clearly indicates a large proportion of persons who do not intend to emigrate. A comparison of the results presented in this study with results of similar studies conducted in the past<sup>3</sup> reveals a fundamental and important tendency from the point of view of policy making: in all countries the share of those who want to emigrate is declining. This is partly due to a diminishing pool of potential migrants, and partly to an improving, albeit slowly, economic situation.

However, the proportion of persons not intending to emigrate is still relatively low, and in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 very low. Therefore, from emigration propensity point of view, Western Balkan countries are divided into three different categories: a) Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 with a high overall propensity to emigrate (above 20%);<sup>4</sup> b) Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina with a medium to high propensity (between 10 and 20%), and c) Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia with a low overall propensity to migrate. Even low emigration propensity does not exclude a steady low or medium outflow. Today we may reject the widespread opinion that large-scale emigration from Western Balkan countries would continue in future. Certainly this no longer holds for Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia nor, most likely, for Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

3 Due to different methodologies and different sample constructions the results are not directly comparable. However, the identification of the trend is possible and justified from scientific point of view.

4 Options 3, 4, 5 or 6 in Table 5.1

### *5.5. Conclusions: declining migration propensity in Western Balkan countries*

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One may legitimately enquire into the robustness of such conclusions. The survey was conducted under certain external conditions: political peace and an improving economic situation. Will the conclusions hold under any conditions? Migration is sensitive to political upheavals and economic developments. Outbreaks of ethnic conflicts, though unlikely, but not impossible, is the key factor that may change the situation. However, the process of political stabilization, supported by the international community, and the creation of clearly defined paths towards European integration create a real prospect for long-term peace. The improvement of living conditions, itself dependent on economic development, the reduction of poverty and unemployment, have already been successfully pursued for some time, and the continued efforts in the process of socio-economic improvements and the quality of life for the local populations will be the best tool to mitigate emigration pressures.





## 6. Labour migration policies in Western Balkan countries – overview and analysis

ANNA KICINGER<sup>1</sup>

### 6.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the creation of the labour migration policies in Western Balkan countries and their further development. Labour migration policy is understood as concerning both labour emigration and immigration.

As recent developments in this area have not yet been widely researched, the sources on which to base our analysis of labour migration policies in the countries under study are scarce. To bridge this gap, recourse was had to various documents, such as official migration policy papers, national immigration, residence and alien laws, EU documents and relevant legal instruments. The assistance received from IOM offices in the region proved invaluable in accessing relevant documents and many other important references and legislative texts concerning the countries under study.

In order to present and analyse the respective labour migration policies they have to be placed within their individual national contexts, on the one hand, and the nature and importance of relations between the European Union and the Western Balkan region, on the other.

Though the analysis of the respective labour migration policies in the countries concerned is our primary concern, they are only a small part of the migration policies in general, notwithstanding the importance of labour migration within and beyond the region. Since the 1990s, labour migration policies constituted one, although very important aspect, of a wider and challenging endeavour to lay down rules and procedures relating to many other areas of concern as well. The countries of the Western Balkans invested enormous efforts and funds to improve their border protection mechanisms and to combat irregular migration and the smuggling and trafficking in human beings. In addition, the national authorities faced the challenge of introducing appropriate asylum systems and the necessary legal framework and institutional infrastructure. Finally, they faced the massive post-conflict population movements and their consequences and had to cope with the issue of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) and their return or integration.

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An analysis of the migration policies in the countries of the Western Balkans has to take account of the overarching European perspective, in particular as the EU is a major destination area for both regular and irregular migration from the countries under study. Thus, the cooperation on migration is being developed under the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP), a regional policy framework established by the EU in 1999 to enhance cooperation between the EU and the Western Balkan countries and strengthen their institutional capacity to adopt and implement European standards in view of their eventual accession. Within SAP, the prospect of European integration is seen as a crucial means to achieve and maintain the peace and stabilization in the region. The Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAA) are negotiated and concluded between EU and the Western Balkan countries on an individual basis.<sup>2</sup> Because of the prevailing internal political situations, not all countries participated in the negotiations at an early stage. Currently, SAA are in force in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (2004), Croatia (2005) and Albania (2009). Signed, but not yet in force are agreements with Montenegro (2007), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2008) and Serbia (2008).

Justice and Home Affairs issues are part of the Stabilisation and Association Agreements and also cover migration and asylum matters, cooperation to combat irregular migration and readmission. In addition, the SAA regulate cooperation on the movement of workers from the Western Balkans to the EU, and the coordination of social security systems for those regularly employed in EU countries.

At the 2003 Thessaloniki Summit additional instruments were introduced to support the reform process in the Western Balkans, such as the Accession Partnerships for candidate countries, and the European Partnerships for potential candidate countries, to assist the countries concerned in their efforts towards achieving eventual EU membership. Among the many other issues, migration figures prominently on the cooperation agenda.

A country by country overview of labour migration policies in the Western Balkans is presented below. This is followed by a summary and analysis of regional labour migration policy determinants and developments showing both common features and remaining differences in labour migration policy paths among the Western Balkan countries.

## **6.2. Managing labour migration in an emigration country: Albania**

Emigration policy continues to be a central aspect of Albania's labour migration policy. Albania's history and political antecedents distinguish it from the other countries reviewed here. First, in contrast to ex-Yugoslav countries, prior to the 1990s, Albanian citizens had much less freedom of movement and the possibility to emigrate. Second, the lifting of the restrictions on movement led to a massive outflow unlike in any of the other Western Balkan countries, giving rise to an Albanian diaspora estimated at between 600,000 (King, Vullentari, 2003) and 900,000 (Barjaba, 2004) or even 1,100,000 (Geiger, 2007).<sup>3</sup> In the wake of this pent-up emigration wave, Albania has acquired the reputation of a major source country for irregular migration and human trafficking.<sup>4</sup> Thus, emigration management

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2 Other instruments used within SAP were: the financial assistance within the CARDS programme (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation), and preferential status in trade offered to SEE countries by the EU.

3 Total population of Albania is around 3,170,048 (1 January 2008); Albania National Institute of Statistics official web site. <http://www.instat.gov.al/>.

4 Irregular migration continues to be a problem, especially at the Albanian-Greek border during the agricultural

is a primary concern of Albanian migration policy, in particular the combat of irregular migration, with the management of labour emigration also high on the government's migration policy agenda. There are three main dimensions of Albanian labour migration policy: a) addressing the root causes of emigration through economic development and job creation efforts; b) limiting irregular and promoting regular emigration and, c) the protection of Albanian citizens abroad.

In 2005, the government adopted the National Strategy on Migration and the National Action Plan on Migration, both of which were drafted with the assistance of IOM and the EC, and financed under the CARDS (Community assistance for reconstruction, development and stabilization) programme. The National Strategy provides an in-depth analysis of the migration situation in Albania, a detailed presentation of existing policies and proposes solutions in all relevant migration fields. It focuses predominantly on labour emigration management issues, with little reference to labour inflows, as the country is expected to remain a country of origin for the near future. Emigration regulations or emigration management is considered the most important migration issue for Albania. Support for emigrants and their families, support for regular migration, facilitation of return, including the development of cooperation with EU countries regarding involuntary returns and combating irregular migration remain high on Albania's labour migration policy, further emphasized by the National Strategy and National Action Plan (Government of Albania, 2005a).

Support for regular migration as provided for by the Strategy, is realized through various means, including the dissemination of information for potential emigrants concerning regular migration possibilities and the risks related to irregular migration, as well as the creation of regular migration channels. The latter can be achieved through the conclusion of bilateral agreements on seasonal employment, such as have already been concluded with Germany (1991)<sup>5</sup>, Greece (1996)<sup>6</sup>, and Italy (1997 and 2008). In this regard, the cooperation with Italy deserves particular attention. Albania signed an agreement on seasonal migration with Italy in 1997, and an agreement on labour migration in 2008, under which Albanian workers enjoy preferential entry quotas (4,500 a year). The agreement provides for extended cooperation between the two governments, the mutual exchange of information on labour market conditions, and cooperation in providing language and orientation courses to potential labour migrants from Albania to Italy.<sup>7</sup>

Caring for expatriates and involving members of the diaspora community in the socio-economic development of the home country constituted a part of the Government Programme for 2005–09 (Government of Albania, 2005b). According to the programme and bearing in mind the financial support provided by emigrants to their families in Albania, the government intends to encourage their return and reintegration in the country, for instance through financial incentives (e.g. three-year tax exemptions). The government also aims to protect and defend their rights in the destination countries.

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season. Concerning human trafficking, a number of international intergovernmental organizations (IOM, UNHCR among others) and international NGOs have become involved in counter-trafficking activities, with the EU assuming a leading role (Geiger, 2007). The bulk of EU funding in the field of migration was directed at anti-trafficking initiatives (including assistance to victims) and to strengthening border protection mechanisms to stem the flow of illegal migrants both from and transiting through Albania.

5 The agreement provided for training opportunities for 500–1000 guest workers from Albania, but has not become operational (Government of Albania, 2005a: 47).

6 According to information from IOM Tirana, the agreement with Greece does not function.

7 Presentation by representative of Italian Ministry of Labour, [http://www.migrantservicecentres.org/userfile/S\\_Achille\\_MOL\\_Italy.pdf](http://www.migrantservicecentres.org/userfile/S_Achille_MOL_Italy.pdf), accessed 29.09.2009.

The Law on emigration of Albanian citizens for work of 2006<sup>8</sup> exemplifies the special place of emigration in Albanian migration policy in general, and policy support to emigrants in particular.

The importance Albania attaches to the emigration of its citizens is reflected in the fact that, unlike many other countries with similarly high emigration levels, Albania has introduced a separate law governing labour emigration, which specifies the state policy on emigration, determines the rights and obligations arising in the process of labour emigration for the state and its institutions and the emigrants themselves. Article 1 states the purpose of the Law as: “to take care, to protect and to preserve the national identity of Albanian citizens, to maintain and keep their links to their home land” during their employment abroad. Underlying the law are the right of Albanian citizens to emigrate and the responsibility of state authorities to ensure the necessary legal and administrative facilities for those wishing to emigrate legally or to return. It ensures equal rights for Albanian emigrants to emigrate, to participate in the political life of the country, to representation in the state organs and to state protection. Emigrants have to register with the emigration authorities to obtain emigrant status. Albanian authorities undertake to guarantee the right to emigrate, to combat trafficking, protect the emigrants’ rights abroad, guarantee their equal treatment in the country<sup>9</sup>, disseminate information on job vacancies abroad, warn against and raise public awareness of misleading migration propaganda, particularly as regards women would-be migrants, cooperate with host countries to protect the rights of Albanian workers and their families and to support and help to maintain the links between its nationals abroad and the homeland.

Albania’s emigration policy also foresees initiatives to counter brain drain; indeed, the scale of emigration from Albania presents serious challenges for the country’s demographic, economic and social development, with the loss of local talent and know-how through brain drain a major concern. Between 1990 and 2003 approximately 45 per cent of research staff and professors from Albanian universities have left the country. With the support of UNDP, the government responded by introducing the “Brain Gain” programme to encourage and support the return of highly qualified expatriates or their involvement in specific projects in the country. A further objective of that programme is the establishment of a database and to collect information on Albanian scholars, graduate students and professionals who might be interested to participate in this government effort and could be approached to either return or offer their skills on a temporary or virtual basis.<sup>10</sup>

Neither immigration in general, nor labour immigration in particular, is important in Albania. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (cited by Barjaba, 2004), between 1996 and 2003 approximately 6,000 foreigners were employed in Albania. In 2006, just over 3,000 residence and slightly more than 2,000 work permits were issued to foreign workers (IOM, 2008a: 13).

According to the National Strategy on Migration (Government of Albania, 2005b), immigration is not a priority; however, the Strategy does not exclude that, in the longer term, Albania might become a country of immigration, as has been the case with southern EU members states over the last twenty years. The development of a legal framework on immigration is also seen as a prerequi-

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8 Law Nr.9668 on the emigration of Albanian citizens for work of 18.12. 2006, which supersedes and replaces the law of 2003.

9 According to article 5 of the Law, “every Albanian citizen enjoys the right of equal opportunities and treatment to emigrate, without discrimination on the grounds of race, color, sex, origin, religious belief, political conviction or social strata”.

10 <http://www.braingain.gov.al/about.asp>

site for Albania's eventual accession to the European Union. As for all Balkan countries, the European Union has become an important driver of migration policy development. Albania, which submitted its application for EU membership in April 2009, is considered a potential candidate country and, as other Western Balkan countries, participates in the Stabilisation and Association Process, having signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement in June 2006, in force since 2009.

A policy shift with regard to labour immigration occurred recently. Barjaba (2004) notes that the Act of 1999, regulating the employment of foreign workers, created "a liberal, attractive and favourable legal framework" for the employment of foreign workers. The new Law on Foreigners<sup>11</sup> was enacted in 2008 as part of the realization of the Action Plan on Migration Policy and meticulously regulates the issues of entry, stay and work of foreigners in Albania, closing a gap between the previous Albanian migration legislation and EU regulations, and aligning it with the EU *acquis* (IOM, 2004). This example clearly demonstrates the weight of EU influence and its impact on the development of Albania's labour migration policy.

The Act provides that employment of foreigners in Albania is to be governed by the work permit system. The system is well developed; there are ten different kinds of work permits, depending on the type of activity for which a permit is issued. Special permits are foreseen for seasonal work (up to six months), employees, students (up to 20 hours a week), intra-corporate transferees, transfrontier workers, volunteers, professional trainees, persons entering through the family reunification channel, the self-employed and investors. The permit for investors may be issued for up to three years, provided that at least EUR 100,000 is invested in the country. There are also permanent work permits and special permits for particular cases, such as for the staff of non-profit organizations, refugees, victims or persons at risk of becoming victims of trafficking. A permanent work permit is issued to foreigners who are legally employed for at least five years, have a stable income, health insurance, appropriate housing and a good knowledge of Albanian language and culture.

In all cases, work permits are issued only subject to prior labour market testing and when it has been demonstrated that no suitably qualified Albanian national, foreign family members of Albanians, permanent foreign residents or their family members, EU citizens or citizens of other countries with which the Republic of Albania has concluded bilateral agreements, or legally resident foreigners who have been regularly employed for at least two years in the previous five years are available locally.

In respect of some priority groups labour market testing is waived; these include foreign spouses of Albanian citizens, staff of international organizations or in the country by virtue of international agreements, ethnic Albanians (regardless of citizenship), persons who completed secondary professional education in Albania, intra-corporate transferees and persons entering for professional training (art. 42 of the Law on Foreigners).

Labour market tests and the assessment of economic benefit are a prerequisite for issuing a work permit for self-employment unless the activity generates employment, corresponds to an activity desired by Albania and/or economic development goals, or the applicant has been self-employed in Albania for at least two during the previous five years.

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11 Law no. 9959, dated 17.07.2008 "On foreigners", entered into force on 1 Dec. 2008. Official Journal of the Republic of Albania 124/2008 (unofficial English translation by IOM).

Holders of permanent residence permits do not require work permits. Besides these, there are many other exemptions from work permit obligation, though in terms of the number of persons involved, they are not significant; for instance, foreign specialists, scholars and lecturers who are in Albania by virtue of bilateral agreements, government advisors, international civil servants, diplomatic and consular staff, foreign correspondents, business persons (limited to one month), representatives of religious or humanitarian organizations involved only in voluntary work (art. 39 of the Law on Foreigners).

Art. 40, al. 6 foresees other special discretionary procedures omitting the labour market testing, where the minister responsible for the employment of foreigners may permit the issuance of work permits for particular (but not further specified) cases, provided the share of foreign workers does not exceed 10 per cent of total staff.

Apart from work permits, foreigners wishing to work in Albania have to apply for a special long-term visa, valid for up to one year and enabling their holders to stay up to 180 days (art. 14 of the Law on Foreigners). Such special visas are issued for economic, professional and commercial activities, regular and seasonal work. After entering the country a foreigner has to apply for a residence permit at the local border and migration police (art. 22) and to notify the place of residence (art. 92). For their part, employers have to register all foreign employees with the local authorities as well as any changes in their employment status (viz. conclusion of contracts or extensions) (art. 96). Illegal employment is penalized and employers and workers are fined.

In summary, in contrast to other Western Balkan countries, Albania's labour migration policy is much more directed at labour emigration rather than labour immigration issues. In that regard it is well developed, with clearly stated policy goals and legislation covering not only immigration but also emigration concerns. The development of Albania's immigration legislation precedes the actual onset of immigration itself and clearly demonstrates the strength of EU influence in the region.

### **6.3. Looking to the EU: Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)**

From a labour migration perspective, emigration remains much more important for Bosnia and Herzegovina than immigration. The traditional labour emigration during the Yugoslav era was overwhelmed by the war-related movements in the 1990s, but the economically motivated outflow continues, although the lack of data makes it difficult to assess the true scale. The emigration phenomenon is giving rise to concerns generally associated with the demographic consequences of emigration and the outflows of skilled nationals<sup>12</sup> and the government is making every effort to formulate an effective emigration policy.

An important aspect of Bosnian labour emigration policy is its participation in the development of regional cooperation on labour migration, including the temporary employment of Bosnian nationals in neighbouring countries. Such regional cooperation is being encouraged and welcomed by the EU, with special emphasis on the maintenance of such regional relations and their importance for the region's European integration prospects. Bosnia and Herzegovina signed the Protocols

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<sup>12</sup> According to a UNESCO reports, 79% of engineers and researchers, 81% science graduates with 75% at doctoral level, have left Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1995 (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 133).

on Mutual Cooperation in the field of labour recruitment, providing for cooperation between the employment services of the parties and for the protection of workers' rights, with Slovenia (2007) and Croatia (2008). In addition, the Labour and Employment Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina formulated proposals for the temporary employment of workers in Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro. The agreements foresee more employment opportunities to be made available for workers from Bosnia and Herzegovina in these countries, to reinforce measures to combat illegal employment effectively, as well as the protection of BiH workers and their rights abroad. These agreements are in the process of being finalized (Labour and Employment Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2008).

In contrast, labour immigration is not an important social phenomenon in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite significant international assistance, BiH remains one of the poorest countries in Europe, with unemployment standing at just over 40 per cent in 2008 (Labour and Employment Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2008). Any labour inflow is therefore very small.<sup>13</sup> Instead, irregular migration is of much greater concern for the government, including from a labour market perspective. Although irregular transit migration directed towards the EU via Croatia dominates and involves both foreigners and Bosnian nationals, BiH is also targeted as a destination by irregular migrants, for instance Chinese (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 119). Given the geographical situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of the southern transit routes for smugglers and traffickers to the EU, there is reason to presume that, following Croatia's accession to the EU, irregular migration flows and pressure on BiH borders will increase.

The steady flow of Bosnian returnees, though still at a low rate, is also of relevance as regards local labour market developments and presents one of the main challenges for Bosnian migration policy. The reasons for the slow pace of returns are often instability or problems in connection with local property rights, but even more so the general economic downturn and lack of employment opportunities in areas of destination.

The objectives of Bosnia and Herzegovina's migration policy were clearly stated in the Migration and Asylum Strategy and the Action Plan for 2008–2011,<sup>14</sup> which assess current deficiencies and needs and point to the activities and plans for the development and improvement in various fields relevant to migration policy, including immigration concerns. According to the documents, the main migration policy objective is the development of an effective border protection system, appropriate immigration and visa regimes and regulations to implement an asylum system in BiH

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- 13 According to the BiH Employment Agency, 2,731 work permits were issued in 2007 to foreign nationals from only three neighbouring countries: Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro, accounting for 54.01 per cent of all employed foreigners in 2007 (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 125). There is also a relatively large Chinese community, which unofficial estimates put at around 10,000 persons (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 126), while officially only 183 work permits had been issued to Chinese nationals in 2007 (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 126). Apart from workers from neighbouring countries and the growing Chinese community, Bosnia and Herzegovina also attracts highly skilled professionals from the EU and other industrialized countries, engaged in the post-war reconstruction effort and the distribution of international assistance.
- 14 As part of the goals set by the Stabilisation and Association Agreement and Roadmap for the Liberalization of the Visa Regime for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authorities need to formulate a coordinated migration and asylum strategy and action plan for foreign nationals. Consequently, the Ministry of Security appointed a Commission consisting of BiH experts from various relevant fields and IOM representatives for this task. The National Migration and Asylum Strategy and Action Plan for 2008–2011 were adopted during a regular session of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, held on 13 November 2008.

in accordance with EU standards in anticipation of eventual accession and EU membership (Bosnia and Herzegovina. Council of Ministers, 2008: 14).

The federal structure decided under the Dayton Agreement<sup>15</sup> of 1995 is also relevant to the development of the country's labour migration policy and eventual EU membership. Bosnia and Herzegovina is administratively divided into three entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBH), the Republic of Srpska (RS) and the District of Brčko; but, according to its constitution, matters concerning migration policy (regulations regarding immigration, refugees and asylum) are within the sole competence of BiH institutions (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 79), except issues of return, which are not dealt with at federal level, but are coordinated by the ministries for refugees and displaced persons of the respective entities (FBH, RS and District of Brčko) (Marinković, 2007: 56, 61), as are matters concerning the employment of foreigners (and employment matters in general), which are also within the competence of the respective entities<sup>16</sup> (Labour and Employment Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2008).

However, the cooperation is weak between the employment institutions of the two constituent entities of Bosnia and there is a need to harmonize the laws on the employment of foreigners of Bosnia and Herzegovina and those issued by the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 140). According to Hadzikadunic (2006), the difficulties in developing a coherent migration policy may be traced to the ineffectiveness of the state apparatus of Bosnia and Herzegovina designed at Dayton, as the vast, complex, expensive and mutually incompatible governance systems is not suited to meet the goal of preparing the country for European integration.

The federal regulations concerning the employment of foreigners in BiH were only recently developed. The Law of 2003 on the movement and stay of aliens and asylum (LMSAA),<sup>17</sup> which replaced the previous regulations of the 1990s, regulated the issues of the entry, stay and exit of aliens comprehensively, but the employment of foreigners was only superficially touched on by introducing the work permit obligation (article 17) for aliens willing to work or undertake any other remunerated activity in BiH.

Only the new Law on the movement and stay of aliens and asylum of 2008,<sup>18</sup> passed with a view to harmonizing the legislation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the field of migration and asylum with the EU *acquis*, regulates labour inflows in more detail, in accordance with the Strategy referred to above, and sets out the procedures concerning the employment of foreigners.

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15 The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Agreement), is the peace agreement reached in Dayton in November 1995 and formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995.

16 Employment of foreign nationals in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is governed by the Law on Employment of Foreigners in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Official Gazette of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 8/9). In Republika Srpska it is governed by the Law on Employment of Foreign Nationals and Stateless Persons (Official Gazette of RS No. 97/04), and in the Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Law on Employment of Foreigners (Official Gazette of the Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina No. 17/02).

17 Law on movement and stay of aliens and asylum, Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No 29 of 6 October 2003. [www.unhcr.ba/protection/as@refugee/01LMSAA03.pdf](http://www.unhcr.ba/protection/as@refugee/01LMSAA03.pdf).

18 Law on movement and stay of aliens and asylum, Official Gazette Bosnia and Herzegovina No 36/8 of 6 May 2008, accessed from IOM Sarajevo.



According to the new Law of 2008, all foreigners wishing to be employed in Bosnia and Herzegovina need a work permit. It is the employer who has to request a work permit from the competent authorities in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republika Srpska or the Brčko District. Work permits are issued only for the particular employer and the specific post or specific type of job for up to one year. This is in line with the Strategy recommendations that there has to be a secure job offer and an employer's guarantee before a work permit may be issued and a foreigner permitted to enter and work in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 44).

The work permit quota system was introduced by the Law of 2008, which also specifies that the Council of Ministers determines the annual quota of work permits in accordance with the goals pursued by the migration policy and prevailing labour market conditions. The quota system specifies not only the number of work permits for specific occupations, but also the particular geographical areas for which they are issued. Within the limits of the attributed quotas, priority is given to the extension of existing work permits. The quota system became operational in 2009. It set a limit of 825 new work permits and of 1,745 extensions of existing work permits (Ministry of Labour and Employment). The Strategy also recommended the introduction of a quota system and to conduct market and employment surveys to assess the need for foreign labour in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, in turn, would provide the basis for the introduction of quotas (compare Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers 2008: 140).

Employers have to obtain a work permit before they may hire a foreign worker and conclude a work contract, a copy of which must be handed to the Aliens Affairs Service no later than three days after the conclusion of the contract. Foreign workers have to obtain a temporary residence permit issued on the basis of their valid work permit before they can start to work in BiH.

As the quota system is very recent it is still too early to assess its effect. However, there are indications that the aim is not so much to limit immigration as such, but to limit low-skilled immigration. The numerous exceptions, together with the possibility to issue work permits beyond the established quotas, cover relatively large groups of potential immigrants.

Thus, according to the Law of 2008, work permits beyond the quota limit may be issued for:

- highly-educated individuals (MA/MSc or PhD);
- foreigners present and working in Bosnia and Herzegovina by virtue of international agreements;
- foreigners performing key functions in a company;
- teachers;
- athletes and individuals engaged in sport or sport-related activities;
- spouses and children of holders of permanent residence permits.

In addition, many other groups of foreigners are exempt from the work permit obligation, such as:

- acknowledged refugees, persons under international protection or who have temporary protection status;
- permanent residence permit holders;
- company executives if their presence is not for the purpose of employment and does not exceed a total of three months a year;
- various groups of researchers, scientists, teachers and experts;

- foreign government officials working in BiH by virtue of cooperation agreements with BiH authorities;
- representatives of religious communities performing duties in relation to religious services;
- international correspondents;
- artists and technical staff if they do not remain in BiH for more than 30 consecutive days or, with intervals, a total of three months a year;
- persons visiting BiH in order to participate in sports events
- persons attending conferences, seminars, fairs or exhibits;
- foreigners working in circuses or amusement parks (up to a total of three months a year);
- spouses or common-law partners of a BiH citizen or children of a BiH citizen, holding a residence permit in BiH;
- pupils and students for temporary work only.

To combat illegal employment, sanctions are foreseen for employing a foreigner without a work permit where such is required. Although such sanctions are provided for under the labour laws in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska, there are certain differences between the two parts of Bosnia. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina sanctions are foreseen against both the foreign worker, who loses his right to work in the country, and the employer, who is either fined or, if it is a repeat offence, is both fined and has his business temporarily closed. In contrast, although the Republika Srpska provides for the same penalties for the employer, there are no particular penalties for the foreign irregular worker (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008: 141–142).

In summary, it is clear that Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the process of developing its migration policy by improving the relevant laws, building institutional capacity, determining and attributing the relevant competencies and further developing its operational infrastructure. However, the speedy implementation of the migration policy is hampered by limited financial resources, the lack of clearly determined and attributed responsibilities owing to the federal structure of the country, as well as procedural gaps that have yet to be remedied (Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers, 2008:166).

Currently, the migration policy does not concentrate on labour inflows but rather on more acute issues such as border protection and security, combating illegal migration and the trafficking in human beings, or the reintegration of returnees. As is the case for other Western Balkan countries, the EU has played an important role in the development of the country's migration policy. An important incentive to cooperate with EU requirements is the prospect of eventual EU membership. Given that the main EU focus and funding were directed towards border management issues and the prevention of irregular migration, these issues also predominated in Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts concerning its own migration management system and policies. Because of the pervasive EU influence, local migration and asylum laws and regulations are closely aligned to the EU *acquis*, even though refugee and other inflows are relatively insignificant compared to labour emigration. The involvement and development of bilateral forms of cooperation concerning labour migration in the Western Balkan region are therefore of particular importance for Bosnia and Herzegovina and deserve special attention.

#### 6.4. Turning into an immigration and emigration country: Croatia

Unlike other Western Balkan countries, Croatia is gradually turning from a purely emigration into an immigration and emigration country (see Chapter 2). Given Croatia's well advanced progress towards EU accession, its political stabilization and economic growth, the country attracts increasing numbers of immigrants, especially from neighbouring countries. As this situation is still relatively new, it brings with it a number of challenges concerning the country's migration policy, such as the management of labour inflows in accordance with labour market needs and the evolving and growing labour demand of a growing economy which calls for skills that cannot be fully satisfied locally, labour outflows, especially of skilled labour, and the combat of irregular migration and human trafficking.

Croatia initiated accession negotiations with the EU in 2005 and the preparations and ongoing negotiations remain a crucial element for policy development and change in many areas, including migration. The priorities for migration policy development were laid down in the Accession Partnership of 2007 (European Communities 2008a). Among these was the call for closer cooperation and the alignment of national legislation with the EU *acquis*, in particular concerning the visa policy and the Schengen *acquis*, as well as measures to facilitate the sustainable return of Croatian Serbs. Other migration issues subject to Croatia-EU cooperation which were already raised in the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA, European Communities 2005) were further elaborated in the Accession Partnership.

The Migration Policy of the Republic of Croatia for 2007/2008, a strategic document, was adopted by the Croatian Parliament in June 2007. It specifies the major migration policy goals as well as the policy measures to implement them. The document setting out Croatia's migration strategy was complemented by the Action Plan for the Implementation of the Migration Policy of the Republic of Croatia.<sup>19</sup> Labour migration policy figured prominently among the main policy goals, as did the elaboration of an efficient and transparent system to manage regular migration. The Action Plan also specified a detailed timetable and attributed the various responsibilities among the stakeholders for the achievement of the policy objectives. Regarding labour migration, one of the primary objectives concerned the adjustment of immigration regulations and conditions according to the needs of the Croatian labour market, and the EU *acquis*.<sup>20</sup> This was to be achieved through improved monitoring of the labour market situation and the issuance of work permits subject to labour market needs. An analysis of the documents allows the conclusion that labour immigration occupies an important though not preponderant, place within the general Croatian migration policy.

As part of the EU adjustment process, two new alien acts were adopted in 2004 and 2007, respectively, while the most recent amendments came into force in March 2009. As a result, the law on foreigners is almost entirely aligned with the EU *acquis*.

The Aliens Act 2007,<sup>21</sup> in force since 2008, governs the entry and stay of foreigners in Croatia, including labour immigration. According to this Act, foreigners who hold regular employment in

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19 Action Plan for the Implementation of the Migration Policy of the Republic of Croatia for 2007/2008 (document received from IOM Croatia).

20 Ibidem, p. 67.

21 Aliens Act 2007. Republic of Croatia; <http://policija.hr/mup.hr/UserDocsImages/engleska%20verzija/The%20Aliens%20Act.PDF>.

Croatia are guaranteed the same rights in employment and working conditions as nationals (article 115). The Act also regulates the issuance of work permit for foreigners. The number of work permits issued is subject to annual quotas set by the government and determined in accordance with national migration policy goals and labour market needs.<sup>22</sup> Quotas are established for both new and the renewal of existing work permits. They also determine the activities and professions for which they are issued and the respective number of permits within each category, as well as for seasonal employment (article 118). The objective of the quota system is to be able to respond flexibly to changing labour market needs and to direct labour migration into areas where there is a shortage of particular skills.

However, not all work permits in Croatia are subject to the quota system, such as:

- daily commuters from abroad on the basis of reciprocity;
- key personnel and persons holding key positions in companies, branch offices and representative offices of foreign companies;
- internal staff transfers within companies;
- teachers teaching in the language of a national minority;
- professional athletes and individuals engaged in sports or sports-related activities;
- if provided for under international agreements (article 119 of Aliens Act 2007).

The following groups of foreigners are similarly exempt from the work permit obligation (article 140 of Aliens Act 2007):

- permanent residents;
- refugees;
- aliens granted temporary stay for the purpose of family reunification with a Croatian national;
- victims of human trafficking;
- students if they obtain work through the mediation of authorized agents and that such work is of a temporary nature and does not entail employment;
- foreign nationals granted temporary stay for the purpose of research;
- foreign nationals who have been granted an autonomous stay permit.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, there are many other categories of foreigners who are exempt from the work permit obligation, provided their work does not exceed 30 days in any one year. Other foreigners may be issued business permits for up to one year, renewable:

- founders or sole proprietors of their company, who have registered their business activity in Croatia, provided their companies benefit the local economy and labour market and are approved by the state administrative office competent for economic affairs;
- persons exercising a liberal profession approved by the state administrative office responsible for businesses carried out by foreign nationals;

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22 The government's decision is based on the proposal by the Ministry of Economics, Labour and Entrepreneurship and the opinions of the Croatian Employment Service, the Croatian Chamber of Economics, the Croatian Crafts Chamber and representatives of social partners. The Ministry of Interior is responsible for issuing work and business permits and is the leading ministry in all migration matters (information from IOM Zagreb).

23 Autonomous stay is a form of temporary stay granted to aliens who have been granted temporary stay for the purpose of family reunification for an uninterrupted four-year period at least; <http://www.mup.hr/1266.aspx>.

- foreign nationals who provide services on behalf of a foreign employer if the latter has concluded a contract with a company in Croatia, and subject to approval by the competent state administrative office.

In conclusion, although the basic regulation of labour immigration in Croatia is the quota system, there are a number of other legal labour immigration channels. An increasing number of labour immigrants are attracted by the growing Croatian economy. The unemployment rate reached 9.4 per cent in 2007, having declined from 11.1 per cent in 2006 and 12.7 per cent in 2005, and is the lowest in the Western Balkans region (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). In 2008, 12,778 work and business permits were issued.<sup>24</sup> However, only a small part of the inflow was actually realized through the quota system in recent years. The annual quota for work permits for 2007 was 4,613 of which 2,613 were intended for new permits. The largest number of new work permits was allocated to three sectors: construction (1,580 permits), shipbuilding (622) and tourism (257) (IOM, 2007b: 38). These were all sectors with important labour shortages. Interestingly, however, the demand for new work permits in previous years remained relatively low, reaching only 42 per cent in 2004, 67 per cent in 2005 and 60 per cent in 2006. The quota for seasonal immigration was introduced only in 2005 and foresaw 400 permits, of which 248 (60%) were actually utilized (IOM, 2007b: 32). The low levels of quota utilization indicate that the system does not respond adequately to actual labour market needs. One possible explanation for this might be lack of adequate labour market analysis and the scarcity of data for the adequate assessment of the quotas. The mismatch between the quota system and labour market needs becomes even more apparent through the growing numbers of foreigners illegally employed in such sectors as tourism, catering, trade and construction (IOM, 2007b: 32). Positioned on the Balkan route to the EU used by irregular migrants and their smugglers, Croatia is mainly a transit country for irregular migrants, but is also turning into a destination country for some of them (IOM, 2007b: 33). Irregular workers originate mainly from neighbouring countries, BiH in particular (Božić, 2007: 30).

Preoccupied with immigration and EU adjustment issues, labour emigration does not play an important part in Croatian migration policy. Emigration from Croatia is not as high as in other countries of the region (see Chapter 2), and invites policy interest mainly from the perspective of return. Božić (2007) estimates that there are more than 400,000 Croatian labour migrants in European countries alone, constituting a large pool for potential return migration. As Božić (2007: 21–25) states, the issue of return of Croatian emigrants is present in public debates and there is a consensus that such return is a desirable policy goal from a demographic and economic perspective. The Croatian Institute for Migration and Ethnicity conducted a special research on the Croatian diaspora between 1996 and 2002, one of the aims being to assess the potential for return (IOM, 2007b: 36).

Of special policy concern for Croatia, as in the entire south-eastern region also, are the issues of brain drain and brain waste. A special programme, the Unity Through Knowledge Fund, was launched by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport to encourage the return or the cooperation by Croatian scientists and researchers living abroad with home country institutions in order to benefit from this potential to further the country's development (IOM, 2007b: 33).

Croatia has signed bilateral labour migration agreements with Slovenia (1994), and agreements on guest workers and on posted workers with Germany (2002). Consequently, about 3,000 posted

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24 Data from the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Croatia, 2008, accessed from IOM Zagreb.

workers, over 4,000 seasonal workers and over 100 guest workers have been employed in Germany yearly between 2004 and 2008 (Ministry of Interior, 2009).

To summarize, despite its emigration tradition and continuous labour emigration, mostly to EU countries, Croatia is much more preoccupied with labour immigration and its regulation. The main challenge for the policy is to match the inflow to labour market needs. The basic instrument for immigration management, annual quotas for work permits, has not been as effective as expected. One of the reasons has been a lack of high-quality labour market analyses and reliable assessments of labour market needs for foreign labour. The limits set by quotas have not been used, whereas at the same time the developing economy, especially tourism, has generated a demand for more immigrant labour. This issue was addressed by the Action Plan on Migration<sup>25</sup> and efforts were made to conduct better labour market analyses as the basis for effective immigration management. All in all, the challenges for the Croatian labour migration policy are more similar to those of EU countries than is the case of other Western Balkan countries.

### **6.5. Concentrating on immigration in an emigration country: the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is a typical emigration country with outflows outnumbering inflows (see Chapter 2). With an official unemployment rate of 33 per cent and a fragile economy, the country is not an attractive destination for labour migrants (see Chapter 2). Any irregular inflows are also quite insignificant and do not impact the socio-economic development of the country (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008: 26). Moreover, given its geopolitical position, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia remains mainly a transit country, including for irregular migration.

The EU accession process is of major importance for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in relation to its migration policy in general, and labour migration policy in particular. The country, an official candidate for EU accession since 2005, signed the Accession Partnership in 2008, according to which the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is called upon to ensure the alignment of its laws and regulations with the relevant *acquis* in the area of asylum and immigration (European Communities 2008b). The development of local migration laws and policies is, therefore, largely EU-driven, and the underlying principles and goals were presented in a migration policy intended by the National Programme as part of the preparatory process towards EU accession and adopted by the government in December 2008. The Macedonian migration policy pursues the following main objectives, as stated in the resolution (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008: 33):

- The efficient and transparent management of legal migration, in accordance with the requirements of national development, in particular economic and demographic objectives.
- The respect for human rights in accordance with national legislation and relevant international instruments.
- The prevention of irregular border crossings, cross-border crime and the smuggling and trafficking in persons.

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25 Action Plan for the Implementation of the Migration Policy of the Republic of Croatia for 2007/2008.

## 6.5. Concentrating on immigration in an emigration country

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As in other migration policy areas, the EU influence is evident also in the regulation of labour migration. According to the resolution (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008: 35), the main policy aim with regard to the inflow of foreigners and their employment in the country is to monitor and harmonize the national legislation with the EU *acquis*. Other aims include the creation of a centralized database on foreigners, and improved employment procedures concerning foreign employees able to fill the labour market gap for desirable and needed skills, such as investors and highly skilled professionals in various disciplines.

These aims were to be achieved, i.a., through the new legislation and regulations. Until 2007, the employment of foreign workers was governed by the Law of 1979 on the Conditions of Establishing Employment Relations with Foreign Citizens, amended in 1989 and again in 1993. The main provision stipulated that a foreigner could be employed only if the necessary qualifications and skills could not be found locally (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008: 16). Today, labour immigration is governed by the Law on Employment and Work of Foreigners of 2007.<sup>26</sup> The driving force behind the new law was twofold. First, the main aim was to align the law with the EU *acquis* in the field, so as to fulfil the obligations resulting from the European Partnership Action Plan and the Work Program of the Government. Second, the law aims to improve the climate for potential foreign investors (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008).

Under this law, the main instrument regulating the inflow remains the work permit system. The law provides for equal treatment and non-discrimination (article 4). The work permit may be issued at the request of the foreign national (article 10) or the employer (article 11).

The law also foresees a special procedure for the issuing of personal work permits valid for one to three years or for an indeterminate period. The issuing of such personal work permits is independent of the labour market situation and reserved for particular groups of individuals (according to article 12 of the Law on Employment and Work of Foreigners):

- Close family members of Macedonian citizens holding a valid temporary residence permit;
- Close family members of a foreigner holding a personal work permit of indeterminate duration;
- Foreigners who are originally from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia or their successors up to the third generation, who do not hold Macedonian citizenship;
- Foreigners granted a temporary residence permit for the purpose of family reunion;
- Asylum seekers whose claim to asylum has not been determined within a one-year period;
- Refugees;
- Foreigners granted humanitarian protection status;
- Foreigners granted temporary protection status.

In addition, foreign students may work up to ten hours per week without a work permit.

The employment of foreigners has to be registered with the Employment Agency, which maintains a database on the employment of foreigners and also issues the registration certificate attesting to the legality of the employment.

The new law sets annual quotas to control and steer the employment of foreign nationals in line with local labour market needs. According to the decision concerning the establishment of quotas for the

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<sup>26</sup> Law on Employment and Work of Foreigners, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, no. 70 of 2007.

issuing of work permits for foreign nationals in 2008, a quota of 3,500 work permits was established, which represents a very liberal system, because – as the authors from the Interdepartmental Group for the Creation of the Migration Policy (IGCMP, 2009) point out – this quota is 3.5 times higher than the requests for the employment of foreign nationals submitted during the previous few years. Official numbers of the inflow of foreign workers remain low: a total of 5,867 work permits were issued for the period 2002–2007 (IGCMP, 2009: 10–11) with foreign workers originating mainly from Serbia, Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria.

Despite such low volumes, the new law contains provisions that may be applied in case of an increase in the inflow of labour migrants independently of labour market needs and according to which, the government may limit or prohibit the employment and work of foreigners by regions, areas, companies and employment categories. Furthermore, the government may limit or stop the flow of new foreign workers on the whole or in certain municipalities should reasonable grounds exist for the public or general commercial interest (article 5 (7)). Moreover, the government may decide to take special measures to limit the presence of self-employed foreigners if they are seen to contribute to the growth of the national unemployment rate (article 5 (9)). Such special precautions may be taken in times of difficult economic conditions and very high unemployment rates.

The Law also testifies to the government's determination to combat the irregular employment of foreigners<sup>27</sup> and imposes high fines on employers (between EUR 3,000 and 5,000) and foreign workers (EUR 500) if they are found to contravene the law (articles 39, 40 and 41).

Although the integration of immigrants in general as well as work-related integration measures are currently regulated by a number of different laws, it is planned to pass a separate law on the integration of foreign nationals to cover all integration-related issues in a comprehensive manner (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008: 22).

A close look at the law shows that the country is aligning its migration law successfully with EU requirements. However, apart from matters arising in connection with labour immigration and which are the main focus of concern for EU countries, the main problems for the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia concern emigration and the large expatriate community, as well as the potential of remittances and investments from members of the diaspora (van Selm, 2007). Indeed, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is a typical emigration country with a long-standing tradition of emigration and, as a result, a significant diaspora. The negative social, demographic and economic consequences of large-scale emigration are indisputable. The main challenges for migration policy are how to alleviate the negative impact of emigration and how to maximize the benefits from migration, i.e. via the incentives to return, or to circular or short-term emigration, or to optimize the use of remittances. Thus the policy on diaspora therefore occupies a significant place in the country's evolving migration policy. The number of Macedonians living abroad is estimated at around 400,000 (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008: 11). Although the Macedonian diaspora is not well organized, it does have political and economic weight, especially as a source of remittances and potential investments, which the government is endeavouring to encourage. The large-scale emigration has led to typical emigration-related difficulties, in particular such arising in connection with brain drain and the loss of skilled nationals, which represents a major challenge

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27 Art. 4(13) provides that "any facilitation, incentive or participation in illegal employment of foreigners or of Macedonian citizens abroad" is subject to legal sanctions.



for the government and its migration policy (IGCMP, 2009: 14). According to the resolution on the country's migration policy of 2009–2014 (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008: 34) the main policy aim in relation to the diaspora is to mitigate the negative impact of brain drain on the country's socio-economic development and growth. Among the countervailing measures to stem the loss of local skills and knowledge are efforts to facilitate temporary or circular migration and to promote return, including temporary returns for expatriates to benefit from their special skills and expertise in various fields of importance to the country's growth, and that are not otherwise available. As part of this endeavour, the government is considering a number of measures to be able to assess the size and geographical spread of the diaspora communities more accurately, including the establishment of a database and the registration of particular categories of Macedonian expatriates whose support and contribution would be of particular value and benefit to the country and its citizens (diaspora mapping).

### 6.6. Labour destination of Western Balkans: Montenegro

Montenegro is the youngest European country, having gained independence in 2006 by seceding from Serbia. Because of these very recent developments access to reliable migration data and migration policy analysis is tenuous, given that the available data span only a maximum of three years (2006, 2007 and 2008) and that policies, institutional frameworks and legislative programmes are still at an early stage of development.

Montenegro has recently become an important labour migration destination, primarily though not exclusively, for migrants from Western Balkan countries (see Chapter 2). The inflow of both regular and irregular migrant workers is in response to labour market shortages in Montenegro as a result of the transformation of its economy, which is generating needs for new skills. This, together with the low mobility of the local population, resulted in significant labour market shortages despite the country's high official unemployment rate.

The cooperation with the EU (a potential candidate country since 2006, Montenegro submitted its application for EU membership in 2008) contributed significantly to the country's efforts to develop an effective migration policy. However, this is still at an early stage, as also confirmed by the EU in its latest report on the policy development process (European Commission, 2008b).

The Migration Office, established as recently as 2007, prepared a Migration Strategy and an Action Plan, both of which were adopted in September 2008. The Strategy set one of the main goals for Montenegro's migration policy: to establish a legal, regulatory and institutional framework to create an appropriate foundation for the effective implementation of the policy and the control of migration flows in accordance with the rules and standards of the EU *acquis* (Government of Montenegro, 2008).

Previously, the employment of foreigners in Montenegro was regulated by the Law on the Employment and Work of Foreigners of 2004. Following Montenegro's independence the need arose for new laws and regulations, and in 2008 a new law on the employment of foreigners was promulgated.<sup>28</sup> The main objective of this law was to ensure the monitoring of the migration policy by estab-

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28 Law on Employment and Work of Foreigners (Official Gazette of Montenegro 22/08) of 10 April 2008 (in force since 1 January 2009).

lishing annual quotas for work permits for foreigners, the non-discrimination and equality of foreign workers and to combat the irregular employment of foreigners more effectively by imposing appropriate sanctions. The law stipulates the following rules governing the regular employment of a foreign national in Montenegro: the foreign national must hold a valid work permit, a permanent or temporary residence permit, have a valid employment contract or civil-law contract and has to be registered. Three types of work permits are envisaged: a personal work permit, an employment permit and a work permit, all to be issued by the Employment Bureau.

A personal work permit is issued to permanent residents, refugees and persons granted subsidiary protection. It provides the foreigner with free access to the labour market regardless of the labour market situation. The related rights and obligations and unemployment benefits of foreigner holding a personal work permit are the same as for Montenegrin citizens. Such a personal work permit is issued upon a request submitted by the foreigner and, as a rule, for an unlimited period of time. Only exceptionally might it be issued for a limited period of up to one year for a person granted subsidiary protection.

An employment permit is issued at the request of an employer for a limited period of up to one year and for a particular position to be filled by the foreigner.

A work permit is issued for a fixed period at the request of an employer. Depending on its particular purpose, the work permit may be issued for seasonal work, for cross-border services, for particular specializations and qualifications that are needed, for intra-corporate transfers and for the provision of services. The main reason to differentiate work permits according to their purpose is the need to monitor the employment of foreigners.

The fees for the work permits are rather high at EUR 165 for a personal work permit, EUR 110 for an employment permit, and EUR 90 for a work permit.<sup>29</sup> The employment of a foreigner is to be registered with the Employment Bureau within 15 days of commencement and termination thereof.

The annual quota system for work permits continues to be applied under the new law. The quotas are determined by the government on a yearly basis in accordance with the migration and labour market situation. The quota for 2009 foresaw 39,450 work permits for foreign workers. Of these 34,300 permits are foreseen for seasonal employment in construction (13,500), tourism (10,500), agriculture (3,500) and other smaller labour market segments.<sup>30</sup>

Little is known about current labour emigration flows and patterns from Montenegro. As other post-Yugoslav countries, Montenegro has a history of high emigration, which led to the creation of diaspora communities estimated at around 200,000 persons of Montenegrin origin living in neighbouring countries, the EU and North and Latin America. Recently, efforts were made to establish links to the Montenegrin diaspora with a view to attracting investors and maintain their links with the homeland.

In conclusion it may be said that, notwithstanding Montenegro's short period of independence, the country has a well developed legal system to regulate labour migration inflows and that, as a result of its economic development, it attracts numerous workers from neighbouring countries.

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29 Information from IOM Office in Podgorica.

30 Information from IOM Office in Podgorica.

In 2007, regularly employed foreigners holding valid work permits accounted for over nine per cent of country's population, which makes Montenegro a significant destination for labour migration flows within the Western Balkan region.

### **6.7. Increasing focus on labour migration: Serbia**

Labour migration did not occupy a very important place in Serbian migration policy in recent years, as several other more important issues took precedence. Of particular concern among them was to control irregular migration and human trafficking, and to find appropriate solution for the pressing issue of refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as the strengthening of border protection and security.

However, following most recent developments and the adoption of the Migration Management Strategy in July 2009, the importance of labour migration policy has grown. According to the Strategy document, Serbia has identified the following strategic migration policy objectives:

- Establishing and implementing mechanisms for the comprehensive and consistent monitoring of migration flows in the Republic of Serbia.
- Integrating the strategic, legal and institutional framework for the joint management of migration.
- Protection of the rights of migrants, the creation of conditions for the integration and social inclusion by raising general awareness of the importance of migration (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009).

The migration situation in Serbia and the main challenges in regard to migratory moves are analysed in the Strategy document, which also establishes the institutional framework for policy implementation and defines the different elements of the Serbian migration policy. Among the latter are the country's visa policy, an integrated border management, measures to ensure regular residence of foreigners, mechanisms for the social integration of migrants, the protection of Serbian nationals working and residing abroad, as well as an active employment policy (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009).

The Migration Management Strategy was adopted as a means to implement the roadmap for the liberalization of the visa regime in response to EU requirements on the further harmonization of Serbian policies in the field of asylum, migration and the visa regime with the EU *acquis*. This illustrates the importance and powerful impulse of EU requirements on the development of Serbia's migration policy. As a potential EU candidate country, the pro-European orientation in Serbia has grown since the new pro-European government came to power in 2008. Thus, special emphasis has been placed on cooperating with the EU in combating irregular migration and human trafficking (European Communities, 2008c). Serbia's progress in respect of the Stabilisation and Association Process has been reviewed by the EU and, in general, found Serbia moderately advanced in the area of visa, border protection and migration policy (European Commission, 2008c: 48–50). The adoption of the Migration Management Strategy and its implementation is expected to further advance the harmonization process with EU requirements in the field of migration.

Labour emigration remains a more serious challenge for Serbia than labour immigration (see Chapter 2). In that regard, two policy approaches may be distinguished: a) Serbia's policy concerning its large diaspora; b) Serbia's policy concerning current labour emigration.

Serbia has a long tradition of emigration and the size of its large diaspora is estimated at between 2.5 and 4.5 million, out of a total population of 7,498,001 (2002 census) (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009: 3). Because of the importance of the Serbian diaspora, a special ministry, the Ministry for the Diaspora was created in 2004 to encourage and maintain close contacts between the diaspora and the home country and to enable and encourage Serbian expatriates to vote in local elections, to stimulate their return, prevent further emigration caused by problems arising in connection with military service, and inform the diaspora of the existing housing and working environment, living conditions and investment opportunities in Serbia. The importance of the diaspora in the country's emigration policy was further underlined by the adoption of the declaration on the relations between Serbia and its diaspora as an important government objective by the Ministry of the Diaspora in 2006 (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009: 7). The Ministry, in cooperation with IOM, has also launched a project encouraging the temporary return of Serbian professionals (IOM, 2009: 14–18). The planned law on diaspora is intended to further intensify these relations and strengthen the ties between the Serbian diaspora and the home country. For instance, a Diaspora Assembly is envisaged which would gather the most important Serbian authorities and social representatives as well as of the diaspora. Planned are the registration of members of the Serbian diaspora community and the issuance of diaspora identity documents which would confer on their holders a privileged status in Serbia (IOM, 2009: 47).

The Serbian diaspora continues to grow because of the continuing labour emigration from the country (see Chapter 2), further aggravating the serious issue of brain drain and the loss of needed local know-how and expertise. The Serbian government recognizes the importance of programmes to encourage the temporary return of highly educated Serbian emigrants and their contribution to the country's economic, scientific and technological advancement and the creation in general of a more attractive economic and social environment for the return of emigrants and their active involvement on the local labour market (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009: 29).

Labour emigration is only marginally regulated by bilateral labour migration agreements. Serbia has renewed its cooperation with Germany on the basis of a labour migration agreement of 1988 on the detachment of workers and a monthly quota of some 2,500 Serbian workers was established as from 2006. Although the quota has not been fully utilized, the number of detached Serbian workers in Germany has gradually increased between 2006 and 2009 to 52 per cent of the quota, or 1,134 workers in January 2009 (Ministry of Economy and Regional Development, 2009). The agreement with Libya on cooperation on healthcare issues (2000) provided for the employment of Serbian medical staff in Libya (188 Serbian workers up to 2006) (IOM, 2009: 38). An agreement has also been concluded with Belarus, while a further agreement with Bosnia and Herzegovina is being negotiated (IOM, 2008a) and Algeria has expressed its interest to recruit medical staff in Serbia.<sup>31</sup>

Labour migration flows to Serbia are not significant (see Chapter 2). The country's economy, devastated by the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s, is still in a process of transition and restructuring. Although the unemployment rate has been declining in recent years, it still reached 15.6 per cent in 2009.<sup>32</sup> Given the discouraging economic conditions, the country is not attracting many labour migrants. In 2008, only about 6,300 residence permits were issued to foreigners for employment (data from the

31 Information obtained from IOM Belgrade.

32 According to Labour Force Survey, <http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/axd/en/drugastrana.php?Sifra=0018&izbor=odel&tab=152>

Ministry of Interior, cited by IOM, 2009). The number of work permits issued to foreign workers is even lower: 1,699 work permits were issued in 2006; 1,721 in 2007 and 2,226 in 2008 (Ministry of Economy and Regional Development, 2009).

Basic regulations regarding the inflow and stay of foreigners in Serbia can be found in the Law on Foreigners, adopted in 2008 and in force since April 2009. The law regulates the conditions of entry and stay of foreigners. It superseded the previous act of 1980 and aims to harmonize the legislation with the EU association process requirements. The employment of foreigners is regulated by the Federal Law on Conditions of Work and Employment of Foreign Citizens of 1978 (a new law is to be enacted in 2010 (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2009: 9)).

All foreigners wishing to work in Serbia have to have a valid work permit issued by the offices of the National Employment Service. Work permits are issued in accordance with labour market testing procedure and only when neither Serbian candidate nor a national of countries with which Serbia has concluded bilateral labour agreements can be found on the local labour market. Similar to the procedure applied in other countries, some categories of foreigner wishing to pursue an economic activity in Serbia are exempt from the obligation to obtain a work permit. Such categories include managers, specialists and persons working independently as self-employed founders of businesses. However, this latter category was reportedly also misused by some migrants to avoid the labour market testing procedure and most of whom, once they had been issued a residence permit on the basis of self-employment, subsequently applied for work permits.

Although the inflow of regular labour migrants is relatively small, other migratory flows continue to pose significant challenges for the local labour market. Among these are the numerous war refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Serbia. The number of war refugees is estimated at around 100,000, with the largest share from Croatia (70,000) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (27,000), and a further 200,000 IDPs from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. Against this background, the National Strategy for Resolving the Problems of Refugees and IDPs was adopted in 2002, at a time when there were almost 700,000 IDPs in the country. That number was significantly reduced to just over 300,000 by 2009, mainly as the result of two government initiatives: improving the conditions of return, and improving the conditions for the local integration of those applying for Serbian citizenship. Returns to Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 are especially difficult because of the unstable situation and, according to Serbian estimates, only between 13,000 and 18,000 refugees actually returned (IOM, 2009: 58). The continued presence of large numbers of refugees presents a considerable challenge from a labour market perspective. Even though refugees and IDPs have the right to work, research in 2005 showed that at, respectively, 30.6 and 20.8 per cent, the unemployment rate among refugees was much higher than among the general population, and this despite the fact that refugees were often better educated (Grecić, 2007: 83).

A potential issue at stake is the return of Serbian nationals who either did not receive or lost their temporary protection status in European countries. Between 2000 and 2008, over 12,000 Serb nationals were repatriated under voluntary return programmes from Germany alone, led by the German government and IOM (IOM, 2009: 23). Return not only poses the challenge of reintegration in general, but also from a labour market perspective. To meet these challenges, the Strategy for Reintegration of Returnees under Readmission Agreements was adopted in February 2009, which envisages the establishment of regional reception centres for returnees, but these are not yet operational.

In summary, two main factors stand out as affecting the development of Serbia's migration policy. First and foremost, the urgent and difficult problem of post-war refugees and IDPs on Serbian territory; second, the difficult yet progressing process of European integration. As has been shown, labour migration policy is not an immediate issue in Serbia's migration policy development as a whole. In its assessment of Serbia's policy needs, IOM (2008c) points to the many national strategies on migration-related issues, viz. refugees, IDPs, returnees, human trafficking and diaspora concerns, that partially overlap and should be better coordinated and approached comprehensively for the sake of a coherent migration policy. The same is true concerning institutional structures and the attribution of competences among various administrative organs which continue to suffer from a lack of coordination and the resulting gaps or the overlapping of responsibilities.

### **6.8. UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo and its migration policy**

Since 1999 under the interim administration of the United Nations (United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo - UNMIK), UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo<sup>33</sup> declared its independence in February 2008.<sup>34</sup> Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 has only recently started to build the foundations to function as a separate unit in many areas, including the international flow of people. The first legal foundations for migration management were already laid down in 2008 with the adoption in February of a Law on Travel Documents and, in May 2008, the first Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 passports were issued by the Ministry of Interior (MoI). Moreover, a number of basic legal acts for the development of a future migration policy were adopted, including the Law on Foreigners (December 2008), the Law on Integrated Border Management and Border Security (May 2008) and the Law on Asylum (May 2008).

The EU influence on these developments was significant, but the Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 legislation has yet to be harmonized with the EU *acquis*. Besides the issues of official recognition,<sup>35</sup> cooperation between the EU and Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 was initiated already in 1999. The most important framework for this cooperation is the EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX), to assist and support the Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 authorities in all matters concerning the establishment of appropriate legal and judicial institutions and the primacy of the rule of law, in particular as concerns the police, the judiciary and customs areas. In 2008, the EU concluded the European Partnership Agreement with Serbia, including Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. Consequently, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 is de facto treated as a potential candidate country and separate progress reports on its development are being prepared. The latest EU report on Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 of 2008 (European Commission 2008a; pp. 51–52) states that, despite the new developments referred to above, a number of significant shortcomings still exist in the migration, border security and asylum fields. As the report states, “the capacity of the Border and Boundary Police to carry out effective border and boundary control,

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33 Hereinafter referred to as “Kosovo/UNSCR 1244”.

34 The independence of Kosovo/UNSCR1244 was recognized by 58 countries (as of May 2009); however, the majority of countries did not recognize the independence of Kosovo UNSCR 1244, including, e.g. Serbia and Russia. The proceedings of the International Court of Justice on the legality of the declaration of independence are ongoing.

35 The EU officially only “took note” of the Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 declaration of independence.

in particular in northern Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and on the green borders, remains to be significantly improved".<sup>36</sup> Moreover, many sections of the border area have not yet been demarcated.<sup>37</sup>

In view of the foregoing, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 is at the stage of laying the first foundations of its migration policy in general, and labour migration policy in particular. According to Kosovar stakeholders, the main impediments to the development of an effective migration policy are the lack of statistics on emigration, the absence of relevant organizational structures for the implementation and administration of the migration policy and a still rudimentary legal infrastructure (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2009).

For Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, like many other countries of the region, the main concern regarding labour migration flows is over emigration rather than immigration (see Chapter 2). However, the local authorities also acknowledge the absence of an emigration policy, and this despite the continuing high emigration potential, which is mainly driven by the high unemployment rate of 43 per cent, the young population profile (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2009) and well established migration networks in destination countries.

Emigration from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 during the 1990s was both politically and economically motivated. The conflict of 1998–1999 provoked a huge wave of forced migration, with the neighbouring countries of Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia receiving the bulk of refugees fleeing from the conflict. Most of the refugees have since returned to Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. Today, the major challenge for the local authorities is to ensure reintegration of Kosovars who continue to return from European countries. Many had been granted refugee status or another form of protection and regularization of their stay in various European countries. However, the number of Kosovars without legal status abroad is estimated at around 100,000, many of whom entered illegally, or whose asylum claim was rejected, or who overstayed their visa entitlement, or whose residence permit was cancelled because of, e.g., criminal activities (UNMIK&PISK, 2007: 7).

In order to be able to respond to the return and reintegration challenges, the United Nation Mission in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 developed a reintegration strategy in collaboration with experts from the local government and international organizations, and approved by the government in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 already in October 2007. The Strategy also addressed the employment issue and measures to integrate the returnees into the local, already overburdened, labour market.

Apart from returns, there is little information on other types of inflows. However, the legal foundations for the regulation of inflows already exist. The Law on Foreigners<sup>38</sup> contains the basic elements on the entry and stay as well as the employment of foreigners in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. A foreigner is

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36 In particular, the report points to the existence of unofficial or seasonal border crossings that are not or only in part controlled by the Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 authorities; insufficient inter-institutional cooperation in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244, lack of formal integrated border management agreements with neighbouring countries; lack of appropriate communication systems to collect and exchange entry and exit data. On a more positive note, the report recognizes that the Border and Boundary Police of Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 have started to cooperate with their counterparts in Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro.

37 The demarcation process for the border with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is ongoing, the border with Albania is only partly marked, while the borders with Serbia and Montenegro have yet to be demarcated.

38 Law on Foreigners, Law No. 03/L-126 of 16 December 2008, accessed at: [http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/law\\_on\\_foringers.pdf](http://www.mpb-ks.org/repository/docs/law_on_foringers.pdf) on 7.05.2009.

not allowed to accept paid employment on the basis of a visa alone (article 14 (3)); regular employment is one among other purposes for which a temporary stay may be granted. Foreigners holding a valid work permit may be granted a temporary stay for the purpose of employment and for the duration of their work permit. The same applies to foreign nationals who do not require a work permit but intend to stay in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 for more than 30 days and who satisfy the conditions for employment provided for by law (article 40). A foreign national present in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 on the basis of a temporary permit for the purpose of family reunification is not allowed to work without a work permit (article 43). More detailed regulations are foreseen in the separate legal act on employment of foreigners, which, however, has not yet been enacted.

To conclude, the process of developing a legal system on migration was initiated under the UN administration of Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and received further impetus in the wake of the declaration of independence in February 2008. So far, the regulations are at a very early stage of development and far from meeting the EU *acquis*. Similarly, the implementation of the rules on the management of migration flows is still rudimentary. Thus, a considerable amount of time and effort is still required to achieve an effective labour migration policy. At this stage, the main challenge confronting the local authorities is to maximize the benefits and remittances received from members of the large diaspora community (mainly persons with regular status) and to reintegrate returnees into the local society and the labour market, (mainly returnees who failed to obtain legal status abroad).

## **6.9. Comparison and analysis**

Although the countries reviewed all share a common socialist past, they have since developed along different and quite distinct pathways. Among the various important factors that distinguish their respective situations, in particular the consequences of the war, their respective economic performance and political stability, there are also issues relating to migration and migration policy. Western Balkan countries experienced to various extents the war-induced population movements and the related challenges of refugee returns and of internally displaced people. The respective economic performances range from prospering Croatia to the economic instability and latent crisis in Kosovo/UNSCR 1244. Although the political stability also varies among the different countries, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 with its as yet unresolved status and tense relations with Serbia is the focus of special attention. Likewise, emigration and immigration patterns differ significantly, further differentiating the settings in which the respective migration policies have to be developed and implemented.

As already emphasized in the introduction to this chapter, common to all countries is the predominant EU influence on their respective migration policies. On the other hand, as the internal political developments in each country determined the initiation of their individual formal EU integration procedures, their progress in that regard varies considerably. Cooperation on migration issues with the EU is only one among a large array of substantial problems relating to democracy, ethnic tensions, human rights protection and the rule of law, not to mention the economic performance of candidate or potential candidate countries (Hadzikadunic, 2006). However, it is in relation to migration policy developments that considerable advances in the ‘europeanization’ process have been made.

The major force driving third countries, including the Western Balkan countries, to cooperate with the EU on the development of migration policies and laws and their harmonization with the EU *acquis* is the prospect of EU membership. This conditionality mechanism was applied smoothly



in regard to Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries and their accession to the EU in 2004 and 2007. However, the part played by the EU in shaping the migration policies of Western Balkan countries was much more important and influential than for CEE countries. Therefore, the migration policies of the countries of the Western Balkan region were to a large extent not only developed but also shaped under EU influence. The EU-inspired and EU-funded migration strategies and national action plans on migration policy shaped to a considerable extent the migration policy agenda in the countries reviewed. Indeed, the EU, as the primary point of reference for the Western Balkan countries, also set the agenda for their migration policies. This had an enormous effect on the development of labour migration policies. The preoccupation in the development of migration policies with the EU-set goals relating to border protection and the combating of irregular migration was one of the reasons why labour migration issues did not receive sufficient attention. Indeed, labour migration issues are not part of the EU *acquis*, as EU migration policy generally does not cover labour immigration issues (with minor exceptions relating to researchers, for instance).

Cooperation with the EU was to a large extent shaped to accommodate EU-goals in the region. The Western Balkan countries are in a sensitive position in relation to the EU, and that not only as candidate or potential candidate countries, but also as sending countries, with the EU labour markets the primary destination for labour migrants from the region. The readmission agreements concluded with EU countries are an example of this asymmetrical relation. Readmission agreements have the effect of externalizing control over migratory movements and shift the responsibility from the EU to the countries parties to the agreements (Lavenex, 2006). The first such agreement was concluded with Albania in 2005 (in force since 2006) and with other countries (except Croatia) in 2007 (in force since 2008). It is obvious that, given the scale of the estimated illegal migration from and through Balkan countries, readmission agreements benefited the EU to a much greater extent than the countries of the Western Balkan region. In fact, as a result, the latter were obliged to readmit not only their own nationals, but also third-country nationals, placing an additional heavy burden on these countries. Despite such difficulties, the prospect of visa facilitation and visa liberalization for countries of the Western Balkan region was a powerful incentive to conclude the readmission agreement with the EU. In fact, from the side of the EU, these prospects were made conditional on the effective cooperation by the countries in question to combat irregular migration, an obligation arising also from the purpose and provisions of the various readmission agreements and a *quid pro quo* for eventual EU accession. This “carrot” was obviously very much desired by the Western Balkan countries for which the EU constitutes the primary destination region for labour emigration.

A comparison among the country studies presented in this chapter reveals both similarities and differences in their respective labour migration management mechanisms. With regard to labour inflows, all introduced work permit systems based on labour market testing (Albania, Serbia), or annual quota system (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro). These regulations were often developed in the context of small or very small inflows from abroad.

As a result of EU influence, the immigration policies of the Western Balkan countries took on a rather restrictive approach towards immigration. This does not necessarily correspond to the specifics of economic and demographic developments in the region (see Chapter 4 for more details). Although restrictive immigration policies, aimed at combating irregular flows and protecting national labour markets, hamper the inflow from third countries and may be perceived as an effective migration

management tool, they also have weak points relating to the possibilities of regional cooperation. Putting it simply, they are counter-productive given the aim of developing regional cooperation on labour migration. Until special agreements on labour migration between the countries of the region themselves are concluded, the restrictive immigration policies hamper the intraregional flows and thus negatively impact regional economic cooperation and reconciliation among the Western Balkan nations.

Although emigration remains the primary concern for most of the countries reviewed, this has not been transposed into effective cooperation on labour migration among themselves or with other countries. The principal reason for this may be seen in the overriding focus of the countries concerned on meeting EU requirements in relation to visa liberalization and the accession process. Consequently, the regional cooperation concentrated on the issues relating to enhancing border protection and control and combating irregular migration, and not on labour migration.

Bilateral cooperation on labour migration therefore remains to be developed among the countries of the region. Only few bilateral agreements on labour migration have been signed by Western Balkan countries (see Table 6.1), while some others concentrate on border cooperation issues and the combating of irregular migration and human trafficking.

Common to all countries reviewed are their initiatives to counter brain drain and efforts in that regard are either already implemented or planned in Albania, Croatia, Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

A brief overview of the major migration policy developments, also with regard to EU influences to enable quick comparisons between the countries reviewed, is presented in Table 6.1.

An important angle from which to analyse the labour migration policies of the Western Balkan countries is the perspective of very limited intraregional cooperation on issues that are of common concern. Such cooperation is strongly encouraged by the EU. According to the European Commission, “constructive regional cooperation is recognized as a qualifying indicator of the countries’ readiness to integrate into the EU.” (European Commission, 2005). Cooperation is thus seen as an indispensable element in many fields related to the economy, but should also encompass other fields, such as ensuring cross-border security and combating irregular migration. Stabilisation and Association Agreements provide for cooperation among the countries parties to them, including matters falling within the purview of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), and make this a condition for the further development of EU relations.

Table 6.1: Labour migration policies in Western Balkan countries – overview

	Albania	Croatia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Serbia	UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo	Montenegro	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Labour immigrants	Negligible rate and volume	Outnumbers outflows: return and inflow of regular and irregular workers	Scarce, mainly returns, EU experts	Scarce labour inflow, return migration	Mainly return migration	Attracts workers from neighbouring countries	Kosovars (1999), other scarce
Labour immigration laws	Detailed work permit system, labour market testing with some exemptions	Work permit system subject to quotas, and others not.	Work permits subject to quotas and others not.	Work permit system based on labour market testing	Basic work permit system	Work permits subject to quotas	Work permits subject to quotas
Outflow of emigrants	Extremely important	Not very relevant	Important	Important	Important	n/a	Important
Relations with the EU	Potential candidate	Candidate country, ongoing negotiations	Potential candidate date	Potential candidate date	Not officially recognized, but established relations	Potential candidate date	Candidate country
Visa regime with EU	Facilitation but not liberalization – insufficient progress	Visa-free	Facilitation but not liberalization – insufficient progress	EU proposal: 01.01.2010 – visa-free	Technically not yet ready for visa facilitation	EU proposal: 01.01.2010 – visa-free	EU proposal: 01.01.2010 – visa-free
Readmission with EU	Signed in 2005 (effective 2006)	Agreements with countries, not with EU	Signed in 2007 (effective 2008)	Signed 2007 (effective 2008)		With 16 countries, of which 13 EU countries	Signed 2007 (effective 2008)

	Albania	Croatia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Serbia	UNSC Resolution 1244-administrated Kosovo	Montenegro	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Stabilisation and Association Agreement	Signed 2006 (effective 2009)	Signed 2001 (effective 2005)	Signed 2008	Signed 2008		Signed 2007	Signed 2001 (effective 2004)
Migration strategy	2005	2007, National Action Plan 2008	2004	2009		2008	2008
Brain gain initiatives	With UNDP	Unity Through Knowledge		Temporary return of professionals (with IOM)			Planned
Bilateral labour migration agreements	With Greece and Italy for seasonal employment	Germany (2002), Slovenia (1994)	Slovenia (2007) and Croatia (2008); Agreement between employment services of BiH and Montenegro (2008)	Belarus, Libya, Algeria, Ger-many			Slovenia (2007)

Source: Author's compilation.

However, following the turmoil of the 1990s, the regional cooperation on migration (but not only on migration) had to be developed from scratch and is only at the beginning. Currently, there are few fora for such cooperation. First is the Regional Cooperation Council, which aims to support the European and Euro-Atlantic integration of the Balkans through cooperation in many fields, including JHA. All countries presented here are members, including Kosovo/UNSCR 1244.<sup>39</sup> Another important regional forum for cooperation on migration matters is MARRI (Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative), launched in 2003 within the context of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe. The objective of MARRI is to contribute to the enhancement of regional cooperation in the areas of migration, asylum, border management, visa policy and consular cooperation and return/settlement of refugees/displaced persons. The second important aim is to foster European integration in member states. All countries (except Kosovo/UNSCR 1244) are MARRI member states. The main intention behind such cooperation was to demonstrate the capability of the countries in the region to cooperate on their own on migration matter, thus contributing to the stabilization and improvement of the situation in the region.<sup>40</sup>

An important example of cooperation that covers also labour migration issues is the Centre of Public Employment Services of Southeast European Countries, a non-profit organization founded in 2006 with the aim to foster cooperation and the exchange and sharing of information and experience among the employment services of participating countries. Cooperation is based on the EU employment policy guidelines and touches also on intraregional labour migration issues.<sup>41</sup>

A recent Workshop on establishing labour migration policies in countries of origin and destination and international collaboration in the Western Balkans, organized in February 2009 in Tirana,<sup>42</sup> has become a forum for discussion, exchange of experiences and development of regional cooperation on labour migration in Western Balkan countries.

What is remarkable, however, is the fact that regional cooperation is more developed in respect of the “security” dimension of migration. All countries under study are involved in the cooperation on regular and irregular migration, asylum, visa, border management, trafficking in human beings and smuggling of migrants, readmission and returns within the Budapest Process. Progress in these areas has been more visible than with regard to labour migration.

Nevertheless, regional cooperation is only at its beginnings, and there are not many examples of cooperation on labour migration on a bilateral basis among the countries of the region. Thus, it needs to be underlined that the primary perspective to analyse the policy developments with regard to labour migration in Western Balkan countries is the European integration. The vertical interactions between the EU and individual countries overwhelm any other more horizontal interactions be it at the regional or bilateral level.

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39 [www.rcc.int](http://www.rcc.int)

40 More information on the initiative: [www.marri-rc.org](http://www.marri-rc.org)

41 More information on this initiative: [www.cpessec.org](http://www.cpessec.org)

42 The workshop was held within the framework of a project Capacity Building, Information and Awareness Raising Towards Promoting Orderly Migration in the Western Balkans, funded by the European Commission AENEAS 2006 programme and the governments of Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Liechtenstein and Hungary, and implemented in partnership with the International Labour Organisation (ILO).



## 7. Summary and conclusions

MAREK KUPISZEWSKI<sup>1</sup>, ANNA KICINGER<sup>1</sup>

This report presented an overview of labour migration and migration trends and developments in the countries of the Western Balkans, including existing research, data availability, recent trends in labour migration, assessment of migration propensity and analysis of labour migration policies. The main aim was to offer an interested readership an insight into the migration processes in the countries of the region, based on consistent and comparative methodology. This final chapter presents the main findings of the research and relevant policy recommendations.

### 7.1. Summary of findings

#### *Dearth and inadequate quality of data on migration and the labour markets in Western Balkan countries*

Despite an abundance of data sets on migration produced by statistical offices and international organizations (Chapter 3), coverage of the Western Balkan countries themselves is mostly limited to data gathered by countries of destination. Whenever data was collected by countries of origin (in particular Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), the significant discrepancies between these and the data obtained from countries of destination meant that not only data availability but also data comparability are seriously impaired. This is partly explained by the failure of migrants to register, and partly by the differences in definitions used by various national administrations in their migration statistics. In consequence, the analysis of labour migration in the Western Balkans has to rely mainly on migration data from the main countries of destination.

#### *Limited understanding of migration processes and systems in the Western Balkans*

A comparison of the main migration characteristics in the Western Balkans and Central Europe shows substantial similarities in migration patterns and mechanisms, in particular a strong component of what Okólski (2001) labelled “incomplete migration”, which, however, differs according to political circumstances, in particular access to EU labour markets. This finding has important

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practical implications, as the accumulated knowledge on migration in Central Europe might enable a better understanding of migration characteristics in the Western Balkans region.

An examination of the existing body of research shows that a substantial amount of facts is already at our disposal, whereas our understanding of the context in which migration processes and systems in the Western Balkans countries function is still limited. It was noted that the vast majority of research focuses on the observation and monitoring of migration and that too little research is aimed at understanding and explaining the observed processes.

#### *Migration and labour migration in the Western Balkans*

The considerable diversity among the Western Balkan countries regarding changes of stocks of migrants resident abroad has been demonstrated. Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia both experienced very significant increases of over one-third in the stocks of their expatriates abroad. Serbia and Montenegro, and Croatia experienced moderate changes, and the latter country recorded a slight reduction in the number of its citizens residing abroad. The pool of Serbian and Montenegrin expatriates shrank by over one-third, partly owing to naturalizations, which have increased, and partly to return migration. In some countries of the Western Balkans there are signs of a transition from emigration countries to emigration and immigration countries. Croatia is the most advanced in this process, followed by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro.

A substantial share of the populations from all Western Balkan countries lives abroad. This is particularly the case of Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the number of expatriates is equal to about one-third of their respective resident populations. For Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro the respective size of their expatriate communities stands at between nine and 15 per cent.

These observations invite the question of return migration. With such substantial proportions of their populations abroad, the countries of the Western Balkans are justified in expecting return migration. This has not yet occurred and although returns account for a substantial share of immigration, their absolute numbers are still low. A problem which is not yet apparent but which is known from research into population dynamics of other European countries, is the implication of emigration for the future situation of social and health security systems. Large cohorts of those born in the 1950s and 1960s are gradually being replaced on the labour market by smaller cohorts born in the 1980s and 1990s. As part of the latter cohorts emigrated, the replacement will be limited, increasing the dependency ratio.<sup>2</sup> Though the very young age structure of the Western Balkan populations makes this problem relatively remote, it does not obviate it for all that.

Undoubtedly, the Western Balkan countries are undergoing two transitions: the first is the transition from a region of unstable migration patterns, often with large-scale and unpredictable emigration, to a region with relatively stable migration at a much lower level and much more predictable. The second is from a region of emigration to one of emigration and immigration countries.

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2 This is the age-population ratio of those typically not in the labour force (the *dependent* part) and those typically in the labor force (the *productive* part). In published international statistics, the dependent part usually includes those under the age of 15 and over the age of 64.



### *Propensity to migrate*

The results of the IOM 2009 nationally representative survey of migration propensities in Western Balkan countries show that respondents from Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 expressed a high overall propensity to emigrate (above 20% of the adult population declared an intention to emigrate); those surveyed from Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina reported a medium to high propensity (between 10% and 20%), while respondents from Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia were characterized by a low overall propensity to migrate.<sup>3</sup>

These results have been compared with the results of earlier surveys in order to establish the existence of any identifiable trends.<sup>4</sup> There is no doubt that the propensity to emigrate has been decreasing in the region, albeit to various degrees; for instance, the proportion of those intending to emigrate contracted rapidly in Montenegro, Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 and Croatia, but only insignificantly so in Albania.

### *Labour migration policies*

The overview of labour migration policies in the Western Balkans showed both similarities and differences in labour migration policies among the countries under study. Labour migration policies are not at the centre of migration policies in general, despite the relevance of labour migration flows, especially emigration. Indeed, the migration policies of the Western Balkans, including policies on labour migration, are still in the process of formation.

Migration strategies, often accompanied by action plans, have been adopted by most of the countries under study. The EU and the accession process within the framework of the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) have played a very important role in the creation and development of migration policies of the Western Balkans. However, relatively little attention has been paid to current labour migration flows, despite the fact that the EU is a primary destination for labour migrants from the Western Balkans.

All the countries reviewed adopted a rather restrictive approach to immigration and regulate the employment of foreigners through work permits subject to labour market testing or an annual quota system. Laws on foreigners (and on the employment of foreigners) were recently enacted or amended with a view to satisfying the conditions set by the EU within the framework of the SAP and accession process. The regulations were often developed in a context of small or very small immigration flows, but also with a view to the possible future transition from purely emigration to emigration and immigration countries. It is not possible, however, to set the timeframes for such transitions. The example of Central and Eastern Europe clearly shows that the transition from emigration to emigration and immigration occurs only when certain socio-economic and demographic conditions are met. Thus, the pace of transition will be highly dependent on the socio-economic and demographic developments in the region.

The countries of the region have developed a variety of responses to the current labour emigration, but the Albanian comprehensive approach and its developed cooperation with the destination coun-

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3 However, the reader should be aware of the limitations of the research methodology used, as discussed in Chapter 5.

4 The reader should be aware that due to the methodological differences in the surveys, results cannot be compared directly, though it is possible to establish the general trend of changes, if any.

tries deserves particular attention. Diaspora issues and remittances are common concerns relating to emigration in all countries reviewed. Return initiatives are also popular and are being implemented or planned by the majority of the Western Balkan countries.

While regional cooperation on migration issues has focused on other challenges, less attention has been devoted to labour migration. Thus, few initiatives to regulate labour migration within the region on either a bilateral or multilateral basis have been observed in the Western Balkan countries.

## **7.2. Policy-relevant conclusions for the stakeholders in the migration processes in the Western Balkans**

The policy-relevant conclusions drawn from various parts of our research are presented below. They pertain to different aspects of labour migration in the Western Balkans, and their monitoring and research.

### *Need to improve the understanding of migration processes and systems in the Western Balkans*

There is a need for research that goes beyond the monitoring of migration and places the migration process into a theoretical framework to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the migration mechanisms and their consequences in the region.

### *The need to improve migration and the labour market statistics in Western Balkan countries*

The availability and quality of official statistics on migration to and from the Western Balkan countries clearly demonstrates the need to improve this area of statistical services in all countries of the region. Better statistics on migration and labour markets are necessary to enable policymakers to make informed labour migration policy decisions. This relates in particular to the establishment of quotas for work permits, for which a proper analysis of labour market needs is indispensable. The development of harmonized migration statistics in Western Balkan countries is necessary, not least in view of their efforts to become members of the European Union. They will eventually have to adhere to the EC Regulation on migration statistics (European Communities, 2007) which is part of the *acquis communautaire*, and the sooner this is done, the better, as this will provide the Western Balkan countries with their own sources of information to monitor migration processes.

### *A declining propensity to emigrate invites the consideration whether it is necessary to restrict the freedom of labour movement in Western Balkan countries following their accession to the European Union*

It is justified to question the widespread opinion that large-scale emigration from Western Balkan countries will continue in future, certainly as concerns Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia and, most likely, also Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such results were obtained under certain social, economic and political conditions and only hold as long as these conditions remain unchanged.

The diminishing propensity to emigrate identified by comparing the results of the survey conducted as a part of the current research with earlier surveys, should lead EU negotiators to carefully con-

sider whether there is in fact a need to impose restrictions on the freedom of labour movement after the accession of the Western Balkan countries to the European Union. This is, perhaps, the most important policy-relevant conclusion from our research.

*Need for more bilateral cooperation on labour migration between countries of origin and destination*

The countries reviewed continue to experience some emigration pressure and, given the high unemployment levels, relatively young population and the existing migratory networks in the destination countries, labour emigration is very likely to continue for the foreseeable future. However, the rate of emigration may be expected to be much lower and much more stable than in the past. As the EU membership is a close prospect only for some of the countries under study, policy efforts should be welcomed to conclude more bilateral agreements with the major destination countries. This conclusion is based on the IOM premise that orderly and managed migration is beneficial for the sending and the receiving countries alike, in that labour migration would be better targeted and respond more precisely to labour market needs of destination countries, and not be detrimental to the societies and economies of countries of origin. This is also in line with a recent IOM study (Kupiszewski and Mattila, 2008) which showed that, apart from prevention and sanctions, the creation of official channels for legal labour migration as a real and accessible alternative to irregular migration could play a considerable and positive role in combating irregular migration flows.

*Need to address regional labour migration flows and to establish mechanisms to capitalize on intraregional mobility throughout the Western Balkans*

Among the countries of the Western Balkans some experience labour market shortages, while others face considerable unemployment. Intraregional cooperation on labour migration would be economically beneficial for both sending and receiving countries in the region, and play an important role in the regional stabilization process. Enhanced cooperation among the countries reviewed is highly desirable on both regional and bilateral levels.

*Addressing return, countering brain drain and encouraging circular migration*

Given current and forecast demographic and economic challenges, return initiatives (already planned or implemented in some countries discussed here) should be an important element of national labour migration policies. Return initiatives should still address post-conflict returns but, at the same time, more attention should be given to the developmental dimension of the return of economic migrants who are able to bring with them new skills, innovations and investments for the benefit of the countries concerned.

In view of the region's development needs, initiatives to counter brain drain are of major importance. These might take the form of programmes to encourage circular or return migration, or the temporary return of highly skilled expatriates in relevant professional and academic fields, including researchers, to the Western Balkan countries.



## ANNEX I

### **Data on migration in the Western Balkans – statistical tables**

DOROTA KUPISZEWSKA<sup>1</sup> AND FREDERIK HENDRIK FLINTERMAN<sup>2</sup>

Annex I contains tables with data on migration flows and stocks. Flow data refer to the number of migrants who changed their place of residence during a given year. Stock data provide information about the number of persons living or working in a country on a specific day (usually 1 January or census date). For each country, data produced by this country as well as data from the main destination countries are presented. The time span of the data collection was from 2000 until the most recent year for which data were available. Please note that the data are generally not internationally comparable as they are produced by different countries according to national definitions.

Data relevant for the following countries are presented: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro – up to 2006, Serbia, including Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 – since 2006, Montenegro – since 2006.

The order of the data for each country (wherever available) is as follows:

- Demography
  - General demographic data: population stock (on 1 January 2000-2008 and/or on the census date), births, deaths, net migration (data on population, deaths and births were used to calculate net migration, so net migration numbers may include corrections).
  - Population by citizenship.
  - Population by country of birth.
- Stock of population abroad
  - Citizens of the country resident abroad by country of residence (data from main destination countries).
  - Persons born in the country resident abroad by country of residence (data from main destination countries).

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- Emigration flow data reported by the country
  - Total emigration.
  - Emigration by citizenship.
  - Emigration by next country of residence.
- Immigration flow data reported by destination countries
  - Inflow of citizens of the country by country of destination (data from main destination countries).
  - Inflow from the country by country of destination (data from main destination countries).
- Number of citizens of the country who acquired a new citizenship, by country of new citizenship (data from countries which granted citizenship).
- Immigration flow data reported by the country
  - Total immigration
  - Immigration by citizenship
  - Immigration by previous country of residence
  - Residence permits issued in the country.
- Emigration flow data reported by other countries
  - Outflow of citizens of the country by previous country of residence (data from main previous countries of residence).
  - Outflow to the country by previous country of residence (data from main previous countries of residence).
- Acquisitions of citizenship of the country.
- Labour migration
  - Stock data
    - » Citizens of the country working abroad by country of destination (data from main destination countries).
    - » Persons born in the country working abroad by country of destination (data from main destination countries).
  - Flow data
    - » Inflow of workers: work permits issued in the country.
    - » Outflow of workers: labour migration of citizens of the country by country of destination (data from main destination countries).

The following sources have been used: Eurostat, OECD's International Migration Database, ILO's International Labour Migration Database, United Nations Global Migration Database (UNGMD; it has been developed by the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division), websites of national statistical offices, *Migration profiles* ((IOM 2007a, b, c, d, 2008a, 2009; IGCMP 2009). When interpreting the data, the reader is advised to consult Chapter 3 and the metadata provided in the data sources.

Data not marked with a footnote originate from Eurostat. The following footnotes were used for the remaining sources:

- (a) OECD International Migration Database
- (b) NSI website
- (c) NSI website, data from the census
- (d) UN Global Migration Database

- (e) ILO data  
 (f) IOM (*Migration profile*)  
 (g) IGCMP, 2009 (*Migration profile*)  
 (h) NSI (*Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Macedonia 2007*).

The data based on a population census were annotated with the census year. The dates of the censuses are given in the table below.

Country	Census date	Country	Census date
Albania	April 2001	Italy	21.10.2001
Croatia	31.03.2001	Slovenia	31.03.2002
Serbia and Montenegro*	31.03.2002	Sweden	1.01.2001
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	31.10.2002	Turkey	22.10.2000
Austria	15.05.2001	United Kingdom	29.04.2001
Belgium	01.10.2001	Norway	3.11.2001
Denmark	1.01.2001	Switzerland	5.12.2000
France	08.03.1999	Australia	August 2001, 2006
Greece	18.03.2001	Canada	May 2001, 2006
Hungary	01.02.2001	United States	April 2000

\* At the time of the census - the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The census did not include Kosovo.

## Albania

## Demography

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<b>Census</b>									
Population stock (c)	3069275 (2001)								
Population stock	3058497	3063318	3084148	3102781	3119548	3134975	3149143	3152625	3170048
Births	51242	54283	45515	47012	43022	39612	34229	33163	
Deaths	16421	15813	16248	17967	17749	17124	16935	14509	
Net migration	-30000	-17640	-10634	-12278	-9846	-8320	-13812	-1231	
<i>Population by citizenship</i>									
	n.a.								
<i>Population by country of birth</i>									
Foreign-born (c)	12190 (2001)								



		Stock of population abroad								Stock of population abroad (cont.)					
		2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008					
Census		2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008					
<i>Citizens of Albania by country of residence (outside Albania)</i>															
Greece	438036 (2001)					434810	448152	481663			577504				
Greece (a)	185730	209524	262116	294651	325601	340971	347441	384614							
Italy (a)	173064 (2001)	133081	146321	159317	171567	240421	316659	348813	375947	401949					
Germany		11787	11702	11630	11513	10449	10362	10829	10713						
United Kingdom					7883	5249	13175	14381	10502						
France	2495 (1999)					5031									
Austria	1648 (2001)		1684	1589	1611	1552	1501	1546	1489	1510					
Turkey	1732 (2000)									1040					
Switzerland	1739 (2000)		1093	1144	1242	1236	1227	1218	1209	1162					
<i>Persons born in Albania by country of residence (outside Albania)</i>															
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	509083(d) (2002)														
Greece	403852 (2001)														
Italy	159207 (2001)														
United States (c)	38665														
Canada (c)		5280						10295							
Turkey	3313 (2000)														
United Kingdom	2304 (2001)	1834	7459	4966	13021	15391	11659								
France	2666 (1999)					5783									
Australia (c)		1449						2014							
Austria	1834 (2001)							2541		2600					
Switzerland	1504 (2000)														
<i>Persons with Albanian ancestry by country of residence (outside Albania)</i>															
United States (c)													113661		

**Emigration flow data reported by Albania**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total emigration	n.a.							
<i>Emigration by citizenship</i>								
	n.a.							
<i>Emigration by next country of residence</i>								
	n.a.							

**Immigration flow data reported by destination countries**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of Albania by country of destination</i>								
Greece							36841	99967
Italy	31992		25885	46587	36646	27340		
Italy (a)	31185	27949	39114		29605	17104	16117	29272
United States					4526			
United States (a)	4755	4358	3765	3362	3840	5947	7914	5737
Germany		1490		1670	1355	1261	1139	1106
Germany (a)	1412	1490	1667	1670	1355	1261	900	898
Turkey (a)	1157	1125	1099	1009	1157	1297	1509	1612
Canada			1049	853				
Canada (a)	1773	1613	985	819	1378	1207	810	660
<i>Flows from Albania by country of destination</i>								
Italy	32181		26490	46825	37195	27518		
Germany	1323	1446	1498	1515	1268	1121	973	930
Canada			987	819				
<i>Flows of permanent settlers born in Albania to Australia</i>								
Australia (b) <sup>(1)</sup>	58	64	77	280	124	115	130	94

(1) Data for the fiscal year July - June of the year indicated

**Acquisitions of new citizenship by Albanian citizens**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Number of Albanian citizens who acquired a new citizenship by new country of citizenship</i>								
Greece	n.a.							
United States (a)	826	1032	2450	2284	3324	3830	3964	2786
Canada (a)	213	303	580	1010	1571	1418	1264	949
United Kingdom	33	75		310	315	780	885	1115
Italy (a)	521	687	703	830	882		2330	2605
Germany	598		704	632	540	380	560	
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia			904		193	159	166	114

**Immigration flow data reported by Albania**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total immigration	n.a.							
<i>Immigration by citizenship</i>								
	n.a.							
<i>Immigration by previous country of residence</i>								
	n.a.							
Residence permits issued (f)							3006	

**Emigration flow data reported by other countries**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of Albania by country of previous residence</i>								
Germany		1170	994	1086	1059	864	735	683
Italy	443		414	503	538	701		
<i>Flows to Albania by country of previous residence</i>								
Germany	1773	1162	969	1052	1017	836	713	659
Italy	696		892	701	624	742		

**Labour migration**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<b>Stock of workers abroad</b>								
<i>Albanian citizens working abroad</i>								
Greece (a)	99988	119590	149247	164654	180843	188851	187060	208966
Greece (e)	84494	99648	129414	146374	162337	174529	161645	
Italy (a)	90596	90998	92820	145638	143591	138928	148076	158029
United Kingdom				2905		4936		
Austria			1261					
<i>Persons born in Albania working abroad</i>								
Greece (a)	107600	128000	149900	168800	184400	191900	189400	
United States (a)								27627
<b>Inflow of workers to Albania</b>								
Work permits issued (f)							2083	
<b>Outflow of workers</b>								
<i>Labour migration of Albanian citizens by country of destination</i>								
Italy (a)	4546					3958	3523	14500

## Bosnia and Herzegovina

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## Demography

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Population stock	3753085	3789717	3813167	3830349	3837414	3842532	3842650	3844017	3843441
Births	39563	37717	36485	35234	34167	34627	34033	33835	33835
Deaths	30482	30325	30831	31757	31825	34402	33221	35044	35044
Net migration	27551	16058	11528	3588	2776	-107	555	633	633
<i>Population by citizenship</i>									
	n.a.								
<i>Population by country of birth</i>									
	n.a.								

## Stock of population abroad

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<i>Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina by country of residence (outside Bosnia and Herzegovina)</i>									
Germany		156294	159042	163807	167081	155973	156872	167884	169042
Germany (a)	167690	156300	159042	163807	167081	155973	156872	157094	158158
Austria	108047 (2001)	108047	95261	95952	94114	90988	88490	86427	82125
Switzerland	47286 (2000)	45111	45913	46505	45554	44872	43354	41395	39414
Switzerland (a)		41847	44296	45745	46107	44762	43238	41261	39281
Serbia & Montenegro (d)	21249 (2002)								
Slovenia	19240 (2002)	20115	21396	22836	22006	21328	21943	24441	32468
Italy	16927 (2001)	14058				22436	24142	26298	27356
Italy (a)		11485	12093	12199	12776	16039	22436	24142	26298
Denmark		20151	19816	17793	17173	13956	12674	12674	12058
Denmark (a)				17793	17173	13956	12674	12229	12058
Sweden (a)		34190	22839	19728	16957	15479	13661	12056	10453

## Stock of population abroad (cont.)

	Census	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<i>Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina by country of residence (outside Bosnia and Herzegovina)</i>										
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	17018(d) (2002)									
Croatia (d)	7403 (2001)									
France	5940 (1999)						8174			
<i>Persons born in Bosnia and Herzegovina by country of residence (outside Bosnia and Herzegovina)</i>										
Croatia (d)	456580 (2001)									
Serbia & Montenegro (d)	381650 (2002)									
Austria	134402 (2001)								132262	133023
Austria (a)		125100	115400	132339	103142	132308	139714	151365	145200	146300
United States (c)		98765								
United States (a)									26500	
Slovenia	69279 (2002)	77361	79234	80089	81264	82085	81714	84884	88365	96349
Sweden (a)		50722	51526	52198	52948	53949	54514	54813	55465	55713
Switzerland	46405 (2000)									
Canada (c)			25665						28730	
Australia (c)			23848						24628	
Australia (a)		26664	26756	26901	29500	31700	33800	35800	37800	37800
Denmark	18170 (2001)			18202	18156	18222	17890	17723		18106
Denmark (a)		18042	18027	18069	18052	18153	17850	17694	17603	17987
Italy	15936 (2001)									
Norway	11786 (2001)									
Norway (a)		11573	11747	11796	13477	13166	12605	12618	13202	13034
France	6235 (1999)						11394			

**Emigration flow data reported by Bosnia and Herzegovina**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total emigration	n.a.							
<i>Emigration by citizenship</i>								
	n.a.							
<i>Emigration by next country of residence</i>								
	n.a.							

**Immigration flow data reported by destination countries**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina by country of destination</i>								
United States (a)	11525	23594	25329	6155	10552	14074	3789	
Germany		12656		8437	7987	7026	6635	6403
Germany (a)	10421	12656	10489	8437	7987	7026	6635	
Austria	3978	5994	4346	5005	5211	4608	3235	3034
Austria (a)	3868	5994	4346	5005	5211	4608	2535	3034
Slovenia	2016	2360	2531	2105	2966	4307	7871	12479
Sweden	1224	1042	1174	1401	872	641	1058	584
Italy	1313		1240	1908	1999	1328		
Italy (a)	1797		2954		2437	1436	1556	2584
Switzerland	848	1167	1230	1073	1176	1024	1006	933
France		231		564	1224	971	615	
France (a)	243	333	518	566	1227	972	589	506
Australia (a)	675	771	409	169	131	108	120	120
<i>Flows from Bosnia and Herzegovina by country of destination</i>								
Croatia			11869	10896	11141		9327	8944
Germany	10498	12941	10566	8435	8145	7073	6669	6501
Austria		6586	4078	4823	5074	4763	3398	3216
Sweden	776	936	1134	1349	884	668	1066	603
Italy	1315		1237	1906	2038	1389		
Canada			465	264				
<i>Flows of permanent settlers born in Bosnia and Herzegovina to Australia</i>								
Australia (b) <sup>(1)</sup>	672	759	403	160	126	108	115	110

(1) Data for the fiscal year July - June of the year indicated

### Acquisitions of new citizenship by citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Number of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina who acquired a new citizenship by new country of citizenship</i>								
Austria	2761	3856	5913	8268	8657	7026	4596	3329
United States (a)	1745	2759	4095	4994	8013	8921	9686	8175
Croatia							6007	6677
Switzerland	999	1128	1856	2268	2371	2790	3149	3016
Sweden	12591	4241	4064	3090	1469	1788	2627	2081
Germany (a)	4002	3791	2357	1770	2103	1907	1862	1797
Denmark	468	708	2481		3358	1337	519	224
Australia (a)	1531	2661	2194	1475	1490	822	504	
Canada				2129				
Canada (a)	2984	2059	2380	1964	992	829	758	495
Slovenia	955	687	1678	1607	1682	1674	1687	548
Norway (a)	875	2 999	1 229	1 965	827	707	519	355
Italy (a)	77	109	114	111	80		120	358
United Kingdom	242	615		1775	1225	415	230	195

### Immigration flow data reported by Bosnia and Herzegovina

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total immigration	n.a.							
<i>Immigration by citizenship</i>								
	n.a.							
<i>Immigration by previous country of residence</i>								
	n.a.							
<i>Residence permits issued (f)</i>								
<i>Residence permits for temporary stay by citizenship</i>								
Total							5247	
Serbia&Montenegro							1839	
China							823	
Croatia							544	
Turkey							480	
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia							228	
<i>Residence permits for permanent stay by citizenship</i>								
Total							153	
China							42	
Croatia							19	
Turkey							16	

**Emigration flow data reported by other countries**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina by country of previous residence</i>								
Germany		11173	9168	7950	8053	6829	6255	6476
Germany (a)	22308	11173	9168	7950	8053	6829	6160	6525
Austria		4379	2307	2499	2731	2208	2080	2059
Austria (a)	3132	4379	2307	2499	2731	2208	2237	2059
Slovenia	338	705	1323	630	1582	2351	3858	4258
<i>Flows to Bosnia and Herzegovina by previous country of residence</i>								
Germany	17412	10590	9193	7885	8115	6943	6286	6662
Austria		4795	1568	1969	2374	2255	2297	2255
Croatia			2011	1794	1247		1300	1443

**Labour migration**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<b>Stock of workers abroad</b>								
<i>Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina working abroad</i>								
Germany (a)	100000	96000	98000	104000	114000	149000	144000	140000
Austria (a) <sup>(1)</sup>	21267	24140	25407	26690	27547	28392	29405	30780
Austria (e) <sup>(2)</sup>		55295						
Slovenia	13772		15779	15169		16019		
Slovenia (e)	13772	15014	15779					
Italy (a)	8245	7986	7990	10606	10935	11194	11553	12855
Denmark			6675			4298		
Denmark (a)								4340
Sweden	5729	5087						
Norway (a)							7651	7936
Norway (e)	4484							
Norway		3540	3122	2358				
<i>Persons born in Bosnia and Herzegovina working abroad</i>								
Austria (a)					100801	106747	105546	114090
Sweden (a)	29200	28800	26000	27000	27800	28760	30186	
Denmark (a)				8055	8372	8532	8773	9199

**Inflow of workers to Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Residence permits issued for employment reasons (f)							1419	
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**Outflow of workers**

<i>Labour migration of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina by country of destination</i>								
Italy (a)						686	904	2005
Germany (a)	1498	2459	727	178	129			

(1) Data on valid work permits. (2) LFS data



**Croatia****Demography**

	Census	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Population stock	4437460	4497735	4438868	4444608	4442744	4441733	4443901	4442884	4441238	4436401
Births		43746	40993	40094	39668	40307	42492	41446	41910	42545
Deaths		50246	49552	50569	52575	49756	51790	50378	52367	52782
Net migration		-52367	14299	8611	11896	11617	8281	7286	5620	5813
<i>Population by citizenship</i>										
Croatia		4399364								
Bosnia & Herzegovina		7403								
Serbia&Montenegro		2307								
Slovenia		1820								
Germany		1273								
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia		1189								
Italy		1049								
<i>Population by country of birth</i>										
Croatia		3815760								
Bosnia & Herzegovina		456580								
Serbia & Montenegro		86830								
Slovenia		21985								
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia		10329								
Germany		8246								
Italy		1707								
Austria		1550								
United States		886								
Australia		799								
Switzerland		755								

## Stock of population abroad

	Census	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<i>Citizens of Croatia by country of residence outside Croatia</i>										
Germany		213954	216800	223819	230987	236570	229172	228926	242123	239961
Austria	60650 (2001)	60650	57154	58440	58520	58719	58351	57103	56695	
Switzerland	43084 (2000)	43876	44035	43548	42852	41908	40709	39270	37998	
Switzerland (a)		43549	43649	43890	43360	42689	41758	40522	39115	37844
Serbia&Montenegro (d)	36408 (2002)									
Italy	18362 (2001)	16626				20712	21232	21360	21308	
Italy (a)		16508	16690	16564	16858	21052	20712	21232	21360	21308
Slovenia	5909 (2002)	6720	6751	7221	7208	6992	6831	6955	6829	6976
United Kingdom						5170	5012	5715	6643	
Sweden (a)		7170	7520	6859	5470	4194	3581	3221	2763	2562
France	4060 (1999)						3466			
<i>Persons born in Croatia by country of residence outside Croatia</i>										
Serbia&Montenegro (d)	351263									
Italy	78677 (2001)									
Australia (c)		51909						50993		
Australia (a)		57500	58000	61200	64000	66400	68700	71000	70500	
Slovenia	48609 (2002)	59921	59678	59288	59682	59146	58064	56227	55548	55135
United States (c)		40910								
United States (a)									17645	
Canada (c)		39375						39250		
Austria	38808 (2001)	38808						35738	35512	
Austria (a)		50500	54700	53426	42441	33784	42829	43117	47900	47000
Switzerland	24110 (2000)									
France	7944 (1999)						9087			
United Kingdom	6989 (2001)					7152	9823	8503	8667	
Sweden			5229	5419	5585	5726	5853	5937	6063	6137
<i>Persons with Croatian ancestry by country of residence</i>										
United States (c)									374241	

**Emigration flow data reported by Croatia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total emigration			11767	6534	6812	6012	7692	9002
<i>Emigration by citizenship</i>								
Croatia			11120	6114	5871		6967	8084
Croatia (e)	5245	6670	11120	6114	5871	5509	6967	
Bosnia & Herzegovina			203	95	95		148	158
Serbia			80	53	53		80	60
Switzerland			0	2	0		3	13
Germany			5	5	9		19	7
Slovenia			8	10	6		18	13
<i>Emigration by next country of residence</i>								
Serbia&Montenegro			401	885	1877	2656	2907	3817
Bosnia&Herzegovina			2011	1794	1247	1055	1300	1443
Germany			1446	1020	939	500	840	1096
Austria			738	1119	951	580	1074	885
Slovenia			158	190	166	118	155	206
Italy			24	24	24	31	43	36
United States				13	20	25	17	28
Australia				29	17	19	25	14
<i>Emigration of Croatian nationals by next country of residence (e)</i>								
Bosnia&Herzegovina	1472	1273	1984	1762	1223	1037	1283	
Germany	616	1012	1441	1020	937	498	839	
Austria	249	738	1105	1119	951	579	1073	
Serbia&Montenegro				828	1735	2529	2768	
Slovenia	143	137	158	190	163	117	155	

**Immigration flow data reported by destination countries**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of Croatia by country of destination</i>								
Germany		14115		11620	10513	9260	8624	8758
Germany (a)	14438	14115	13050	11620	10513	9260	8310	8418
Austria	4930	6087	3544	3315	3311	2884	2535	2284
Austria (a)	4843	6087	3544	3315	3311	2884	3235	2284
United States					1566			
United States (a)	1058	2853	3798	1153	1511	1780	945	482
Italy	1361		1076	2190	1397	1336		
Italy (a)	2548		3919		3195	1893	1491	1816
Slovenia	906	1102	1307	1282	798	992	1146	1400
Australia (a)	1034	1307	626	333	140	70	97	108

**Immigration flow data reported by destination countries (cont.)**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows from Croatia by country of destination</i>								
Germany	14365	14233	12990	11497	10352	9208	8543	8684
Austria		5455	3152	2896	2903	2747	2351	2146
Italy	1444		1310	2290	1727	1046		
Slovenia	1086	171	206	186	250	214	176	98
<i>Flows of permanent settlers born in Croatia to Australia</i>								
Australia (b) <sup>(1)</sup>	1026	1296	616	321	137	67	89	99

(1) Data for the fiscal year July - June of the year indicated

**Acquisitions of new citizenship by citizens of Croatia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Number of Croatian citizens who acquired a new citizenship by new country of citizenship</i>								
Germany	3316	3931	2974	2048	1689	1287	1729	
Austria	1642	1986	2537	2588	2212	2276	2494	1349
Switzerland	970	1045	1638	1565	1616	1681	1837	1660
Sweden	231	925	1569	1531	780	504	624	314
United Kingdom	157	270		390	690	1035	605	375
<i>Number of Croatian citizens who lost Croatian citizenship by new country of citizenship</i>								
Total				4450	3283		3724	2644
Germany							1677	1393
Austria							1760	1002
Slovenia							234	201

**Immigration flow data reported by Croatia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total immigration	29385	24415	20365	18455	18383	14230	14978	14622
<i>Immigration by citizenship <sup>(1)</sup></i>								
Croatia	27258	22256	18368	16355	16857	13374	13944	13704
Bosnia&Herzegovina	929	843	678	782	570	294	387	297
Serbia	430	438	341	462	320	159	182	181
Germany	121	105	100	116	98		107	78
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	193	213	224	215	146	87	80	64
<i>Immigration by previous country of residence</i>								
Bosnia & Herzegovina			11869	10896	11141	8358	9327	8944
Serbia			90	1440	1550	1176	1508	1479
Germany			1340	1278	1354	1130	1205	1081
United States			244	204	208	225	288	355
Australia			217	142	253	247	235	309
Austria			314	286	246	260	305	304

**Immigration flow data reported by Croatia (cont.)**

<i>Residence permits issued (f)</i>							
Permanent residence permits	2306	2196	2214	2073	1512	966	947
Temporary residence permits							4802

(1) Data for 2000, 2001 and 2005 are ILO data

**Emigration flow data reported by other countries**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of Croatia by country of previous residence</i>								
Germany		14069		12120	12379	11294	10704	10535
Germany (a)	12507	14069	13614	12120	12379	11294	9868	10113
Austria		4878	2336	2486	2507	2241	2237	2043
Austria (a)	3723	4878	2336	2486	2507	2241	2080	2043
Slovenia	310	589	779	931	507	718	920	1153
Australia (a)	80	72	86	95	102	110	102	118
<i>Flows to Croatia by country of previous residence</i>								
Germany	13265	14233	13728	11876	12240	11089	10283	10610
Austria	3454	4478	1604	1964	2097	2133	2136	1973

**Acquisitions of citizenship of Croatia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Number of foreigners who acquired citizenship of Croatia by country of previous country of citizenship</i>								
Total				12654	8940		12292	13240
Bosnia&Herzegovina							6007	6677
Serbia, including Kosovo/ UNSCR 1244							1579	2675
Australia							817	644
Slovenia							112	312
Germany							48	286
Austria							70	208
United States							218	208
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia							124	203
Canada							224	188
Argentina							556	172
Peru							492	139
Chile							641	99

## ANNEX I.

<b>Labour migration</b>								
	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>
<b>Stock of workers abroad</b>								
<i>Croatian citizens working abroad</i>								
Germany (a)	195000	193000	185000	173000	186000	195000	180000	180000
Italy (a)	10832	10576	10404	14274	12867	13357	12578	12957
Austria (a) <sup>(1)</sup>	8351	9790	10615	11368	12069	12814	13621	
Austria (e) <sup>(2)</sup>		24371						
Slovenia			6844	6091		5686		
Slovenia (e)	6350	6613	6844					
Sweden		2657						
Norway			853	883				
<i>Persons born in Croatia working abroad (a)</i>								
Austria					26,492	25,814	30,452	24,508
Canada							20775	
Switzerland	17125							
United States								8315
New Zealand		1251						
<b>Inflow of workers to Croatia</b>								
Work and business permits (f)	4695	5710	6674	8356	6335	7689	9628	
<b>Outflow of workers</b>								
<i>Labour migration of Croatian citizens by country of destination</i>								
Germany (a)	11789	12291	7289	5122	4547			
Italy (a)	1752					1284	953	

(1) Data on valid work permits; (2) LFS data

## The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

## Demography

	Census	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Population stock	2022547	2021578	2031112	2038651	2023654	2029892	2035196	2038514	2041941	2045177
Births		29308	27010	27761	27011	23361	22482	22585	22688	22507
Deaths		17253	16919	17962	18006	17944	18406	18630	19594	18877
Net migration		-2521	-2552	-24796	-2767	-113	-758	-528	142	142
		<i>Population by nationality or ethnic affiliation</i>								
Macedonians		1297981								
Albanians		509803								
Turks		77959								
Roma		53879								
Serbs		35939								
Bosniaks		17081								
Vlaks		9695								
		<i>Population by country of birth</i>								
		n.a.								
		<i>Number of foreigners with permanent residence permit</i>								
		633	625	609	601	521	485	449	392	
		<i>Number of foreigners with temporary stay permit</i>								
		10362	10307	10456	9943	10234	9231	8462	7931	

## Stock of population abroad

	Census	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
<i>Citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by country of residence (outside the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)</i>										
Germany			51841	55986	58250	61019	61105	62093	66219	66433
Germany (a)			51800	55986	58250	61019	61105	62093	62295	62474
Switzerland	55714 (2000)		56092	58549	59953	60676	61008	60898	60362	60184
Switzerland (a)		53907	55912	58382	59773	60545	60810	60729	60141	59967
Italy	28073 (2001)		26051	28073			58460	63245	74162	78090
Italy (a)		19884	22504	24685	26210	34291				78090
Austria	13696 (2001)		13696	13096	14327	15219	15986	16305	16332	16567
Serbia&Montenegro (d)	7680									
Slovenia	2768 (2002)	3565	4125	4323	3897	4057	4134	5122	5936	7448
France	2073 (1999)						2839			
<i>Persons born in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by country of residence (outside the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)</i>										
Serbia&Montenegro (d)	54747 (2002)									
Australia (c)			43527					40655		
Australia (a)		47745	47588	47787	48061	48315	48437	48507	48577	
Switzerland	41506 (2000)									
Turkey	31518 (2000)									
Italy	24873 (2001)									
Austria	13948 (2001)								17028	17496
United States (c)		18680								
United States (a)									4928	
Croatia (d)	10329 (2001)									
Slovenia	6593 (2002)	8231	8890	8712	8751	8990	9042	10029	10885	12738
Canada (c)			7215					8510		
France	2560 (1999)						3734			
Sweden			2362	2572	2769	2971	3179	3391	3669	3887
Denmark					1798	1883	2007	2080	2281	
Denmark (a)			1209	1373	1527	1666	1871	1927	2005	2105
<i>Persons with Macedonian ancestry by country of residence ( outside the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia)</i>										
United States (c)			38051							



**Emigration flow data reported by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total emigration (f)	172	503	141	144	669	1300	1108	240
<i>Emigration by citizenship (f)</i>								
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	165	312	81	112	656	1282	1073	224
<i>Emigration by next country of residence</i>								
United States			0		11	135	274	37
Italy			1		158	256	62	12
Germany			0		191	225	121	26
Switzerland			0		123	206	174	26
Australia					4	88	109	5
Serbia&Montenegro			70		52	78	101	27
Austria			0		15	34	43	13
Canada			0		1	18	20	
<i>Emigration of citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by next country of residence (e) (h)</i>								
United States						131	271	
Italy			1		157	256	62	
Germany					191	225	121	
Switzerland					123	206	174	
Serbia&Montenegro	119	219	70	74	48		97	
Australia						87	109	
Austria							43	
Canada							20	

**Immigration flow data reported by destination countries**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by country of destination</i>								
Italy	3712		3545	5462	5005	4297		
Italy (a)	3939	4670	5233		4280	3423	3570	5290
Germany		5299		3683	3292	2628	2492	2334
Germany (a)	3442	5299	3953	3683	3292	2628	2463	2307
Slovenia	876	1049	1217	1559	1251	1678	2097	3163
Switzerland	2139	2574	2049	1602	1386	1252	1160	1240
Austria (a)	898	1368	1694	1538	1557	1394	948	947
Turkey (a)	806	900	829	954	1047	1137	1285	1427
United States (a)	790	921	821	653	775	1070	1317	1227
Australia (a)	346	548	437	445	420	332	370	335
Canada (a)	239	296	349	635	450	292	249	210
Czech Republic (a)				159	159	323	446	554

**Immigration flow data reported by destination countries (cont.)**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by country of destination</i>								
Italy	3689		3655	5420	5161	4331		
Germany	3441	5478	3950	3682	3260	2620	2509	2343
Switzerland						1252		
Austria		1450	1665	1489	1516	1393	951	947
Canada			350	635				
Czech Republic								548
<i>Flows of permanent settlers born in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Australia</i>								
Australia (b) <sup>(1)</sup>	295	475	389	393	373	310	357	312

(1) Data for the fiscal year July - June of the year indicated

**Acquisitions of new citizenship by citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Number of citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia who acquired a new citizenship by new country of citizenship</i>								
Switzerland	857	1022	1639	1802	1981	2171	2596	2210
Germany	782		866		1226	1109	1106	
United States	310	394	559	376	601	651	837	
Austria	241	417	574	786	803	991	716	414
<i>Number of citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia who lost citizenship by new country of citizenship</i>								
Total			1956		2170	2126	1917	1525
Germany			977		1093	1329	1088	999
Austria			676		812	625	583	325

**Immigration flow data reported by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total immigration (for extended stay)			2259		1718	2671	2244	1320
<i>Immigration (for extended stay) by citizenship</i>								
the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia			723		543	524	545	366
Albania			254		163	322	426	283
Serbia&Montenegro			733		561	1073		261
United States			21		49	60	61	64
Turkey			50		40	88	86	57
<i>Immigration (for extended stay) by previous country of residence</i>								
Serbia			1133		846	1320	852	422
Albania			401		201	364	500	370
Croatia			104		99	148	114	38
Bosnia & Herzegovina			146		117	139	95	48
Bulgaria			123		109	96	89	51
United States			23		53	78	67	
Turkey			54		43	93	90	59
Germany			18		29	31	34	28
Austria			6		3	7	12	6
<i>Immigration of citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by previous country of residence (h)</i>								
Total	639	458	723	567	543	524	545	366
Serbia&Montenegro							238	
Croatia							83	
Albania							72	
Bosnia&Herzegovina							35	
Russian Federation							35	
<i>Immigration of foreigners for extended stay by previous country of residence (h)</i>								
Total							1699	954
Serbia&Montenegro							614	
Albania							428	
Turkey							85	
Bulgaria							82	
Bosnia&Herzegovina							60	
<i>Immigration of foreigners for temporary stay by previous country of residence</i>								
Total (f)	560	727	534	578	838	967	1029	861
Serbia&Montenegro (h)							285	
Albania (h)							205	
Turkey (h)							56	
Bulgaria (h)							53	

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**Emigration flow data reported by other countries**


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	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Flows of citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by country of previous residence</i>								
Germany		2639	3322	2751	2829	2067	2000	1749
Germany (a)	2528	2639	3322	2751	2829	2067	1894	1729
Slovenia	259	784	1269	1202	938	580	1219	1551
Austria (a)	378	416	504	467	509	462	562	533
<i>Flows to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by previous country of residence</i>								
Croatia			4	9	8		6	5
Germany	2654	2692	3367	2683	2797	2080	1959	1784
Austria		415	387	402	466	469	573	559

**Acquisitions of citizenship of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<i>Number of foreigners who acquired citizenship of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by country of previous citizenship</i>								
Total			1914		2625	2660	2147	1713
Albania			904		193	159	166	114
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia			736					
Serbia&Montenegro					1889	2087		
Serbia including Kosovo/ UNSCR1244							1561	1190
Bosnia&Herzegovina			67		185	186	129	110

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**Labour migration**


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	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
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**Stock of workers abroad***Citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia working abroad*

Italy (a)	15011	15094	15155	21033	21479	22563	23442	36146
United Kingdom						6711		
Slovenia			3249	3031		3467		
Slovenia (e)	3248	3374	3249					
Austria (a)	1054	1312	1580	1964	2245	2599	2943	3256
Norway (a)							1163	1157
Czech Republic	408	435	395	406	405	423	596	968
Denmark			712			848		
Denamrk (a)								1101
Sweden		563						
Turkey	448							

*Persons born in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia working abroad*

Switzerland (a)	23271							
Austria (a)					11308	9092	9833	13328
Denmark (a)				940	1036	1115	1206	1298
United States (a)								2498

**Outflow of workers***Labour migration of the citizens of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia  
by country of destination*

Italy (a)	1972					1053	1222	
Germany (a)	676	1185	182	83	65			

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## Serbia and Montenegro; Serbia\*; Montenegro\*\*

## Demography

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro							Serbia		Montenegro			
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Census (d)	2007	2008	Census (d)	2007	2008
Population stock	10637366	10645156	10662287	8096779	8157625	8079028	8051291	7498001	7397651	7365507	617740	624896	627478
Births	125868	130194	86600	87370	86035	86495			68102			7834	
Deaths	118078	113063	108298	109650	110027	114232			102805			5979	
Net migration	0	0	-2543810	83126	-54605	0			2559			727	
	<i>Population by citizenship</i>												
Serbia and Montenegro	7318667												
Stateless	103551												
Foreigners	75783												
Out of which:													
Croatia	36408												
Bosnia and Herzegovina	21249												
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	7680												
Romania	2245												
Slovenia	409												
Bulgaria	362												
Germany	259												
Hungary	224												

## Demography (cont.)

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro							Serbia		Montenegro			
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Census (d)	2007	2008	Census (d)	2007	2008
<i>Population by country of birth</i>													
Serbia								6582735					
Unknown								9714					
Foreign-born								905552			69847		
Out of which:													
Bosnia and Herzegovina								381650					
Croatia								351263					
Montenegro								72033					
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia								54747					
Slovenia								13128					
Germany								7074					
Romania								4477					
Austria								3312					
Hungary								1849					
Bulgaria								1027					

\* Most data on Serbia concern Serbia and Kosovo/UNSCR 1244 (but not the 2002 census data).

\*\* In June 2006, Montenegro gained independence and the union of Serbia and Montenegro ended. Therefore, stock data after 2006 and flow data after 2005 is presented separately for each country. However, some data continues to be available only for Serbia and Montenegro together.

## Stock of population abroad

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro										Serbia & Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro	
	Census	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2007	2008	2007	2008	2007	2008
	<i>Citizens of Serbia and Montenegro by country of residence (outside Serbia and Montenegro)</i>															
Germany		662495	627523	591492	568240	507328	297004					36770	99427	1070	2861	
Germany (a)		737204	662500	627523	591492	568240	125765	297004	282067	294451						
Switzerland	213524 (2000)	196447		202632	200349	199739	196833									
Switzerland (a)		189371	190731	194747	198092	199756	199150	196179				190794	187365	2	8	
Austria	132975 (2001)	132975	139903	141744	137602	137662	139076	137257	133692			32		0		
Italy	49324 (2001)															
Italy (a)		41234	40151	39278	40237	46766	58174	64070	64411	68542						
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (e)	35939 (2002)															
France	6863 (1999)					34618										
Sweden		20188	20741	20087	18570	18217	17106					221	2292	15	145	
Sweden (a)					18570	18217	17106									
Sweden (a) <sup>(1)</sup>		22727	20188	20741	20087											
Hungary	8920 (2001)	8510	8389	7920	12367	12398			12706				6385			11
Hungary (a)		10943	8623	8389	7920	8271	13643	8440	8459	7325						
Slovenia	5913 (2002)	8546	6543	6911	7245	7615	7949	9279				10319	13782			218

(1) Data reported as "nationals of Former Yugoslavia"



## Stock of population abroad (cont.)

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro						Serbia & Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro		
	Census	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
<i>Persons born in Serbia and Montenegro by country of residence (outside Serbia and Montenegro)</i>													
Switzerland	158109	(2000)											
Austria	143077	(2001)						183617	189578	6493		53	
United States (c)		113985											
United States (a)										15326			
Turkey	112419	(2000)											
Croatia (e)	86830	(2001)											
Sweden			71972	73274	74418	75520	1869	3626		194	1999	12	138
Sweden (a)			70428	71972	73274	74418	421	1869	3626	6805	6743		
Sweden (a) <sup>(1)</sup>			70428	71972	73274	74418	75099	74599	74032	73671	72939		
Canada (c)			63875				25465 <sup>(2)</sup>						
Australia (c)			55365							17328 <sup>(3)</sup>		848 <sup>(3)</sup>	
Australia (a)			64000	64000	61500	58200	53400	48200	42900	42800			
Netherlands			771	794	54548	53544	52716			51983	51784		
Netherlands <sup>(4)</sup>			54246	54448									
Italy	52518	(2001)											
Belgium	216	(2001)								49			0
Belgium (a)			21462	20851	23177	25827	27558	29829	31764	34231			
United Kingdom	31233	(2001)								25145			
Hungary	27388	(2001)											
Slovenia	26951	(2002)	35883	34181	34658	29847	30595	35211	36559	37770	41475		0
France	2276	(1999)					17571						
Norway	11585	(2001)					8081	8709	9654	9906			
Norway (a)			13279	12864	11660	8081	8709	9654	9906	9540			

(1) Data reported as "Born in Former Yugoslavia"

(2) Excludes 37205 persons who reported their birthplace as "Yugoslavia" (reported in the statistics as "Yugoslavia, not otherwise specified")

(3) Excludes persons who stated their birthplace as "Yugoslavia". Data for "Yugoslavia" are included in the category "South Eastern Europe not further defined" (33359 persons).

(4) Persons born on the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

**Emigration data reported by Serbia and Montenegro / Serbia / Montenegro**

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro				Serbia&Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro	
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007
Total emigration	n.a									
	<i>Emigration by citizenship</i>									
	n.a									
	<i>Emigration by next country of residence</i>									
	n.a									

**Immigration data reported by destination countries**

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro							Serbia&Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro	
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007	2006	2007	
	<i>Flows of citizens of Serbia and Montenegro by country of destination</i>												
Germany	28779		22751	21691	17514	11299	3745	10630	160	643			
Germany (a)	33015	28349	26420	22751	21691	17514	10794		153	623			
Austria	6669	6314	9142	9843	11375	11609	7423	6396					
Austria (a)	6354	6222	8754	9342	11375	11609	7423	6396					
Switzerland	6202	6773	7168	6272	5645	4894							
Switzerland (a)	6691	7546	7656	6312	5678	4898	4752	5398					
Italy	5130		3850	5481	6397	5221							
Italy (a)	5296	6020	8192	6260	6260	3369	3864	5716					
United States (a)	2742	6203	10387	2994	3331	5202	5891	3586					
Canada			1592	940									
Canada (a)	4745	2804	1623	941	708	272	126	782					
Turkey						4519	4734						
Slovenia	660	880	1221	1499	2371	3324	4447	6368	0	83			
Sweden	2951	2368	2123	1778	1809	2143	215	1895	14	114			

## Immigration data reported by destination countries (cont.)

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro							Serbia & Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro	
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007	2006	2007	
<i>Flows of citizens of Serbia and Montenegro by country of destination</i>													
Sweden (a)				1778	1809	2143	3975	3781					
Australia (a)	2548	2588	2338	1775	1078	724	567	601					
France		709		1714	1942	1987	1862						
France (a)	1205	1437	1568	1733	2018	1994	1792	1781					
Hungary		1021	395	709	1586	1096	1120			3902		4	
Hungary (a)	1777	1028	437	709	1586	1096	1061	487					
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia			733		561	1073	623			261		9	
<i>Flows from Serbia and Montenegro by country of destination</i>													
Germany	33326	28637	25773	21754	20682	16963	10986		3507	10398	161	637	
Austria		6392	8914	9520	10999	11737	7487	6484					
Canada			1623	940									
Italy	5233		4194	5576	5938	5325							
Sweden	2711	2206	2068	1896	1774	2081			226	1937	8	112	
Croatia			1854	1440	1550				1508	1479			
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia			1133		846	1320	852	422				13	
<i>Flows of permanent settlers born in Serbia and Montenegro to Australia</i>													
Australia (b) <sup>(1)</sup>	2356	2343	2082	1633	931	671	509	572					

(1) Data for the fiscal year July - June of the year indicated

## Acquisitions of new citizenship by citizens of Serbia and Montenegro / Serbia / Montenegro

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro				Serbia & Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro	
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007
<i>Number of citizens of Serbia and Montenegro who acquired new citizenship by new citizenship</i>										
Switzerland (a)	3285	3686	5803	6332	7854	9503		11721	10428	
Germany			8375		3539	8824		2979		70
Germany (a)	9776	12000	8375	5504	3539	8824	9552	1246		
United Kingdom	585	900		4850	5280	9800	7550		3470	6
Austria	2810	4296	4806	9836	7245	6681		4819	4213	41
United States (a)	2188	2076	2302	2012	3159	5857	5555	3382		
Canada (a)				3308	4095	1496	319	92		
Sweden (a)	5134	1642	2747	2277	2124	3254	3073	1307	167	8
France	2358	1515	1902	2192	2459	2737		2803		
Croatia								1579	2675	146
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia			736		1889	2087		1561	1190	
Norway (a)	1322	1199	614	310	303	852	1107	1130		
Hungary	1324	1254	470	343	533	949		457		
Hungary (a)					949		357	759		

## Immigration flow data reported by Serbia and Montenegro / Serbia / Montenegro

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro		Serbia & Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro			
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007
Total immigration	n.a									
	<i>Immigration by citizenship</i>									
	n.a									
	<i>Immigration by previous country of residence</i>									
	n.a									
	<i>Residence permits issued, by citizenship (f)</i>									
Total							16292	16779		
China								5043		
Romania								1953		
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia								1575		

## Emigration flow data reported by other countries

	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro		Serbia & Montenegro		Serbia		Montenegro					
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007		
	<i>Flows of citizens of Serbia and Montenegro by country of previous residence</i>											
Germany	37668		30728	28345	20461		14653		2051	8556	34	210
Germany (a)	89269	35989	37925	30728	28345	20461	11849	8833			69	256
Austria (a)	5762	5169	3982	4849	4618	4285	5162	5487				
Switzerland	2715	2108	1494	1221	1200	1349						
Switzerland (a)	2785	2144	1508	1129	1186	1268	1142					
Slovenia	471	437	485	359	1302	1639			2995	2358	0	15
	<i>Flows to Serbia and Montenegro by country of previous residence</i>											
Germany	89620	36268	36616	2892	25945	18637	4619		2623	8866	72	275
Austria	5900	5098	2982	4041	4004	4246	5317	5585				
Croatia			401	885	1877				2907	3817		

## Labour migration

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro										
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Serbia & Montenegro	Serbia	Montenegro
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007
<b>Stock of workers abroad</b>										
<i>Citizens of Serbia and Montenegro working abroad</i>										
Germany (a)	207000	217000	220000	218000	175000	180000	208000		164000	26000
Slovenia			5487	4961		5831				
Slovenia (e)	5761	5765	5487							
Sweden	3965	4346								
Denmark			3981							
Denmark (a)								972		
Austria (a)				1271	3461	5919		8065		
Italy (a)				26846	28551	28773		31976		
France (a)				16921	16112	14440		9460		
Norway			1693							
Norway (a)						4651				
Finland (a)	1532	1500	1500	1500	1200	1200	1300	1200		
Hungary (a)				914	937	1082	1301	1661	2203	
<i>Persons born in Serbia and Montenegro working abroad (a)</i>										
Austria					82482	79977	91304	42196		
Switzerland	89917									

**Labour migration (cont.)****Stock of workers abroad**

*Citizens of the Republic of Serbia working abroad for a foreign employer or working independently  
(incl. family) – data from the 2002 Census (c)*

	<b>2002</b>
Total	414839
Germany	102799
Austria	87844
Switzerland	65751
France	27040
Italy	20428
USA	16240
Sweden	14049
Canada	10908
Australia	7490
Netherlands	6280
Hungary	5343
Russian Federation	5178
United Kingdom	4153

<b>Labour migration (cont.)</b>													
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia / Serbia and Montenegro					Serbia&Montenegro		Serbia			Montenegro			
2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007	2008	2006	2007	2008
<b>Inflow of workers to Serbia (f)</b>													
Residence permits issued for the reason of employment/regular contract													
Residence permits issued for the reason of employment/fixed contract													
<b>Outflow of workers</b>													
<i>Labour migration of citizens of Serbia and Montenegro by country of destination (a)</i>													
Hungary		1066	1121	1321	1581	1899	2139						
Italy				1282		1114	3068						
Germany	835	1213	755	283									
Switzerland	1279	1608	1176	782	665	519							
<b>Data on stock of workers from "Former Yugoslavia "**</b>													
<i>Citizens of Former Yugoslavia working abroad (a)</i>													
Switzerland		148348	154488	133859		166162	164154	161172	158728	160162			
Austria		124218	122772	119806	117100	113432	108919	105079	102510				
Sweden		27000	23000	19000	17000	8000	10513	5521					
Denmark		10813	11525	12652	12533	3669	3650	3251	3248	3205			
<i>Persons born in Former Yugoslavia working abroad (a)</i>													
Australia			92600	108000	95100	90800	107500	102300	104700				
United States		71954	56642	72532	100486	80827	103472	95884	57486				
Canada								84725					
Sweden		61400	64900	62400	64600	65800	67140	70678					
Denmark						6200	6145	5974	5991	6027			

\* Data presented in the OECD International Migration Database



## ANNEX II

### Basic information on PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus in Western Balkan countries

Country	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo/UNSCR 1244
Methodology	PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus	PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus	PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus	PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus
Standard sample size and age bands	N=1000, age18+	N=1000, age 15+	N=1000, age 15+	N = 1000 age 18+
Target sample (18-65) size	n=932	n=768	n=791	n=1230
Population 18-65 size	1,720,366	2,524,868	2,676,534	1,062,962 (estimate)
Sample type	nationally representative	nationally representative	nationally representative	nationally representative
Sample weighted	no	yes	yes	yes
Sampling number	100	98	103	179
Sampling procedure	Multistage, with random route	Three-way stratification, random route	Multistage, random route, Kish table	Stratified 3-staged probability sample.
Sampling variables/quotas	Regions, voting centres (VC), VC size	Entity, regions and settlement size; age, gender	Region, settlement size, age, gender	Stratification is done according to type of settlement (urban/rural) and Geo-economical regions. Allocation of the sample by strata is proportional to size of the stratum. Post stratification regarding: gender, age, type of settlement, geo-economical regions
Fieldwork start	14 <sup>th</sup> January 2009	5 <sup>th</sup> January 2009	6 <sup>th</sup> February 2009	25 <sup>th</sup> March 2009
Fieldwork end	28 <sup>th</sup> January 2009	1 <sup>st</sup> February 2009	20 <sup>th</sup> February 2009	16 <sup>th</sup> April 2009

## Annex 4.1. continued

Country	Montenegro	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Serbia
Methodology	PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus	PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus	PAPI (Paper and Pencil Interview) Omnibus
Standard sample size and age bands	N=948 aged 18-75	N=1000 aged 15-50	N=1009 aged 18+
Target sample (18-65) size	n=860	n=1000	n=858
Population 18-65 size	394,124 (estimate based upon the census in 2003)	1,215,237	4,743,386 (estimate for 2006. based upon the census in 2002 and vital statistics data)
Sample type	nationally representative	nationally representative	nationally representative
Sample weighted	yes	no	yes
Sampling number	110	100	135
Sampling procedure	Stratified 3-staged probability sample.	Three-staged, quota sample	Stratified 3-staged probability sample.
Sampling variables/quotas	Stratification is done according to type of settlement (urban/rural) and geo-economical regions. Allocation of the sample by stratum is proportional to size of the stratum. Post stratification regarding: gender, age, type of settlement, geo-economical regions	Stratification is done according to region, area type (urban/rural), age and gender	Stratification is done according to type of settlement (urban/rural) and Geo-economical regions. Allocation of the sample by stratum is proportional to size of the stratum. Post stratification regarding: gender, age, type of settlement, geo-economical regions
Fieldwork start	14 <sup>th</sup> January 2009	15 <sup>th</sup> January 2009	15 <sup>th</sup> January 2009
Fieldwork end	23 <sup>rd</sup> January 2009	25 <sup>nd</sup> January 2009	22 <sup>nd</sup> January 2009

Source: MillwardBrown SMG/KRC (Poland), 2009.

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