

**YOUMIG**

***Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration***

**Comparative Migration Profiles of  
Countries and Municipalities in the Danube Region**

**Research Report**

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## Contents

1 Introduction .....	4
1.1. Data and measurement .....	5
2 The national data level.....	8
2.1. Economic development in the YOUMIG countries .....	8
2.2. Population growth in the YOUMIG countries .....	14
2.2.1. General population dynamics and processes .....	14
2.2.2. General migration dynamics and processes .....	17
3 National migration profiles: the YOUMIG countries.....	20
3.1. Austria .....	20
Migration flows .....	21
Population stock .....	22
3.2. Slovenia .....	23
Migration flows .....	23
Population stock .....	24
3.3. Slovakia .....	25
Migration flows .....	25
Population stock .....	27
3.4. Hungary .....	28
Migration flows .....	28
Population stock .....	30
3.5. Romania .....	30
Migration flows .....	31
Population stock .....	33
3.6. Bulgaria .....	33
Migration flows .....	34
Population stock .....	35

3.7. Serbia .....	36
Migration flows .....	36
Population stock .....	38
4. Local migration profiles: the YOUMIG municipalities.....	39
4.1. Graz .....	39
4.2. Maribor .....	41
4.3. Bratislava Rača .....	43
4.4. Szeged .....	44
4.5. Sfântu Gheorghe .....	46
4.6. Burgas .....	47
4.7. Kanjiža .....	48
5. Conclusions and policy outlook .....	51
Literature .....	52

## 1 Introduction

The YOUMIG project aims to bring about a better understanding of the drivers and possible outcomes of youth migration and the challenges the local municipalities face in the Danube Region. In order to achieve the desired goals, for instance, to offer improved policy tools for local municipalities, a solid evidence base is required. This comparative report will give a *broad view on population changes and migratory processes* in the project area, in order to contextualise the local level processes and their subjective perceptions in all countries active in the YOUMIG project, namely Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia and Romania. At the local level, the report will show the major demographic and migratory trends for the municipalities in the respective countries, namely Graz, Burgas, Szeged, Kanjiža, Maribor, Rača (a district of the municipality of Bratislava) and Sfântu Gheorghe. For Germany, no local case study has been conducted. The objective of the report is to give a summary of available migration-related data at the national and local level. The document focuses on the comparability of the information available to give an insight into the different situations and developments of our partner countries and municipalities. Nevertheless, comparability according to migration data presents a serious challenge, since not only are data partially not available in certain locations, but data collection practices are quite different even within individual countries.

Map of the Danube region and location of the YOUMIG partners



Cartography: *Ádám Németh*

## 1.1. Data and measurement

The overarching analysis is based on *official population and migration data* published by the respective national statistical agencies and/or EUROSTAT, and collected partly by the YOUMIG thematic experts. However, it is important to stress that official migration figures are usually quite inaccurate, even in those countries where the collection of demographic data is reliable in general. While stock data, measured at a given point in time as the number of people living in a country other than the one in which they were born, are generally more reliable, migration flows data are very often incomplete (Abel and Sander 2014).

Among the main reasons for this fact is that a significant proportion of emigrants do not report leaving the area of a particular country temporarily or even permanently. The number of emigrants might be considerably higher than the statistics indicate, while the 'real' volume might be only an estimation based on 'mirror statistics' (KSH 2010). Thus, "immigration statistics are generally more reliable than emigration statistics", (Poulain et al. 2006). In general, migration statistics are based on the registered population, and the data never show the real population figures within a country. Nevertheless, statistical data and the quantitative analyses based on them are important elements of social science investigation since they supply comparative information on the long-term trends and spatial patterns of population and migration development.

To enhance the comparability of data in the section on national developments, data from the World Bank and the UN were also used in the current report. These data are collected and (in a second step) harmonized mostly for the purpose of comparing developments across different countries; in contrast national statistics focus rather on the harmonisation of data internally.

While most countries of the Danube Region collect data in censuses that take place every 10 years, in Austria and Germany data collection is conducted by register counting which creates its own problems when comparing data. In addition, what actually constitutes data in terms of a person's official residence status can vary from one country to the next. In Austria for example, a person must be registered at a new address for at least 60 days to qualify as a resident (the 60-day rule). Although population data has many limitations in this respect, it is hoped that the use of comparable material in this report will help to shed more light on developments in migration at the local and national level.

## YOUMIG at a glance

**Full name:** YOUMIG - Improving institutional capacities and fostering cooperation to tackle the impacts of transnational youth migration

A project of the **Danube Transnational Programme**

**Start date:** 01-01-2017

**End date:** 30-06-2019

**Budget:** 2,718,853 EUR (ERDF Contribution: 2,055,179 EUR, IPA Contribution: 255,846 EUR)

**Call number:** Call 1

**Priority:** 4. (Well-governed Danube region)

**Specific objective:** 4.1. (Improve institutional capacities to tackle major societal challenges)

**Project partners:**

**Lead partner:** Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HU)

**Work package leaders:** University of Vienna (AT), Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (DE), Maribor Development Agency (SI), INFOSTAT - Institute of Informatics and Statistics (SK)

**ERDF partners:** Municipality of Szeged (HU), City of Graz (AT), Institute for Economic Research (SI), Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (RO), Municipality of Sfântu Gheorghe (RO), National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria (BG), Burgas Municipality (BG), Municipality of the City district of Bratislava- Rača (SK)

**IPA partners:** Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (RS), Institute of Social Sciences (RS), Municipality of Kanjiža (RS)

**Associated Strategic Partners:** Statistics Austria (AT), City of Karlsruhe (DE), Federal Institute for Population Research (DE)

YOUMIG, in which 19 partners from 8 countries work together, wishes to support local governments in using the developmental potential of youth migration, which will lead to a better governed and more competitive Danube region. The project aims at boosting their institutional capacities to enhance the scarce local evidence of youth migration and contributing to improved policymaking with a focus on human capital. Statistical offices and academic organizations team up with local governments in a complex and customized multi-level and transnational cooperation to create local developmental strategies based on improved impact indicators of youth migration and to introduce transnationally tested tools for managing local challenges. As a result, institutions and stakeholders obtain increased capacities through an intensified cooperation.

YOUMIG's work is structured in six work packages (WPs). Aside from management (WP1) and communication (WP2) issues, the thematic work is distributed as follows. In line with the project's Conceptual Framework, all partners contribute to the development of improved evidence of youth migration and its developmental impacts on the EU, national and local level by elaborating local status quo analyses for the local partners (WP3). Through a comprehensive evaluation of the locally available indicators of youth migration, the project identifies the shortfalls of measuring local challenges and elaborates and tests new or improved indicators of youth migration (WP4). On the local level, the project improves capacities to manage related processes by jointly testing and introducing good practices and institutional units, tailored to local needs (WP5). The project concludes in transnationally tested tools for all governance levels contributing to better strategies, policies and services related to the issue of youth migration (WP6).

*YOUMIG's outputs are uploaded to*  
<http://www.interreg-danube.eu/youmig/outputs>

## 2 The national data level

### 2.1. Economic development in the YOUMIG countries

Demographic and migratory processes in the majority of the YOUMIG countries have been greatly influenced by the turbulent history of Central Europe in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The end of socialism and the fall of the Iron Curtain can be considered the most important *turning point* in recent history. The market transition of the early 1990s “not only led to the shaping of market-like economies, but also strongly influenced the overall socio-demographic development of these countries by creating the possibility of free movement for the population, which altered the number and direction of migration flows” (Fassmann et al. 2014). In order to show this process, the following analysis focuses on the *time period* between 1991 and 2017.

Historical data and estimations show that YOUMIG countries were able to improve their **GDP per capita rates**<sup>1</sup> throughout the period of state socialism; with the average rate increasing from 102% to 185% compared to the world average, between 1950 and 1989. However, the economic divide between Germany and Austria on the Western side and socialist countries on the Eastern side of the Iron Curtain grew only wider during these four decades (GDP Maddison).

After the regime change, the economies of the post-socialist transition countries were shattered by radical, economic and socio-political changes, magnified by the disintegration of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia along with the emergence of ethnic conflicts in the Balkans. The economic crisis was accompanied by the collapse of the industrial sector and serious inflation in all countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Annual GDP shrunk by 10-15% in the Visegrad countries and by 20-30% in Southeast Europe in the early 1990s, while the recovery took ca. 7-8 years in Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia and 12 years in Bulgaria and Romania. Moreover, for Serbia, demolished industry and infrastructure as a consequence of the Yugoslav Wars delayed the political and economic recovery even further. Meanwhile, in developed western countries, including Austria and Germany, GDP levels increased remarkably (Kocsis and Schweitzer 2009).

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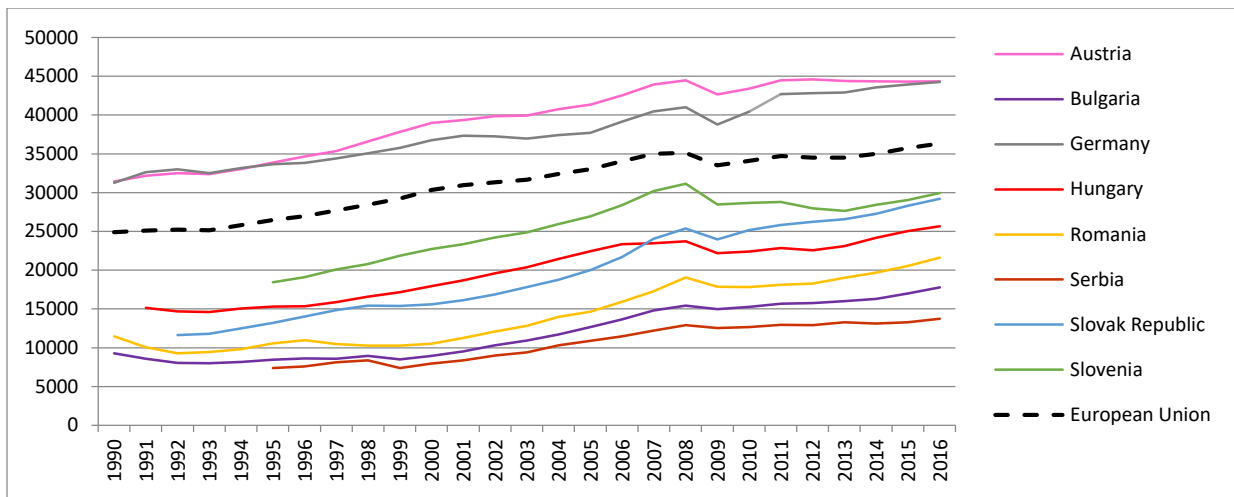
<sup>1</sup> Gross domestic product (GDP) is a measure of economic activity. It is defined as “the value of all goods and services produced less the value of any goods or services used in their creation”.

<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/-/tec00114>



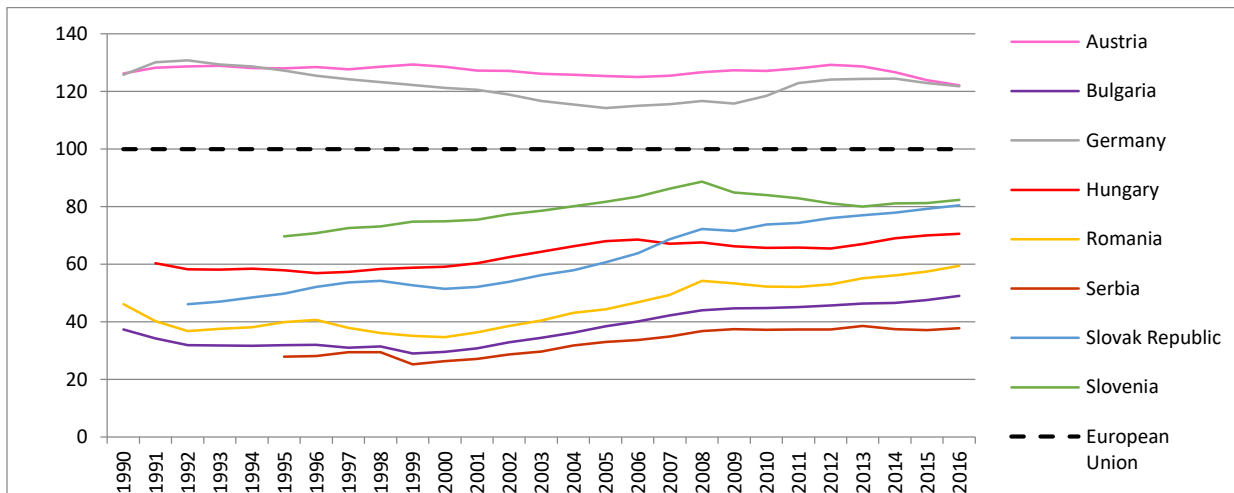
The GDP per capita volume indices in Purchasing Power Standards (PPS) started to increase significantly around 1995 in Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia and after 1999 in Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia (Figure 1). Spread out between 28-70% in the early 1990s, relative to the European Union (EU-28) average, nowadays these values vary between 38-82%. Although this statistical convergence does not account for barely decreasing regional inequalities in both the European Union and within YOUMIG countries, differences are clearly visible (Figure 2 and Table 1).

Figure 1: GDP per capita based on PPP valuation in YOUMIG countries, 1990-2016



Source: World Bank<sup>2</sup>

Figure 2: GDP per capita based on PPP valuation in YOUMIG countries, compared to the European Union's average (100%), 1990-2016



<sup>2</sup><http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD&country=>

Source: World Bank

Table 1: GDP per capita based on PPP valuation in YOUMIG countries, compared to the European Union's average (100%)

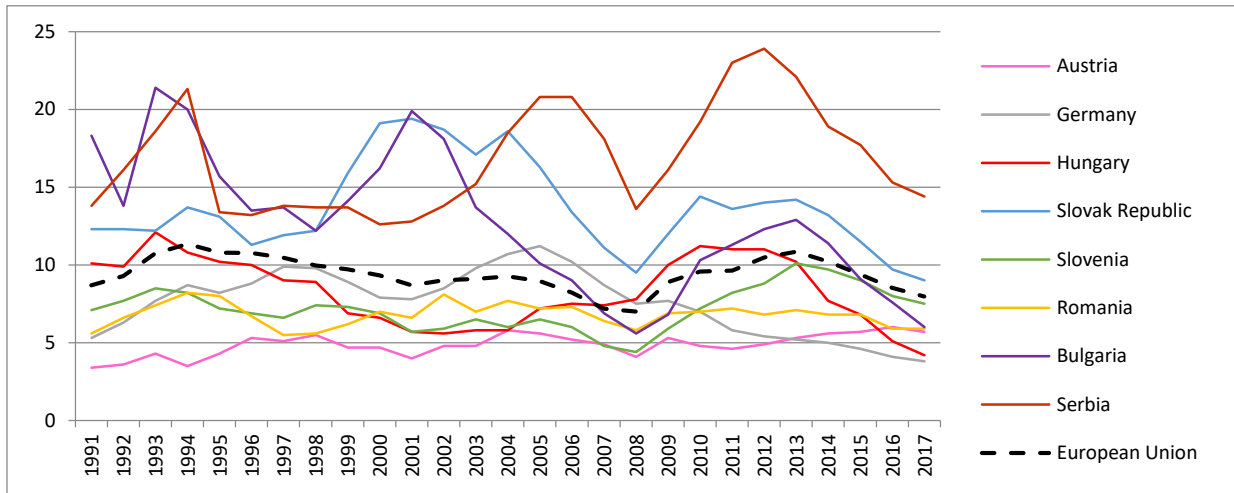
	1991	2001	2011	2016
Germany	130.1	120.5	122.9	121.8
Austria	128.2	127.2	128.0	122.1
Slovenia	69.7	75.4	82.9	82.4
Slovakia	46.1	52.2	74.4	80.4
Hungary	60.4	60.3	65.8	70.6
Romania	40.2 <sup>a</sup>	36.4	52.1	59.5
Bulgaria	34.3 <sup>b</sup>	30.8	45.1	49.0
Serbia	27.9 <sup>a</sup>	27.1	37.3	37.8

Source: World Bank (a: data by 1995, b: data by 1992)

During the era of state socialism, **unemployment** did not exist (at least officially) in these countries because the employment policies propagated by the state were geared to achieving full employment of manpower. This political transformation resulted in a number of novel and disquieting phenomena for these societies, such as mass unemployment and extreme differences in incomes. (Typically - though not exclusively - unemployment affected blue-collar workers in the production sector.) Although a temporary process of re-ruralisation could also be observed, the greater proportion of employed people was absorbed by the service sector. The advent of post-industrial and service economies had major implications for labour markets, especially regarding the need for a more highly qualified and specialised work force (Fassmann et al. 2014).

World Bank data show that until 1996 the unemployment rates of post-socialist YOUMIG countries were above 10%, with the exception of Slovenia (Figure 3). In Austria and Germany, where sectorial economic changes to post-industrial and service economies had occurred a few decades earlier, the unemployment rates were already lower during this period. After considerable fluctuation, unemployment rates reached a relatively low level by 2008, but due to the global economic crisis, they rose again in all countries, except Germany. Since 2013, rates have fallen steadily, while in Austria unemployment has levelled off. In comparison to the first half of the 1990s, differences in unemployment rates are much smaller, and six out of eight YOUMIG countries now enjoy better values than the European Union's average. Table 2 shows the mean monthly earnings in the different countries by certain sectors taken from the EUROSTAT database. Income can be considered one of the main push- or pull-factors, especially in the context of East-West migration and internal EU-migration.

Figure 3: Unemployment, per cent of total labour force



Source: World Bank<sup>3</sup>

Table 2: Mean monthly earnings (PPS) in the YOUMIG countries in industry, construction and services (except public administration, defence, compulsory social security)

	IN PPS				COMPARED TO THE EU28 AVERAGE		
	2002	2006	2010	2014	2006	2010	2014
<b>EU 28</b>	-	2,013	2,097	2,200	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>GERMANY</b>	-	2,390	2,413	2,582	118.7	115.1	117.4
<b>AUSTRIA</b>	-	2,020	2,073	2,357	100.3	98.9	107.1
<b>SLOVENIA</b>	1,471	1,605	1,747	1,923	79.7	83.3	87.4
<b>SLOVAKIA</b>	775	761	1,132	1,339	37.8	54.0	60.9
<b>HUNGARY</b>	842	1,018	1,221	1,345	50.6	58.2	61.1
<b>ROMANIA</b>	475	665	895	963	33.0	42.7	43.8
<b>BULGARIA</b>	353	507	748	877	25.2	35.7	39.9
<b>SERBIA</b>	-	-	-	1,125	-	-	51.1

Source: Eurostat<sup>4</sup>

The YOUMIG countries gain from financial **remittances** to varying degrees, resulting in an improvement in the standard of living of recipients at the micro-level, which may create a multiplier effect through enhanced consumption at the macro-economic level. In general, the distribution of remittances from source countries reflects the distribution of the diaspora.

<sup>3</sup> Modelled ILO estimate, [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?name\\_desc=false](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?name_desc=false)

<sup>4</sup> Structure of Earnings Survey (SES),

[http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=earn\\_ses\\_monthly&lang=en](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=earn_ses_monthly&lang=en)

According to the World Bank's recent estimates, in 2016 approximately 35 million US dollars were transferred by the emigrants of YOUMIG countries living abroad, and more than 18% of this amount arrived from other YOUMIG countries (Table 3). In the post-socialist YOUMIG countries 8 to 35% of all remittances arrived from Germany and Austria; the lowest cumulative share is observable in the case of Bulgaria, while the highest share is for Slovenia. The received personal remittances amounted to 8.3% of GDP in Serbia, 3.7% in Hungary, 3.1% in Bulgaria, 2.4% in Slovakia, 1.9% in Romania, 0.8% in Slovenia, 0.7% in Austria and 0.5% in Germany<sup>5</sup>.

Table 3: Bilateral remittance estimates for 2016 between the YOUMIG countries (millions of US\$)

REMITTANCE -SENDING COUNTRIES	REMITTANCE-RECEIVING COUNTRIES									
	Austria	Bulgaria	Germany	Hungary	Romania	Serbia	Slovakia	Slovenia	YOUMIG	World
AUSTRIA	-	21	826	377	77	338	110	41	1,791	3,837
BULGARIA	1	-	9	3	6	5	1	0	25	133
GERMANY	1,082	108	-	980	456	551	244	88	3,509	23,211
HUNGARY	48	3	136	-	226	62	83	1	559	961
ROMANIA	3	21	14	58	-	5	1	0	102	560
SERBIA	35	2	55	27	8	-	3	28	159	1,291
SLOVAKIA	14	2	12	129	5	4	-	0	166	775
SLOVENIA	50	2	62	5	1	97	3	-	220	764
YOUMIG	1,233	158	1,114	1,578	779	1,062	446	159	6,530	31,532
WORLD	2,881	1,666	16,683	4,609	3,484	3,205	2,119	364	35,011	573,551

Source: World Bank Bilateral Remittance Matrix 2016 ([www.knomad.org/sites/default/files/2017-11/bilateralremittancematrix2016\\_Nov2017.xlsx](http://www.knomad.org/sites/default/files/2017-11/bilateralremittancematrix2016_Nov2017.xlsx))

While macroeconomic indicators can help to provide the context of international migration processes, individual migration decisions usually depend on personal goals and motivations at the micro-level. Although there is no universal scientific definition of 'happiness' or 'life satisfaction', it is widely accepted that people typically act out a desire to improve their 'well-being'. Therefore, voluntary migration can also be considered a means of achieving this desired outcome. However, 'happiness', as such, is not only determined by the objective measures of material life conditions, but also by non-material factors, such as family relationships, work-life balance, health, welfare, security, cultural and social norms and so forth. Further, subjective perception may also play a role in migration decision-making. The dataset of the 2013 ad-hoc module of EU-SILC (2013) provides an overview of the spatial patterns of different domains of

<sup>5</sup> World Bank data, [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS?name\\_desc=true](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS?name_desc=true)

subjective well-being (SWB) across Europe, based on nationally representative probability samples, and a survey of 273,000 respondents.

The aggregated results are shown in Table 4. In general, the overall developmental differences along the “East-West slope” (Melegh 2006) are mirrored in the well-being scores as well. Although the SWB gap between East and West has narrowed since the 1990s (Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2009), the “iron curtain of unhappiness” (Lelkes 2006: 173) still exists. The biggest differences can be observed in ‘satisfaction with the financial situation’ and the ‘living environment’; the values for Austria and Germany exceed the European average, while Bulgaria, Serbia and Hungary fall far below it. However, the example of Romania demonstrates that objective facts and their subjective perceptions may differ significantly. Although average monthly incomes in Romania are significantly lower than in Slovenia, Slovakia or Hungary, people tend to evaluate their material life conditions less harshly. Although the effects of subjective well-being on migration intentions and decisions have been gaining increasing attention in the literature, we still know little about these mechanisms in general (e.g. Popova and Ostrachshenko 2011, Ivlevs 2015).

Table 4: Average rating of life-satisfaction in the YOUMIG countries

	EU-28	Germany	Austria	Slovenia	Slovakia	Hungary	Romania	Bulgaria	Serbia
<b>Overall life satisfaction</b>	7.1	7.3	7.8	7.0	7.0	6.1	7.1	4.8	4.9
<b>Satisfaction with financial situation</b>	6.0	6.3	7.0	5.6	5.5	5.2	6.2	3.7	4.0
<b>Satisfaction with accommodation</b>	7.5	7.5	8.3	7.6	7.6	6.8	7.4	6.0	6.2
<b>Job satisfaction</b>	7.1	6.9	8.0	7.3	7.2	7.1	7.0	6.0	6.0
<b>Satisfaction with commuting time</b>	7.4	7.5	8.0	7.8	7.3	7.1	7.1	5.9	6.7
<b>Satisfaction with time use</b>	6.7	6.5	7.3	6.8	6.9	6.3	6.8	5.7	6.2
<b>Sat. with recreational and green areas</b>	7.1	7.6	8.3	7.9	6.8	6.2	7.0	5.2	5.4
<b>Satisfaction with living environment</b>	7.3	7.7	8.4	7.7	6.9	6.5	7.4	5.2	5.0
<b>Satisfaction with personal relationships</b>	7.8	7.8	8.5	8.3	7.9	7.6	7.6	5.7	8.2
<b>Meaning of life</b>	7.4	7.4	7.9	7.9	7.5	7.0	7.3	6.1	7.0

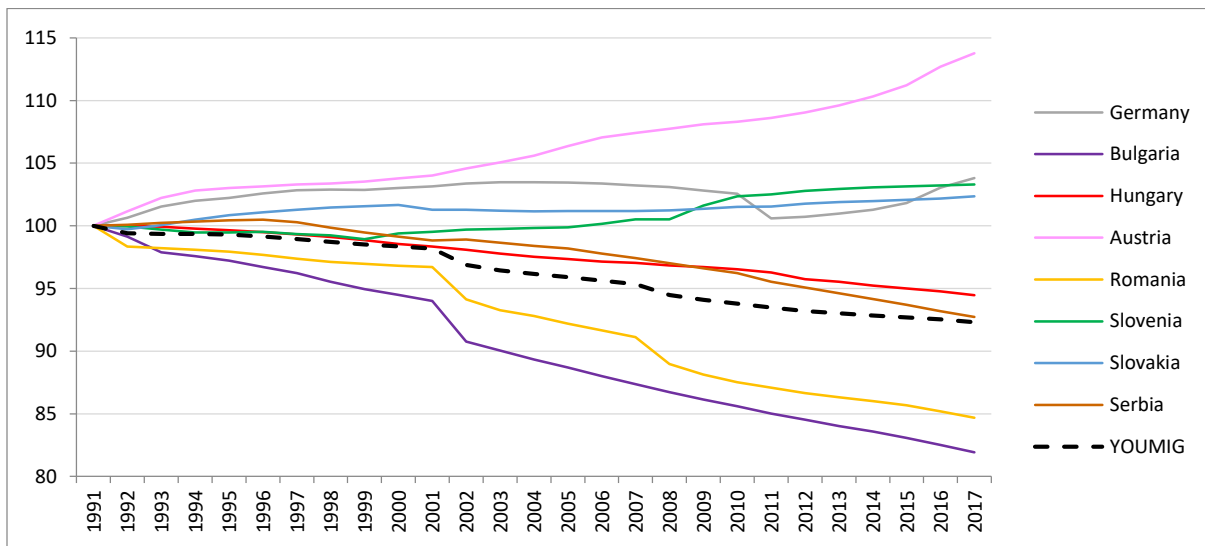
Source: EU-SILC (the unit of measure is the average of all individuals' ratings on a scale from 0="not satisfied at all" to 10="fully satisfied". [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/ilc\\_pwb\\_esms.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/ilc_pwb_esms.htm))

## 2.2. Population growth in the YOUMIG countries

### 2.2.1. General population dynamics and processes

According to the Eurostat data (Table 6) the population of the YOUMIG area was approximately 142.6 million in 2017 which is 1.3% less than two and a half decades earlier (144.6 million in 1991). Between 1991 and 1 January 2017 the total number of its inhabitants decreased by almost 2 million. However, this was a result of divergent trends in population change. While Austria and Germany experienced constant population growth and the population size of Slovakia and Slovenia also increased – with fluctuations – during the reference period, all other countries were affected by remarkable population decrease. The most dramatic decline was observable in Romania and Bulgaria where the population size dropped by 15% and 18% respectively, compared to the base data in 1991 (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Population change compared to the base data in 1991



Source: Eurostat<sup>6</sup>, own calculations

Population change consists of two components: natural changes (the difference between the number of live births and deaths) and changes that occur due to migration (the difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants). In terms of natural population change, all the countries of the YOUMIG project

<sup>6</sup>[http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo\\_gind](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo_gind). (Germany, 2011: break in time series)

have experienced a declining fertility rate in the last decade. The slowdown or decrease in this rate is in keeping with a Europe-wide trend of fewer children.

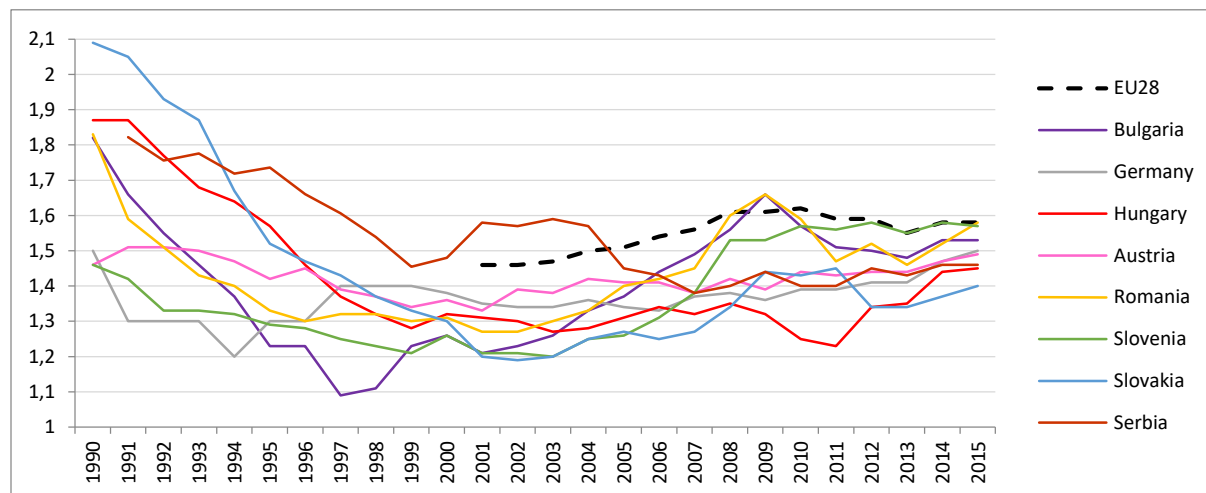
The most widely used demographic indicator for tracking the number of children is the **total fertility rate** (TFR)<sup>7</sup>. During the early 1960s, TFRs in the YOUMIG countries varied between 1.80 and 3.00. The average number of children per woman started to decrease permanently in Austria in the mid-1960s, whereas the TFR in socialist countries started to decline approximately one to one and a half decades later. This delay can be explained by state-sanctioned policies that sought to maintain extensive reproduction rates (Sobotka 2002). Attempts were made to bolster fertility rates by means of ‘less liberal regimes of birth control imposed by some socialist states, including restrictive abortion policies, the punitive taxation of childless families or unmarried singles and a relatively limited choice of modern contraception’ (Fassmann et al. 2014). Nonetheless, apart from a temporary increase in the TFR in Hungary and Romania in the second half of the 1980s, the trend remained downward until the political transformation.

By 1990, total fertility rates were below the replacement level in all YOUMIG countries (Figure 5). In the years of economic transition – with high unemployment rates, insecurity and relative household deprivation – TFRs dropped sharply in post-socialist countries, reaching their nadir around the millennium. Since then a modest recovery has been observed, even though YOUMIG countries are still below the EU-28 average of 1.58 births per woman. It is also worth noting that total fertility rates have been converging. In 1990, the disparity between the highest rate (Slovakia) and the lowest rates (Austria and Slovenia) was 0.63 but this difference had narrowed to 0.18 by 2015 (between Romania and Slovakia).

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<sup>7</sup>TFR: “the mean number of children that would be born alive to a woman during her lifetime if she were to pass through her childbearing years conforming to the age-specific fertility rates of a given year”. In the absence of migration the total fertility rate of 2.1 would be able to keep the population size constant, thus it is called the “replacement level”. [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Fertility\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Fertility_statistics)

Figure 5: Total fertility rates in the YOUMIG countries, 1990-2015



Data sources: Eurostat<sup>8</sup>, Germany 1990-1999: World Bank<sup>9</sup>, Serbia 1990-1999: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (own illustration)

With fertility rates below the reproduction level, and continuing rises in life expectancy (Table 5), the population in all YOUMIG countries is aging. “This factor not only impacts overall economic development, it generates unfavourable trends in social policy as well. It reduces labour market reserves and puts pressure on governments to dedicate funds to increasing numbers of retirees. All of this may slow down the catching-up process in less the developed countries” (Fassmann et al. 2014). However, the wider policy implications of aging societies should not undermine the individual benefits of a longer life.

Table 5: Life expectancy at birth by age and sex in the YOUMIG countries in 1991 and 2016

	Total		Male		Female	
	1991	2016	1991	2016	1991	2016
Germany	75.7	81.0	72.2	78.6	78.8	83.5
Austria	75.9	81.8	72.3	79.3	79.1	84.1
Slovenia	73.6	81.2	69.5	78.2	77.5	84.3
Slovakia	71.1	77.3	66.9	73.8	75.5	80.7
Hungary	69.4	76.2	65.1	72.6	74.0	79.7
Romania	70.1	75.3	66.8	71.7	73.5	79.1
Bulgaria	71.1	74.9	68.0	71.3	74.4	78.5
Serbia	71.6 <sup>a</sup>	75.7	68.9 <sup>a</sup>	73.2	74.4 <sup>a</sup>	78.3

Source: Eurostat<sup>10</sup> (a: in Serbia by 2000)

<sup>8</sup>[http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo\\_find&lang=en](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo_find&lang=en)

<sup>9</sup><http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=SP.DYN.TFRT.IN&country=>

<sup>10</sup>[http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&pcode=sdg\\_03\\_10&language=en](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&pcode=sdg_03_10&language=en)



## 2.2.2. General migration dynamics and processes

The second main factor influencing population change is migration. According to the Eurostat database the population of the YOUMIG countries has increased by 6.1 million since 1990 as a result of international migration processes (Table 6). However, by observing the different countries, it is clear that migrants are not equally distributed over the countries and regions of the project.

Table 6: Population change by components in the YOUMIG countries, 1991-2017, in thousands.

		Germany	Austria	Slovenia	Slovakia	Hungary	Romania	Serbia	Bulgaria	YOUMIG area
Population stock on 1st January	1991	79,753.2	7,710.9	1,999.9	5,310.7	10,373.2	23,192.3	7,593.0	8,669.3	144,602.4
	2001	82,259.5	8,020.9	1,990.1	5,378.8	10,200.3	22,430.5	7,504.7	8,149.5	145,934.3
	2011	80,222.1	8,375.2	2,050.2	5,392.4	9,985.7	20,199.1	7,251.5	7,369.4	140,845.6
	2017	82,800.0	8,772.9	2,065.9	5,435.3	9,797.6	19,638.3	7,040.3	7,101.9	142,652.1
Population change	1991-2001	+2,506.3	+310.1	-9.9	+68.1	-172.9	-761.8	-88.2	-519.8	+1,331.9
	2001-2011	-2,037.5	+354.2	+60.1	+13.7	-214.6	-2,231.4	-250.8	-780.0	-5,086.3
	2011-2017	+2,577.9	+397.7	+15.7	+42.9	-188.2	-560.8	-213.7	-267.6	+1,804.1
	SUM	+3,046.8	+1,062.0	+66.0	124.6	-575.6	-3,554.0	-552.7	-1,567.4	-1,950.3
Natural change	1991-2001	-840.6	+72.2	-0.7	+116.0	-349.6	-228.7	-25.5	-369.9	-1,626.9
	2001-2011	-1,444.2	+18.8	+6.7	+21.4	-360.0	-425.7	-299.7	-389.1	-2,871.7
	2011-2017	-1,088.5	+12.7	+11.4	+25.4	-221.3	-361.5	-216.1	-243.5	-2,081.3
	SUM	-3,373.2	+103.8	+17.5	+162.8	-930.8	-1,015.9	-541.4	-1,002.5	-6,579.8
Net migration plus statistical adjustment	1991-2001	+3,346.9	+237.8	-9.1	-47.9	+176.8	-533.1	-62.7	-149.9	+2,958.8
	2001-2011	+936.2	+335.4	+53.3	-7.8	+145.4	-1,805.7	+49.0	-391.0	-685.1
	2011-2017	+3,666.4	+385.0	+4.3	+17.5	+33.1	-199.2	+2.4	-24.1	+3,885.3
	SUM	+7,949.6	+958.2	+48.5	-38.2	+355.3	-2,538.1	-11.3	-564.9	+6,159.1

Source: Eurostat<sup>11</sup>, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia: 1991-1997

The YOUMIG area itself had already been characterised by increasingly divergent trends of migration since the end of the World War II. The authorities in the countries of the 'Eastern Bloc' introduced restrictive migration policies, limiting the ability of citizens to travel internationally. Entering or leaving a country needed a special permit and those who departed illegally or did not return were sanctioned with deprivation of citizenship, confiscation of property and so forth (Gödri et al. 2013). While the outward migration from these countries was quite moderate during the entire socialist era, Germany and Austria turned into de facto immigration countries (Fassmann and Münz 1995). Tito's Yugoslavia was a unique

<sup>11</sup>[http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo\\_gind](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo_gind)

exception where the implementation of economic reforms and the improvement of political relations with Western countries resulted in a drastic change in migration policies. Since intensive economic development coupled with growing demand for labour in Germany and Austria suited the liberalized emigration policy of Yugoslavia, the number of its 'guest workers' began to rise rapidly in the 1960s (Lukić et al. 2013).

In the late 1980s, East and Southeast Europe underwent a radical and political transformation, which also affected the migration patterns of the YOUMIG countries. According to Fassmann and Reeger's (2008) classification, three types of migration trend emerged. Germany, Austria and Slovenia belonged to the relatively 'old immigration countries' that had "already learned to treat immigration politically, instrumentally as well as in the public discourse" (Fassmann et al. 2014: 49-50). Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia became without doubt 'emigration countries', while Hungary and Slovakia turned into 'emerging immigration countries' with a slightly positive migration balance. However, immigration "is a very contentious topic in the public discourse and the adaptation process is in a very early stage" (ibid.).

The available data for measuring migration are far from precise. Many national statistical agencies estimate net migration figures by looking at the differences between total and natural population change, and do not have their own migration statistics. These data sets are affected by statistical inaccuracies that beyond differences between inward and outward migration, may cover other changes observable in the population figures between two years. To get a better grasp of the main trends of international migration dynamics, the following text not only uses datasets of the YOUMIG area's national statistical offices, but also Eurostat as well as UN data over five-year periods in parallel (Table 7, Figure 6). Despite drawing widely on sources, various pitfalls and inconsistencies are included in the datasets.

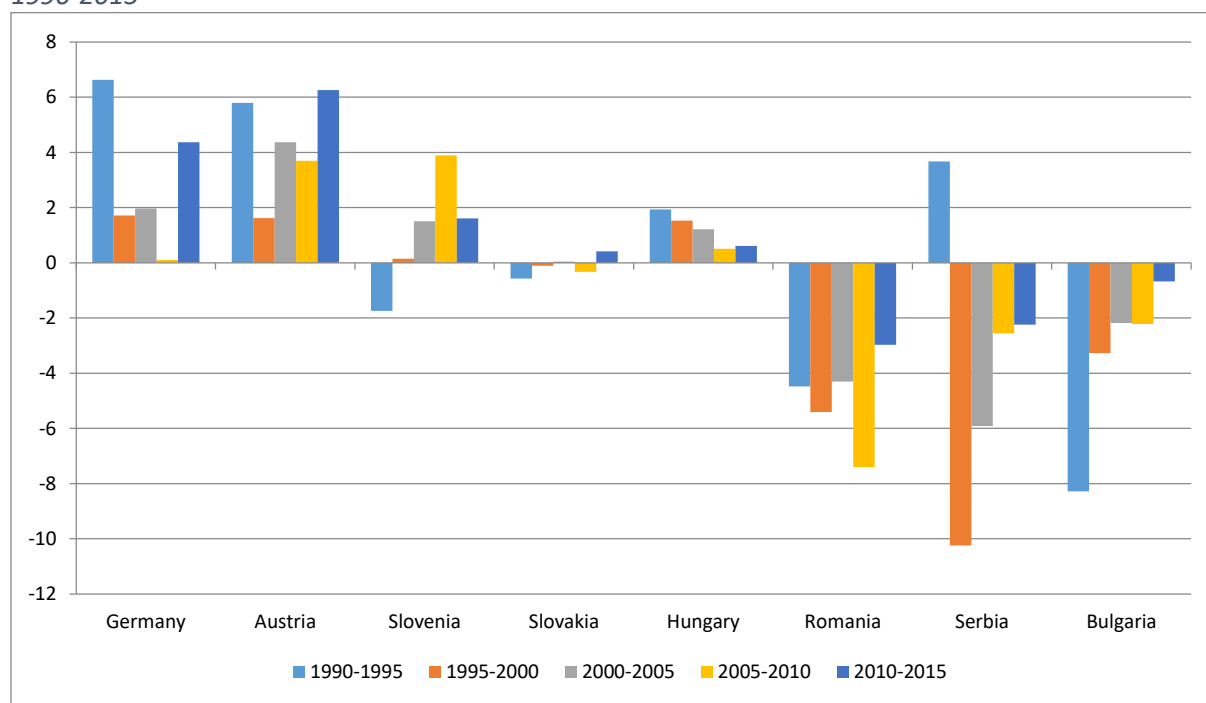
The Romanian and Bulgarian examples underscore these concerns and clearly demonstrate the limitations of direct comparison of migration data. For instance, the huge falls in the net migration data of 2001 (-557 thousand people in Romania and -236 thousand in Bulgaria) do not refer to a mass emigration within the respective year but rather show the cumulative effect of outmigration in the 10 years running up to the census; hence the need to always examine data closely.

Table 7: Net number of migrants in the YOUMIG countries, 1990-2015

	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	SUM
<b>GERMANY</b>	+2,659,698	+695,914	+804,608	+43,087	+1,777,126	+5,980,433
<b>AUSTRIA</b>	+227,841	+65,082	+178,117	+153,763	+267,172	+891,975
<b>SLOVENIA</b>	-17,461	+1,487	+14,998	+39,348	+16,571	+54,943
<b>SLOVAKIA</b>	-15,108	-2,964	+1,199	-8,855	+11,346	-14,382
<b>HUNGARY</b>	+99,980	+78,562	+61,589	+25,150	+29,999	+295,280
<b>ROMANIA</b>	-520,001	-610,000	-468,204	-774,651	-299,997	-2,672,853
<b>SERBIA</b>	+178,348	-495,902	-276,331	-116,385	-99,999	-810,269
<b>BULGARIA</b>	-356,464	-133,824	-85,500	-83,742	-24,472	-684,002
<b>SUM</b>	2,256,833	-401,645	230,476	-722,285	1,677,746	+3,041,125

Source: UN World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision<sup>12</sup>

Figure 6: Net number of migrants and net migration rates (per 1,000 people) in the YOUMIG countries, 1990-2015



Source: UN World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision (own illustration)

Turning to the concrete figures, Germany, Austria and Hungary have experienced migration gains in the reporting period since 1990, while Romania and Bulgaria have lost at least 2.5 million and half a million

<sup>12</sup><http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?d=PopDiv&f=variableID%3a84>, <http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?d=PopDiv&f=variableID%3A85>

inhabitants respectively, as a consequence of a negative migration balance. In Slovenia and Slovakia, the positive and negative values fluctuated in the reporting period. The Serbian data proved to be very unreliable, since the Serbian Statistical Office, Eurostat and the UN published significantly different sums (-117, -11,000, and 810,000 migrants, respectively).

## 3 National migration profiles: the YOUMIG countries

While section two gave a general overview of the trends and dynamics in and of the regional economy, in the following section the countries taking part in the YOUMIG project will be introduced, looking at their migration profiles at the national level more closely. The rationale for considering migration profiles on a case-by-case basis is that most countries have quite different available data materials and methods of collection. Nevertheless, in the following section we attempt to present comparable national migration profiles of the YOUMIG countries; thus, general migration flows and population stock will be described for each location.

### 3.1. Austria

Austrian population change in the post-World War II period has been mostly characterised by growth due to a positive migration balance. Until the year 1973, high birth rates and immigration had driven this increase, but after the economic downturn (the oil crisis), the fertility rate started to decline and population growth slowed. Lower fertility rates led to a less dynamic natural balance, while migration became the main component of population growth.

An agreement on guest-worker migration in the early 1960s led to a rise in immigration. Population growth in the 1960s continued to gather pace, peaking for the first time in the 1970s. In the 1980s, the population grew further mainly due to family reunification processes. From an immigration country in the post-World War II period, Austria has developed as an emigration one in recent decades. (Fassmann and Münz 1995). Between 1961 and 1991 the country's population increased by ca. 646,000 people as a result of natural increase (+362,000) and net migration (+284,000).

## Migration flows

Since the 1991 census, the number of inhabitants of Austria has grown by a further 1.06 million, i.e., by 13.8%, and nearly 90% of this increase has been a result of migration gains (+935,000). Until the 1990s, the highest share of immigration was associated with guest worker mobility and family reunification from Turkey and Yugoslavia. During the 1990s, the inflow of people also included refugees, mainly from the former state of Yugoslavia. Although a stricter law on migration was introduced in the late 1990s, the enlargement of the EU towards the East resulted in the further diversification of migration flows. In the 2000s, the main inflow of people came from other EU-countries, mainly from Germany, Hungary and Romania. In 2015 and 2016 the inflow of asylum seekers - mainly from Syria and Afghanistan – quickened; but fell back again in 2017.

*Table 8: International immigration flows by citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 citizenships), country of birth (native born, foreign born, Top5 countries of birth) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016*

Immigration flow by citizenship					Immigration flow by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
<b>Total</b>	23,382	13.4	55.5	31.1	<b>Total</b>	23,382	13.4	55.5	31.1
<b>Austrian citizens</b>	1,869	12.0	37.0	50.9	<b>Native born</b>	1,318	10.0	38.7	51.3
<b>Foreign citizens (EU)</b>	8,123	9.5	56.1	34.5	<b>Foreign born (EU)</b>	7,958	9.8	56.3	33.8
<b>Foreign citizens (non-EU)</b>	13,390	18.3	58.7	23.0	<b>Foreign born (non-EU)</b>	14,106	17.6	57.3	25.1
<b>Romania</b>	1,749	10.5	55.7	33.8	<b>Romania</b>	1,422	8.6	56.1	35.2
<b>Hungary</b>	1,271	9.5	51.7	38.8	<b>Germany</b>	1,445	9.0	60.4	30.6
<b>Germany</b>	1,259	7.8	60.5	31.7	<b>Hungary</b>	1,064	8.9	52.8	38.3
<b>Croatia</b>	610	12.0	53.1	34.9	<b>Serbia</b>	986	11.9	50.1	38.0
<b>Serbia</b>	841	11.5	51.3	37.2	<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	518	8.4	56.2	35.4

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations

*Table 9: International emigration flows of native-born national and foreign citizens by destination country (TOP5 destination countries) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016*

Emigration flow of native born national citizens					Emigration flow of foreign citizens				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
<b>Total</b>	16,143	14.0	45.5	40.6	<b>Total</b>	89,026	8.2	55.0	36.7
<b>Germany</b>	2,581	11.0	53.5	35.4	<b>Germany</b>	11,593	9.0	57.5	33.5
<b>Switzerland</b>	1,245	11.2	57.8	31.0	<b>Romania</b>	8,811	6.0	54.3	39.7
<b>USA</b>	467	13.3	49.7	37.0	<b>Hungary</b>	7,081	7.2	47.5	45.3
<b>UK</b>	344	23.5	49.7	26.7	<b>Serbia</b>	4,893	6.5	40.8	52.7
<b>Turkey</b>	290	57.6	32.4	10.0	<b>Poland</b>	3,407	7.8	48.6	43.6

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations

## Population stock

On 1 January 2017, the share of the Austrian population with foreign citizenship consisted of 1.3 million (15%) foreign nationals and 1.6 million (19.5%) that had been born in a country other than Austria. Looking at a broader indicator – ‘migration background’, a share of 21% of the whole population (almost 1.9 million persons) fell within this category in 2016, including all persons whose parents had been born abroad (Statistik Austria).

The population stock of foreign nationals increased rapidly between 1961 and 1974, due to post-guest-worker agreements with Turkey and Yugoslavia. Looking at the current population structure, the highest population shares with a migration background are still from Serbia or Turkey. Today the highest proportion of foreign nationals in the Austrian population is though German nationals, followed by Serbian, Turkish, Bosnian, and Romanian citizens. The list of countries showing where most foreign-born people come from contains the same countries but in a different order (Table 10).

*Table 10: Total number of population by country of birth (native-born, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of birth), citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of citizenship) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2017*

	Population stock by citizenship				Population stock by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	
Total	8,772,865	14.4	25.1	60.5	Total	8,772,865	6.4	31.9	61.7
Austrian	7,430,935	14.0	23.1	62.8	Austria	7,116,599	16.3	23.5	60.2
EU and EWR	664,729	14.8	34.2	51.1	EU and EWR	755,824	6.5	29.3	64.1
Third country	677,201	18.0	38.4	43.7	Third country	900,442	6.2	34.1	59.7
Germany	181,618	11.5	32.2	56.3	Germany	223,953	5.6	29.0	65.4
Serbia	118,454	14.0	27.9	58.1	Bosnia and H.	164,291	1.6	28.2	71.8
Turkey	116,838	15.9	35.5	48.6	Turkey	160,371	1.6	28.3	68.5
Bosnia and H.	94,611	11.8	32.9	55.3	Serbia	139,137	3.2	23.4	73.4
Romania	92,095	20.5	40.5	39.0	Romania	105,632	6.9	37.9	55.2

Source: Statistics Austria, own calculations

## 3.2. Slovenia

Slovenia, and especially its cities, was considered the most developed part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and therefore an attractive destination for migrants from other Yugoslav republics, primarily Bosnia and Herzegovina. These migration flows were seen as internal, thus newcomers did not have to deal with strict procedures to arrange residency status. Obviously, this practice changed after 1991, with the emergence of an independent Slovenia. In total, over 289,000 people moved to Slovenia by 1990, and approximately 207,000 left it during the socialist era (Božo 2002). Among the latter could be found returnees to their respective Yugoslavian republics as well as labour emigrants (ca. 70,000 'guest workers') who moved to West European countries, mainly Germany and Austria.

### Migration flows

Over the last two and a half decades, Slovenian population change has been characterised by growth. On 1 January 2017, ca. 2.06 million people lived in the country, a figure greater than 1991's by 100,000 (+5% since then). While the values of natural change fluctuated (until 2005 it was negative; positive until 2016; then negative again in 2018), the migration balance remained mainly positive during the whole reporting period. The Eurostat and UN statistics reveal that since 1990, at least 48,000 more people have arrived in Slovenia than left.

As the Conceptual framework for the study of youth migration in the Danube Region (Fassmann, Gruber and Németh 2018: 24-25) has already pointed out, cultural factors may play an important role in migration decisions. Knowledge of the language, the political or administrative system of the host country can facilitate the transfer of migrants' skills to the new labour market, providing an additional advantage for them. Since the greater part of immigrants arrive from the Balkans with Bosnian, Serbian, Kosovan, Croatian, and Macedonian citizenship, Slovenia can be considered a good example of this theory, from an empirical perspective.

On return migration, there are no exact data because the national statistical office does not measure it explicitly. However, the number of native-born immigrants (in 2015, 1,885 people; i.e. 12% of all immigrants) could serve as a proxy for an estimation on its approximate volume. The main destination countries of Slovenian emigrants differ significantly in the case of national and foreign citizens. While native-born Slovenians prefer the German speaking countries, primarily Austria, most foreign citizens

choose (beside Germany) another post-Yugoslavian country, that is, they presumably return to their countries of origin.

*Table 11: International immigration flows by citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 citizenships), country of birth (native born, foreign born, Top5 countries of birth) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2015, 2016*

Immigration flow by citizenship (2016)					Immigration flow by country of birth (2015)				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	16,623	13.4	44.1	42.5	Total	15,420	15.6	43.6	40.7
Slovenian citizens	2,863	16.1	29.7	54.2	Native born	1,885	10.6	30.5	58.9
Foreign citizens (EU)	3,389	5.0	42.4	52.6	Foreign born (EU)	2,686	9.8	37.3	52.9
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	10,371	15.4	48.7	35.9	Foreign born (non-EU)	10,849	17.9	47.5	34.6
Bosnia and H.	4,811	13.6	53.3	33.2	Bosnia and H.	4,930	16.5	49.7	33.8
Serbia	1,597	6.6	39.8	53.6	Kosovo	1,612	30.9	47.6	21.5
Kosovo	1,483	29.4	48.6	22.0	Serbia	1,311	8.8	42.9	48.2
Croatia	1,095	4.1	55.2	40.7	Macedonia	1,078	13.6	53.4	32.9
Macedonia	862	18.4	55.8	25.8	Croatia	927	4.3	47.7	48.0

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, own calculations

*Table 12: International emigration flows of native-born national and foreign citizens by destination country (TOP5 destination countries) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2015, 2016*

Emigration flow of native born national citizens (2015)					Emigration flow of foreign citizens (2016)				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	6,580	18.0	45.7	36.3	Total	6,754	9.0	39.8	51.3
Austria	1,829	19.7	50.6	29.7	Bosnia and H.	1,509	4.2	38.8	57.0
Germany	1,357	18.0	43.0	39.0	Germany	764	18.8	33.5	47.6
Switzerland	634	23.5	45.6	30.9	Croatia	663	2.0	44.6	53.4
United Kingdom	447	10.5	64.7	24.8	Serbia	635	6.6	32.6	60.8
Croatia	347	16.7	29.1	54.2	Kosovo	580	20.9	47.4	31.7

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, own calculations

## Population stock

The number of the foreign-born population of Slovenia increased from 189,000 (9.7%) to 244,000 (11.8%) between 1991 and 2017. The vast majority of them were born in non-EU countries, mostly on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. A significant part of these immigrants has obtained Slovenian citizenship and therefore the share of foreign nationals was only 5.5% in 2017. The size of the Slovenian diaspora is estimated to be approximately 140,000 (UN 2015). Most of them live in Germany (ca. 40,000), Austria (18,000) and the North American countries (18,000).



Table 13: Total number of population by country of birth (native-born, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of birth), citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of citizenship) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2017

Population stock by country of birth					Population stock by citizenship				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	2,065,895	14.9	22.3	62.8	Total	2,065,895	14.9	22.3	62.8
Native-born	1,821,601	15.4	26.6	57.9	National	1,951,457	15.1	21.8	63.1
EU	67,002	3.4	12.5	84.1	EU	18,719	5.0	23.8	71.1
Non-EU	174,199	5.0	22.2	72.8	Non-EU	95,715	14.5	31.6	53.9
Bosnia and H.	102,848	3.4	19.2	77.5	Bosnia and H.	50,378	12.2	30.9	56.9
Croatia	46,112	1.1	8.8	90.2	Kosovo	14,397	25.0	36.2	38.8
Serbia	24,344	3.1	15.0	81.9	Macedonia	10,835	18.0	33.7	48.2
Kosovo	16,167	11.8	37.2	51.0	Serbia	10,632	8.0	26.1	65.9
Macedonia	15,880	6.6	31.7	61.7	Croatia	9,230	3.8	23.3	72.9

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, own calculations

### 3.3. Slovakia

Slovakia was part of Czechoslovakia until 1992 and most migration in the period of the 90s was between the territories of the subsequent Czech and Slovak Republics, at that time considered internal migration. The balance of bilateral migration flows during that period were always negative for Slovakia, and always positive for the Czech Republic part of the country that included the majority of bigger cities, including the capital of Prague. Between 1950 and 1992, ca. 679,000 people emigrated from Slovakia to the Czech Republic and ca. 440,000 people vice versa (Bleha et al. 2013).

Other directions of international migration flows were of lesser importance for the country during the period of state socialism. Registered migration was oriented towards the countries of the Eastern Bloc but international agreements on the exchange of workers between members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and developing countries, also existed. However, official data did not cover illegal emigration; according to estimations, approximately 485,000 people left Czechoslovakia illegally, and at least one quarter of this number represented Slovakia's loss (Srb 2001, Aleš 1990).

#### Migration flows

The population of the Slovak Republic increased by more than 150,000 between 1991 and 2017 (nowadays: 5.42 million), equal to 3% growth. Directly following the Velvet Revolution of 1989, Slovakia recorded remarkable international migration gains. Between 1991 and 1994, ca. 7,500 people immigrated to Slovakia, a significant part of them Slovakian return migrants registering for permanent residence in the country as a part of their legal right to property restitution. Migration development of the

independent Slovak Republic was heavily influenced by its accession to the European Union in 2004 and membership of the Schengen Area in 2007; events that indubitably facilitated the movement of people across state borders (Bleha et al. 2013).

According to the data of the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic migration balance has remained positive since the regime change, and accounted for +65,000 in the period 1990-2017. However, migration data is provided based on (de)registration for permanent residence, thus long- or short-term labour emigrants without deregistration are not included. In the Eurostat tables one can find -34,000, while in the UN database -14,000 as the cumulative migration balance for the period 1990-2015/2016.

Regarding migration turnover, the Czech Republic has maintained its place as one of the most important source countries of immigration, and the main destination for emigrants. While 21% of all immigrants in Slovakia were born in the Czech Republic, approximately every third native-born Slovakian emigrant chose it as their next residence. On the list of the immigrants' country of birth, the Czech Republic was followed by the United Kingdom, Romania, Hungary, and Ukraine. Among the main destination countries, one can find the German speaking Central European countries and the UK as well.

*Table 14: International immigration flows by citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 citizenships), country of birth (native born, foreign born, Top5 countries of birth) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016*

	Immigration flow by citizenship				Immigration flow by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	
Total	7,686	42.5	28.3	29.2	Total	7,686	42.5	28.3	29.2
Slovakian citizens	4,076	73.7	9.9	16.4	Native born	1,100	10.3	28.7	61.0
Foreign citizens (EU)	2,989	5.8	49.1	45.1	Foreign born (EU)	5,150	51.7	26.2	22.1
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	621	14.3	49.4	36.2	Foreign born (non-EU)	1,436	34.1	35.8	30.2
Hungary	605	6.0	44.6	49.4	Czech Republic	1,379	62.1	21.0	16.8
Czech Republic	545	8.3	49.7	42.0	United Kingdom	839	89.0	4.5	6.4
Romania	471	3.8	55.0	41.2	Romania	458	3.3	54.8	41.9
Poland	208	6.7	59.6	33.7	Hungary	397	14.9	39.8	45.3
Italy	200	5.5	41.5	53.0	Ukraine	387	11.6	43.2	45.2

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, own calculations

Table 15: International emigration flows of native-born national and foreign citizens by destination country (TOP5 destination countries) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016

	Emigration flow of native born national citizens				Emigration flow of foreign citizens				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	
Total	3,184	10.5	41.8	47.7	Total	127	15.7	46.5	37.8
Czech Republic	1,049	6.0	43.4	50.6	Iraq	35	22.9	45.7	31.4
Austria	796	17.8	40.2	42.0	Republic of Korea	26	34.6	7.7	57.7
Germany	274	11.7	37.2	51.1	Czech Republic	17	5.9	52.9	41.2
United Kingdom	245	8.6	41.2	50.2	Croatia	5	0.0	60.0	40.0
Switzerland	152	11.8	40.1	48.0	Romania	5	0.0	80.0	20.0

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, own calculations

## Population stock

Both the proportion of foreign citizens and the share of foreign nationals have been practically stagnating for the last two decades at around 1.5% and 3.3% respectively. Nowadays, approximately 66,000 foreign nationals and 181,000 foreign-born residents live in Slovakia. As illustrated in Table 15, almost half of the foreign-born residents (88,000 people) were born in the territory of the Czech Republic. They are followed by people born in Hungary, Ukraine, Romania and Poland. The list of population stock by citizenship contains the same top five countries, excepting German nationals who constitute ca. 6% of all foreign citizens in Slovakia. The Slovakian emigrant stock, by the United Nations' estimate, was ca. 341,000 in 2015, and a quarter of them (87,000) lived in the Czech Republic, 68,000 in the UK, and 43,000 in Germany.

Table 16: Total number of population by country of birth (native-born, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of birth), citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of citizenship) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2017

	Population stock by citizenship				Population stock by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	
Total	5,426,252	15.3	27.2	57.5	Total	5,426,252	15.3	27.2	57.5
National	5,360,412	15.4	27.2	57.4	Native-born	5,244,610	15.5	27.6	56.9
EU	50,436	5.3	26.7	67.9	EU	150,517	11.6	14.5	73.9
Non-EU	15,404	8.1	32.2	59.7	Non-EU	31,125	11.6	23.4	65.0
Czech Rep.	12,462	6.4	25.7	67.9	Czech Rep.	87,813	6.4	12.2	81.4
Hungary	9,185	4.6	20.5	74.9	Hungary	16,820	3.0	8.0	89.1
Romania	5,779	2.7	44.8	52.5	Ukraine	10,450	1.9	16.0	82.1
Poland	5,405	2.5	26.4	71.1	Romania	8,735	1.1	34.8	64.1
Germany	3,813	5.5	18.4	76.1	Poland	6,872	3.0	21.1	75.9

Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, own calculations

## 3.4. Hungary

As in many other socialist countries, the international migration flows of Hungary were quite moderate during the entire state socialist era. Legal emigration and immigration could be permitted in cases of family reunification, although it was not a universal right but decided on a case-by-case basis (Gödri et al. 2013). There were some notable exceptions to this rule since politically favoured groups such as Greek refugees in 1949 and Chilean refugees in 1973 received settlement permits. Within the Eastern Bloc a circular form of labour migration also existed, for example Hungarian engineers worked in the Soviet Union and in certain Middle Eastern countries, while Hungary received Cuban weavers, Polish miners and Russian industrial workers (Puskás 1991). The sum of immigrants in the state socialist period is estimated at around 52,000.

The number of emigrants (both authorised and non-authorised) is estimated to be ca. 430,000 persons in total (Tóth 1997). In 1956, the year of the revolution against Soviet rule, approximately 176,000 people left Hungary during a brief period of open borders (Hablicsek and Illés 2007). From the late 1980s, Hungary changed from a closed country with very low migration rates, to a country with considerable immigration and transit migration, and due to the introduction in 1998 of free travel abroad for nationals, outmigration also became significant (Gödri et al. 2013).

### Migration flows

Two major processes can be examined in relation to Hungary's population change in the reporting period. On the one hand, the population has fallen by 5.5% (more than half a million) since 1991. Natural change has typically varied between -30,000 and -40,000 per year since the early 1990s. On the other hand, a migration balance surplus has mitigated the effect of natural decrease; however, since 2006 a decreasing tendency in the positive migration balance has also been observable. According to the Eurostat data on migration balance plus statistical adjustment, altogether 355,000 more people arrived in Hungary than left between 1990 and 2017. Three major immigration waves can be observed in the statistics: the number of immigrants peaked right after the regime change, once again after Hungary's EU accession, and later in 2008, although the last one was mostly due to changes in legislation. From 2009 onwards, the economic downturn resulted in a gradual decline in immigration. Ethnicity has been an important pull factor in this process because the inflow of foreign citizens has consisted mainly of ethnic Hungarians from Romania, Ukraine, Serbia and Slovakia. Although their share has been declining, neighbouring states are still found

on the list of immigrants' top five countries of birth or citizenship along with Germany, China, and the USA. The share of Hungarians within the immigration total (including some returnees such as those holding dual citizenship) varied between 8 and 13% after the millennium, but nowadays it is more than 55%. As with most other European countries, Hungary lacks reliable data on migration, thus the number of deregistered Hungarians is far below the figures shown by mirror statistics. Emigration flows from Hungary peaked in the first years following the political transformation but those that left were mainly non-Hungarian citizens that had arrived in the late 1980s. After a short period of relatively moderate emigration figures, the number of out-migrants started to increase again around the time of Hungary's accession to the European Union, and particularly after the global financial crisis of 2008 and the government's subsequent restrictive measures (Hárs 2013). The three main countries of destination are Germany, Austria and the United Kingdom, where more than two-thirds of all registered emigrants arrive.

*Table 17: International immigration flows by citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 citizenships), country of birth (native born, foreign born, Top5 countries of birth) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016*

Immigration flow by citizenship					Immigration flow by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	53,618	6.7	52.6	40.7	Total	53,618	6.7	52.6	40.7
Hungarian citizens	29,815	5.5	48.4	46.2	Native born	30,104	5.9	48.0	46.1
Foreign citizens (EU)	10,532	7.5	48.1	44.4	Foreign born (EU)	9,821	7.2	48.8	44.0
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	13,271	8.8	65.5	25.7	Foreign born (non-EU)	13,693	8.0	65.3	26.6
Romania	3,090	8.6	49.4	42.0	Romania	3,129	6.7	48.4	44.9
Germany	2,282	5.0	40.1	54.9	Germany	2,059	5.5	42.4	52.1
China	1,461	11.2	64.3	24.5	China	1,487	9.9	64.4	25.7
Slovakia	1,338	12.0	52.1	35.9	Slovakia	1,330	11.0	52.6	36.4
Ukraine	1,202	5.4	52.3	42.3	USA	1,060	13.9	58.9	27.3

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, own calculations

*Table 18: International emigration flows of native-born national and foreign citizens by destination country (TOP5 destination countries) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016*

Emigration flow of native-born national citizens					Emigration flow of foreign citizens				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	28,166	1.4	60.1	38.5	Total	10,464	5.8	43.1	51.1
Germany	9,087	2.4	53.8	43.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Austria	7,470	1.0	55.9	43.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
United Kingdom	5,759	0.6	73.6	25.9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Switzerland	1,004	1.1	63.4	35.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Netherlands	813	1.1	67.4	31.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, own calculations

## Population stock

In spite of the emigration and naturalisation of foreign citizens, the number of foreign nationals (151,000, i.e. 1.5%) as well as the foreign-born population (373,000, i.e. 3.8%) in Hungary has been growing slightly since 1991. Similar to the flow data, the largest proportion of foreign citizens and foreign-born people hail from the four neighbouring countries: Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia, and Serbia (altogether 68% of the immigrant stock), as well as from Germany and China.

According to the estimations of the United Nations, in 2015 almost 600,000 Hungarian citizens lived abroad, 173,000 in Germany, 122,000 in North American countries, and 56,000 in the United Kingdom.

*Table 19: Total number of population by country of birth (native-born, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of birth), citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of citizenship) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2017*

	Population stock by citizenship				Population stock by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	
Total	9,797,561	14.5	23.7	61.8	Total	9,803,837	14.5	23.8	61.7
National	9,646,429	14.6	23.4	62.0	Native-born	9,420,342	14.9	23.7	61.4
EU	79,325	6.0	37.4	56.6	EU	252,958	4.6	21.2	74.2
Non-EU	71,807	11.8	42.9	45.3	Non-EU	130,537	5.2	34.1	60.7
Romania	24,040	7.6	39.7	52.7	Romania	158,020	2.6	19.3	78.1
China	19,111	18.2	32.2	49.6	Ukraine	37,121	3.6	23.9	72.5
Germany	18,627	3.2	28.5	68.4	Slovakia	32,843	3.2	26.8	70.0
Slovakia	9,519	8.1	46.2	45.7	Serbia	25,387	2.3	28.8	68.9
Ukraine	5,774	6.7	30.8	62.6	Germany	23,453	7.9	20.3	71.9

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, own calculations

### 3.5. Romania

Until the fall of Communism, the Romanian population grew dynamically, in part due to the dictatorial regime's enforcement of strict pro-natalist policies from 1967 onward. Neither the volume of international immigration, nor outmigration was significant in those decades. Apart from foreign students from the Middle East and African countries, all foreign citizens were perceived as a potential threat to the regime. Visitors were monitored, and Romanian nationals were obligated to report all non-Romanian citizens they hosted to the authorities (Horváth and Kiss 2013). The outflow of Romanian citizens was also limited. Temporary labour emigration was directed towards the Persian Gulf area, where labour activities were tightly regulated and family reunification was forbidden (Salt 1989).

Despite closed borders, more than 783,000 persons left Romania officially during the era of state socialism (Muntele 2003). Although emigration was not exclusively limited to ethnic minorities, they had always been over-represented in emigration flows. A significant part of the Jewish community left Romania after World War II (Bines, 1998; Ioanid, 2005), while the mass emigration of Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians got underway in the late 1970s (Fassmann and Münz 1994, Münz and Ohliger 2001). Meanwhile, a wave of Hungarian emigrants appeared spontaneously in the second half of the 1980s, and the Romanian state proved to be unable to control the outflows (Horváth and Kiss 2013).

In the first three years following the regime change and the liberalisation of passports, approximately 170,000 people emigrated from Romania as a result of the unfavourable economic and political situation. Emigration flows reached a peak in 1990 when almost the entire German minority left the country; a process that was expedited by the assistance offered by the Federal Republic of Germany. Further, ca. 100,000 Hungarians left Transylvania between 1988 and 1992, and Hungarians remained over-represented among emigrants throughout the entire 1990s.

### Migration flows

While international migration data in the period of state socialism were relatively reliable, the post-1989 data should be considered inaccurate (Horváth and Kiss 2015). According to the official statistics, Romania's migration balance stood at -71,000 between 1994 and 2016 but based on estimations, less than 10% of all emigrants had been recorded by the National Institute of Statistics. The Eurostat database on net migration plus statistical adjustment estimates the migration balance to be -2.5 million people, and the UN estimate puts it at -2.7 million. Overall, Romania's decreased by at least 12% between 1992 and 2017 (currently 19.6 million).

Horváth and Kiss (2015: 115-117) distinguished six main periods after the regime change from the point of view of migratory processes. The first one took place immediately after the collapse of the socialist system, and was characterised by the emigration of ethnic minorities and skilled professionals to Hungary and Germany. In the second period between 1994 and 1996 short-term work migration of ethnic Hungarians to Hungary and Israel dominated. The main characteristic of the third period between 1997 and 2001 was labour migration to Italy, Spain and Hungary.

Romania's emigration process intensified after the turn of the millennium. Romania became a member state of the European Union in 2007, although its citizens had been exempted from holding visas in the

majority of EU countries since 2002. The change in their legal status within the EU resulted in an increase in emigration flows - and regulatory measures. In the fourth period (2002-2006), mainly younger people departed to Italy and Spain. After Romania's accession to the European Union, large communities also formed in Italy and Spain. Since 2010, and the sixth period, the Roma minority has been observed migrating more frequently, its main receiving countries being Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom.

Traditionally Spain and Italy are the most attractive countries for emigrants, perhaps owing to the similarity of Roman languages, but also due to social networks built in these countries. Romanian citizens whose mother tongue is Hungarian are increasingly choosing Germany, Austria and the UK (as well as Hungary, of course) as a destination country. Some of the receiving countries have historical ties with Romania, such as Hungary and Germany (where naturalisation and return migration resulted in the number of Romanian immigrant stock falling slightly between 1990 and 2010) while others are completely new destinations, such as the UK (Horváth and Kiss 2015: 113).

The number of immigrants is significantly lower than that of emigrants. Beside Romanian-born immigrants from Spain, Italy, the UK, and France (presumably return migrants), more than one-third of all immigrants were born in the Republic of Moldova, and two-third of them had Moldovan citizenship in 2016.

*Table 20: International immigration flows by citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 citizenships), country of birth (native-born, foreign born, Top5 countries of birth) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016*

	Immigration flow by citizenship (2016)				Immigration flow by country of birth (2015)				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	
Total	133,248	12.8	50.9	36.3	Total	132,795	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Romanian citizens	27,863	13.1	41.9	45.0	Native born	87,120	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Foreign citizens (EU)	4,484	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Foreign born (EU)	13,588	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	23,379	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Foreign born (non-EU)	32,087	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Republic of Moldova	17,727	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Republic of Moldova	16,908	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Italy	1,282	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Spain	3,812	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Ukraine	1,157	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Italy	3,308	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	596	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	United Kingdom	1,841	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
USA	582	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	France	1,011	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: National Institute of Statistics of Romania, own calculations



Table 21: International emigration flows of native-born national and foreign citizens by destination country (TOP5 destination countries) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016

Emigration flow of native-born national citizens (2016)					Emigration flow of foreign citizens (2015)				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	209,456	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Total	8,589	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Spain	49,235	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Italy	1,427	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	36,359	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Germany	1,155	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Italy	32,832	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Spain	991	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Austria	12,371	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	USA	615	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
USA	11,765	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Hungary	319	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: National Institute of Statistics of Romania, own calculations

## Population stock

According to the United Nations (2015) database, nowadays approximately 3.4 million Romanian citizens live abroad, most of them in Italy (1.02 million), Spain (658,000) and Germany (590,000). This places Romania on the list of the top 20 countries of origin with the largest diasporas in the world.

As for the immigrant population stock, the share of foreign-born people increased from 136,000 to 350,000, i.e. from 0.6% to 1.8% between 1992 and 2017. Almost half of this immigrant population was born in the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

Table 22: Total number of population by country of birth (native-born, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of birth), citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of citizenship) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2017

Population stock by citizenship					Population stock by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	19,760,314	15.5	24.4	60.1	Total	19,760,314	15.5	24.4	60.1
National	19,653,079	15.6	24.3	60.1	Native-born	19,400,692	15.1	24.4	60.6
EU	48,030	3.3	32.3	64.4	EU	148,445	75.0	9.0	16.0
Non-EU	59,205	7.7	48.7	43.6	Non-EU	202,308	15.7	41.6	42.8
Italy	14,612	1.2	22.7	76.1	Rep. Moldova	137,550	12.9	47.6	39.5
Rep. Moldova	9,333	1.7	73.8	24.4	Italy	49,038	85.8	5.8	8.4
Turkey	8,440	10.2	28.6	61.2	Spain	36,791	94.2	4.8	1.0
China	7,296	14.7	35.8	49.5	Ukraine	14,056	8.4	25.0	66.6
France	5,239	7.6	48.2	44.2	Germany	10,715	68.4	17.9	13.7

Source: National Institute of Statistics of Romania, own calculations

## 3.6. Bulgaria

Similar to other socialist states the volume of international migration flows was rather low until 1989 due to restrictions imposed by the political system. It was mainly based on economic agreements between the Council for Economic Development's member-states or the limited number of marriages of Bulgarian and

foreign citizens. The most important exception was the bilateral agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey in which, according to estimations, 820,000 Turks and Bulgarian Muslims left the country by 1988 (Pacheva et al. 2013).

## Migration flows

Bulgaria's population decreased from 8.6 million to 7.1 million, i.e. by 18% between 1990 and 2017. However, detailed data on international migration flows did not exist until 2007, thus population censuses and representative sample surveys were used to estimate the volume of emigration and immigration. Since then the National Statistical Office of Bulgaria has regularly reported data on migration flows but the loss of 'only' 66,000 people between 2007 and 2017 seems, similar to Romania, quite unrealistic.

The Eurostat data on net migration plus statistical adjustment and the estimations of the United Nations show that approximately one third of the entire population decline can be associated with a negative international migration balance (at least -560,000 people since 1990). The available data does not suggest that a transition process from emigration to immigration is under way. To the contrary, the annual number of emigrants, with some fluctuations, appears to have grown over the period.

Nowadays, the main destination countries for emigrants with Bulgarian citizenship are Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy and France. They are typically labour migrants, and this is reflected in their age structure too: at least half of them are 15-34 years old. The share of Bulgarian-born people and/or Bulgarian citizens among the immigrants is relatively high (45%), and many could be returnees who move back after a stay abroad. They are followed by Russian, Ukrainian, and Turkish nationals. The majority of Bulgarian, Russian, and Turkish immigrants fall in the 35+ age category; some of these in the retirement age category.

Table 23: International immigration flows by citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 citizenships), country of birth (native-born, foreign born, Top5 countries of birth) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016

Immigration flow by citizenship					Immigration flow by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	21,241	12.1	29.3	58.6	Total	21,241	12.1	29.3	58.6
Bulgarian citizens	9,254	14.0	30.3	55.7	Native born	9,697	5.8	25.8	68.4
Foreign citizens (EU)	1,310	2.3	21.8	75.9	Foreign born (EU)	1,891	35.2	15.8	49.0
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	10,677	11.6	29.4	59.0	Foreign born (non-EU)	9,653	13.8	35.5	50.6
Russia	3,120	12.9	15.6	71.4	Russia	2,964	11.9	16.8	71.2
Turkey	2,550	2.3	16.4	81.4	Ukraine	1,560	13.8	42.2	44.0
Ukraine	1,468	14.0	43.7	42.2	Turkey	1,166	15.7	44.3	40.0
Syria	873	30.0	39.2	30.8	Syria	861	27.3	40.3	32.4
Greece	401	0.5	18.0	81.5	Greece	506	27.1	15.4	57.5

Source: National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria, own calculations

Table 24: International emigration flows of native-born national and foreign citizens by destination country (TOP5 destination countries) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016

Emigration flow of native-born national citizens					Emigration flow of foreign citizens				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	25,399	7.1	51.2	41.7	Total	4,775	5.3	46.3	48.3
Germany	6,421	7.6	51.8	40.6	Russia	1,082	9.5	16.0	74.5
United Kingdom	4,565	7.2	55.5	37.3	Turkey	719	1.5	68.7	29.8
Spain	3,593	7.2	52.1	40.7	Greece	584	0.3	51.7	47.9
Italy	2,246	6.6	51.6	41.8	Ukraine	308	9.4	39.3	51.3
France	1,213	6.9	54.7	38.4	Italy	213	1.4	42.7	55.9

Source: National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria, own calculations

## Population stock

There were ca. 84,000 persons with foreign citizenship and ca. 147,000 foreign-born people permanently living in Bulgaria as of 1 January 2017. Both numbers have increased since the last census in 2012 but the proportions have remained low at 1.2% and 2.1% of the whole population. Traditionally, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine can be found among the most important source countries, but in 2017, as a result of the 'refugee crisis', ca. 12,000 Syrian-born people were also registered.

The estimated size of the Bulgarian-born emigrant stock was 1.1 million in 2015 (UN 2015). Most of them, almost half a million people (presumably Bulgarian-born Turks); live in Turkey, Spain (130,000) and Germany (105,000).

Table 25: Total number of population by country of birth (native-born, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of birth), citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 countries of citizenship) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2017

	Population stock by citizenship				Population stock by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %	
Total	7,101,859	14.1	22.6	63.3	Total	7,101,859	14.1	22.6	63.3
National	7,017,231	14.2	22.6	63.2	Native-born	6,954,776	13.8	22.7	63.6
EU	13,365	4.0	14.5	81.5	EU	52,227	59.9	7.1	32.9
Non-EU	71,263	10.0	26.5	63.6	Non-EU	94,856	14.0	27.6	58.3
Russia	20,938	6.3	12.0	81.7	Russia	27,650	5.2	16.7	78.2
Syria	11,484	29.1	43.4	27.5	Syria	12,290	26.2	42.8	31.0
Turkey	10,662	2.2	28.3	69.5	Turkey	10,214	25.4	41.8	32.8
Ukraine	5,252	6.8	30.0	63.2	Ukraine	8,829	5.7	25.7	68.6
Uni. Kingdom	3,930	3.2	7.5	89.3	Uni. Kingdom	8,722	56.4	4.0	39.6

Source: National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria, own calculations

### 3.7. Serbia

While the authorities in most of the socialist countries introduced very restrictive migration policies, Yugoslavia was an exception in that the implementation of economic reforms in the 1960s and the improvement of political relations with Western countries resulted in a drastic change in migration policy (Vinski 1970). These conditions facilitated the expansion of labour emigration called 'temporary employment abroad'. Therefore, the number of Serbian-born Yugoslavian citizens living abroad increased from 204,000 to 274,000 between 1971 and 1991; the majority of them living in Germany and Austria as 'guest workers' (Lukić et al. 2013).

#### Migration flows

According to the official data, the population of Serbia was 7.04 million as of 1 January 2017, which is less by ca. 536,000 than the 1991 figure. However, owing to serious problems with data quality and availability; all migration figures should be treated only as rough estimates. On the one hand, the administrative territory of the state changed several times within a very short period of time and different sources used different categories, for instance 'the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia', 'Serbia and Montenegro', Serbia without Montenegro but including Kosovo, Serbia without Montenegro and Kosovo. On the other hand, during the turbulent historical period of the 1990s the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia was unable to trace with any accuracy unregistered emigration and the large influx of refugees from other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Due to the violent conflicts and the unfavourable economic situation after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, a large part of the Serbian population, especially the younger generation, found little justification for staying in the country. In the early 1990s, the immigration of refugees from other post-Yugoslavian states counterbalanced the outflow of Serbian citizens but in the second half of the decade, the country witnessed a dramatic emigration wave (Lukić et al. 2013). In contrast to the 1990s when wars and international isolation had the strongest impacts on migration decisions, the beginning of the millennium saw new factors emerging: political and economic transition, the loosening of visa restrictions, EU enlargement to the East and the possibility of dual citizenship for ethnic minorities whose relatives lived in states recently joined to the EU and so forth.

The data on international net migration plus statistical adjustment published by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia or by Eurostat are undoubtedly under-estimated (-11,000 people for the period 1990-2017); while the UN World Population Prospects' dataset gives a significantly higher number (-810,000) in terms of negative migration balance. In recent years, on the list of immigrants' top five countries of birth or citizenship can be found the neighbouring states with large Serbian minorities (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro) and countries that are traditionally very popular with Serbian emigrants (e.g. Germany or Switzerland). Although there is no official data on the number of returnees, immigrants from these developed countries as well as the relatively high share of native born Serbians among immigrants (ca. one-fourth of them) – and their older age structure – may refer to people who returned from Western Europe once their working careers had finished.

The absence of official Serbian statistics on emigration flows does not allow a detailed analysis. It is obvious, however, that the traditional emigration countries for Serbian citizens such as Germany, Austria, and Switzerland are still very attractive.

Table 26: International immigration flows by citizenship (national, EU, non-EU, Top5 citizenships), country of birth (native-born, foreign born, Top5 countries of birth) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016

Immigration flow by citizenship					Immigration flow by country of birth				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	6,297	23.6	38.8	37.6	Total	6,266	24.0	38.7	37.3
Serbian citizens	3,990	29.4	29.2	41.4	Native born	1,723	15.5	25.5	59.0
Foreign citizens (EU)	542	19.9	36.2	43.9	Foreign born (EU)	1,457	37.2	30.7	32.1
Foreign citizens (non-EU)	1,765	11.6	61.3	27.1	Foreign born (non-EU)	3,086	22.5	49.8	27.7
Bosnia and Herzegovina	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Bosnia and Herzegovina	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Montenegro	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Montenegro	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Russia	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Germany	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Russia	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
USA	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Switzerland	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, own calculations

Table 27: International emigration flows of native-born national and foreign citizens by destination country (TOP5 destination countries\*) and age groups (0-14, 15-34, 35+) at national level in 2016

Emigration flow of native-born national citizens					Emigration flow of foreign citizens				
	Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %		Total	0-14 %	15-34 %	35+ %
Total	10,057	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Total	787	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Germany	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Germany	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Austria	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Austria	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Switzerland	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	France	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Italy	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Bosnia and H.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
France	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	USA	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, own calculations

## Population stock

Data on the immigrant stock of Serbia can only be obtained from population censuses. In 2011, out of the 822,000 foreign born people (11.5% of the total population), less than 45,000 were foreign citizens (0.6%). The vast majority of the immigrant population were born in the present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Macedonia and most of them – mainly ethnic Serbians – arrived after the Yugoslavian war.

According to the 2011 census, at least 310,000 Serbian citizens were registered as living abroad. However, based on the available data on immigrants reported in the countries of destination, the emigration stock seems to be considerably higher. In 2015 the estimated size of the Serbian diaspora was approximately 965,000 (UN 2015) with Austria, Switzerland, and Germany in the top three places (with 195,000; 169,000 and 107,000 Serbian citizens respectively). The relatively high number of Serbian-born emigrants in Hungary consists mainly of ethnic Hungarians from Vojvodina.

## 4. Local migration profiles: the YOUMIG municipalities

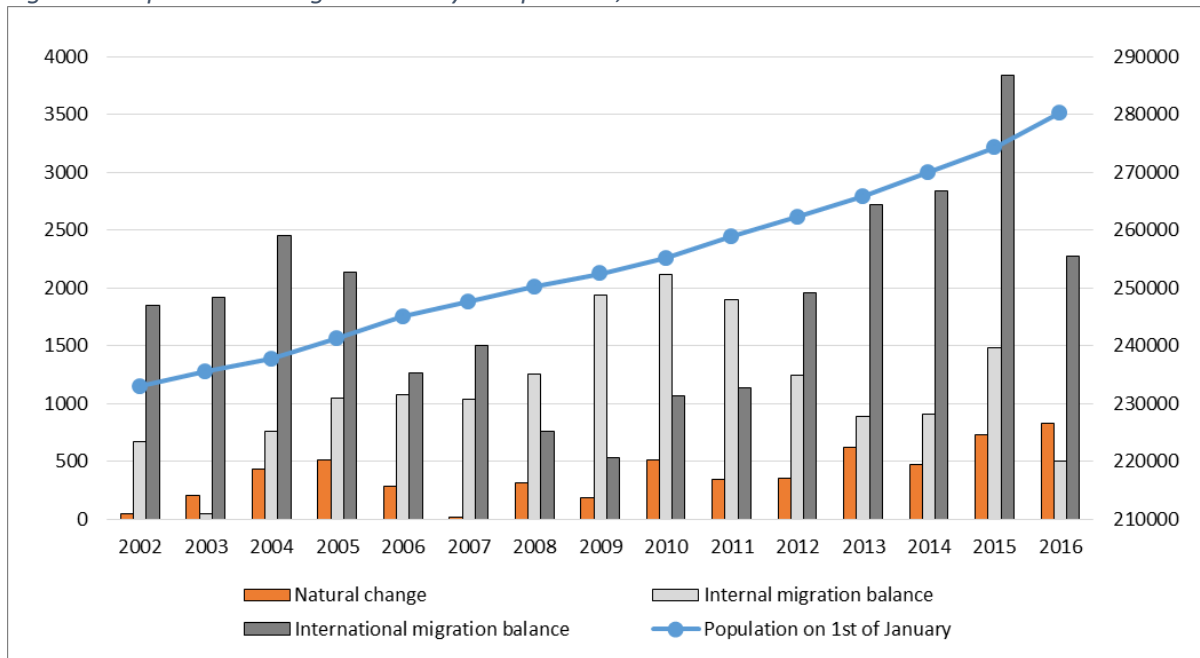
In order to obtain further information on the single case studies, the following section will describe the migration profiles of the partner municipalities in the YOUMIG project. At the local level, this is important for several reasons. Population change within a country is not necessarily reproduced at the local level. While Austria as a whole is currently experiencing population growth, certain municipalities are also witnessing outmigration and population decline. While the city of Graz – in keeping with the rest of the country – is a growing municipality population wise, in other YOUMIG municipalities we find the reverse trend in relation to the country's development. Further, a closer look at the local level is important in order to get a better understanding of what population change actually means for municipalities experiencing this trend.

The local migration profiles were compiled using information received from the municipalities, in part from respective statistical offices; also from information received at the national level. Several data collection phases took place during the project, e.g. in the form of data exchange tables. Further, during the process of compiling local status quo analyses, quantitative data was compiled and analysed.

### 4.1. Graz

Population change of Graz represents the major visible trends in urban agglomerations in Austria. In keeping with the trend at national level, the city is currently experiencing population growth, but the role of immigration at the local level is even more important than for the whole country. Until the beginning of the 1990s, the population of Graz was stagnating, owing to a general trend of suburbanisation from the city to the surrounding areas. Since the 2000s, however, intensive population growth has been observed. Between 2002 and 2017, ca. 58,000 new residents were registered in Graz; equal to a 25% increase, which is significantly higher than the national average (+8.5%). Explanations include a rising birth rate, and more importantly, a continuous positive migration balance of 3,000 persons per year on average.

Figure 7: Population change in Graz by components, 2002-2016



Source: Statistics Austria, population statistics, own illustration.

During the years of the global financial crisis, net migration was relatively low, but since 2013, rapid growth has become apparent; mainly due to the increase in immigration from the new EU-countries. Such a rise can be linked to changes in EU regulations on employment protection. In 2015 and 2016, immigration of third country nationals - mainly from Syria and Afghanistan - was also significant. Nonetheless, the highest number of immigrants to Graz is from Southeast Europe, including some of the so-called 'Danube countries'. In 2016 Graz experienced the highest net migration from Romania (+478), followed by Croatia (+280), Afghanistan (+243), Bosnia and Herzegovina (+229), and Slovenia (+171).

On 1 January 2017 altogether 59,850 inhabitants of Graz held foreign citizenship (21% of the entire population), while 70,491 people were born in another country (25%). Regarding stock data, the composition of foreign nationals and the foreign-born population was similar to the national one - the exception being Croatians whose community proved to be more remarkable in Graz. The top five list was, therefore, led by Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Germany, Turkey, and Romania.

In Graz the majority of migrants are young: In 63% of international immigrants were between 15 and 34 years old in 2016. However, their share is much higher in the case of foreign citizens (nearly 70%) than national ones (including some returnees: ca. 40%). A diversity of motivations for migration may be one

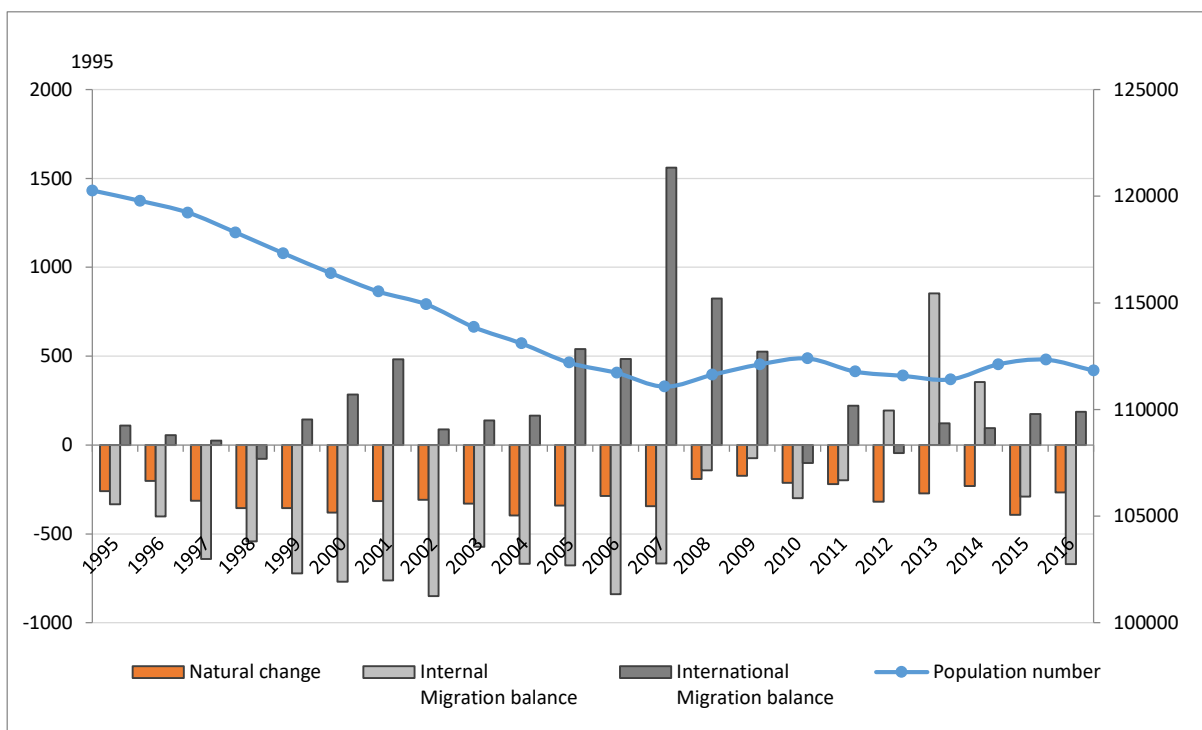


explanation for this phenomenon. Net migration from the old EU countries, as in the case of internal migration, is focused on the age group 20 to 24, which is probably explained by a high share of student migration from countries such as Germany. With Hungary's accession to the EU in 2004, a wider range of (socio-economic) types within category 'youth' became visible. The increasing importance of labour migration and family migration may explain this phenomenon; indeed, migrants from the Danube Region are for the most part 'labour migrants'. Thus, there a high differentiation of immigrant groups visible in Graz: student migration, skilled and unskilled labour migration; also a very high number of skilled migrants that are working in unskilled labour. A further factor might be the high diversity of countries of origin in the so-called 'Danube countries'.

#### 4.2. Maribor

Similar to the birth balance, internal net migration remained negative in Maribor throughout the entire reporting period, except 2012-2014. Only the international migration balance was positive in all but three years (1998, 2010 and 2012). These processes resulted in a continuously declining population size until 2008; since then the number of residents has been more or less stagnating (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Population change in Maribor by components, 1995-2016



Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, own illustration.

As a whole, the number of births per thousand persons showed a pattern similar to Maribor and Slovenia but the total fertility rate was slightly lower in the city (1.47) compared to the country average of 1.58 in 2016. While the proportion of the population of aged 15-34 had been decreasing since the early 1990s, a higher number of live births registered since 2008 has halted the decrease in the proportion of the 0-15 year old population.

Although the total migration balance of Maribor remained negative during the period 1995-2017, this was largely due to internal emigration to other Slovenian municipalities (including some suburbanization). Between 2008 and 2016, altogether 12,629 people arrived in Maribor as international immigrants (only 13% with Slovenian citizenship) and 8,801 people from the city emigrated abroad; one-third of them were native-born national citizens.

Since the post-war era, Maribor has been an immigration city for people from all the former Yugoslavian republics, especially Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Serbia, in the last few years from Macedonia and Kosovo (Albanian ethnicity) as well. They have established strong diaspora communities, thus the foreign born population increased from 12% to 15% between 1991 and 2017. Approximately one of them were born in the EU, and more than 90% of the rest were born in three former Yugoslav republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Macedonia.

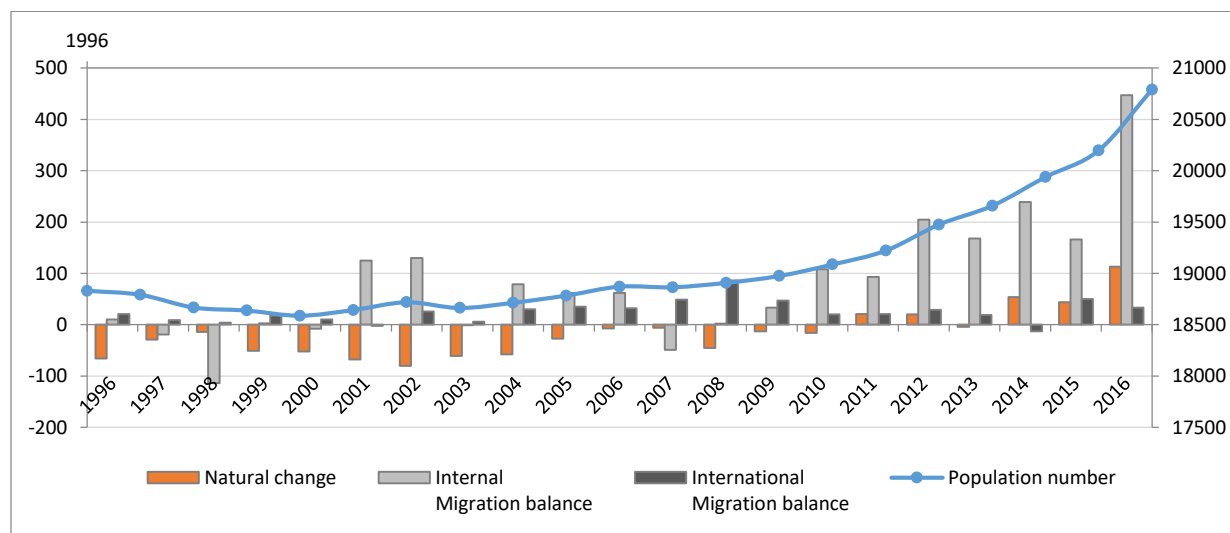
The high proportion (50-60%) of 14-35 year olds among the immigrants with foreign citizenship suggests that most of the newcomers to Maribor are labour migrants, while the same proportion is significantly lower in the case of Slovenian immigrants (including some returnees): 20-30%. Maribor has particularly young diasporas: 37% and 31 % of persons in the age group 15–34 are from Kosovo and Macedonia, respectively. This, in comparison with the foreign-born populations from Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia and Serbia where these shares are much lower – 19%, 9% and 15%, respectively; and the difference is even higher in the age group of children (0–14). Similar to the national trends, the majority of Slovenian emigrants from Maribor choose Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and the UK as destinations, while the majority of foreign citizens emigrate to another post-Yugoslavian republic. Owing to the social and economic conditions, many people from Podravska and Pomurska region seek a job in neighbouring Austria - mainly in Graz. The automotive industry, metal processing and construction are estimated to be

the major employers. It is hard to estimate the number of daily, weekly or monthly cross-border commuters but its volume is presumably high and increasing.

### 4.3. Bratislava Rača

Population change in the Rača district of Bratislava has followed the national trends in many aspects, for example, in terms of a decline in fertility and natality rates, an increase in the mean age at which women bear their first child along with general improvements in health conditions. These changes had already started before or around the beginning of the political and economic transformation in 1989. Overall, the population of Rača district has grown slightly throughout the entire reference period (Figure 9). This is largely a consequence of its internal migration balance, which, except for three years in the late 1990s, has remained positive. Almost half of the immigrants come from other city districts of the capital in search better living conditions, which serves to illustrate the association between growth and intensive building development. Since the number of emigrants is also relatively high (around 400-500 people per year), internal net migration varied between 100-200 people in the earlier years, reaching a maximum of 447 people in 2016. Although natural change was below zero at the time of the regime change, and remained so over the next two decades, it eventually became positive in 2010 as a consequence of increased fertility rates. Within the analysed period, the highest value was registered in 2016.

Figure 9: Population change in Bratislava Rača by components, 1996-2016



Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, own illustration.

International net migration in the whole reporting period represented around one-fourth of net migration in Rača with a maximum of 94 people in 2008. Since 1996, 530 more people have arrived in the district than left it. Since the yearly number of immigrants and deregistered international emigrants is small, the proportion of people aged 15-34 showed considerably fluctuation in migration flows. Nevertheless, the share of young people seems to be higher in the case of immigrants with foreign citizenship compared to that of Slovakian international immigrants (including some return migrants).

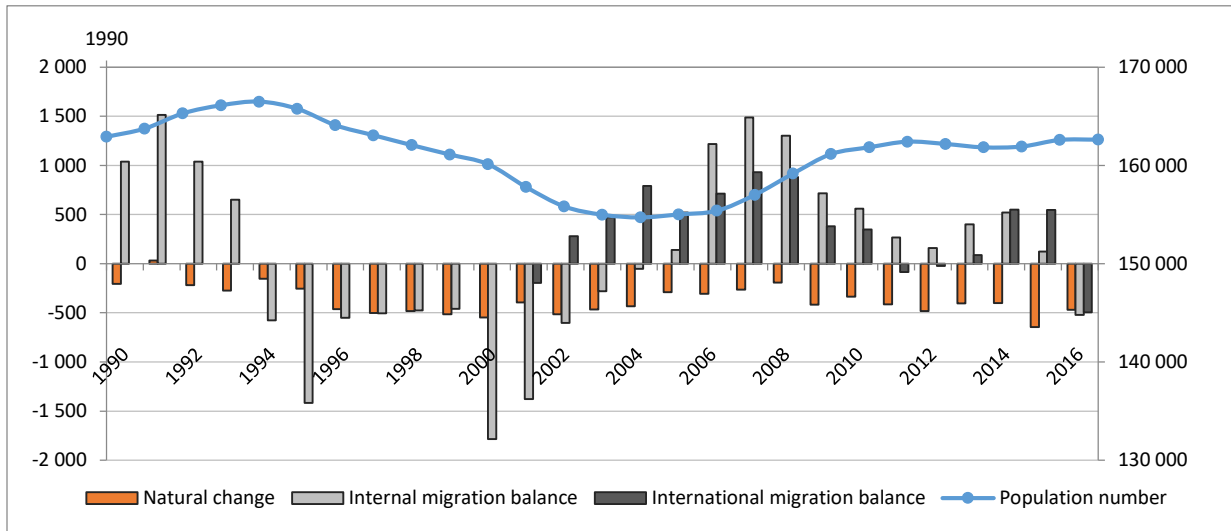
Compared to the national average, there is a bigger percentage of foreigners in Rača than in Slovakia overall. While in 2016 foreign citizens represented 1.25% of the Slovak Republic's population, in Rača they represented 2.9%. Their number grew by 8%, i.e. from 559 to 604 between 1991 and 2016. Most of them are citizens of the Czech Republic, but there are also a number of citizens from Vietnam living in Rača. In 2016, a total number of 118 people accounted for 0.6 per cent of Rača's residents.

#### 4.4. Szeged

Based on the official statistics, several major periods can be identified regarding population and migration in Szeged. Although the birth balance in the city has long been negative (since 1992), the fertility rate has decreased from 1.67 to 1.15, which is significantly lower than the national average of 1.49. Between 1990 and 1993, the population size increased due to internal migration but since 1994, internal outmigration has exceeded internal immigration due to suburbanisation. Between 2005 and 2015, the internal migration balance turned positive once again. Further, the international migration balance between 2005 and 2015 was either positive or slightly stagnating. However, it is important to emphasise that because of a methodological change, migration data before and after 2009 are not entirely comparable in the case of Szeged.

Since 2009 a total number of 11,310 residents immigrated to Szeged from a country other than Hungary (42% with Hungarian citizenship), while officially 5,814 people (more than 4,300 native-born Hungarians) emigrated from the city abroad.

Figure 10: Population change in Szeged by components, 1990-2016



Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, own illustration.

Migratory processes have some specific features in Szeged. Since Szeged is a gate-city close to the Romanian and Serbian borders, the in-flow of people from these countries (mostly, but not exclusively ethnic Hungarians) has been more remarkable than in most Hungary settlements. The first major stream of immigration occurred during the 1990s, when a great number of Serbian citizens fled the Yugoslav Wars. The last stream was experienced in 2008, as a consequence of the new Immigration Act of Hungary.

The age group 15-34 is particularly representative of Szeged's immigrants. The proportion of newcomers with foreign citizenship fluctuates between 85-90%. The main immigrant communities in the municipality are Serbian-born (about 6000 persons) and Romanian-born (about 3000 persons) people, but the presence of German citizens (several hundred persons, almost all of them young people studying at the University) is also noticeable.

Official emigration data are likely underestimated. It may be the case that identifiable emigration outflows from Szeged went largely undetected prior to Hungary's EU accession. The top three receiving countries of emigrants from Szeged are the United Kingdom, Germany and Austria. The proportion of the age group 15-34 among all emigrants has been relatively constant from 2011 until 2016 within the range of 63-69%, each year. In the post-2009 period, a growing number of immigrants with Hungarian citizenship can be observed, in all likelihood, return migrants. While in 2010 only 24 young people aged 15-34 returned to

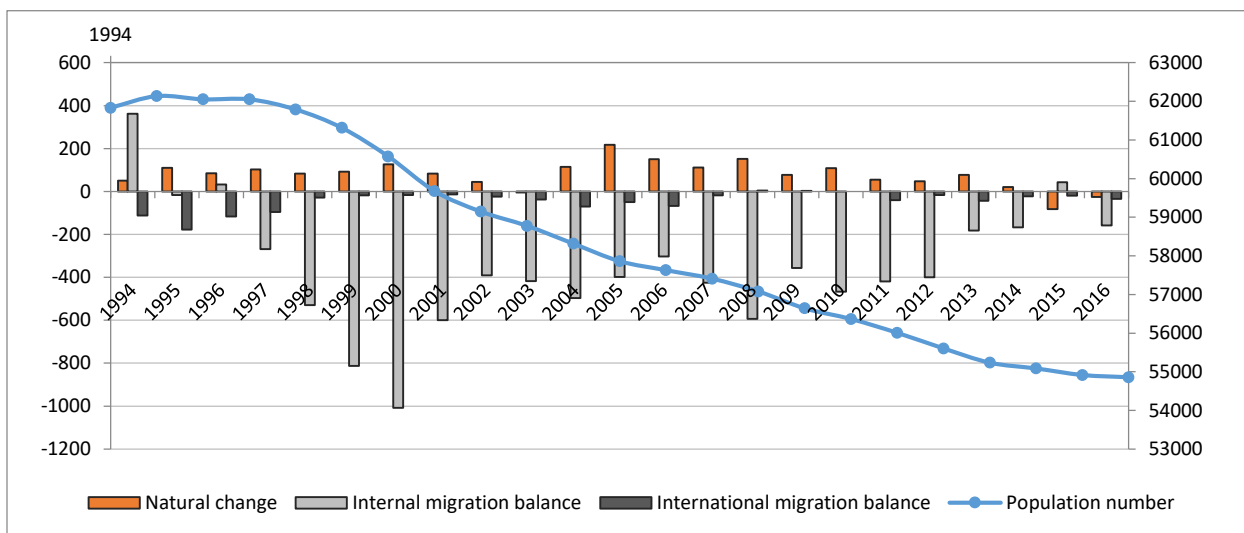
Szeged; in 2016 ca. ten times more young returnees (270) were registered, most of them arriving from the United Kingdom, Germany and Austria.

#### 4.5. Sfântu Gheorghe

The population of Sfântu Gheorghe decreased by 10% between 1992 and 2002 and by a further 9% between 2002 and 2011, which is a more significant reduction than the national one (Figure 11). Meanwhile, the average age of the local population grew from 35.6 to 39.7 years, and the total fertility rate decreased from 1.62 to 1.23. Despite the aging process, the town can be characterised by a slightly positive natural increase, in contrast to overall trends at the national level.

Thus, it is clear that migration loss is the main cause of shrinkage in Sfântu Gheorghe. However, it is important to emphasize that in Romania it is very difficult to trace migration flows at the local level. Although the statistical office collects data from the local public administration, it publishes the results only as aggregated data at the national, regional and NUTS3 level. Another problem is the quality and reliability of migration data.

Figure 11: Population change in Sfântu Gheorghe by components, 1994-2016



Source: National Institute of Statistics, own illustration.

According to the official data, both the internal and international migration balance has been negative since 1991 but the volume of the latter is obviously underestimated (in general, less than 10% of Romanian emigrants registered by Eurostat appear in the national statistics). In the main, it is the young that have left the municipality; the share of 15-34 year old people among emigrants has been constantly above 50%. Among the most important push factors, one can find the town's weak economic situation demonstrated by the unemployment rate, which is above the national average, and the low level of wages.

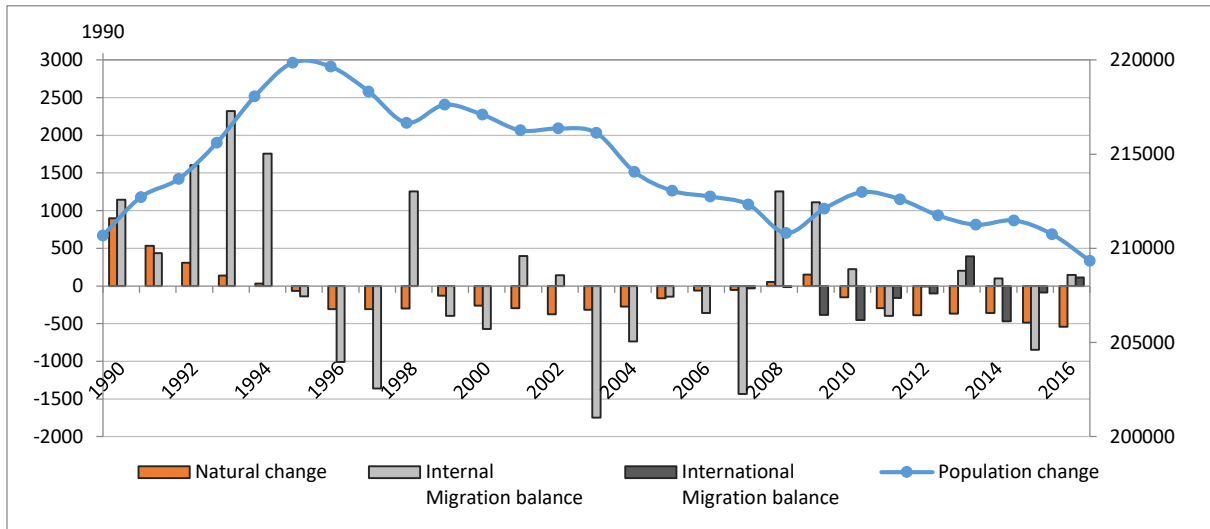
Internal Immigration from surrounding areas to Sfântu Gheorghe is observable but international immigration does not significantly affect this region of Romania. Thus, the population of the town consists predominantly of native-born Romanian citizens; in 2017, foreigners represented only 1% of the population. Comparable data at the local level are available from 2012 onwards. Since then 2,510 people have arrived in Sfântu Gheorghe from another country (97% of them were Romanian citizens, presumably mainly return migrants) and 3,190 people moved abroad officially.

#### 4.6. Burgas

Following the national trend, the population of Burgas also decreased in the last two decades (from ca. 220,000 to 209,000 between 1995 and 2016) but to a lesser extent, 'only' by 5% (Figure 12). There is a high fluctuation visible, mainly explained by the change of the administrative unit of the municipality. As in the rest of the country, the population of Burgas is aging. Currently approximately 37% of its inhabitants are over 50 years of age.

At the municipal level, there are data on internal migration available from 1990 onwards. For international migration, data exist from 2007 on, provided by the National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria. The internal migration flows oscillated with successive waves of inflows and outflows, however, there is no explicit data on suburbanisation processes and there are no local level surveys concerning youth migration. International migration seems to be more balanced (immigration is comparable in size with emigration) but the emigration figures are presumably underestimated.

Figure 12: Population change in Burgas by components, 1990-2016



Source: National Statistical Institute of the Republic of Bulgaria, own illustration.

Nevertheless, between 2007 and 2016 altogether 4,016 international immigrants arrived to Burgas (18% with Bulgarian citizenship), and since 2012 officially 3,579 people emigrated from the city abroad; and 60% of them were native-born national citizens.

While the outflow of people continues, in the last decade the city has witnessed an increasing number of immigrants. Burgas has become attractive for immigrants mostly from the countries of the former Soviet Union. In 2016 out of the 738 non-EU newcomers 442 had Russian, 161 Ukrainian and 65 Kazakh citizenship and the great majority of them were ethnic Russians. These migrants are in many cases not labour migrants; rather they mostly belong to the group of retirement migrants. This is mirrored in the age structure too: the share of the age group 15-34 among international immigrants with foreign citizenship is remarkably low: only 20% on average. The proportion of young people in emigration flows is somewhat higher (in 2016 55%) but the data on the number of deregistered emigrants are very unreliable in the case of Bulgaria as well.

#### 4.7. Kanjiža

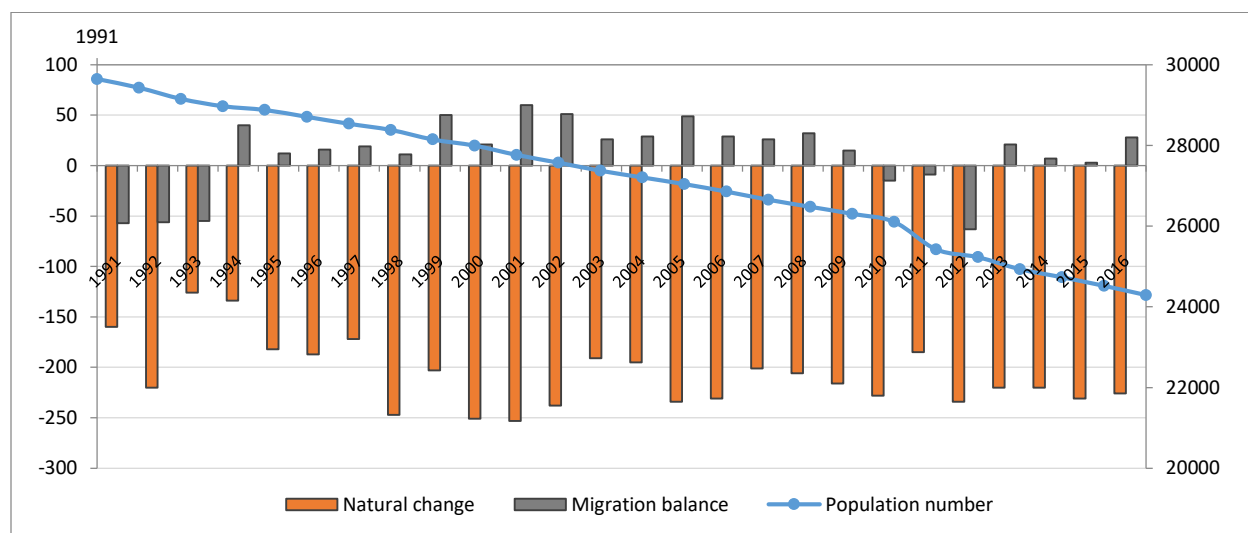
On 31 December 2016 the population of the municipality of Kanjiža stood at 24,292, which is 5,353 fewer people (i.e. almost 20%) than in 1991 (Figure 13). The total fertility rate grew until the mid-1990s from 1.66 to 1.93 but started to decrease from 1996 onwards. In 2016, it was only 1.20, lower than the national



average of 1.46. Meanwhile, the mean age of the population increased to 43.4 (44.8 in the case of women, 41.8 for men) which also exceeds the Serbian average.

According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, the natural decrease has been the number one reason for the sharp population decline. Since 1991, almost 6,000 fewer people have been born in the town than died. However, the available data on migration flows at the municipality level - the other main component of population change - are very poor. Officially, the migration balance should be slightly positive in Kanjiža with 8,274 immigrants and 7,957 emigrants for the period 1991-2016. However, since the international migration flow data are far from being complete and precise, these numbers cannot be considered reliable.

Figure 13: Population change in Kanjiža by components, 1991-2016



Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, own illustration.

Nevertheless, according to the official statistics, altogether 296 Serbian and 46 foreign citizens arrived in Kanjiža as international migrants between 1990 and 2011. During the same period, 346 native-born Serbians moved abroad but unfortunately, there is no information about the foreign citizens' migration patterns. Likewise, the statistics do not provide detailed information about the age structure of emigration and immigration flows at the municipality level.

The 2011 census registered 566 persons from Kanjiža who have been continuously residing abroad, mainly in Hungary, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Slovenia. This constitutes ca. 3% of the total population

of the municipality (in 1991 it was only 1.9%) which is higher than the share of emigrant stock from Vojvodina (2.6%). These numbers are, however, undoubtedly underestimated because many people do deregister from their residence.

In spite of the relatively low share of emigrants, Kanjiža belongs to the top three municipalities in Vojvodina with the highest Brain Drain Ratio (BDR), which takes into account the likelihood of emigration of highly educated people (Despić, 2015:135). Among the most important push factors one can find high levels of unemployment in Kanjiža and local residents' dissatisfaction with their financial situation. From the viewpoint of Hungary, which is the number one country of destination, the main pull factors are the relatively higher wages and the non-existence of cultural and linguistic barriers, which facilitates a smooth integration.

According to the analysis of Gábrity Molnár (2008), the following types of international migration can be distinguished in Vojvodina; partially along the Vojvodina – Hungary migration nexus.

- 'Guest workers' who emigrated to West European countries and return home only occasionally, 2-3 times per year
- Entrepreneurs, businessmen who have either already emigrated or try to benefit from cross-border economic opportunities
- Emigration of unemployed people whose estimated number, including their families, was higher than 10,000 in 2008
- Cross-border commuters who live near the state border and commute on a daily or weekly basis between their Serbian place of residence and their school or workplace in Hungary, primarily in Szeged. In 2010, about 1,400 young people, one-half of the Hungarian students in Vojvodina, were studying in Hungary. Their number has grown significantly since 2011, and the possibility of acquiring Hungarian citizenship too (Ágyas and Sárcević 2018)

## 5. Conclusions and policy outlook

This short overview of the migration profiles of the countries of the YOUMIG region shows that migration has been intensifying in the Danube Region – at both the national and local level. The partnership of the YOUMIG project covers all migration profiles relevant to the Danube Region: Austria and Germany are mainly receiving countries, while YOUMIG also includes the three major sending countries Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia. In addition, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia are involved, where emigration is prominent at both the national and local level, especially in urban agglomerations where internal and international immigration is increasing.

In migration terms, the Danube Region can be considered a ‘functional region’ since important receiving and sending locations are located within it. The biggest migration inflows, for example to the city of Graz and wider Austria are received from other locations within the Danube Region. Historically, the region has been an important sending area for migrants, for example, in the case of Serbians immigrating to Austria and Germany, and this trend has continued to the present day. Since 2011, the inflow of Romanians to Austria has increased remarkably and Romania has become the most important sending country in the last few years.

In the past, contracts between the countries, such as guest- worker agreements, but also general historical, economic and cultural connections played an important role in terms of the migration patterns observed. Today, in addition to these factors, greater opportunities to work or study owing to the varying permeability of borders (accession to the EU and Schengen area) stand behind the phenomena of young migration.

The YOUMIG project deals with the effects of such migration processes. While some countries have experienced tremendous out-migration, others are immigration countries for decades, and still others are currently transitioning from emigration to immigration societies. Dealing with these, and related developments, will require apposite political strategies.

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