

# Yugoslav Emigration

## Qualitative Differentiation

Yugoslav workers entered the last massive European migratory wave, which took place at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, with a delay of slightly less than a year. Measured by the situation in West Germany, the destination of the largest number of migrants, the lag was 9 1/2 months. In 1972 the average duration of residence of Yugoslav workers in that country was 2.8 years, as compared with the average for foreign workers as a whole of 3.6 years.<sup>1)</sup>

This difference was quite soon obliterated, for as early as 1977 the duration of residence of the Yugoslavs and the other nationalities making up the migrant population was seen to be the same. But by 1985 the original difference was reversed: at 14.1 years, the average duration of residence of Yugoslav migrants in West Germany far exceeded the overall average, which stood at 11.4 years.<sup>2)</sup>

The emigration of Yugoslavs began mostly as a trip to West Germany. According to Yugoslavian census figures, out of the total number of emigrants, 70 % lived and worked in that country in 1971.

Time has not brought about any significant changes, and the areal structure existing at the beginning remains mostly the same. After ten years, the share of West Germany has been reduced to 60 %; thus, in the study of Yugoslav emigration, the representativity of this area remains at a high level, and the qualitative changes looked for in the present work also occur here.



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According to 1981 data, distance is an influential factor in bringing about structural changes. With an increase in distance, the element of family emigration also increases. For example: Yugoslav emigration to Austria involves a single person in 80 % of the cases, emigration to West Germany 72 % and to Sweden 63 %. As far as the United States is concerned, the corresponding figure is 55 %, and Australia 52 %.

A characteristic of Yugoslav emigration is its rather low level of mobility. Thus emigration from Yugoslavia is connected only with the known reality of the process. When West Germany's share decreased, that of

Austria, Switzerland, France and Sweden increased.

The several Yugoslav regions did not contribute, in the main, to the migratory wave and the work force abroad either simultaneously or with equal intensity. The first and most massive migratory movements took place from the two most advanced regions, Slovenia and Croatia.

### Yugoslav Emigration According to the Receiving Countries<sup>3)</sup>

Receiving	1971		1981	
	total	total	workers	
West Germany	411503	451608	324324	
Austria	82957	122247	97618	
Switzerland	21201	70178	59624	
France	36982	49139	32903	
Sweden	16359	26650	16829	
Benelux countries	7358	12162	7913	
Other European countries	14068	19636	14445	
<b>European countries</b>				
Total	590428	751620	553656	
Australia	40168	52802	27709	
U.S.A.	16368	32150	17675	
Canada	13579	15555	8346	
Other non-European countries	4114	9056	6858	
<b>Non-European countries</b>				
Total	74229	109563	61588	
Unknown	7251	13781	9823	
Grand total	671908	874964	625067	

The example of Yugoslavia might be cited to indicate that emigration is a highly selective process. The emigrant is responding not only to his economic needs. The act of emigrating reflects not only certain levels of material development. Numerous noneconomic factors are also involved. However, the economic factor tends to push the noneconomic ones aside and to assert itself as the primary influence. Yet, especially when

dealing with a certain low level of development, as in the case of Kosovo, the noneconomic influences take on prominence. An

### Volume and Structure of Yugoslav Emigration by Republics/Regions<sup>4)</sup>

Republics and Autonomous Regions	Number of citizens residing working abroad			
	1971		1981	
	No.	%	No.	%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	137351	20.4	182940	20.9
Montenegro	7829	1.1	18843	2.2
Croatia	224722	33.4	210330	24.0
Macedonia	54433	8.2	100919	11.5
Slovenia	48086	7.2	53483	6.1
Serbia				
(without A.Rs.)	114581	17.1	203421	23.3
Kosovo	24361	3.6	39434	4.5
Vojvodina	60545	9.0	65591	7.5
SFRY total	671908	100.0	874961	100.0

### The Intensity of Emigration from the Different Yugoslav Regions Varies.

Deviations from the Yugoslav average  
 — Yugoslavia = 100 %  
 — 1981.

REPUBLIC/ REGION	migration rate	income per in- habitant
Kosovo	- 36	- 70
Slovenia	- 28	+ 95
Montenegro	- 117	- 25
Vojvodina	- 18	+ 18
Serbia (without A.Rs)	- 8	- 1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	+ 13	- 34
Croatia	+ 18	+ 25
Macedonia	+ 36	- 33
YUGOSLAVIA	3.9 %	\$ 907

extremely low level of development here is accompanied by an extremely low emigration rate.

Kosovo is a conspicuously underdeveloped region, with an average income of only 30 % that of the overall Yugoslavian average; and at the same time the region has the country's lowest rate of emigration, 2.5 %. Right next in line comes the most advanced region, Slovenia, with a rate of 2.8 %. The explanation for the low Slovenian emigration rate must be sought in the high degree of economic development reached in that republic — as well as in the exhaustion of the local sources of manpower. Besides full employment of its own inhabitants, the republic hires an extra 61,781 workers from other regions (1981 statistics), a figure that amounts to 7.7 % of the total labor force.<sup>5)</sup> On the other hand, Macedonia, which is characterized by a rather low level of material development — 67 % of the national average —, registers the highest rate of emigration, 5.3 %. Here we see a high migration rate alongside lagging development. This situation is in complete contrast to that prevailing in Kosovo, where an extremely low emigration rate accompanies underdeveloped conditions. In Macedonia, a regional tradition of migration exercises an influence not experienced in regions like Kosovo.

Age is frequently reported to be an essential qualitative factor in emigration. Infrequent are the reports that do not mention the age of emigrants. The reason is simple: age is a determinant independent of numerous economic and social influences. Age involves a number of qualitative characteristics to be taken into consideration in studying emigration. Implicit are matters of professional training, educational background, family circumstances, etc. Such general considerations naturally come into the picture also in the case of Yugoslav emigration, together with certain special, particular accents.

The age averages given in emigration statistics point to able-bodied manpower. At the beginning of the period covered (1972), the Yugoslav male workers were on the average younger by a year than the

immigrant workers of other nationalities in West Germany — 32.2 vs. 33.2 years.<sup>6)</sup>

If not only workers but the immigrant population as a whole are taken into account, the picture is altered. The Yugoslav citizens (1973) are then older (30.3 years) than the other nationalities (27.2 years) by over three years.<sup>7)</sup> The reason lies in the great difference in family participation among the various nationalities. In the period considered, the average age was affected by the level measured for Yugoslav migrant workers. Participation by younger family members was infrequent. In 1973 only 18 % of the Yugoslav workers were accompanied by other members of their families, while the corresponding figure for the immigrant nationalities as a whole was 53 %.

In 1982 the age difference between the Yugoslavs (31.2 years) and other immigrants (29.4 years) diminished somewhat.<sup>8)</sup>

The reasons for such changes cannot be attributed to an increase in the numbers of family members brought over by Yugoslav workers. Actually, the rate of family reunions has been somewhat slower among the Yugoslav migrants than among other nationalities. Whereas, in 1985, among the immigrant population in West Germany as a whole, the average family numbered 3.4 members, the figure for the Yugoslavs taken separately was 1.9.<sup>9)</sup> The index depicting the growth in the size of immigrant families in the period from 1973 to 1985 was 1.61 as applied to Yugoslavs and 2.22 as applied to the immigrant population as a whole.

One reason for the shrinkage in the age difference between Yugoslavs and other migrant workers in the Federal Republic of Germany — in spite of the slower Yugoslav rate of family reunions — is the difference in the repatriation rates. In the 1973-1985 period, the figure representing the repatriation rate among the Yugoslav workers was -51 % — a decrease from 595,000 to 293,000. Among the migrant workers taken as a whole, the repatriation rate was strikingly lower, -39 %. It was mostly in the older age brackets that the return flow of migrants

took place. The difference in the repatriation rates doubtless accounts largely for the shrinkage in the differences in average age.

The situation is similar as far as the total immigrant population is concerned too. While the number of Yugoslav citizens has fallen by 21 %, the total number of immigrants in West Germany has at the same time increased by 36 %. Since, as a rule, it is the older workers that go back home, this is also an important factor influencing the reduction in the age differences between the immigrant groups.

The basic and long-term factor of change in the make-up of the immigrant population culminates in the critical 1973-74 year with the measures taken to block the migratory flow. The age structure of the immigrant workers was also bound to be affected by the developments. Basic revisions of immigration policy were at issue. They involved structural changes of a far-reaching kind. No longer did conditions on the labor market favor the employment of foreign workers. Rules and definitions were amended, modified and altered. Concepts of integration and assimilation appeared on the scene.

In the face of such developments, Yugoslav emigration divided into two essentially different movements. The one was active, arising at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, while the other, involving families, dated its beginnings from the critical 1973-74 years. The first category is marked by a tendency toward ever-lengthening time intervals of residence.<sup>10)</sup> At the end of the active period, there follows a sudden disappearance. As abruptly as this segment of the migrant population emerged, it seems destined to fade out. Revision of immigration policies by the receiving countries is bound to be followed by further structural changes. The process might be described as a transition from the "activeconjunctural" to the integration and assimilation of alien elements.

In order for this to be achieved, immigrants of quite a different character from

the ones at the beginning of the migrational cycle would be required. As regards the original migrant workers, the migrational period was narrowly confined, whereas the later ones tended to look for acceptable conditions of permanent residence abroad.

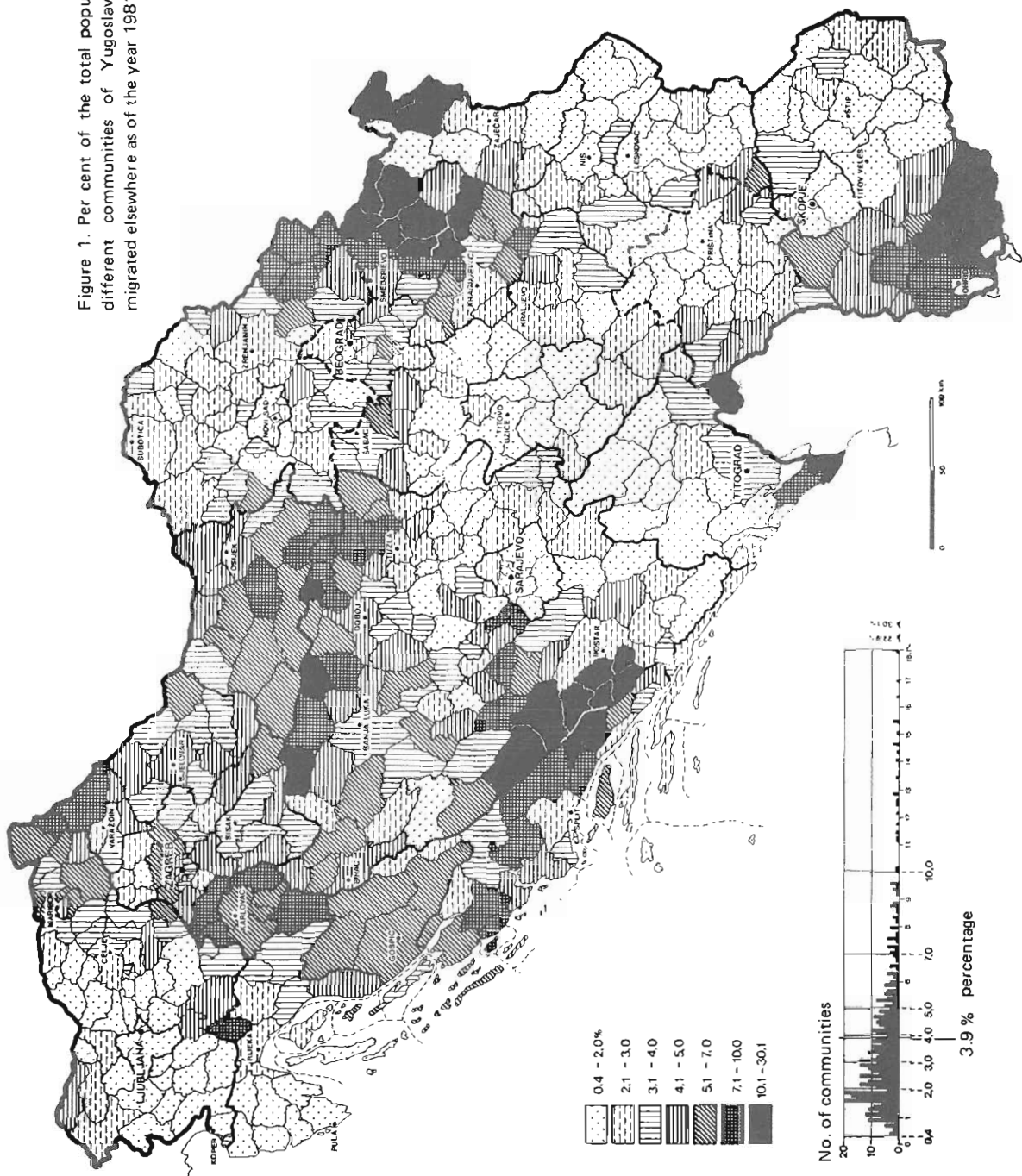
The second migrational segment appeared after the 1973-74 year, described as "critical". Essentially different characteristics mark this element. The people are younger as a whole, possess a considerably higher degree of education and move abroad mostly in family groups.<sup>11)</sup>

Qualitative changes are occurring, measurable by various indicators. The basic fact, however, relates to the rate of activity. Up to 1973, an increase in the working characteristics could be perceived in the active Yugoslav migrants. The rate of activity can be seen to increase from 62.9 % in 1968 to 76.3 % in 1973 in West Germany.<sup>12)</sup>

From then on, the rate of activity has been in an accelerated drop, reaching a level of 50 % in 1983. It was the less skilled workers who were the first to go abroad to seek employment, most of them without their families. Their inclination to return home proved great. Following their period, destined to end in the not distant future, an essential structural change in the Yugoslav emigrant population will take place. That which now appears only as one component is a growing feature, which in a short time — inside a decade — is destined to become the dominant characteristic. Instead of a temporary set-up with the character of migrant labor dominating, we shall witness the stabilization of the immigrant communities as an established layer of European society.<sup>13)</sup> The migrational result will have a different look from the present.

The apparently high educational level of Yugoslav emigrants is one of their easily recognizable features. The contrast with other migrant nationalities became heightened in time. In 1972, for instance, 17 % of the male Yugoslav workers in West Germany (over 15 years of age) had completed more than 10 years of schooling be-

Figure 1. Per cent of the total population of the different communities of Yugoslavia that had migrated elsewhere as of the year 1981



fore migrating. In 1980 the number had risen to 47.1 %, which more than twice exceeded the corresponding percentage for the total alien population of West Germany. As for the female part of the population, these figures were 15 % in 1972 and 35.4 % in 1980.<sup>14</sup>) In the Western European sphere, workers on a lower level of education tend to circulate, while better qualified compatriots are now arriving from Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav emigration to Western Europe has exhibited certain qualitative differences both chronologically and in comparison with other nationalities. West Germany serves as a representative example of the countries on the receiving end of migration. The aim of the present study was to carry out a dynamic method of observation, designed to take into account qualitative changes in the processes and phenomena involved. Yugoslav workers compensated for migrational delays of less than a year by their rapidity of departure and prolonged residence abroad. In relation to other immigrant nationalities, the duration of residence represents a difference in the Yugoslavs' favor. A higher average age among Yugoslav workers partly explains their lower family participation. It likewise accounts for their above-average educational level.

It was in the critical 1973-74 year that the fundamental change in the quality of the migrant workers began to take place. From apparently a force of basically manual laborers, the migrant population underwent a change marked by a prominent family presence and a younger age structure, accompanied by a higher level of education, meaning also raised qualifications for employment. The characteristic of temporariness of residence and expected repatriation has largely changed to prolonged residence in far more numerous cases.

1) Calculated on the basis of the group employed gainfully in West Germany for the first time.

Beschäftigung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, Repräsentativuntersuchung 72 Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Nürnberg, 1973, page 34.

2) Statistisches Jahrbuch Bundesrepublik Deutschland Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden, 1986, page 68.

3) Census of population and dwellings in 1971 and 1981. Statistical Bulletin No. 679 of 1971 and Communication No. 131 of 1981, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Belgrade. There is a considerable discrepancy between the available census data and the figures released in, for instance, the Federal Republic of Germany. According to the West German figures, the country had 44 % more Yugoslav citizens resident there in 1971 than was reported in the statistics published in Yugoslavia. In 1981 the corresponding difference amounted to 41 %. The explanation must certainly be sought in a defective census. Missing from the census were many single-person households and whole families, with nobody to give an account on their behalf. In the 1971 census, family members were omitted because it was assumed that only the breadwinner had emigrated. However, according to the data from West Germany, families made up 24 % of the Yugoslav emigrant population.

Source: Gerhardt Mahler, Michael Steindl, *Zweitspreche Deutsch für Ausländerkinder, Bildungspolitische Schwerpunkte Didaktische Grundlagen*, Verlag Ludwig Auer Donauwörth 1983, pp. 229.

4) Communication of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, Belgrade, Nos. 162 and 239, 1983, and Statistical Bulletin No. 679, 1971.

5) Aleksa Milojević, *Mobility of Labour in Yugoslavia*, the Economic Institute, Banja Luka, 1986, p. 42; and the *Statistical Almanac of Yugoslavia*, Belgrade, 1982, p. 444.

6) *Repräsentativuntersuchung 72...* id., p. 16.

7) Peter Huber: *Bevölkerungspolitik durch Wanderungen*, Institut für Angewandte Wirtschaftsforschung, Tübingen 1977, p. 144.

8) *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1983*, p. 68.

9) *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1986*, pp. 109 and 105.

10) In 1985, in West Germany, 34.2 % of the Yugoslav immigrants had registered periods of residence of between 10 and 15 years, and 41.5 % periods of between 15 and 20 years. Only six years earlier (1979), 47.1 % had periods of residence of from six to ten years. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1986*, p. 68; and SOPEMI, OECD, p. 47.

11) Males with wives made up 90 % of the migrants from Yugoslavia to West Germany in the 1974-1980 period. Of the females, 95 % were accompanied by husbands.

Ursula Mehrlander, Roland Hatmann, Peter König, Hans-Jürgen Krause, *Situation der ausländischer*

Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Repräsentativuntersuchung 80, Der Bundesminister für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich Ebert, Stiftung, Bonn, July 1981, pp 366.

12) In 1983 the rate of activity registered for foreigners as a whole in West Germany was 37.5 %. Konrad Ermann, Rudolf Lenpololt, Arbeitsmarkt-statistische Zahlen in Zeitreihenform, Jahreszahlen für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland Ausgabe 1981, Beiträge zur Arbeitsmarkt und Berufs forschung 3.1. Nürnberg 1981 pp 10 and 75.

13) The inclination to emigrate is no small force. And the observation has been convincingly made that the inclination toward integration and assimilation into a new environment increases in direct

relation to the educational level of the individuals concerned. In the latest period, some 150 highly educated Yugoslavs have become naturalized citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany each year. This is the top figure in Europe. (Statisches Jahrbuch 1985 and 1986). The special status of Yugoslav workers in Western Europe has been a factor next to education. Their native country does not belong to the European Economic Community. This leads to a certain amount of insecurity among Yugoslav workers, and this in turn heightens their inclination toward social integration as a means of gaining individual protection.

14) Ursula Mehrländer . . . Situation . . . id. p. 26.