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# ***Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe***

## **Final Country Report**

**Croatia**

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## **ACRONYMS CITED IN TEXT**

ASSC	Areas of Special State Concern
B-H	Bosnia-Herzegovina
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation
CBS	Croatian Bureau of Statistics
ECFIN	Directorate General for Economics and Finance
ERRC	European Roma Rights Centre
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ha.	Hectares
HBS	Household Budget Survey
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union
HGK	Croatian Chamber of Commerce
HRK	Croatian Kuna (April 2011 Euro 1 = 7.3 HRK)
HSLs	Croatian Social Liberal Party
HSU	Croatian Pensioners Party
HZZ	Croatian Employment Service
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IDS	Independent Democratic Serbian Party
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IPA	Instrument of Pre-accession Assistance
IPA-RD	Instrument of Pre-accession Assistance – Rural Development Programme
ISPA	Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession
JAP	Joint Assessment of Employment Programme
JIM	Joint Memorandum on Social Inclusion
JNA	Yugoslav Peoples' Army
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MAFRD	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Rural Development
MIC	Migration Information Centre
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
MIPD	Multi-annual Indicative Planning Document
NMS	New Member States
NN	Official Gazette
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
ODA	Overseas Development Aid
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
ROP	Regional Operational Plan
RSK	Republic of Serbian Krajina
SAPARD	Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
UKF	Unity Through Knowledge Fund
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNTAES	United Nations Transitional Authority, Eastern Slavonia

## 1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL OVERVIEW

### 1.1 War and Independence 1990-1995

Between 1945 and 1991, the Republic of Croatia was one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Throughout this period there were significant waves of emigration and internal migration in Croatia, with the period marked both by large-scale rural-urban migration and the growth of significant communities of Croatian Diaspora and guest workers abroad. In the 1980s, in the context of an economic and political crisis, demands for greater autonomy came from the richer northern republics of Croatia and Slovenia. In multi-party elections held in 1990, the newly formed Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*, HDZ), led by Dr. Franjo Tuđman, backed by section of the Diaspora, won a clear majority in Parliament (*Sabor*).

Following a referendum largely boycotted by the republic's Serbian population, Croatia declared independence, together with Slovenia, on 25 June 1991. Following a ten-day war in Slovenia, the conflict in Croatia between the Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslavenska narodna armija*, JNA) and Serbian paramilitary forces, on one side, and Croatia's ill equipped police and territorial defence forces, on the other side, escalated. The JNA originally sought to occupy the whole of Croatia and negate independence but, later, its goal was to secure as much territory as possible, named the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK). The heaviest fighting occurred between July and December 1991, resulting in waves of large-scale forced migration.

Croatia's independence was recognised by the European Union on 15 January 1992 and on 22 May 1992 Croatia became a member of the United Nations. In March 1992, a UN Peacekeeping force, UNPROFOR, was deployed in Croatia following a UN Security Council Resolution effectively recognising the status quo on the ground with the Croatian government not in control of large swathes of territory in Dalmatia (UNPROFOR Sectors North and South), Western Slavonia (Sector West), and Eastern Slavonia (Sector East) (see map, Figure 1.1). At the time of UNPROFOR's deployment, approximately 26% of Croatia's land was not under the control of the Croatian government.

In the next three years, there was little change on the ground. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, between 1992 and 1995, led to large-scale forced migration into Croatia and many Bosnian Croats received Croatian citizenship and settled in Croatia. In early May 1995, Croatia retook Western Slavonia in three days of military and police actions, followed by large population movements out of the area and the return of many who had left or been expelled earlier. Operation Storm recaptured the whole of Dalmatia between 5 and 8 August 1995, leading to a mass outflow of the Serbian population from this area. The signing of the Erdut Agreement on 12 November 1995 averted armed conflict in Eastern Slavonia which came under the authority of a new UN mission, the UN Transitional Authority for Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES). Its initial one-year mandate was extended to two years and on 15 January 1998 the area was peacefully reintegrated into Croatia. The war between 1991 and 1995 cost some 20,000 lives and led to massive population displacement and return of different populations<sup>1</sup>.

### 1.2 Political Developments

President Tuđman continued a rather authoritarian politics until his death in December 1999, with HDZ continuously in power during this period. The 1990s have been termed a period of 'ethnic engineering' (Koska, 2011) in which citizenship rights were highly dependent on national or ethnic origin, with the Croatian Diaspora in Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere given seats in the Croatian Parliament. In addition, there were programmes encouraging the return or settlement of the Croatian Diaspora abroad and a pro-natality policy to reverse

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<sup>1</sup> See chapters 2 and 5 below.

negative demographic trends. In the January 2000 Parliamentary elections, HDZ was defeated by a centre-left coalition of six parties, led by the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of Ivica Račan, offering a different vision of Croatia in terms of deeper democracy, a Parliamentary rather than semi-Presidential system, and the prospect of membership of the European Union. The Presidential elections which followed were won by Stipe Mesić who served two full terms in office. In October 2001, Croatia signed a Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the European Union, applying for membership on 21 February 2003, with refugee return and respect for human rights seen as key tests of Croatia's ability to meet the political criteria for EU membership.

Under the new leadership of Ivo Sanader, HDZ began to reform into a more pro-European party winning the November 2003 elections and forming a coalition government in early 2004 with the support of the Pensioner's Party (HSU) and the main Serbian political party, the Independent Democratic Serbian Party (IDSS). Croatia was not given the green light to begin EU accession negotiations until October 2005 when the Government was judged to be co-operating fully with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

In the Parliamentary elections held in late November 2007, HDZ was re-elected as the largest party, again governing in coalition. Following objections from Slovenia regarding disputed land and sea borders which effectively blocked the closure of a number of chapters of the *acquis communautaire* for many months, Sanader unexpectedly resigned as Prime Minister on 1 July 2009, handing over to Jadranka Kosor. Sanader was later expelled from HDZ and is currently facing several charges of corruption. Parliamentary elections were held in Croatia on 4 December 2011, resulting in an overwhelming victory for the SDP-led coalition, under Prime Minister Zoran Milanović. Following the completion of negotiations, Croatia signed the EU accession treaty on 9 December 2011 and, following a 'yes' vote in a referendum held on 22 January 2012, is expected to become the 28<sup>th</sup> member state of the European Union on 1 July 2013.

### **1.3 Demographic Developments**

Independent Croatia held a full population census in 1991, 2001, and 2011, albeit with a different methodology each time, not least relating to those absent at the time of the census, making reliable comparisons difficult. Although some preliminary data from the 2011 census has been released, this is not yet official and significant gaps in knowledge remain. Croatia's recorded population declined between 1991 and 2001 by some 2.9%, from 4,784,265 in 1991 to 4,437,460 in 2001<sup>2</sup>. Preliminary results of the census of 2011 are that Croatia has a population of 4,290,612. The total number of enumerated persons was 4,456,096<sup>3</sup>. If the same methodology had been used in 2011 as in 2001, Croatia would have approximately the same population in both censi. A study on the likely trends in the Croatian population between 2004 and 2051 (Grizelj and Akrap, 2006) predicts sharp declines in the Croatian population of between 470,000 (given high fertility and medium migration) and 830,000 (low fertility and medium migration) or between 10.5% and 18.8%. Even in high migration projection scenarios, the impact of migration in the future is forecast to be rather low. As Figure 1.3 shows, the working age population is set to fall dramatically over time and the dependency ratio to increase significantly.

Mainly as a result of the war and associated large-scale migrations, the proportion of Croatian citizens declaring themselves as ethnic Serbs fell from 12.16% in 1991, a total of 581,663, to 4.54% in 2001, a total of 201,631. In the context of the return of some who left, discussed below, it will be extremely interesting to see what the figures are for the Serbian minority in the 2011 census.

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<sup>2</sup> The methodology for the 2001 census was changed. If the same methodology had been used as in the 1991 census, the Croatian population would be 4,492,049 (CBS, Statistički ljetopis 2010, Table 5-1).

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/SI-1441.pdf](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/SI-1441.pdf) (accessed 12 January 2012).

For EU administrative purposes Croatia has three NUTS II regions: North West Croatia; Central and Eastern Croatia; and Adriatic Croatia. At NUTS III level there are 21 counties (*županije*) of regional self-government, including the City of Zagreb. Below this are municipalities (*općine*), including towns or cities (*gradovi*) and, in a recent change to the law, larger cities (*veliki gradovi*). There are currently 556 units of local self-government, including 429 municipalities, many of which have less than 1,000 population, and 127 towns or cities, which have 10,000 population or more. Larger cities are those with a population of 35,000 or more. Croatia has rather low levels of decentralization with the proportion of income and expenditure of local government 7.0% and 7.6% of GDP respectively in 2009, compared to 12.0% and 12.3% for the EU-27 (Jurlina Alibegović et al., 2010; 132-133).

Croatia has a population density of 75.8 inhabitants/sq. km, with a range from 9.5 inhabitants/ sq. km in Ličko-Senjska County to 156.9 in Međimurska, and 1236.9 in the City of Zagreb. Croatia does not have a definition of rural and urban areas. Using the OECD criteria of a threshold of 150 inhabitants/sq. km, 47.6% of the population lived in rural areas in 2001 and 52.4% in urban areas (MAFRD, 2009; 10). A total of 14 out of 21 counties are classified as predominantly rural, with over 50% of their inhabitants living in rural areas. Of these, five have extremely high levels of rurality, with over 90% of the population living in rural areas (See figure 1.4 in Annex). Four of these are chosen in chapter 4 as those disadvantaged rural areas which have faced high population losses since 1991.

#### **1.4 Economic Development, Labour Markets and Poverty and Social Exclusion**

After a dramatic decline in GDP during war-time, Croatia began to grow in the mid- to late-1990s and has grown more than the EU average but less than many of its neighbours, throughout the last decade (Figure 1.5). The economic and financial crisis hit in the middle of 2008, with GDP falling -5.8% in 2009 and forecast by the European Commission to fall by -1.8% in 2010, with growth returning at levels of 1.5% and 2.1% in 2011 and 2012, respectively (EC 2011b; 7). Eurostat data show Croatia's GDP at PPP in 2008 as €16,000, about 64% of the EU-27, rising slightly to 65% in 2009<sup>4</sup>. In terms of GDP per capita by county the richest county the City of Zagreb had 1.8 times the per capita GDP of the poorest county Brodsko-posavska in 2005 (see Table 1.6).

The Croatian economy has been characterised since independence by rather low overall labour market participation. Using the LFS data from 2009 (CBS, 2010), compared to the EU-27 employment rate<sup>5</sup> of 64.6% (58.6% for women and 70.7% for men), Croatia had an employment rate of only 56.6% (51.0% for women and 62.4% for men). In terms of progress towards key EU 2020 targets, Croatia faces a difficult task to meet the targets on employment rate, and the proportion of 30 to 34 year olds having completed tertiary education. The figures on early school leavers, whilst impressive, are considered by Eurostat to be inaccurate (Table 1.6).

Looking at employment based on the classifications used in the Labour Force Survey, namely Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing; Industry; and Services (Table 1.7), the low numbers employed in agriculture, compared to those self-employed or as family workers, and the large proportion of part-time workers in the sector, indicates the dominance of small scale and subsistence work in the sector. The decline in the proportion of the active population involved in agriculture can be traced from 1961 when it was 50.6% to 1971 (40.3%) and 1981, although the classification changed (22.3%) (Wertheimer-Baletić, 1991). Whilst the classification again changed in the meantime, by the time of the 2001 census only 7.9% of the active population was involved in agriculture, forestry and fishing (CBS web site).

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<sup>4</sup> [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics\\_explained/index.php?title=File:Volume\\_indices\\_per\\_inhabitant\\_2007-2009.PNG&filetimestamp=20110120133458](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php?title=File:Volume_indices_per_inhabitant_2007-2009.PNG&filetimestamp=20110120133458) (accessed 6 October 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Proportion of those aged 15-64 in employment as a proportion of the total 15-64 population.

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Interesting comparisons are made between Croatia and the, then, EU-25 in Croatia's Agricultural and Rural Development Plan (MAFRD, 2009; 156-7). Whilst 7.3% of the Croatian population worked in agriculture compared to the EU-25's 5.2%, agriculture contributed 6.5% of GDP in Croatia compared to 1.6% in the EU-25. The average farm size in Croatia was only 2.4 ha compared to 13.5 ha in the EU-25. Only 19% of available land is used for agriculture compared to 42% in the EU-25.

The latest headline figure on at-risk-of-poverty in Croatia, based on 2010 SILC data, using 60% of median income, including income in kind, is 20.6%<sup>6</sup>, higher than previous Household Budget survey data had shown. Children 0-17 had an at-risk-of-poverty rate of 20.5%. Poverty risk was highest for those aged 65 and over, at 28.1%, with significant gender variation: 23.3% for men and 31.3% for women. By household type, high at-risk-of-poverty rates are faced by single person households (44.8%); single parent households with dependent children (34.6%); households with three or more children (33.1%); and single person households aged over 65 (50.2%). The Gini coefficient of inequality was 0.32 and the quintile ratio 5.5<sup>7</sup>. As noted below, poverty rates are higher in areas which have experienced out migration. The only breakdown of poverty figures by counties has been done using cumulative data from the HBS between 2002 and 2004, using a consumption basket poverty line. These figures (Table 1.5) should be treated with caution, therefore, because of their age, the methodology used, and the high level of margin of error particularly in the smaller counties<sup>8</sup>. Table 1.7 contains basic data on NUTS II regions of Croatia.

In the 2010 SILC data, Croatia had levels of material deprivation at 32.2%, including 57.2% of those at risk of poverty and 25.7% of those not at risk of poverty. A recent Quality of Life survey gives a sense of levels of material deprivation, based on an index consisting of six items (European Foundation, 2009). The Croatian sample showed 63% of households lacking at least one of the items, a rate more comparable to the NMS-12 than the other candidate countries which had rates of 83% (Turkey) and 85% (Macedonia) respectively. An earlier Quality of Life study undertaken in 2006 (UNDP, 2007) sought to address inequalities in median equivalent household income in PPS and deprivation using the same six indicators by county (see Table 1.6), with the Human Development Report (UNDP, 2007) based on the same data set calculating a social exclusion measure based on three dimensions: economic, labour market participation and social participation. When counties are ranked on different indicators, a clear picture emerges of the war-affected counties being the most deprived.

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<sup>6</sup> [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/14-01-02\\_01\\_2011.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/14-01-02_01_2011.htm) (accessed 12 January 2012). If Croatia were already a Member State, this would mean that it would have the fifth highest poverty rate in the EU.

<sup>7</sup> The quintile ratio is the share of income of the top 20% of the population, divided by the share of income of the bottom 20%.

<sup>8</sup> We return to them in Chapter 4 of the report. Table 1.7 contains data on NUTSII regions of Croatia.

## 2. MAIN EMIGRATION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION TRENDS AND PATTERNS

In general terms we can speak of three main periods of emigration and rural-urban<sup>9</sup> migration in Croatia since 1991, as follows:

### A Periodisation of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Croatia

Period	Pattern	Description
1991-1995	Conflict	Dissolution of Yugoslavia; ethnicised conflicts; wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina Refugee and IDP crisis
1996-2000	Post-conflict	Human rights and discrimination; Reintegration of territory; Stabilisation of emigration and return flows
2001-2010	Normalisation	Regular, economic emigration and return; circular migration

In the first period (1991-1995), the conflicts in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina led to an outflow of refugees from Croatia, some to neighbouring Serbia as well as to 'third countries', depending upon a range of factors, notably the existence of an extant Croatian population, family reunion, and/or the nature of different countries' refugee and asylum regimes. Most of the refugees were ethnic Serbs, leaving in significant numbers during and after the military actions in May and August 1995, mainly to Serbia.

In the second, post-conflict period (1996-2000), the reintegration of territory and the focus on return contrasted, somewhat, with continued problems of emigration of those facing discrimination and human rights abuses. Hence, whilst ethnic Croats returned in significant numbers to territories reintegrated under Croatian government control, both from abroad and from other parts of Croatia, the exodus of ethnic Serbs tended to continue.

The normalization of migration flows after 2000<sup>10</sup> coincided with the relative normalization of life in Croatia. Programmes were developed to facilitate the return of the Serbian population to war-affected territories which, whilst partly successful, tended to involve older people returning more than the active age population, still concerned by the lack of general economic prospects and the threat of discrimination.

### 2.1 Main emigration trends

Our analysis of 'emigration stock' here refers to the stock of population abroad described as "citizens of Croatia by country of residence outside Croatia" in respective censuses.<sup>11</sup> Persons born in Croatia but residing out of Croatia, who are not Croatian citizens, are not addressed in this analysis. The main residence countries for Croatian citizens in Europe, updated for 2008, were as follows: Germany (239,961), Austria (56,695), Switzerland (37,998), and Italy (21,308) (Kupiszewski, 2009: 122).

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<sup>9</sup> After the 2001 Census terminology concerning "rural-urban" migration changed to "urban and non-urban migration" (Croatian Bureau of Statistics (CBS), 2011b; p. 11).

<sup>10</sup> The surprising negative crude rate of net migration for the year 2000 (Table 2.1) is most probably the result of adjustment and consequently of recalibration of data both in Eurostat and Croatian statistics. There is also a possibility of a mistake, because this rate is highly inconsistent with Croatian official data on immigration in 2000 in Table 2.2.

<sup>11</sup> Census 2001 includes 8 questions (36 variables) concerning population abroad and 4 questions (11 variables) related to immigrants from abroad, [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/Census\\_2001/popisnice/Template\\_P1](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/Census_2001/popisnice/Template_P1)



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When a comparison is made between Croatian official statistics on emigration – for instance to Germany - and German statistics on immigration from Croatia for the same year (2009), it is evident that Croatian statistics lead to a significant under-estimation of the emigration stock of Croatians. Although the basis of each calculation is different, the discrepancy between Croatian data (Table 2.5), showing 459 emigrants to Germany in 2009 and German data (Table 2.7) showing 2,811 (first) entrances in 2009 for emigrants from Croatia, is significant<sup>12</sup>.

As a result of independence, war and transition, the period between 1991 and 2000 was a turbulent decade regarding migration into and out of Croatia<sup>13</sup>. Related to the war, emigration was particularly high in 1991, 1995, and 1996; immigration, largely of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, was high in 1993 (Table 2.1). The period from 2001 onwards has witnessed much smaller flows, with eight successive years of very small positive net migration followed in 2009 by a slight negative net migration (Tables 2.1 and 2.2). The 2009 and 2010 figures are the result of a 40% reduction in the number of immigrants to Croatia, which is probably related to the impacts of the global economic and financial crisis, not least in terms of a significant reduction in the demand for foreign labour in the building, construction and service sectors in Croatia (see below). The impacts of the war in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina are complex, with data questionable not least since, for much of the 1990s, large parts of Croatia were not under Croatian government control. As noted above, military actions in 1995 which returned parts of Croatia to Government control resulted in a new wave of forced migration and subsequent return, a process still not completed today. Even in 1998, the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia nevertheless led to an exodus of a proportion of the Serbian population. Subsequently, patterns of emigration can be said to have 'normalized', although there remain features of involuntary migration insofar as many movements are a result of continued discrimination and lack of sustainable livelihood conditions for members of the Serbian minority, through a combination of lack of employment opportunities and the continuing problem of landmines. Whilst estimates vary considerably, the total emigration connected with the war in the 1990s is in the region of 510,000, about 11% of the total population. Some 270,000 ethnic Serbs emigrated to Serbia and to Bosnia-Herzegovina and some 240,000 emigrated elsewhere, mainly to Western Europe (Nejašmić, 2008: 113). At the same time, there were significant numbers of internally displaced within Croatia as well as temporary refugees from the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, some of whom obtained Croatian citizenship. The most accurate demographic data seems to be that the net migration balance for this period is negative by some 247,000 (Gelo et al., 2005).

What is clear is that, barring unforeseen circumstances, the high rates of migration which characterised the 1990s are now over. Croatia has consolidated political and economic reforms, is stable, and has control over the whole of its territory. As a future EU member state, Croatia closed Chapter 2 of the *Treaty concerning the Accession of the Republic of*

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<sup>12</sup> According to an expert interviewed (R. Mišetić, 10 October 2011) there is a problem of validity and harmonization of various levels of data on immigration/emigration and on foreigners collected in Germany. The two principal data sources on foreigners are: the local registers of the whole population and the central foreigners' register, including non-EU citizens. The validity of these sources is diminished by the fact that they sometimes overlap with the evidence of repeated cross-border arrivals/departures. In addition, Croatian citizens who reside in Germany most probably arrive from Croatia but possibly also from other countries; they may include migrants with multiple citizenships, such as ethnic Croats from Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo\* and overseas countries. Regarding the figures on international migration, Croatian sources are broadly consistent but not reliable. They draw on Ministry of Interior registration of permanent residence which is mandatory for all persons upon entering the country while optional when leaving the country. The latter is a possible source of serious underestimation of emigration from Croatia to Europe and overseas.

<sup>13</sup> Croatia has no Register of Population; data are estimated on the basis of the Register of Permanent Residence combined with data about the actual state of residence of persons on specific addresses of the Ministry of Interior and with registers based on lists of voters within Croatia and abroad (Migration of Population of the Republic of Croatia 2010, First Release, Vol. XLVIII, No 7.1.2., 15 June 2011, p. 1).

Croatia on free movement of persons<sup>14</sup>. The provisions concerning movement of the labour force include a 2+3+2 arrangement, meaning that for the first two years after joining the EU, the labour force from Croatia would have access to EU labour markets on the basis of a default clause of limitations and on the basis of bilateral arrangements<sup>15</sup>. For the last years for which data are available (2009 and 2010), of the total regarded by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics as having emigrated from Croatia, almost two thirds departed to the countries of former Yugoslavia (Tables 2.5 and 2.6). Looking at a longer time period, we can conclude that there have been, and to an extent still are, two main destination clusters in terms of emigration from Croatia. One is regional, to the Yugoslav successor states, particularly Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This migration is, often, based on national and ethnic identification and family ties, but also includes a degree of labour market migration. The second is to the European Union, including the new member states, as well as Switzerland. Although a small proportion of this may be based on national and ethnic affiliation, the largest part is labour migration either directly or indirectly. As noted above, Germany is still the EU member state with the largest stock of emigrants from Croatia and the country which will mostly be in the focus of this analysis.

Data for 2010 compared to 2009, show a higher difference between rates of emigration and immigration (Table 2.2). In 2010, just over half of all emigrants, some 50.2%, were women (Table 2.4). Tables 2.5 and 2.6 show international migration out of, and into, Croatia in 2009 and 2010, in terms of country of previous residence/destination and citizenship. Some 68% of all immigration<sup>16</sup> and some 62% of all emigration was to the countries of former Yugoslavia, not including Slovenia, with the largest number of immigrants coming from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the largest number of emigrants leaving to Serbia. Only around 20.5% of immigration is from the EU and slightly less than 10% of emigration is to the EU, with the largest exchange in both directions being with Germany. In contrast to the period of large-scale labour emigration to Western Europe from the 1960s to the early 1980s (when migration streams became dominated by family reunification), there are now significant controls on labour migration to Western Europe from outside the EU which helps to explain the rather low numbers in the last decade.

A look at numbers of international migrants broken down by county (Table 2.3) shows that in 2009, the largest number of emigrants, 13.5% of the total, was from Sisačko-moslavačka county, followed by the City of Zagreb (9.1%) and Brodsko-posavina county (8.3%). If we look at trends in the four largest net migration loss counties overall between 1991 and 2001, we see that three of these counties - Sisačko-moslavačka; Karlovačka; and Ličko-senjska - subsequently also lost population through international migration between 2005 and 2009, whereas Šibensko-kninska tended to gain population until the trend was reversed in 2009. In general terms, a trend is emerging in which those counties bordering Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have both the largest negative net internal and net international migration.

Overall, in terms of the EU and European cluster, the main countries of destination remained as they had been before independence: namely Germany, Austria and Switzerland (Tables 2.5 and 2.6). Slovenia's status, in particular, is not clear yet, in terms of whether flows concomitant on the break-up of Yugoslavia are still in effect or whether new patterns are emerging.

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<sup>14</sup> Freedom of Movement for Persons, Annex 1, 14509/11, p. 140-146, in: *Treaty concerning the Accession of the Republic of Croatia*, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 21 September 2011, 14509/11

[www.vlada.hr/](http://www.vlada.hr/)

<sup>15</sup> National Coordinator of the Croatian Parliament for the EU negotiations, V. Pusić, telephone interview, 11 April 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Data on immigrants to Croatia (including "returnees" to Croatia) comprised also "foreigners" and persons of "unknown" residence and destination.

## **2.2 Main internal migration trends**

In the period between 1945 and 1991, there was significant depopulation of rural settlements and high levels of rural-urban migration in Croatia. Between 1981 and 1991, some workers employed abroad returned to Croatia, mainly to urban settlements. After 1991, rural-urban migration trends were rather weak. Indeed, the stabilisation of the rural population can be said to have begun in the decade 1981-1991, when rural areas lost only 5% of their inhabitants. The war between 1991 and 1995 interrupted this stabilisation, intensifying depopulation in the war-affected territories, particularly in rural areas. Between 1991 and 2001, it has been calculated that non-urban<sup>17</sup> areas lost 120,652 residents (Nejašmić and Štambuk, 2003; 479). Whilst this is significant, representing around 2.5% of the 1991 population, it should be remembered that the overall population of Croatia fell by over 350,000 in the same period. Altogether, both areas lost population, non-urban areas more than urban, since between 1991-1995 they were more exposed to war.

It seems that negative rates of natural change are much higher in rural areas than in the overall population; the negative net migration balance is twice as high as in the general population, and the lack of inhabitants in the 20-54 age group is pronounced (Nejašmić and Štambuk, 2003; 491-492). Within the 20-54 age group in rural areas, there are fewer women than men. Hence, it has been suggested recently, rural-urban migration, though weak, has been gendered, with „women ... leaving sooner and in larger numbers“ (Nejašmić and Štambuk, 2003; 481). Thus the rural population left behind is homogenized in terms of a very low birth-rate, a stable and high death-rate, and a higher proportion of men. In non-urban settlements in the most important age group for reproduction and work, namely between 20 and 29 years of age, there are only 91.7 women for every 100 men. In the medium-term, hypothetically, this imbalance could induce a more significant emigration of younger men from rural areas and subsequently set up a vicious circle so that, in turn, more younger women leave<sup>18</sup>.

A particularly important feature of the Croatian migration pattern is the linkage between international emigration and rural-urban migration. In the period of the greatest depopulation of rural areas, between 1961 and 1971, when rural areas lost 557,500 people, it can be seen that the rural population assumed two major migration directions: the dominant one, towards large Croatian cities, and the other towards abroad (Akrap, 2004; 680), mainly to European countries. According to the 1971 census, of the 256,334 persons who resided or worked abroad, 78.6% were from rural settlements. Out of the total of 224,722 persons employed abroad, 42.7% were farmers and 35.2% industrial workers before emigration (Akrap, op.cit., p.680-682). This bifurcation of migration also occurred in the 1970s but with a lower intensity,

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<sup>17</sup> The model for the differentiation of urban, rural and semi-urban settlements in Croatia has been used by Croatian Bureau of Statistics in the 2001 Census. This model refers to definitions of urban vs. semi-urban and rural areas put forward by the UN Demographic Yearbook 2006 (CBS 2011b, p. 11). According to the Yearbook and Methodological Guidelines 2011 of CBS, urban settlements in Croatia include (1) all settlements that are seats of administrative towns regardless of the number of inhabitants (2) all settlements with population over 10,000 (3) settlements with population between 5,000 – 9,999 inhabitants, and with more than 25% employed (4) settlements with the population between 2,000 – 4,999 inhabitants with more than 25% employed in their place of residence. According to the 2001 Census, 'urban settlements' were those with administrative and employment functions which had more than 2,000 inhabitants (ibid 2011b; 13-14). "All other settlements that do not meet the abovementioned criteria are considered rural and semi-urban settlements. This group includes villages and other, less and more urbanised settlements in rural areas, as well as suburban settlements" (ibid 2011b, p. 13). Consequently, Census 2001 identified 143 urban settlements in Croatia with 53.6% of the total Croatian population (ibid 2011b, p. 19).

<sup>18</sup> It can be doubted that the gender imbalance would cause such a cycle. If men stayed because of good work prospects, the imbalance would cause a reverse movement in the future. However, recent data on internal migration do not support such speculation: in 2010 "the largest number of migrated population within the Republic of Croatia was aged 20-39 (47,7%), while the share of women in the total number of migrated population was 55.2%" and has been growing since the mid-1990s (Migration of Population of Republic of Croatia, 2010, First Release, No 7.1.2, Vol. XLVIII, June 2011; 1, available at [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02\\_01\\_2011.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02_01_2011.htm) (accessed 14 May 2012)).

and the economic crisis in 1973 stopped temporarily the emigration of the work force whilst inducing family reunion and a rise in marriages. In the 1960s, the majority of emigrants who left Croatia were young single males.

Comparative analysis of the natural permanent population trend (the sum of inhabitants in Croatia and registered persons temporarily working and living abroad with their family members) and the population in Croatia at the level of rural and urban settlements based on census and other data from 1961-2001 showed that the emigration between 1961-1971 „quickened the pace of deagrarianisation and deruralisation considerably more than could have been done by the domestic economy“ (Akrap, 2004; 698). As a consequence, the depopulation in rural areas in Croatia from the 1990s onwards can be said to have been induced by the depopulation by emigration in the 1960s and 1970s (Wertheimer-Baletić, 2004; Nejašmić and Štambuk, 2003).

Dispersed small settlements with a weak supportive logistics network were not attractive enough to retain the rural population. There was no developed system of micro-regional or regional centres which would neutralize the strong push factors for the rural population to leave their settlements (Nejašmić and Štambuk, 2003; 471-472). The dispersivity of small non-urban settlements is evident from the 2001 census data: out of a total of 6,759 settlements, only 143 were classified as ‘urban’. The great majority among the rest of the 6,616 non-urban settlements were villages and semi-urban settlements (Nejašmić and Štambuk, 2003; 473). Overall, emigration from, and depopulation of, non-urban settlements led to a significant decrease in the proportion of those living in non-urban settlements in the total population. It was 56.3% in 1971, falling to 44% in 2001, with expectations of a further fall to around 40% in the 2011 census.

The nature of trends in net migration loss regions are discussed at length below. Between 1991 and 2001, 18 out of 21 counties lost population and only three, Zagrebačka, Brodsko-posavska and Splitsko-dalmatinska displayed a natural growth of population (Wertheimer-Baletić, 2004: 640). Interestingly, whilst Zagrebačka county gained the most, some 10%, the city of Zagreb itself grew only 0.3% which, compared to earlier censi, represented a „notable slowing down of population growth“ (Antić, 2001: 308). This was surprising, because war-induced internal migration between 1991 and 1995 directed the majority of refugees and IDPs to Zagreb. However, it has been argued that “this flow was not accompanied with permanent settlement” (Antić, 2001; 308).

### **2.3 Main characteristics of emigrants in 2009**

As noted above, Croatia as part of SFRY experienced a long period of regular emigration for a variety of economic reasons between 1961 and 1981. This wave of emigration included temporary migration and guest workers’ permanent labour migration based on subjective economic utility as well as family reunification. In over 25 years of migration flows before 1990, Croatia had sent hundreds of thousands of guest workers to Western Europe, at its height supplying 30% of former Yugoslavia’s foreign currency reserves. Compared to the resident population in Croatia, emigrants who are citizens of Croatia in the EU member states are older, better educated, have the same share of women as the resident population and approximately the same proportion, about one third, is single. These are characteristics for the emigration flow to EU countries as displayed by Croatian emigration statistics. Receiving country data from Germany are analysed in more detail, as most Croats in the EU live there. It can be assumed that the structural characteristics for most other receiving countries are similar. Table 2.8 shows the Croatian population in Germany between 2002 and 2009, showing a slight decline in this period and a slight change in gender distribution so that women are now a slight majority (51.4%). Table 2.9 shows the 2009 Croatian population in Germany in terms of its age structure. Almost a quarter of the entire population is aged between 55 and 65, with a dramatic fall to only 11% aged 65 to 75. Whereas there are more women in the 55-65 group, men predominate in the 65-75 group. This may be a product of the different gender basis of initial emigration of different cohorts. The figures may also

indicate a trend of a significant number of Croats in Germany returning to Croatia upon retirement, in which case the most significant wave of returns is imminent.

For example, female shares are around 50% in other destination countries, except for Slovenia where two thirds of Croatian citizens are male.<sup>19</sup> As the Slovene data indicate, Croats living in neighbouring countries are likely to have different characteristics. However, there is no specific data on the main flows to Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to our assessment, emigrants who go there are older and less well educated.

As noted above, women represent 51% of Croatian emigrants in Germany, a rate which has been growing steadily (Table 2.8). The stock of Croatian emigrants in Germany is relatively old; 38% are over 55 years of age, with women being slightly younger than men. There is also a significant proportion of the generation of young, active emigrants (25-45 years). They represent 37% of the total population of Croatian citizens in Germany. The average age for men is 45.3 and for women 45.1 (Table 2.9). The length of stay in Germany is also quite long: on average, in 2009, it was 28.2 years for men and 27.3 years for women. Whilst the majority are married (51%), more women are married (56%) than men (45.7%). Over one fifth of Croatian citizens in Germany are not emigrants but are born in Germany (22%) (Tables 2.12 and 2.13).

The legal status through residence in Germany for the vast majority of Croatian citizens is regulated, for the majority before 1990, according to the old law on the status of migrants, and for others afterwards, by 2004 regulations (Table 2.14). According to the 2004 regulations, 74% of Croatian emigrants have permission to live permanently in Germany. Traditionally, Croatian emigrants have settled mostly in four federal states: Baden-Wuerttemberg (33%), Bavaria (23%), Hessen (13%) and North Rhine-Westphalia (16%) (Table 2.15).

Recent immigrants (including first entrants) from Croatia to Germany show a quite different picture (Tables 2.10 and 2.13). Out of 4,985 persons who came to Germany in 2009, the majority were men (66%) and they were young (69% between 25-45 years of age and 42% between 25 and 35 years old). The average age is 34.4 years old, being higher for men (35.1) compared to women (32.5) (Table 2.13).

Those who emigrated from Germany to Croatia in 2009 have rather different demographic features<sup>20</sup>. These emigrants (returnees)<sup>21</sup> to Croatia (Tables 2.11 and 2.12) are considerably older (47.7 years on average, upon returning home), with women significantly older than men (52.6 compared to 45.9). Within the entire stock of returnees in 2009, 38% of persons were over 55 years old upon returning. Younger persons (25-45) represent also a significant portion of returnees (36.7%). This bifurcation is possibly due to the circulation of younger migrants and/or to the economic crisis in 2007/8. In any case, returnees had rather a long period of permanent stay in Germany (Table 2.12) before returning (19.7 years on average).

## **2.4 Status of refugee return to Croatia**

Croatian authorities registered over 132,872 returnees in total belonging to the Serb minority. This figure corresponds to about half of those Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality who fled the country between 1991 and 1995. It is estimated that 54% of returnees have remained in Croatia. The rest most probably migrated further to Serbia and Bosnia and

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<sup>19</sup> Eurostat (2011): Population by sex, age and citizenship (migr\_pop1ctz). in: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, Statistics Database.

<sup>20</sup> These figures most probably include persons who did not immigrate to Germany from Croatia, such as former Yugoslavia nationals with Croatian passports.

<sup>21</sup> Data on immigrants to Croatia (including "returnees" to Croatia) do not include only citizens of Croatia. They comprised also "foreigners" and persons of "unknown" residence and destination. Also, figures concerning those who emigrated from Germany to Croatia include emigrants which are not former immigrants from Croatia. (*Migration of Population of HR in 2011*, First Release, Croatian Bureau of Statistics, Vol. XLVIII, No 7.1.2. 15 June 2011 ([http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02\\_01\\_2011.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02_01_2011.htm)))

Herzegovina (Tables 2.5. and 2.6). Housing care programmes for returnees are being implemented but considerable problems remain, given the low capacity for handling applications for housing reconstructions (in March 2011, 2,500 applicants were still waiting for their accommodation requirements to be met<sup>22</sup>), for validation of pension rights, and for creating the economic and social conditions needed for the sustainable return of Serbian refugees<sup>23</sup>.

### **3. NATIONWIDE LABOUR MARKET AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT TRENDS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF MIGRATION**

#### **3.1. Economic and Labour Market Developments**

It is difficult to isolate the impacts of emigration from other factors in terms of labour market impacts and social development trends. Nevertheless, the scale of two major waves of emigration, the first of guest workers mainly to Germany and other parts of Europe from the 1960s onwards, and the second the wave of forced migration out of Croatia as a result of the war in the early 1990s, as well as the uneven nature of return subsequently, have had significant effects. In terms of the profile of Croatians in Germany at the end of 2009, 80.5% were between 15 and 65, constituting a significant addition to the Croatian labour force if they were in Croatia (Table 2.7). The extent of labour emigration combined with very low rates of immigration and a rather inflexible labour market in terms of internal movement for work clearly contributes to problems in the establishment of a dynamic labour market in Croatia. Emigration between the 1960s and 1980s was linked to relieving the pressure on the labour market and limiting levels of unemployment. Subsequently, in the 1990s, such pressure was countered in other ways, with significant long-term impacts, notably the granting of early retirement to large numbers of workers in the 1990s. Whilst high rates of unemployment, particularly long-term, persisted in the new millennium and worsened during the economic and financial crisis<sup>24</sup>, this has had no appreciable impact on rates of emigration in general although, as we note below, there have been impacts in particular sectors of the economy.

There are a number of labour market and skills shortages in specific economic sectors in Croatia which appear to have a link to emigration insofar as it is known that there are significant numbers of Croatians working in those same sectors abroad. In shipbuilding, as a result of war, Croatia lost orders and lost the place it had as third in the world in terms of weight of boats produced which it held in 1987. Whilst those employed in the shipbuilding industry was around 21,900 in 1990 (Barisic, 2008; 24), this dropped to a low of 8,698 in 1997 (Kersan-Škabić, 2002). The number of employees has risen steadily since, from 13,952 in 2000 to 16,445 in 2007 (HGK, 2008), with the majority working in the five major shipyards which are currently in the process of restructuring and privatisation. The decline in employment in the early 1990s meant that a significant number of skilled workers found work abroad, where wages were higher, particularly in neighbouring Italy. A 'core' of the skilled labour force was lost to emigration during the war with as many as 2,600 highly skilled shipbuilding workers in Italy (Skupnjak-Kapić et al., 2005; 12), a significant proportion of

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<sup>22</sup> EC, 2011a; 13)

<sup>23</sup> Some of these issues are discussed further in section 5 below.

<sup>24</sup> Croatia has an employment rate of 57.0% in 2011, Eurostat,  
[http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=t2020\\_10](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=t2020_10)  
(accessed 14 May 2012)

whom are recruited through Croatian sub-contracting companies or work illegally. The drain of Croatian shipyard workers can be seen from the fact that, in the three largest shipyards surveyed, some 16,000 workers left between 1990 and 2003. The annual employment quota for new employment of foreigners in shipbuilding in 2004 was 409, and in 2009 it was 1,148, reduced to 243 in 2010.

In the construction industry the highest number of new quota work permits, 2,518, were issued for foreign workers coming to work in Croatia in 2009, although this was reduced as a result of the crisis to 300 in 2010. Foreign workers in this sector are mainly bricklayers and carpenters. Employment in construction fell dramatically during the war. In 1990 some 118,700 persons were employed in construction, around 7.6% of the employed in Croatia. By 1995, this had fallen to some 59,000 or 4.9% of the workforce. By 2000, the number had picked up to 65,200 or 6.2% (Đukan and Đukan, 2002). HGK figures suggest that, by 2008, employment figures had almost returned to pre-war levels at 108,260, falling in the context of the economic crisis to 97,503 in 2009 (HGK, 2010; 2). Although data is scarce, the studies noted suggest that a significant number of Croatian construction workers work abroad, on temporary or more permanent contracts, in Western Europe, in neighbouring countries in South East Europe, and elsewhere. Crucially, according to 2008 data in an unpublished study, 71% of 50-64 year olds in Croatia who are registered as construction workers are inactive, with significant numbers retiring every year, and too few schools training their replacements (Crnković-Pozaić and Meštrović, 2011). There are suggestions that tourism is a sector marked by some seasonal labour emigration and labour shortages, particularly of cooks and waiters (Pavic, 2010). In any case, tourism is the third largest sector for the issuing of work permit quotas: 160 ordinary permits and 10 seasonal permits in 2009 and 138 ordinary plus 20 seasonal permits in 2010 (Narodne Novine (official gazette), 2009<sup>25</sup>).

These three industries are those where there are suggestions that, in fact, the quota of work permits may have been too low and that some employees used business permits instead (Pavic, 2010). In addition, many of those foreigners found to be working in irregular work, each year between about 1,600 and 2,800, worked in construction, tourism and seasonal agriculture. In any case, the rigidity, lack of mobility, skills mismatch, and segmentation of the domestic labour market is combined with a rather low population of foreign migrant workers, some 10,669 in 2009, 91% of whom are male, in a total of 32,160 regular migrants (Pavic, 2010; 53-6). In this sense, in the context of relatively high unemployment, it can be argued that emigrations may have eased general labour market pressures.

In terms of the emigration of highly skilled professionals and scientists, whilst there are clear indications of a significant number of those with PhDs and masters degrees leaving Croatia during the 1990s, it is harder to show the impact in terms of labour market shortages. The estimation is that by 2004 there were around one thousand highly qualified persons in reputable world universities and research corporations (Pifak-Mrzljak et al., 2004, table 3.1). In the period between 1990 and 2000, it is estimated that 849 scientists left Croatia (ibid, table 3.2), mainly from the natural and technical sciences. The reasons for the exodus of young scientists appear to be multiple and complex, although many relate to dissatisfaction with the status of science in Croatia and lack of prospects within a hierarchical system (Golub, 2003).

The issue of emigration of qualified doctors from Croatia has been raised on a number of occasions in political debate, although research tends to focus on intention to leave rather than on those who actually leave (cf Kolčić et al., 2005). Some research (Džakula et al., 2006) notes high levels of unemployment in the 1990s but reported shortages in 2005. In October 2005, there were 1,107 registered unemployed medical personnel in Croatia, including 437 medical doctors, but most of these were in the process of internship after

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<sup>25</sup> [http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2009\\_12\\_150\\_3663.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2009_12_150_3663.html) (accessed 14 May 2012)

graduation and therefore did not have a medical licence. There is some level of migration abroad but also migration to other professions by skilled medical personnel. One text (Adamović and Meznarić, 2003) states that, in the 1990s, some 139 medical scientists left the country.

In terms of remittances, Inward Remittance flows including workers' remittances, employees' compensation and migrants' transfers was estimated at \$1.513 billion in 2010 (approximately €1142.3 billion using average yearly exchange rates). The figure for 2009 was \$1.476 billion (€1061.2 billion) or 2.34% of GDP (World Bank, 2011). Trends over time as a proportion of GDP (Figure 3.3), suggest that, at their peak, remittances were 3.35% of GDP in 2002. The fall in absolute terms between 2008 and 2009, whilst not very significant, probably relates to the global economic and financial crisis although, as figure 3.3 shows, there was actually a slight rise in remittances as a percentage of GDP since overall GDP fell. Whilst relatively low by regional standards as a proportion of GDP, Croatia's remittances represent about three times the value of net Overseas Development Aid (ODA), and around 30% of net Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows. Whilst there is widespread agreement that official figures significantly underestimate the total flow of remittances in the region of Eastern Europe (cf. World Bank 2006), there are no estimates of by how much in the Croatian case. The amounts are probably significant as the majority of remittances come from Germany which is not so distant and with good travel connections to Croatia (Schiopu and Siegfried, 2006: 29). The same report shows that remittances to Croatia in 2004 tended to be higher from countries with a higher GDP, and that there was a clear negative relationship between the level of remittances per migrant and the proportion of low skilled migrants from Croatia in each country (ibid; 17).

The role of remittances in development in Croatia has not been studied systematically. Nevertheless, in the context of general development planning in Croatia, and particularly in the context of rural and island development planning, there are examples of remittances supporting small-scale development. This has also occurred where large-scale emigration from specific localities has been to one or two places, such that the Diaspora is encouraged, sometimes through mediating authorities such as the Catholic Church, to provide income for local projects. The small islands of Unije (cf. Magaš et al., 2006; Starc, 2004)) and, even more particularly, Susak, where a whole generation of active young people left for the United States in the 1950s, offer interesting examples of this (Sokolić, 1994). In both cases, renovations to church and community infrastructure, as well as roads facilitating tourism, have been developed with funding coming, in part at least, from the Diaspora.

### **3.2 Social Security**

Croatia has a number of bilateral agreements on social security in place which enable pensions to be paid on the basis of aggregate contribution years. Other principles include: equal treatment, determination of applicable legislation, time based proportionality, exportability of benefits with no restrictions, equivalence of territories to avoid overlap, and maintenance of rights acquired (Council of Europe, 2009). Some agreements were made by SFRY but have been taken over by Croatia pending the signing of new agreements. In addition, Croatia has signed bilateral agreements with five successor states of the SFRY. In total, as at April 2011, there are 24 bilateral country agreements, plus an agreement with the Canadian province of Quebec, with a number of other agreements being negotiated<sup>26</sup>. Once completed, these will cover the main countries of Croatian emigration. In addition, upon EU accession, the EU rules for social security co-ordination among all member states will also apply to Croatia. The accession treaty of Croatia with the EU ensures the exportability of

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<sup>26</sup> The countries are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Macedonia, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Quebec province, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK. The agreement with Turkey is signed and ratified but not yet in force. Negotiations are also being undertaken with New Zealand, Chile, Argentina, and Romania.



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social security benefits on the basis of reciprocity between Croatia and the nationals of all EU member states.

The agreements with European countries apply to almost all aspects of social security: health insurance and medical care; occupational injuries; old age, disability and survivors' pensions; and unemployment benefits. Some also cover death grants and family benefits. Agreements with overseas countries apply only to pension schemes. Croatia also has fourteen bilateral agreements covering family benefits<sup>27</sup>. These vary in terms of whether or not they totalise relevant periods completed in different countries.

Under these agreements, Croatia pays pensions to those who worked in Croatia but who now live abroad and other countries pay those who worked in those countries and have now returned to Croatia. In terms of the payment of Croatian pensions abroad, in 2010, 130,627 pensioners were included under these agreements, with an average monthly pension of only 719.71 HRK (approximately €97). This is much less than the general average pension of 2,160 HRK (about €291) in January 2011, which itself represented only 40.45% of the average net wage. The pensions are low as they apply to workers with an average work record in Croatia of only 12 to 13 years, and to mainly lower skilled workers (Rismondo, 2011). There are no statistics available regarding the total amounts these workers receive in pensions from other countries. The totals and averages of different pensions paid by Croatia to those living abroad are shown in Table 3.4 below. As can be seen, there is a significant difference between pensions paid to those in successor states to SFRY compared to other countries. The breakdown of the numbers in these other countries is shown in Table 3.5, with the largest numbers of pensions being paid to those resident in Germany, followed by Australia (Rismondo, 2011).

Receiving a Croatian pension entitles the returning migrant to health insurance in Croatia. It may be that those who spent most of their working life abroad but who have returned to Croatia, who cannot prove their entitlement to a Croatian pension, face problems in terms of health insurance. However, there are no figures on the extent of the problem<sup>28</sup>. Although non-insured persons are entitled to free emergency medical treatment, other health fees for non-insured persons can be high and prohibitive. In addition, sources in the Croatian Pension Insurance Institute suggested that there are problems in accumulating records on who receives pensions from abroad. In some cases, those lacking a Croatian pension may seek social assistance although, in reality, their income is boosted by a pension from abroad.

The numbers of those receiving pensions from abroad in Croatia in 2009 is shown in Table 3.6, with the largest numbers being from Bosnia-Herzegovina and from Germany<sup>29</sup>. The figures regarding Germany differ quite significantly from those provided by the German Pension Insurance fund. In 2009, a total of 105,299 payments of pensions were made to those of Croatian nationality, a rise of some 5,700 from 2008, and almost 50,000 more than in 2000<sup>30</sup>. 67,591 of these payments were made to addresses in Croatia. German statistics include the amounts only for the years 2000-2002. In 2002, average payment was €384.94, although all disability pensions and old age pensions for men were, on average, above this amount. The large numbers of those in receipt of pensions from Bosnia-Herzegovina is, without doubt, a product of war-time and post-war migration of Bosnian Croats with work records primarily or exclusively in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In contrast, those in receipt of pensions from Germany are, in large part, Croatian guest-workers who have returned to retire in Croatia. Hence, it is likely that the average pension paid from Germany will be significantly higher than the average Croatian pension, and, in contrast, that the average pension from Bosnia-Herzegovina will be considerably lower.

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<sup>27</sup> These are with: Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Macedonia, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with senior official of the Croatian Pension Insurance Institute, April 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Administrative data compiled by the Croatian Pension Insurance Institute.

<sup>30</sup> Compiled from the Statistics of the German Pension Insurance Fund Table 903.

In reality, despite formal agreements, the regulation of social security contributions and entitlements between Croatia and both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia are complex, in the context of the wars. Croatian Serbs who worked between 1991 and 1995 in that part of Croatia not under Croatian Government control (so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina or RSK) and who fled to either Serbia or Bosnia-Herzegovina, originally were given only a short period of time to validate their work records under a controversial 1997 Convalidation Law in Croatia. This led to significant difficulties in realising pension rights in terms of those years. There is also an issue regarding those already receiving a Croatian pension who lived in the RSK in that period and who received, on the whole, only very small amounts from the para-state pension fund set up in that area. Also, those who had paid into the farmer's pension fund from its inception in 1980 until 1991, but who then stopped paying in 1991 because they lived in RSK, were originally not entitled to any benefits. This decision has now been amended but the back payments are determined by when a claim was made, with those claiming before November 1999 receiving approximately three times the amount received by those who claimed afterwards. As part of agreements relating to minority rights, the period for claiming pensions from 1991 to 1995 was extended in 2008. The 2009 EU Progress report on Croatia notes that 17,586 claims were made following the change, and that by November 2008 some 9,610 had been processed with a 52% acceptance rate<sup>31</sup>. The 2010 Progress Report notes the possibility of appeals but also that the rejection rate remained high, at 44%<sup>32</sup>. The latest, 2010 Croatia Progress Report notes "good progress" in terms of meeting the demands of the *acquis* regarding the co-ordination of social security systems but that "additional efforts" are needed in terms of building administrative capacity in this field. It also notes that Croatia is participating as an observer in a working group on new EU regulations on electronic exchange of data in this area.

### **3.3. Poverty and Social Exclusion**

The evidence on the linkages between emigration and poverty and social exclusion in Croatia is far from clear. The Household Budget Survey contains a category "money received (without the promise of returning it) from a long-term absent member of the household, family, or other person". A category on 'in-kind gifts' combines gifts from within the country and from abroad. It is the case that single parent households are, on the whole, likely to face a greater risk of poverty than the general population, a rate of 34% in 2010 compared with a general rate of 20.6%, with risk measured in terms of being below 60% of median income, based on the SLC methodology. However, there is no evidence of a linkage between this status and having a partner abroad (CBS, 2011). The most recent World Bank poverty survey (World Bank, 2007) using 2004 HBS data and constructing a basic needs consumption basket poverty line, found a headline poverty rate of 11.1%, but a significantly higher risk for one or two person households, for large households (6 or more members) and for households aged 65 or over. Again, no data is available for poverty risk linked to having someone abroad.

It is extremely hard to posit any clear linkage between periods of significant emigration and trends in inequality in Croatia. The picture is complicated by the change from a socialist to a market based economy. An author noted that inequality in 1998 was lower than had been assumed (Nestić, 1998) but that there was a mild increase in inequality between 1998 and 2002 (Nestić, 2005), with the Gini coefficient rising from 0.290 to 0.298<sup>33</sup>. He suggests that the Gini coefficient in 1988 was 0.276, so that the out-migration during the war coincided with an increase in inequality but this is more likely to be a result of transition effects. Whilst 'other income', including remittances, was relatively constant between 1988 and 2000 (between 6.7% and 8.7% of total income) it fell considerably in 2002 to 3.7% but the reasons for this are far from clear and may be a statistical aberration. This broad pattern is verified by Leitner

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<sup>31</sup> [http://www.eu-pregovori.hr/files/lzvjesce/Progress\\_report\\_2009.pdf](http://www.eu-pregovori.hr/files/lzvjesce/Progress_report_2009.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2010/package/hr\\_rapport\\_2010\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/hr_rapport_2010_en.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> The Gini coefficient measures income inequality and the range is from 0 (total equality) to 1 (total inequality).

and Holzner's study (2009), suggesting Croatia had a rather low and stable level of inequality throughout transition, calculating the Gini coefficient at between 0.280 and 0.300, although the fact that statistics do not include income from property sales, a source of considerable inequality, as income, from 2003 onwards, distorts the figures somewhat.

A longer-term focus on wage inequality, covering 1970 to 2006, a period chosen because of a remarkably consistent data set, also does not address migration issues even though it does discuss different political and economic turbulences (Bičanić and Vukoja, 2009). The rather counter-intuitive finding that wage dispersion, i.e. relative wages for different levels of education attainment, actually reduced over time, with particularly sharp reductions during periods of macro-economic instability during the early 1970s and early 1980s, is an important finding. The authors do not discuss the fact that these were also periods of significant labour emigration in Croatia, although they do make the point that there was internal labour mobility within what was then SFRY. Wage inequality, whilst largely cyclical, tended to increase over time with a steady increase since 2000. The fact that the shocks of war, large-scale forced migration and transition in the early 1990s had little effect on either measure of wage inequality tends to support a hypothesis regarding the inflexibility of the Croatian labour market.

A recent study, addressing the role of remittances on households in Croatia (Poprzenovic, 2007), suggests that most remittances were used for savings and investments, although no reasons are posited for why these may have been preferred to consumption expenditures. Her examination of household budget data, albeit with the problems noted above, suggests that single households of working age without children and single persons over 65 were the major recipients of remittances. Remittances have a poverty alleviation effect, even though the rich tend to receive more remittances in absolute terms, with the richest quintile receiving three times as much in remittances as the poorest quintile (Poprzenovic, 2007; 41). Whilst the poorest decile received only 4% of all remittances in 2002, the second poorest decile received 10%, more than middle-income groups. This decile received around 6% of all their income from remittances. The study shows that whilst remittances have a small poverty alleviation effect, they have a significant effect on the depth and severity of poverty, particularly in older single households. Their impact on inequality is small, reducing overall inequality in general, but tending to widen the gap between the richest and the poorest.

## **4. LABOUR MARKET AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN NET MIGRATION LOSS AREAS**

### **4.1. Net Migration Loss Regions**

In terms of the Croatian counties, five out of 21 Croatian counties lost more than 20% of their population between the 1991 and 2001 censi: Ličko-senjska (a loss of 37%); Sisačko-moslavačka (a loss of 26.2%); Šibensko-kninska (a loss of 26%); Zadarska (a loss of 24.3%); and Karlovačko (a loss of 23.2%). Four of these, the exception being Zadarska, are, along with Virovitičko-podravsko, the most rural counties, with over 90% of the population living in rural settlements. In total, out of 21 counties, 15 suffered a net population loss, including 10 losing more than the country as a whole (which lost 7.2% of its population). All were war affected during the 1991 to 1995 war. The previous period, 1971 to 1991, was a period of net population growth in Croatia, although four of the five net loss counties noted above already lost population in this period, most notably Ličko-senjska which lost 20%, making almost a 50% loss from 1971 to 2001. The preliminary results of the 2011 census are not fully comparable with population results from the 1991 and 2001 censi. Nevertheless, it is significant that, as well as beginning to fare better in terms of economic results, Zadarska county actually appears to have grown in the period from 2001 to 2011, with total population now 170,398. For this reason, in terms of the most affected net population loss counties, the

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developments will concentrate on four counties: Ličko-Senjska; Sisačko-Moslavačka, Šibensko-kninska, and Karlovačko. In total, by population, they constitute more than 10% of the entire Croatian population.

In addition, the Croatian islands represent a specific case of depopulation which has a long history only partially compensated for by the growth of mass tourism. Croatia has 48 populated islands. There was some recovery between 1981 and 1991 in island population (see Table 4.1), largely due to the expansion of tourism but also linked to an economic crisis which impacted most on urban areas. The total fall in population, whilst significant over a longer period of time, reflected in the fact that the peak of the island population was in 1910 when it reached some 173,000, has been less dramatic than the fall in the war-affected counties. Perhaps more pertinent is the fact that, according to the 2001 census, 27% of the island population was 60 years old or over, compared to 22% of the general population. Using the 2001 census data, in our four net migration loss counties, the proportion of those 60+ is also higher than the national average, and the ageing index (those 60+ divided by those 19 or under) is also the highest in Croatia (Table 4.2). Hence, the depopulated areas can be seen to also face a more problematic demographic structure, in terms of ageing populations, than the country as a whole.

In general terms, the four net migration loss regions represent “less favoured rural regions” (MAFRD, 2009), with trends of out-migration in terms of a loss of the predominantly younger, better educated, population abroad, to urban areas, or to centres of tourism within the county itself. The specifics of each county can be gleaned from very recently completed Regional County Social Plans (mostly from 2011), as well as their Regional Operational Plans (ROPs) drawn up in the mid 2000s or, in one case, from a more recent County Development Strategy (CDS) from 2007.

**Karlovačka county** had 141,787 inhabitants at the time of the 2001 census, with 43.2% living in the city of Karlovac itself. The southern parts of the county and, in particular, the parts bordering Bosnia and Herzegovina, are very sparsely populated. The fall in population of 23% between 1991 and 2001 is mainly accounted for by the war. There has also been some rural to urban migration with some smaller rural municipalities having had a 50% reduction in population. The ethnic mix has changed with only 11% of the 2001 population declaring themselves as of Serbian origin, compared to 22.7% at the 1991 census. However, up until August 2010, some 35,603 refugees and IDPs returned to the county, of which 12,746 were Serb returnees, around 9% of the county's total population. These are mainly older people, however (Karlovačka 2011). The period between 1991 and 2001 saw a 36% reduction in the population aged 0-14, and a 26% reduction in those aged 15-64. At 20%, the proportion of those aged 65 and over was the second highest in Croatia (Karlovačka, 2011).

Manufacturing, civil engineering and trade accounts for 90% of revenue in the county, but there has been a significant decline in manufacturing as part of a general process of deindustrialisation (Karlovačka, 2005). In terms of agriculture, 19,171 households or 60,705 people (43% of the total population in the county) own and manage agricultural land. The majority of agriculture is based in small-holdings with the average parcel of land only 0.388 ha. In addition “many households engaged in agriculture are managed by elderly people who do not possess sufficient knowledge, interest or the financial ability required for modern, commercially profitable, agriculture” (ibid; 30).

In terms of the labour market, the county is marked by high and long-term unemployment, registered unemployment being 24.8% in 2010 (Table 4.4). In terms of agriculture, whilst only 871 persons were employed in agriculture there were an additional 7,742 individual farmers. There are few qualified young people, and almost no vocational schools in the county for the most needed skills in terms of the labour market, namely in engineering and metalwork, transportation and construction (Crnković and Meštrović, 2011). Karlovačka county also lacks higher education programmes so that qualified young people are likely to either remain unemployed, seek other work, or migrate outside the county. The education system faces

declining numbers in elementary schools in rural areas. There are severe problems in terms of access to pre-school education for those in remote rural and war-affected areas. Schools are said to be ill-equipped and ageing, although the issue of transport of children to secondary schools from remote areas is partly solved by accommodating children in homes for secondary school children in the cities and towns. The health care system is noted in the ROP as in debt and understaffed with 1 doctor per 450 population compared to one per 390 as the national average.

**Lička-senjska** county is both the largest in size in Croatia (9.5% of territory) and the least populated with only 1.2% of Croatia's population, 53,677 at the 2001 census with an average density of only 10 persons per sq. km. The county has the highest proportion of those over 65 in the whole of Croatia (22.7%), of which 56% live alone. Whilst having a coastal area and one island (Pag), most of the county, some 80%, is hilly, with three National parks including the Plitvice Lakes. Difficult conditions have led to depopulation since the peak of the county's population at the end of the nineteenth century when it was around 187,000. As a result of the war from 1991-1995, the population fell by 31,500 between the census of 1991 and that of 2001. The population density in the war-affected areas is as low as 4.9 per sq. km (Lička-senjska, 2011). The Serbian population was 11.1% in 2001, whereas in 1991 it was 37%. The bulk of return, some 14,871 of which 10,576 were Serbs, took place between 1998 and 2003 (Lička-senjska, 2011).

Trade is by far the largest contributor to income, followed by manufacturing. There is high unemployment, with registered unemployment reaching 18.9% in 2010 (Table 4.4). There is little replacement of older and retiring workers by younger workers in catering and tourism and in engineering, shipbuilding and metalwork. In addition, the lack of higher educational programmes in the county means that young people are at high risk of leaving the county (Crnković-Pozaić and Meštrović, 2011). In addition, 7.6% of those employed are farmers, despite the fact that conditions for agriculture are difficult, with low temperatures in winter in the continental part of the county and poor water supply on the coast. In 1991, agriculture was the sole source of income for 3,860 households but much of this was destroyed in the war. The major problems for agriculture lie in the large population decline, the old age of the rural population, the unclear nature of property rights, insufficient investment, and imports undercutting local producers (Lička-senjska, 2005).

**Sisačko-moslovačka** county had a population of 185,387 at the 2001 census, a decline of 65,691 from 1991. 11.7% of the population declared themselves as Serbs in the 2001 census, compared to 34.5% in the 1991 census. The county seat Sisak has been a centre of the oil industry since 1927 and a major refinery still operates there. There are five other towns and 13 rural municipalities. The central area is the most populated, with the western and southern parts traditionally areas of out-migration to major cities, especially Zagreb and abroad. The war meant that there was significant out migration across the whole territory. The overall population density is 41.5 persons per sq. km (Sisačko-moslovačka, 2011). The age structure of the population has changed considerably: in 1991, 13.5% of the population was 65 or over, by 2011 this had risen to 18.1%. Unemployment is high (registered unemployment in 2010 was 29.9%, the highest in Croatia) and tends to be long-term and to affect older people with some 35% of the registered unemployed over 45 years of age.

**Šibenska-kninska** county had a population in 2001 of 112,891, some 26% less than in 1991, reducing its population density from 51 inhabitants per sq. km. to 38. The most densely populated is the coastal area, including the city of Šibenik which has a population of 49,000. A feature of this area is that it has been a site of immigration both during and after the war, particularly by Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are also some islands which are scarcely populated, with a total population in 2001 of only 1,191, representing a 25% decline in population over 30 years. The hinterland, including the town of Knin, was the most affected during the war, and lost around half of its total population. This area is marked by "an ageing population, depopulated villages, and large stretches of uncultivated and unmanaged land" (Šibensko-kninska, 2005; 5). The other feature of the hinterland is that there has been some

return of refugees and displaced persons as well as settlement of immigrant Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The area around Knin was one of the hardest hit in the war and Knin was the central objective of the military actions in August 1995 which returned the territory to Croatian control. After Sisačko-moslavačka and Vukovarska-srijemska counties, the county suffered the third highest level of forced migration during the war. It now accounts for some 13% of all returnees. As at 1 June 2005, some 43,368 people had returned, including 23,166 refugee Serbs and 20,202 displaced Croats. There are an estimated 12,500 new immigrant Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina also settled in Knin, Kistanje and Biskupije. Hints at the implications for social cohesion are given by the statement in the ROP that some 60% are on social assistance. The County Social Plan (2011) suggests that the majority of these are older people relying on seasonal work and/or on remittances from family working abroad. Now almost 21% of Knin's population is Serbian, much reduced from before the war. In four municipalities surrounding Knin, Serbs are again the majority population, but much lower than before the war. In the 2001 census, the Serbian population was 9.1%, compared to 34.2% in 1991.

## **4.2. Labour Market and Human Capital Development in Migration Loss Regions**

Whilst labour market trends are complex, there is evidence that the four migration loss counties had significantly lower activity rates in 2001 than the national picture. Indeed, the four counties are among the eleven whose activity rate was below the national average, and including the two counties with the lowest activity rates (Ličko-senjska and Šibensko-kninska) (Table 4.3). All except Karlovačka have below average male activity rates and all have below average female activity rates, three of which are significantly lower than the national average.

In terms of unemployment rates, using the definition of unemployed in the 2001 census<sup>34</sup>, all of the four net migration loss counties were among the nine counties with unemployment rates above the national average, including the highest rate: Šibensko-kninska (31.0%) compared to the Croatian overall rate of 20.4% (Živić and Pokos, 2005; 219). In the last decade, these net migration loss regions, with the exception of Sisačko-moslavačka county, have not been the hardest hit by unemployment. Rather, rates have increased in other war-affected counties such as Vukovarska-srijemska, Virovitičko-podravska, and Brodsko-posavska. In the latest unemployment figures all four of these counties have registered unemployment rates of between 29.1% and 29.9% (Table 4.4)<sup>35</sup>. Whilst unemployment rates are continuously high, and rise over the period, in both Sisačko-moslavačka and, to a lesser extent, in Karlovačka counties, they fall in the other two counties over the period. In counties with lower rates initially, the impact of the crisis has been greatest, in part as a result of the fact that the crisis impacted most severely on the traditionally strong industrial regions of Croatia.

In terms of the stock of human capital and the educational qualifications of the workforce, whilst Ličko-Senjska county has the lowest proportion of university and high school graduates in the workforce, taking an average between 2004 and 2008, at 5.5%, the other three net migration counties group around the average, ranging from 9.8% in Šibensko-kninska to 13.4% in Karlovačka (HZZ, 2010: 18). At the other end of the educational spectrum, however, in part reflecting the age structure of the population, and based on the 2001 census data, the four net migration loss counties have a high percentage of the population without any schooling, as high as 7.9% in Šibensko-kninska, by far the highest rate in Croatia; 5.0% in Sisačko-moslavačka; 4.7% in Ličko-senjska; and 4.0% in Karlovačka, compared to a national average of 2.9% (Živić and Pokos, 2005: 220-1). The authors

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<sup>34</sup> Namely those without a job but actively seeking work in the last 12 months.

<sup>35</sup> Table 4.4 shows the average rate of registered unemployment by county between 2007 and 2010 and the ranking in order of highest unemployment of the five net migration loss counties.

combine 7 indicators: demographic loss, ageing, dependency ratio, activity rates, employment and unemployment rates and an index of education, to rank the 21 counties. Whilst Karlovačka is tied for 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> position<sup>36</sup>, all the three other net migration loss counties occupy the last three places in terms of overall development indicators, with Sisačko-moslavačka 19<sup>th</sup>, Ličko-senjska 20<sup>th</sup> and Šibensko-kninska 21<sup>st</sup> (ibid; 222).

Hence, it is clear that those counties with the largest net migration loss between 1991 and 2001 are among the most deprived in terms of a number of broad indicators. There is some evidence, however, that in the last decade, particularly in terms of labour market trends, there has been more of a convergence between these counties and other war affected counties. In more general terms, regional inequalities between the four counties, other war-affected counties, and the rest of Croatia remain significant and may even be widening. The complex causal mechanisms for this are elaborated upon in Pejnović (2004) suggesting that there is a 'vicious circle' of out migration of the most skilled and able; a change in the age structure of the work force in terms of an ageing population; a reduction in local markets through a reduction in purchasing power; a reduction in the size and quality of local services; a fall in investment; and a concomitant increase in the gap between core and peripheral areas. Others have noted, in addition, the slow pace of demining; the inefficiency of small local government units; the lack of reform in agriculture; and problems of waste water management (MAFRD, 2009; 158). This does seem to have been the pattern in terms of migration out of the four counties but also in terms of rural-urban migration, migration to the county centres, and migration from islands.

Nevertheless, in terms of productivity, there is some evidence of recovery within the net migration loss counties. The recent HZZ report calculates Entrepreneurial Assets (*fizicki kapitala poduzetnika*) per member of the workforce for 2007-2009 by county. Whilst Sisačko-moslavačka (16<sup>th</sup>) and Karlovačka (19<sup>th</sup>) are still in a difficult situation, assets are higher in Šibensko-kninska (6<sup>th</sup>) and Ličko-senjska (11<sup>th</sup>), although there is a gap of 10:1 between Grad Zagreb at the top and Brodsko-posavska at the bottom. Trends in regional GDP per capita have been calculated for 2001 and 2007 (Table 4.5) showing that two of the four net migration loss counties grew much faster than the national average, considerably so in the case of Šibensko-kninska counties. In part, this is a result of major infrastructure projects. At the same time, Karlovačka county grew at a rate just over half of the national average and Sisačko-moslavačka county suffered a loss in GDP per capita.

### **4.3. Poverty and social exclusion in net migration loss regions**

As noted earlier, there is little data on poverty, social exclusion and material deprivation broken down by county in Croatia. A study (Nestić and Vecchi, 2007) calculated county poverty rates by aggregating three years of HBS data (2002-2004). The study shows that two of the net migration loss regions have the highest county poverty rates in Croatia: Karlovačka at 33.8% and Sisačko-moslavačka at 28.3%. According to their study, whilst accounting for only 7.1% of Croatia's population, these counties account for 18.9% of the poor. The picture is more mixed regarding the other net migration loss counties. Šibensko-kninska has a rate only just above average at 13.6%; and Lička-sinjska with the lowest rate in the country at 2.5%, perhaps as a result of remittances (Nestić and Vecchi, 2007; 85). Although the nature of the urban/rural division is not made clear, using 2004 data, they state that urban poverty is 5.7% and rural poverty 17%, with almost 75% of Croatia's poor living in rural areas.

In terms of social exclusion, data from the first Croatian Quality of Life survey is the most useful but rather old. In terms of levels of deprivation, three of the net migration counties are in the six Croatian counties with the highest level of material deprivation. The only exception is Sisačko-moslavačka which is ranked joint tenth worst (UNDP, 2007). In terms of housing, there is some suggestion that the migration loss counties have more problems, with the proportion with two out of four housing problems (lack of room; problems with door, windows

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<sup>36</sup> With Vukovarsko-srijemska.

and floors; problems of damp; lack of an indoor toilet) being 22% for Croatia as a whole but 28% in Ličko-senjska; 30% in Šibensko-kninski; and 34% in Karlovačka county. Sisačko-moslavačka county had a lower rate of 17%, with the worst affected county being Brodsko-posavska at 40%. Table 4.6 shows that access to health care, costs involved, and waiting periods tend to be above average in the four net migration loss counties, with all net migration loss counties in the eight counties with the most problems in terms of health service access.

In terms of the proportion of children aged 3-4 attending pre-school, a recent text which compiled cumulative data from 1998 to 2009, found a wide range by county from 13.8% in Brodsko-Posavina to over 65% in Istarska, city of Zagreb and Zagrebačka counties. The four net migration loss counties are not amongst the 6 counties with the lowest rates, although rates are low in both Sisačko-moslavačka county (in seventh worst place with 28% enrolment) and Karlovačka (eighth worst at 29%). Ličko-senjska county had average enrolment of 33% (close to the average), and Šibensko-kninska at 46%, reflecting intense post-war investment in pre-school education. Interestingly, the authors find a strong correlation between proportion of children in kindergartens and female activity rates (Dobrotić et al., 2010).

Pupil:teacher ratios for each county at primary school level (Table 4.7) show a rather narrow range around the national average, with only one of the four net migration loss counties (Sisačko-moslavačko) having a pupil:teacher ratio marginally above the average. The others are below the national average, with Ličko-senjska county by far the county with the most favourable pupil:teacher ratio. These figures hide the real issue which is the need to double up classes in some smaller rural communities. Indeed, what is perhaps most significant is that of all counties, Ličko-senjska has the fewest primary school pupils of all the Croatian counties. Regarding access to health care by county (Table 4.8), it can be observed that whilst the four net migration loss counties are worse than the national average in general, Ličko-senjska county fares particularly badly on all indices, with the lowest health coverage (if we exclude, or rather merge Zagrebačka county with the city of Zagreb which it surrounds).

## **5. IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON VULNERABLE GROUPS**

### **5.1. Women**

There is a lack of data and research on the situation of women left behind as a result of emigration and/or rural-urban migration in Croatia. As has been discussed above, whilst the first waves of international emigration tended to involve young men, subsequent migration involved women as workers, family reunions, and the migration of married couples. At the same time, it is important to notice that there are actually fewer women, particularly women of active age, in rural areas than men. The issue of women left behind is more significant in terms of older women, particularly in rural areas. The nature of the labour force profile of women who work abroad is not clear. It is likely that, in line with other countries in the region, they are involved in caring related work.

### **5.2. Children**

There are no studies which estimate how many children are left behind in Croatia in situations where one or both of their parents have emigrated abroad, nor how many children have returned either with or without their parents. Annual statistical reports on the educational system in Croatia include the number of pupils learning in a language other than Croatian, and the number of foreign citizens enrolled<sup>37</sup>, but do not give any statistics on returnees or on the extent of instances where one or both parents work abroad. The Ministry

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<sup>37</sup> [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/SI-1442.pdf](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/SI-1442.pdf)



of Science, Education and Sport has no plans to keep such data and no policies in place<sup>38</sup>. A series of studies undertaken by the Institute of Migration<sup>39</sup> in the early 1990s suggested, based on estimates from German researchers, that approximately half of all workers from former Yugoslavia in Germany had children back home, living either with one parent or with grandparents. A study from the late 1980s studied three groups of Zagreb school pupils aged 10-15: a control group; a group of returnee children from Germany; and a group of children where one or both parents worked in Germany. The study showed that, in fact, it was the control group which demonstrated the greatest problems in behaviour although there was a tendency towards some particular psychological problems in the group where one or both parents were abroad (Švob et al., 1990). Another study, apparently on the same group, found some greater health problems of returnees, correlated more with the lower educational qualifications of their parents (Đuranović et al., 1991).

A study in Medjmurje County in the north-east of Croatia (see map in annex) of 134 IV to VI graders in elementary school found 31% lived only with grandmother; 58% with both grandparents and the rest with other relatives or, in one case, another caregiver. 57% of the sample had never lived with their parents (Ciglar, 1990). There is little later research on this issue. In addition, it is likely that the number of children of school age significantly decreased over the last 20 years. Nejasmić (1994) already detected a trend in which there were more family members with those working abroad in 1991 compared to 1971, although the proportion of emigrants under 15 fell from 19.7% in 1981 to 13.3% in 1991 (ibid; 150). There is a long tradition of mother tongue instruction for children of Croatian migrants abroad. This is still maintained, and governed by relevant legislation (NN 41/09 and NN 194/03). According to the Ministry of Education, the Croatian government funds or partly funds Croatian lessons for some 6,850 children abroad, through some 90 teachers in 20 countries. A recent ethnographic study of workers in Germany (Čapo Žmegač, 2007) found that a typical scenario would be for a child of a working parents to spend the first six years of life in Germany, followed by elementary school in Croatia under the care of grandparents, and then to return to Germany for secondary school. Most families who migrate are 'bifocal', in terms of maintaining strong links with the household back home, such that "the changing migrant families' living arrangements are dependent as much on macro-structural policies regulating migration as on the entire migration biography, their plan of return, and the phase in the (migratory) life course of the family" (Čapo Žmegač, 2009) In this sense, we posit that the wave of family migration after 1991 was more forced migration and, thus, potentially more disruptive of children's lives than earlier migrations.

The last ten years has seen significant return of children who lived abroad and were schooled abroad. However, figures are still hard to obtain. The lack of detailed policy oriented research on the issue in Croatia should not, necessarily, lead to the conclusion that it is a non-issue. The above mentioned case studies (Čapo Žmegač, 2009) illustrate the contrast between plans to stay in Germany for only a short period and, in most cases, the reality of stays for most of one's adult life. In this sense, initial ideas to leave spouses and children in Croatia were changed as circumstances changed, including the war events of the early 1990s. The study also shows that children's schooling is not a major factor in migrants' choices.

### **5.3. Older people**

Whilst there are no specific studies on older people and migration, a recent study points to migration, both in terms of emigration and the move to urban areas by the active population, as a major cause of increasing numbers of older people living on their own in Croatia and thus needing the support of friends and neighbours as family support moves away (Podgorelec and Klempić, 2007). The Croatian population is not only ageing but increasing

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<sup>38</sup> Telephone interview csebiar official, Zagreb January 2012.

<sup>39</sup> Notably by Melita Švob and colleagues Carmen Brčić and Sanja Podgorelac.

numbers of old people live alone. The 2001 census showed a population of 693,540 aged 65 or over, or 15.7% of the total population, with 14.5% of the urban population (in cities) and 17.3% of the non-urban population over 65 (Nejašmić, 2003: 40). The proportion over 80 has increased from 1% of the population in 1961 to 2.3% in 1991 and 2001. As a result of significant gender differences in life expectancy, whilst 56.4% of women over 65 in Croatia were widows, only 16.7% of men were. Even more crucially, according to the 2001 census, 64% of all single person households in Croatia are those where the person is 60 years of age or over, in total some 195,000 persons, and in 78% of the cases that person is female. Of all those 65 years of age and over, 23%, some 159,165, live alone, and a further 4.5% either in non-family households (2.6%) or in institutional care (1.9%) (Podgorelec and Klempić, 2007: 121). There is some regional variation in this figure with suggestions that in Dalmatia and Slavonia<sup>40</sup> there is a tendency to larger families and, therefore, more family support (Petraček et al., 2005: 43). There is little information on how far away relatives may be or how often they visit. One small study (Babić et al., 2004) on inter-generational relations on the islands of the Zadar archipelago found that almost 75% of old people who had living children received visits from them but the frequency varied according to distance away, with those living abroad or in Zagreb tending to visit only once a year. The study found a very high percentage, around 5% of old people in the sample, reliant on formal social services. What is clear is that those older people lacking consistent family support tend to be those with rather low pensions and are disproportionately in rural areas, so that the lack of formal social care services, both community-based and residential, is a key issue. Of this group, one part are those whose children migrated to work abroad. In cases where the sole householder is female, in rural areas, the household income is probably noticeably less, particularly where the woman tended to be working in subsistence agriculture or to have a small number of pensionable years of formal work (Babić et al., 2004). This combination of low income, relative isolation, high costs of transport to major centres, and considerable gaps in the provision of formal social services, combines to produce social exclusion of older people in the rural, war-affected, and net migration loss regions of Croatia.

#### **5.4. Post-conflict Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)**

As noted above, the wars that raged in the post-Yugoslav states in the 1990s created a massive crisis of forced migration, estimated to have directly affected up to 2.5 million people, with some 438,000 registered refugees in Croatia by November 1992 (Winter-Zlatković, 1995). In the complex conditions of war, combined with the uneven and contested nature of citizenship in the post-Yugoslav states, accurate numbers are hard to ascertain. What is clear is that the early 1990s saw a large flow of refugees into Croatia, and a large flow out of Croatia, both to neighbouring countries and to third countries. Many were granted only temporary stay until it was deemed safe to return. It is also important that whilst many Bosnian Croats who fled Bosnia-Herzegovina obtained Croatian citizenship and settled in Croatia, Croatian Serbs who fled to Serbia were, often, not granted citizenship.

After Croatia retook territory in 1995, the first wave of returnees were ethnic Croats, both IDPs and refugees, although many Bosnia Croats also settled in the newly reintegrated territories. The return of Croatian Serbs was not on the political agenda until after 2000, when commitment to this became a key test of Croatia's progress on accession to the European Union. Even here, numbers of registered returnees appear to include a significant number who retain an address elsewhere and may visit their reclaimed property rather than live in it. Based on a sample of returnees, one study suggests that as many as 50% may not be living at the registered return address (Mesić and Babić, 2007). The study also found that more return was to small rural areas where returnees may be able to work the land and that returnees tended to be older and less well educated.

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<sup>40</sup> Dalmatia is located in the south-western part of Croatia on the Adriatic Sea; Slavonia is located in the north-eastern part.

Total registered returns to Croatia between 2000 and 2009, according to UNHCR, is some 109,174 persons, with numbers decreasing every year to only 718 persons in 2009 (figure 5.1). By January 2010, there were 28,115 “persons of concern to UNHCR” in Croatia, including 2,285 IDPs (Figure 5.2). Whilst figures for 2010 are not yet available, the number of IDPs is very small, compared to its peak of 250,000 in 1995, including some 32,000 ethnic Serbs. Out of the 2,285, it has been suggested that 1,600 are ethnic Serbs still waiting to return to their property<sup>41</sup>. In addition, there are 1,133 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo\*, and 22,583 persons categorised as ‘others of concern’, meaning returnees without a final eligibility decision. Out of the total of returnees, the overwhelming majority came from Serbia (85.8%) (table 5.3). There are still some 71,121 refugees from Croatia in the region, mainly in Serbia (87.1%, table 5.4), suggesting that of all those who fled Croatia during the wars, many have not returned a decade and a half later.

Whilst most Croatian IDPs have returned, the main problem still concerns ethnic Serb returns, with many international organizations and human rights NGOs suggesting that almost half of Serb returns to and within Croatia are not sustainable. Whilst both Croat and Serb actual and potential returnees face the problems of the poor economic situation in return areas, compounded by problems of the continued existence of landmines, ethnic Serbs face continuing discrimination in accessing housing, property and employment. Implementation of legislation in areas such as property repossession, housing, reconstruction and access to citizenship has been slow. Ethnic Serb returnees face, therefore, limited access to property, utilities, education, employment, as well as occasional threats to security and, above all, a lack of social cohesion and opportunity for reintegration. One continuing barrier has been the absence of a remedy for the arbitrary cancellation of tenancy rights for former occupiers of socially owned apartments which occurred in the 1990s. This mainly affected ethnic Serbs and, in particular, those in manual work in urban areas. Alternative housing options have been made available to those who wish to return, but many have been left without any durable housing solutions or compensation for the loss of their tenancy rights. A UNHCR study indicated that up to half of Serb IDP and refugee returnees left the country or resettled elsewhere within Croatia (Mesić and Bagić, 2007). Their sample also shows the impact of poor economic prospects and high unemployment on return. Some 37% of returnees in their study were over 65, compared to only 17% of the population as a whole, and children were only 12%, half the figure in the general population. Over time, whilst institutional obstacles have been removed, there has been a noticeable absence of any meaningful incentives encouraging return (Harvey, 2006).

## **5.5. Roma**

Whilst in the 2001 census only 9,463 persons or 0.21% of the population of Croatia, declared themselves to be Roma, best estimates from the Council of Europe, quoted in a 2004 report (Hrvatić, 2004) are that the true Roma population is between 30,000 and 40,000, or around 1% of the total Croatian population, although some Roma associations have suggested figures between 60,000 and even 150,000 (Hrvatić, 2004). Roma are present in 15 counties in Croatia, most significantly in Međimurje county in the east of Croatia, where estimates (Novak et al., 2011) suggest up to 30% of the total Croatian Roma live, in Varaždinska county, in Osiječko-baranska County and in settlements on the edge of Zagreb. Most Roma live in separated settlements, on the outskirts of urban centres or in rural areas, with the size of settlement between 200 and 1,000 people (ERRC, 1998), with the majority of Roma reportedly living in one of 25 such settlements (Novak et al., 2011 and Map figure 5.5). Whilst old research suggests that 51% of Croatia's Roma population were born where they now live, 17% moved within Croatia, and 32% moved into Croatia from elsewhere (UNDP, 20056), there is a lack of current data. Nevertheless, the break-up of Yugoslavia and the wars led to

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<sup>41</sup> Personal interview, UNHCR, April 2011.

\* This designation is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSCR 1244/99 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo declaration of independence.

many Roma moving to Croatia from other former Yugoslav Republics and many Roma leaving Croatia. A consequence of the break-up of Yugoslavia is that a significant number of Roma in Croatia lack Croatian citizenship, in part as a result of never having held a republic passport and partly as a result of strict and probably discriminatory Croatian citizenship requirements. Whilst UNHCR estimates that up to 1,000 Croatian Roma may be at risk of statelessness (UNHCR, 2010; 1), it is likely that a significantly larger number have some citizenship but not Croatian.

There is clear and consistent evidence of the systematic over-representation of Croatian Roma amongst those suffering from poverty and social exclusion. Data from a large UNDP sample survey from 2004 show rates of poverty amongst Roma much higher than the general population but, significantly, also from the population living in close proximity to Roma, with Roma poverty rates are 12% compared to 2% for the majority population in close proximity. Crucially, the depth of poverty was also significantly greater. Unemployment rates, using LFS definitions, for Roma in the sample ranged from 35% for the 25-54 age group to 52% for those 15-24 and over 55 (UNDP, 2006a; 21). Unemployment rates for women were higher than for men except for the 55 and over age group, where male unemployment reached 57%. A micro-study of employment of Roma in Zagreb and Međimurje (Novak et al., 2007) found that of those registered as unemployed in Međimurje, 17% were Roma, although they make up, officially, only 2.4% of the population or, unofficially, about 5%. A similar 400% over-representation of Roma amongst the unemployed was found in Zagreb (ibid; 14). Many Roma settlements lack electricity and adequate water, sewage and drainage facilities. There is no clear data on the proportion of Roma who have one or more family member abroad nor whether these Roma live better, as a result of remittances, or worse, as a result of loss of a breadwinner, than their peers. It is likely that many Roma households continue to function across national borders.

## **6. POLICY RESPONSES**

Migration policy in Croatia from 2010 onwards is founded on two assumptions: that in the period up to 2061 the regional migration component of the change in the number and dynamics of population in Croatia would be substantial (CBS, 2011; 21-22); and that both the demographic and economic development of Croatia cannot be observed in isolation from neighbouring countries. Estimates of net migration for several decades ahead are based on the presumption that the present relations between Croatia and its wider surroundings will be unchanged. Such a projection implies that Croatia will retain low (from 0.5 in 2010 to 1.4 in 2041) variant of migration balance, slightly positive in the period 2010-2041. Only for the period 2016-2021 is a slight negative (-0.1) migration balance projected. This would indicate that statisticians assume stronger emigration flows after Croatia joins the EU in 2013. Croatia's Migration Policy for 2007/8 (NN 83/07) was subjected to considerable criticism, even by experts from the Ministry of the Interior, suggesting that it is "too descriptive and lacks directions for implementation" (Hrlić, 2009: 178). At the end of the last Parliament, a new Law on the Relationship between the Republic of Croatia and Croats Living Outside Croatia (NN 124/11) was passed in October 2011, together with a broader strategy document (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).

### **6.1. Encouragement of circular migration**

Bilateral arrangements between the Croatian Employment Service and respective agencies in Germany from 2002 to 2010 fulfil some of the conditions for circular migration, including employment of guest workers for up to 18 months (NN14/2002). The number agreed from 2002-2010 was just 1,275 guest workers employed in Germany.<sup>42</sup> The Treaty on Croatia's

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<sup>42</sup> <http://www.hzz.hr/print.aspx?ID=6175&proiz=>

Accession to the European Union (14509/11), allows for Austria and Germany to set limits on temporary workers from Croatia in some sectors, including construction. As regards the nursing professions, a specific bilateral agreement between the German and Croatian employment agencies enables the employment of Croatian skilled workers in the field of nursing and elderly care in Germany on the basis of specific demands expressed from the side of employers. Conditions for employment in Germany are the accomplishment of an officially recognised vocational education in the field of nursing or elderly care in Croatia (or other states of former Yugoslavia before 1991) and good knowledge of the German language. The bilateral agreement foresees close cooperation of both employment agencies for the process of selection and recruitment of each worker in the frame of a standardised and supervised contracting process<sup>43</sup>. Besides this, it is a requirement of Croatian professionals that they make a request for the recognition of their formal qualifications in Germany during the first year of their employment in Germany.

Under an initiative of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), a Migration Information Centre (MIC) was opened under the auspices of the Croatian Employment Service in 2008. Subsequently, centres were also opened in Split, Rijeka, and Osijek<sup>44</sup>. The centres offer advice and guidance to migrants and potential migrants. From January 2010, responsibility for all aspects of the centres passed to the CES. In the nine month period between June 2008 and February 2009, 313 people visited the centres, 247 seeking migration, including 114 with a prior history of migration. On average, users were aged 33, 70% were unemployed and, compared to users in other parts of the Western Balkans, users tended to have fewer dependants (Flinterman, 2009).

As early as 2005, the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports launched the Unity Through Knowledge Fund<sup>45</sup> to enhance cooperation between Croatia and Croatian top scientists in the Diaspora. The broad aim of the UKF scheme is to promote common projects between Croatian researchers in Croatia and those abroad. Initial funding was some €5 m. to promote scientific and technological development and ensure that know-how remains in Croatian ownership. In the period from December 2007 until March 2011, 80 scientific and technological projects were launched, 30 of which are still ongoing with funds committed some €5.3 m. In the same period 299 project proposals were submitted to all UKF Fund Programs and the overall funds requested were about €30 m., suggesting that there is a large demand for such programmes. The run-up to the referendum on EU membership prompted renewed debate on the loss of skilled labour and the need for policies which promote mobility of skilled labour and which encourage the return of students and scientists from abroad.

## **6.2. Return Migration and the Integration of Returnees**

Apart from the services offered by Migration Information Centres, there appears to be no specific programmes of support aimed at integrating returning migrants into the labour market. Some support is offered to returning migrants by Croatian cultural associations and by a small number of NGOs operating in Croatia. The assumption appears to be that returning migrants have sufficient resources to manage their return through normal channels, although there is too little research to actually support this conclusion. Whilst migrants would

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<sup>43</sup> Employment of Croatian personnel the frame of this programme is open only to institutionalised employers, not to private households in Germany. The minimum working period proposed to the Croatian worker must be one year. The working contract in German and Croatian languages has a standardised form and must comply with German regulations and existing collective agreements as regards wages and working conditions. The Croatian professionals are recruited twice a year in the frame of personal interviews undertaken by officials of the Croatian and German employment agencies. Exempted from the interview are candidates who already hold a recognition of their qualification as a nurse or elderly carer from the competent German authorities. *Source:* among others ZAV, January 2005.

<sup>44</sup> See [www.migrantservicecentres.org](http://www.migrantservicecentres.org).

<sup>45</sup> See [www.ukf.hr](http://www.ukf.hr).

not be excluded from support programmes in terms of retraining and vocational guidance, the lack of specific attention to their needs may be sub-optimal.

Croatia has been a participant in the Bologna process creating a European Higher Education Area since 2001, and its structure has been aligned with Bologna since 2005. In theory, this means that, through the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), there should be no problems in recognising Croatian higher education qualifications abroad and no problem recognising, in Croatia, qualifications obtained abroad. Croatia also has, since 2007, approved a Croatian Qualifications Framework (CROQF), which should also facilitate this process, although there are problems in implementation, particularly relating to self-certification by the Croatian Government, which has not yet occurred. The 2007 Act on Adult Education also allows for prior informal or non-formal learning to be considered in applications for higher education. In practice, there is still too much discretion and some delays within the system so that recognition of qualifications gained abroad is sub-optimal. Processes of recognition of diplomas are expensive and time-consuming.

### **6.3. Return of Diaspora**

A New Law on the Relations between the Republic of Croatia and Croats outside Croatia, passed at the end of October 2011 by Parliament (NN 124/11), allows for Croats in the Diaspora to continue to be given Croatian citizenship, whilst extending the time which foreigners need to live in Croatia before being eligible. The Law is vague as to whether it means all those with some links to Croatia or only ethnicised Croats. The Law obliges the Government to strengthen and develop economic and cultural ties with the Diaspora<sup>46</sup>.

The goals are: to put in motion a new legislative and institutional framework for the implementation of the Strategy, to establish a central authority in charge of the relations with Diaspora, and to establish the Council of the Government for Croats outside of Croatia. The Council will include, among others, representatives of all three groups of Croatian Diaspora. Some specific tasks of the Council would include encouragement and support to Croatian emigrants in establishing cooperation with local institutions and authorities in the countries they live in and economic, educational and scientific cooperation with Croatian scientists and businessmen outside of Croatia.

In the field of 'circulation' of migrants, the Strategy aims to attract specific groups of emigrants such as "established scientists" and "pupils and students". The return of emigrants and their offspring, modelled on other immigration countries, will become a priority (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011; 11). In order to monitor the processes of cooperation and return of young and established scientists, the Government will introduce a programme of monitoring through "mentor-counsellors", and put in place a permanent programme of "virtual mentorship" and cooperation with a view "to transferring the necessary know-how" (ibid; 11) between established scientists of Croatian origin and students and teachers in Croatia.

### **6.4. Reintegration of IDPs and Refugees**

Immediately after the 1995 military and police actions which reintegrated territory under the control of the Croatian Government, there was a concerted effort to fulfil the conditions for the return of ethnic Croats displaced from these regions. Whilst some of this effort, including the Laws on Areas of Special State Concern detailed in Section 6.5 below, was generally applicable to all returnees, other actions were clearly discriminatory. In particular, a significant number of tenancy rights were terminated on the grounds that the occupants had been absent from their place of permanent residence for more than 6 months. This provision applied mainly to so-called social housing in urban centres and overwhelmingly affected ethnic Serbs who had fled during or after the war. Some 24,000 tenancies were terminated

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<sup>46</sup> Under the Diaspora, the Law includes "Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina (presently about 400,000), members of Croatian minorities in 12 European countries (about 350,000), and Croats who emigrated overseas and their offspring (about 3 million)" (NN 124/11; 1).

by the Government and many thousands more by local court decisions or by simple repossession. Other Laws also allowed for the legal seizure of vacated property which was then given to ethnic Croat returnees whose property had been destroyed, and also to newly settled Bosnian Croats, thus heightening tensions and creating significant barriers to the later return of Croatian Serbs (Human Rights Watch, 1999: 16).

As noted above, after 2000 the issue of return and reintegration of Croatian Serbs became a stated Government policy priority, in line with EU accession requirements. The Knin Conclusions set out the broad framework for the process of return, followed by a Housing Action Plan for 2001-2, and provisions on political representation and the right to education in minority languages (Koska, 2008: 16). Whilst the reconstruction of housing units began well, the process has now slowed considerably. The Government has not met its target to complete the reconstruction process by the end of 2009. In the last three years the government has rebuilt fewer than 1,500 housing units, compared to over 9,500 in 2005, and almost 60,000 out of 200,000 destroyed houses have not been rebuilt. Decisions on reconstruction assistance, in terms of materials and labour costs, are often not made within deadlines set by law, and many proceedings last for several years. As of May 2009, more than 2,500 cases and 7,000 appeals against negative decisions were still to be resolved.

In 2008, the government adopted an action plan and established the Department for National Minorities to enforce the Constitutional Law on National Minorities, which obliges local authorities as well as public enterprises to employ representatives of minorities according to their percentage within the overall population. However, these national policies are not necessarily reflected at local levels and the reluctance of some local authorities to implement laws and government policies on non-discrimination, in particular with regard to returnees, has been observed.

In the same year, the situation of older IDPs and returnees became a little easier as a new government policy to recognise periods of work in areas under Serb control during the war paved the way for increased pension entitlements. At the end of May 2009, almost 16,000 resulting claims had been lodged with the Croatian pension fund, half of the requests had been processed and 3,500 approved. However, there have been no administrative procedures to help returnees take possession of their agricultural land (Human Rights Watch, 2009). The only option is to initiate a lengthy and costly court procedure which many minority IDPs and refugees cannot afford.

## **6.5. Development of Net Migration Loss Regions**

In the context of the process of European integration, and with the support of the CARDS, ISPA and SAPARD programmes and later the IPA programmes, there has been an increased focus on regional and rural development laws and strategies to attempt to narrow the gap between the disadvantaged regions in Croatia and the rest of the country. The first Law on Areas of Special State Concern (ASSC) was passed in 1996, and amended in 2003 (NN 26/03). The ASSC are divided into three categories, with the first two being war-affected territories and the third being those under-developed areas of Croatia based on economic, demographic, structural and geographical criteria. There is also a special Law on the Reconstruction and Development of the Town of Vukovar (NN 44/01). The Laws contain a series of measures aimed to stimulate reconstruction and development, mainly through incentives for businesses, low-cost subsidised housing and favourable terms for the employment of workers in essential services. In 1999, Croatia passed an Islands Act, amended in 2006 (NN 33/06), which sought to introduce the idea of sustainable development planning to islands (cf. Stubbs and Starc, 2007), with a focus on stimulating economic development in the under-developed and depopulated islands. The Act on Hilly and Mountainous Areas, passed in 2002 and amended in 2005 (NN 90/2005) completed the territorial definition of disadvantaged areas, and includes provisions regarding priority rights and incentives for agricultural activities.

The financial and strategic framework for regional and rural development has been set since 2000, with the establishment in 2001 of the Fund for Regional Development (NN 107/01) and, much later, with the Law on Regional Development passed on 29 December 2009 (NN 153/09), and in May 2010 the Strategy for Regional Development of the Republic of Croatia, 2011-2013 (Ministry of Regional Development, 2010). A guide to the Construction of an Index of Development (NN 63/10) has also been developed, consisting of five elements: unemployment rate; GDP per capita; local/regional government budget; demographic structure; and level of employment. The impacts of this set of activities and measures needs to be addressed in the context of the deep and long-term nature of developmental inequalities in Croatia, the devastating impact of the war in the first half of the 1990s, and the sheer complexity of the diverse Croatian social, demographic, political, economic and territorial landscape. Regional inequalities tended to increase rather than decrease between 2000 and 2005, although they appear not to have widened dramatically since. At the same time, the funds devoted to reducing inequalities have been severely limited in the context of a centralised framework. Most importantly, however, the regional development framework has not yet succeeded at creating clearer co-ordination and partnerships between actors with both horizontal and vertical co-ordination extremely weak.

In terms of rural development, Croatia has benefitted from the SAPARD and later IPA-RD programme and elaborated an Agriculture and Rural Development Plan for 2007-2013 (Ministry of Agriculture, 2009). This complements a number of Government programmes underpinned by a Law on Agriculture (NN 83/02), and the Law on State Aid in Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (NN 141/06). Together, they cover four schemes, one rather large, a production subsidies scheme, and three smaller, covering income support, capital investment grants, and rural development. The rural development scheme covers general rural development, as well as support for product marketing and protected breeds. The scheme covers a wide range of activities including infrastructure development, support to young farmers, and promotion of rural tourism. Again, the impact of the programme on net migration loss rural areas is unclear, although the IPA-RD report notes the deep structural problems facing rural development in Croatia, and the fact that implementation is, again, weakened by poor co-ordination between key stakeholders and policy actors and, crucially, “the weak activity or non-existence of regional and local institutions competent for rural development” (MAFRD, 2009; 200). The problem is, of course, compounded by the fact that there is a need to modernise agriculture through mechanisation and consolidation of farm sizes in Croatia as well as the need to control subsidies in the context of both fiscal discipline and EU accession and the alignment with the CAP. Whilst, in the longer-term, this objective is likely to improve rural development for all, in the short term it itself may result in negative social impacts which are not being addressed in Government policy to the extent that may be needed, including further loss of the most active and skilled part of the rural population.

By far the most significant support comes from the European Union’s IPA programmes with two of the five programmes focussing specifically on regional development and rural development, to an indicative value of €72.8m. or 47.4% of the total IPA programming in 2010. In addition, the programme on Cross-border co-operation is worth some €15.6m (see Table 6.1). To the best of our knowledge, none of the initiatives are specifically focused on issues of migration although many can be seen to be linked to the goal of reducing the depopulation of underdeveloped regions and rural areas through improved quality of life and enhanced livelihoods.

## **6.6 Support to Vulnerable Groups**

Croatia’s priorities in terms of social inclusion are set out in the Joint Memorandum on Social Inclusion which was signed on 5 March 2007 with a subsequent cycle of implementation planning and monitoring and regular consultative conferences (Govt of Croatia/European



Commission, 2007)<sup>47</sup>. There is very little reference in the document or in follow-up initiatives to migration in general, and therefore little on the mitigation of the negative impacts of migration, although the document does address negative demographic trends and regional inequalities. Within the JIM, there is a strong focus on anti-discrimination and the importance of support for vulnerable groups, including Serbian returnees and Roma in terms of the labour market and access to health, education and other social services. There is also a focus on disadvantaged groups in the context of the Joint Assessment on Employment (JAP) (Govt of Croatia/European Commission, 2008). Within the reform of social welfare, closer linkages between welfare and employment services are envisaged, so that, in the future, there may be greater focus on returning labour migrants.

Within the JIM, the issue of older people without pensions was established as a key issue, with estimates that this involved some 20% of the population aged 60 or over (Govt of Croatia/European Commission 2007; 28), with a broad commitment to introducing a basic social pension, which might benefit returnees to Croatia and those older people in rural areas lacking sufficient contributions for an insurance-based pension. A later study, used in the JIM reporting, suggested some 12.4% of older people lacked a pension in Croatia (Šućur, 2008). In part because of the economic and financial crisis, and in part because of the difficulty in setting a level for the pension, the commitment has been postponed and its fate is now uncertain given the change in Government.

Croatia has a number of programmes, often introduced on a pilot basis through international assistance, to increase the network of community-based social services and to promote the regional planning of social protection services. These initiatives are, still at a relatively early stage and it is far from clear what impact they have had in terms of reducing the social exclusion of those left behind. As noted above, within rural development initiatives, the issue of access to community-based services has not been emphasised sufficiently and, at the same time, supporting NGOs operating in rural areas has been an implicit rather than explicit aspect of the process of state support to NGOs as social service providers with the result that, in open national competitions, there is still a bias towards programmes which focus on urban areas.

Croatia has a National Programme for Roma from 2003 and is involved in the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015. Significant funding has been provided by the Croatian authorities and the European Commission to improve infrastructure and housing in some Roma settlements, and there has been a marked increase in total funding of the National Programme for Roma, totalling €5.3m in 2009 compared to €2.4m in 2008, mainly through an increase in EU support. At the same time, a number of initiatives to raise Roma employment and to increase pre-school and school attendance have been implemented. There appear to be no special programmes to support Roma who return to Croatia having been abroad.

## **6.7. Best practice examples of policy responses**

Thus far, we would suggest that, at least potentially, the following two programmes are examples of good practice in Croatia which are capable of being transferred to other countries.

### **1. The Unity Through Knowledge Fund (UKF)**

As noted in Section 6.1, the UKF seeks to connect Croatian scientists with those of Croatian descent, and others, working in the diaspora. As stated above, the scheme funded some 80 projects from December 2007, 30 of which are still ongoing, to a total of about Euro 5.3 m. with funds requested to around 5 times that amount. The Fund was financed through a World Bank Loan, and included a number of innovative schemes, including a Homeward Grant,

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<sup>47</sup> See also

[http://www.mzss.hr/hr/medunarodna\\_suradnja/socijalna\\_skrb/jim\\_zajednicki\\_memorandum\\_o\\_socijalnom\\_ukljucivanju\\_rh](http://www.mzss.hr/hr/medunarodna_suradnja/socijalna_skrb/jim_zajednicki_memorandum_o_socijalnom_ukljucivanju_rh)).

Crossing Border Grant, Reintegration Grant, Research in Industry and Academy Grant, and My First Research Topic Grant. Statistics suggest that between 2003 and 2010, some 81 professors, lecturers and other highly skilled scientists returned to Croatia, including 24 women, with the vast majority between 2006 and 2008. The economic crisis led to a slow down. In the context of rather low levels of state funding for Croatian scientific institutions, and somewhat poor laboratory conditions for natural scientists, the bigger question is whether there is retention or, at least, a continued commitment to collaboration with Croatian colleagues, amongst those abroad who obtain UKF grants. As an idea, it does seem worthy of exploration in terms of possible transfer to other countries which may have experienced a similar loss of well qualified scientists abroad.

## **2. Migration Information Centres (MIC)**

Whilst rather small scale thus far, Migration Information Centres could be a crucial link in the chain supporting circular labour migrants including not only those who wish to seek employment abroad but also those who are considering returning to take up employment again in Croatia. Given their location within the Croatian Employment Service, they have the potential to play a much greater role on terms of providing advice, guidance and assistance and, crucially, in terms of maintaining accurate information on the demand for and supply of migrant and returning labour in Croatia and, in liaison with similar bodies in other countries, also abroad. Again, in the context of the complex regional dimension of migration in Croatia, it may be that there is a need for this service to be more readily available in all of the net migration loss counties in Croatia and not just in the big cities. Linkages with normal Employment Services, with major employers, and with Centres for Social Welfare may also need to be strengthened. As a broad concept, however, the idea is clearly transferable to other countries.

## **7 KEY CHALLENGES AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **7.1. Key challenges of the social impact of emigration and internal migration**

The analysis thus far has suggested that the following are the most important challenges faced by Croatia in terms of the social impacts of emigration:

1. Croatia has not developed strong links between migration data, analysis and evidence-based policy making, particularly in terms of the social dimension. Migration Policy has been rather fitful, vague, and has lacked clear vision and capacity. There has been poor co-ordination of stakeholders in relation to migration issues.
2. Croatia does not yet have a clear, consistent and credible migration policy which is fit for purpose in terms of managing migration inflows and outflows in the context of labour market needs. There is a lack of clear labour market analysis and hence a mismatch between the needs for labour and a clear encouragement of different forms of migration to meet those needs. This is most apparent in some key high value sectors of the Croatian economy.
3. Whilst return emigration is generally seen as welcome in Croatia, this is largely for demographic reasons. Hence, there has been no real preparation for the fact that there is a potential wave of returnees of an older generation of guest workers who have spent a considerable time abroad.
4. Whilst, in part as a condition of EU accession, there have been more consistent and consolidated efforts to facilitate the sustainable return of Croatian Serbs who left as a result of war events in the 1990s, much remains to be done to ensure that basic employment, housing, residence, and social protection systems are in place, as well as a more rigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation.

5. Whilst efforts have been made to limit the loss of well qualified Croatian scientists and professionals abroad, and to create conditions for their sustainable return, more may need to be done, particularly in the context of Croatia's impending membership of the European Union.
6. Those children who have one or both parents working abroad and/or whose schooling takes place both abroad and in Croatia, whilst numbers are not known, face potential problems in terms of their psycho-social adjustment, reintegration and educational attainment which are not sufficiently addressed at the policy level.

In terms of the social impacts of internal, rural-urban, and spatially specific migration and in terms of net migration loss regions, we note the following challenges:

1. In the absence of sound regional labour market analysis and planning, there is a real danger that some of the more disadvantaged parts of Croatia, namely the war affected, net migration loss and rural areas, will fall further behind in terms of economic and social indicators, causing an intensification of a vicious circle of out-migration of a significant part of the active, educated and productive population.
2. In this context, the problems of isolated older people locked in poverty and social exclusion with little or no family support in these same areas, are likely to worsen in the medium-term unless remedial action is taken. This applies, particularly, to returnees of Serbian ethnicity who fled during the war.
3. The vulnerability of Roma communities in relation to one or more of their family members living abroad has not been addressed sufficiently either in research or in policy.

## **7.2. Policy Suggestions**

1. There is a clear need for improved data gathering and, crucially, analysis of migration trends in Croatia. The 2011 census provides an opportunity for the elaboration, as soon as possible, by responsible experts, of reliable statistics related to return, internal mobility, immigration and emigration. On the basis of this, a new long-term Migration Policy (for 10 years) and medium-term Action Plan (5 years) should be produced, based on different migration scenarios. This should be led by a clearly designated and competent central body, appointed by Government or Parliament, which can liaise with the European Union and destination countries on a bilateral basis, becoming a centre for reliable and timely migration policy development and monitoring of its implementation. Such a body will need to co-ordinate and consult with all stakeholders with an interest in the issue of migration in Croatia. The body should prioritise studies and actions to mitigate the negative social impacts of migration.

2. Relevant policy makers need to address two different groups. The first are those target populations which are now, and are likely in the future, to be involved in external mobility. Advice and support in terms of maximizing the possibilities for migration and return will be needed for the young and highly educated, particularly women, not just those who have qualification which fit with emerging EU labour market demands, but also those graduates and post-graduates who have non-complementary qualifications, including those in the humanities fields. The second group are those left behind who may be at risk of poverty and social exclusion as a direct or indirect result of migration. Here, there is a need for a clear focus on vulnerable groups in the context of migration in the development of social inclusion and active employment policies, including older people, children, and minorities. Collaboration between NGOs working on these issues and governmental bodies will be needed in the future.

3. Whilst there is limited capacity within counties, there is a need to improve investments, particularly in net migration loss areas, targeting those skills which are needed, targeting those most at risk of leaving, and promoting entrepreneurship, particularly of women. In addition, closer linkages between Employment and Social Welfare services are needed. In addition, the development of more Migration Information Centres may be considered.

Perhaps even more importantly, stronger linkages between the Diaspora and domestic development agencies need to be developed in order to explore ways of channelling remittances for development. The new Law on the Diaspora will be useful if the institutional arrangements relate to all Croatian citizens and potential citizens living outside Croatia.

4. Concerted effort needs to be made by the Croatian government and development partners to ensure the sustainable return of all Croatian Serbs who wish to return, through increased funding for reconstruction, rigorous implementation of anti-discrimination policies and employment programmes, and the removal of remaining barriers to return.

5. Expanding the work of the Unity Through Knowledge Fund to create improved conditions for the return of qualified Croatian scientists abroad and enhanced links between scientists abroad and those in Croatia is a necessary but not sufficient condition to halt the loss of Croatian scientists abroad. More investment in science in Croatia will also be needed.

6. The European Union, through its IPA funding, should prioritise migration related issues in the fields of employment, through supporting initiatives to promote circular migration, as well as supporting social inclusion programmes specifically concerned with those who are at risk as a result of migration. There needs to be much more emphasis on the social dimension of rural and regional development programmes.

7. Studies are needed urgently into those issues where there is insufficient information at this stage to make clear policy recommendations. These include: children left behind or being educated in different countries; intentions of the older generation of guest workers to return and their social conditions; the problems in practice with bilateral social security agreements; and the nature and problems of migration of Roma.

8. As EU membership approaches, there is a clear need to develop a 'third arm' of migration policy beyond unilateral policies based on national sovereignty and binding agreements within the EU, in terms of a flexible, and non-binding, regional focus in relation to neighbouring non-EU member states in South East Europe. A regional approach will need to involve a wide range of stakeholders in pro-active encouragement of circular migration including student mobility. Through exchange of information and good practices in the field of common policies in labour mobility, practical solutions could be developed which tap into some of the available labour in the region, including young educated unemployed or semi-employed women and men who would benefit from being informed and possibly navigated through availability of migration incentives. Crucially, there would be a need to explore more flexible social protection policies to maximise the possibilities of circular mobility for these groups.

9. Debates prior to EU accession have shown the need for a public awareness campaign, involving the mass media, to challenge some of the myths regarding migration and to show the importance of greater tolerance of others in what remains a largely mono-ethnic society.

10. There is no doubt that young women in Croatia will make up a significant part of future migration flows. To work on building coordination and coherence in migration policies at the national and regional level having women and young people, including young women, as a prime focus could foster significantly increased employment rates.

11. A new forum, including EU, regional, and international elements should be established concerned with all aspects of the migration-development nexus for both receiving and sending countries in the region and beyond. This forum could be the source of new ideas on how to strengthen more even development nationally, regionally and internationally.

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## **List of interviewees**

1. National Coordinator of the Croatian Parliament for EU negotiations, Vesna Pusić, April 2011.
2. Senior official, Croatian Pension Insurance Institute, April 2011
3. Official, UNHCR, April 2011
4. Dr.sc. Ivan Lajić, Demographer, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, July 2011.
5. Prof.dr. Ivica Nejašmić, Demographer, University of Zagreb, September 2011.
6. Dr. Roko Mišetić, Migration Expert, October 2011
7. Senior official, Ministry of Science, Education and Sport, January 2012

**ANNEX:**

**For Chapter 1:**

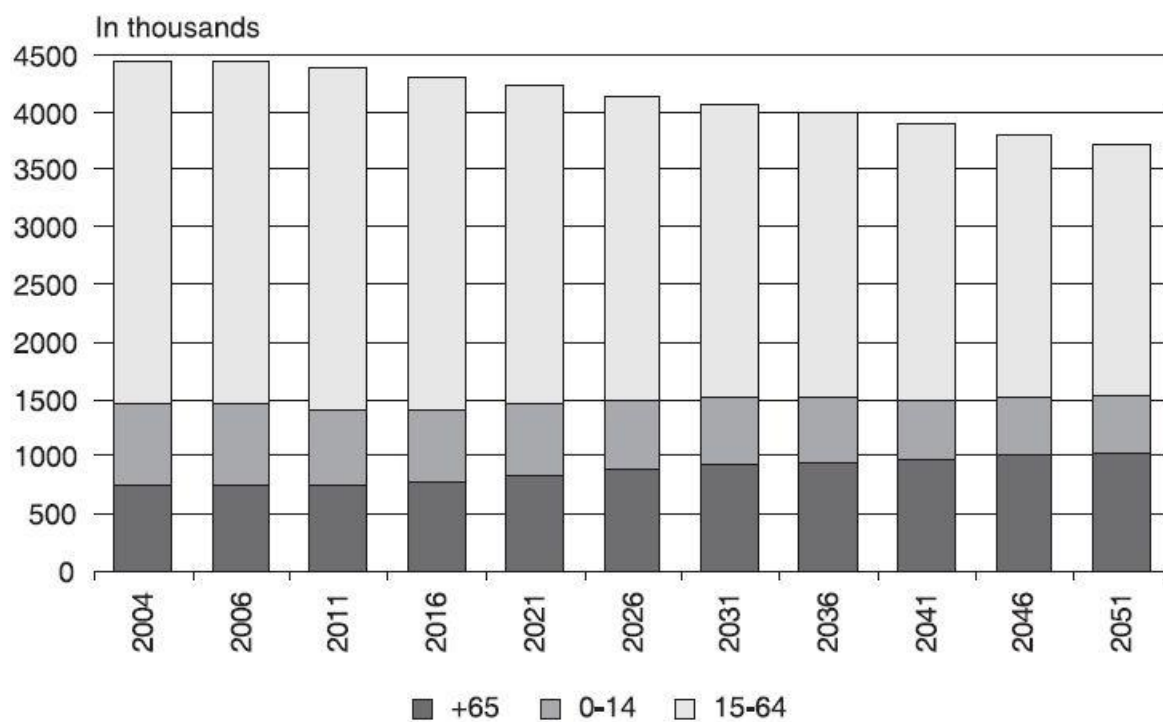
**Figure 1.1: UNPA Zones in Croatia 1992-1995**



Source:

[http://www.partitionconflicts.com/partitions/regions/balkans/peace\\_process/05\\_05\\_01/](http://www.partitionconflicts.com/partitions/regions/balkans/peace_process/05_05_01/)

Figure 1.2: Total and Dependent Population, Croatia according to Medium Fertility/  
Medium Migration Projection



Source: CBS, reproduced in Švaljek and Nestić, 2008; 57.

Figure 1.3 CROATIA: Counties and NUTS II Regions



Source: UNDP (2008) NUTS Classifications in Croatia. Populations are from 2001 census

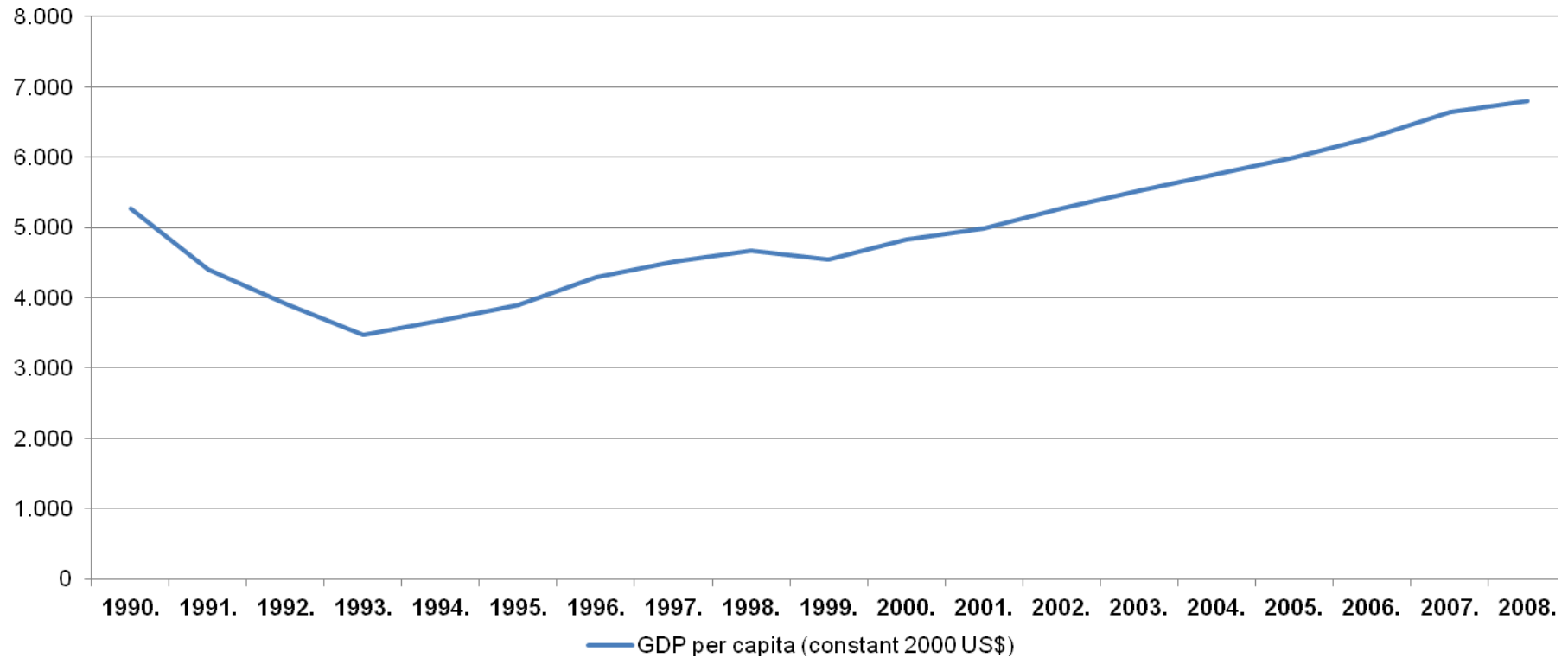
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TABLE 1.4 Population in Croatia, by counties, 1971-2011

	Population 1971	Population 1991	Population 2001	Population 2011	Population Index 1991/1971	Population Index 2001/1991	Size, km <sup>2</sup>	Population density, #2011/ km <sup>2</sup>
<b>CROATIA</b>	4,426,221	4,784,265	4,437,460	4,290,612	108.1	92.8	56,594	75.8
<b>City of Zagreb</b>	629,896	777,826	779,145	792,875	123.5	100.2	641	1236.9
<b>Zagrebačka</b>	232,836	282,989	309,696	317,642	121.4	109.4	3,060	103.8
<b>Krapinsko-zagorska</b>	161,247	148,779	142,432	133,064	92.3	95.7	1,229	108.3
<b>Varaždinska</b>	184,380	187,853	184,769	176,046	101.9	98.4	1,262	139.5
<b>Koprivničko-križevačka</b>	138,994	129,397	124,487	115,582	93.1	96.2	1,748	66.1
<b>Međimurska</b>	115,660	119,866	118,426	114,414	103.6	98.8	729	156.9
<b>Karlovačka</b>	195,096	184,577	141,787	128,749	94.6	<b>76.8</b>	3,626	<b>35.5</b>
<b>Bjelovarsko-bilogorska</b>	157,806	144,042	133,084	119,743	91.3	92.4	2,640	48.8
<b>Virovitičko-podravska</b>	116,314	104,625	93,389	84,586	90.0	89.3	2,024	41.8
<b>Požeško-slavonska</b>	101,750	99,334	85,831	78,031	97.6	86.4	1,823	42.8
<b>Brodsko-posavska</b>	164,065	174,998	176,765	158,559	106.7	101.0	2,030	78.1
<b>Sisačko-Moslavačka</b>	258,643	251,332	185,387	172,977	97.3	<b>73.8</b>	4,468	<b>38.7</b>
<b>Osječko-baranjska</b>	351,164	367,193	330,506	304,889	104.6	90.0	4,155	73.4
<b>Vukovarsko-srijemska</b>	217,115	231,241	204,768	180,117	106.5	88.6	2,448	73.6
<b>Primorsko-Goransko</b>	270,660	323,130	305,505	296,123	119.4	94.5	3,588	82.5
<b>Ličko-senjska</b>	106,433	85,135	53,677	51,022	<b>80.0</b>	<b>63.0</b>	5,353	<b>9.5</b>
<b>Zadarska</b>	190,356	214,177	162,045	170,398	112.8	<b>75.7</b>	3,646	46.7
<b>Šibensko-kninska</b>	161,199	152,477	112,891	109,320	94.6	<b>74.0</b>	2,994	<b>36.5</b>
<b>Splitsko-dalmatinska</b>	389,277	474,019	463,676	455,242	121.8	97.8	4,540	100.3
<b>Istarska</b>	175,199	204,346	206,344	208,440	116.6	101.0	2,813	74.1
<b>Dubrovačko-neretvanska</b>	108,131	126,329	122,870	122,783	116.8	97.3	1,781	68.9

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics (n.b. 2011 census figures are based on a different methodology)

Figure 1.5 Croatia, GDP per capita 1991-2008



Source: UNICEF TransMONEE Database, 2009. <http://www.transmonee.org/>



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**TABLE 1.6 Key indicators, Croatian counties**

	GDP p/capita 2005	Unemployment 2005	Poverty rate 2002-4	Median Household Income 2006 PPS €	Depriv Index	Proportion socially excluded	% Permanent social assistance beneficiaries 2004	% Persons with disabilities 2001	% of persons 65+ 2001
<b>CROATIA</b>	100			470	1.7	11.5			
<b>City of Zagreb</b>	183.4	9.8	2.7	641	1.2	3.6	1.6	10.3	14.9
<b>Zagrebačka</b>	77.4	14.8	6.6	506	1.1	6.7	1.2	9.7	13.9
<b>Krapinsko-zagorska</b>	73.5	14.3	19.2	471	1.7	12.5	1.0	13.0	16.5
<b>Varaždinska</b>	84.2	14.4	15.6	426	1.6	4.5	2.0	10.9	15.2
<b>Koprivničko-križevačka</b>	91.7	17.7	20.8	356	1.9	14.2	2.5	10.2	16.5
<b>Međimurska</b>	75.6	16.6	8.0	498	1.7	11.6	4.9	8.3	13.6
<b>Karlovačka</b>	75.8	26.5	33.8	418	2.2	10.0	4.6	9.5	19.9
<b>Bjelovarsko-bilogorska</b>	73.2	25.4	21.7	267	2.4	22.2	3.5	9.7	17.3
<b>Virovitičko-podravska</b>	68.2	29.5	19.8	267	2.1	27.2	5.4	9.2	16.1
<b>Požeško-slavonska</b>	68.7	20.1	10.2	276	2.1	27.7	3.5	11.5	15.8
<b>Brodsko-posavska</b>	53.8	30.0	16.4	343	2.4	25.0	4.9	9.0	15.1
<b>Sisačko-Moslavačka</b>	78.5	29.3	28.3	384	2.0	12.5	4.9	11.1	18.1
<b>Vukovarska-podravska</b>	57.2	32.0	16.3	310	2.0	24.1	3.8	8.8	14.4
<b>Osječko-baranjska</b>	75.5	26.7	19.9	374	2.1	22.5	4.5	9.2	14.9
<b>Primorsko-Goransko</b>	119.0	13.6	3.4	576	1.5	5.5	1.0	7.9	16.2
<b>Ličko-senjska</b>	90.4	21.1	2.5	378	2.3	16.9	2.2	10.2	22.7
<b>Zadarska</b>	78.5	20.5	8.2	380	2.2	13.9	2.9	8.8	15.7
<b>Šibensko-kninska</b>	75.3	26.6	13.6	470	2.4	16.3	10.3	10.8	19.5
<b>Splitsko-dalmatinska</b>	76.7	22.6	8.9	481	1.6	8.7	1.7	10.2	14.3
<b>Istarska</b>	129.7	7.3	4.4	769	1.3	1.7	0.6	7.3	15.6
<b>Dubrovačko-neretvanska</b>	94.0	17.5	6.2	456	1.7	9.5	1.3	7.9	15.9

Sources: Republic of Croatia Regional Development Strategy; Nestić and Vecchia; UNDP 2007 and UNDP 2006b

**Table 1.7 Employment in Croatia by Sector, Fourth Quarter, 2009 (in thousands)**

Sector	Employed		Self-Employed		Family		Total		Part-time	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
AgFF*	29	2.3	158	51.0	32	94.1	<b>218</b>	13.7	106	76.3
Industry	404	32.3	49	15.8	0	0	<b>453</b>	28.4	9	6.5
Services	818	65.4	102	32.1	2	5.9	<b>922</b>	57.9	23	16.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,251</b>	<b>78.5</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>1,594</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>8.7</b>

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2010, Labour Force Survey Croatia 2009 – Europe 2009.

\* Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing

**Table 1.8 NUTS II Regions**

	Population (number)	Population (%)	GDP p/capita PPS 2003 (in € including „grey“ economy)	GDP p/capita PPS 2003 (including „grey“ economy EU 27 = 100)
Central - East (Panonian) Croatia	1,351,517	30.46	6,926.26	<b>36</b>
Adriatic Croatia	1,427,008	32.16	9,584.31	<b>50</b>
North-West Croatia	1,658,935	37.38	12,681.00	<b>66</b>
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>4,437,460</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>9,932.44</b>	<b>52</b>

Source: UNDP (2008), NUTS Classifications in Croatia.

**For Chapter 2:**

**Table 2.1: Crude rate of net migration plus adjustment, Croatia 1990-2010  
(per 1,000 persons)**

Year	Net migration
1990	1.3
1991	-39.1
1992	- 7.7
1993	19.9
1994	3.1
1995	-16.7
1996	-11.3
1997	0.1
1998	-0.9
1999	-5.1
2000	-11.7
2001	3.2
2002	1.9
2003	2.7
2004	2.6
2005	1.9
2006	1.6
2007	1.3
2008	1.6
2009	-0.3
2010	-1.1

*Source:* Eurostat. (The indicator is defined as the ratio of net migration plus adjustment during the year to the average population in that year, expressed per 1 000 inhabitants. The net migration plus adjustment is the difference between the total change and the natural change of the population).

Date of extraction; 20.10.2011

<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdde230>

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**Table 2.2: International migration of population of Croatia, 2000 - 2010**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Immigrants</b>	<b>Emigrants</b>	<b>Net migration</b>
2000.	29 385	5 953	23 432
2001.	24 415	7 488	16 927
2002.	20 365	11 767	8 598
2003.	18 455	6 534	11 921
2004.	18 383	6 812	11 571
2005.	14 230	6 012	8 218
2006.	14 978	7 692	7 286
2007.	14 622	9 002	5 620
2008.	14 541	7 488	7 053
2009.	8 468	9 940	-1 472
2010.	4 985	9 860	-4 875

Sources: Migration of Population of Republic of Croatia 2009, First Release, Vol. XLVII, No 7.1.2., 26 May 2010; Migration of Population of Republic of Croatia 2010, First Release, Vol. XLVIII, No 7.1.2., 15 June 2011, <http://www.dzs.hr> (extracted 21.10.2011)

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**TABLE 2.3 International migration by county, 2005-2009**

County/Year	2005.		2006.		2007.		2008.		2009.	
	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants
Republic of Croatia	14,230	6,012	14,978	7,692	14,622	9,002	14,541	7,488	8,468	9,940
County of Zagreb	808	278	881	377	828	328	819	224	470	180
County of Krapina-Zagorje	98	69	106	111	123	54	110	41	62	28
County of Sisak-Moslavina	597	702	580	738	576	1,464	571	1,172	249	1,342
County of Karlovac	311	331	290	422	354	458	337	402	175	786
County of Varaždin	175	74	183	177	172	101	175	83	134	77
County of Koprivnica-Križevci	98	45	120	66	117	74	118	69	56	57
County of Bjelovar-Bilogora	211	214	232	236	222	285	228	187	91	228
County of Primorje-Gorski kotar	848	273	825	326	858	340	943	299	479	255
County of Lika-Senj	221	243	175	317	215	387	226	392	117	581
County of Virovitica-Podravina	228	209	214	246	233	279	273	224	135	673
County of Požega-Slavonia	164	194	165	212	173	253	152	216	61	303
County of Slavonski Brod-Posavina	732	232	766	363	824	362	668	265	336	827
County of Zadar	1,311	258	1,526	330	1,376	404	1,368	504	669	477
County of Osijek-Baranja	588	607	696	863	721	1,042	765	643	441	618
County of Šibenik-Knin	790	259	887	247	770	362	871	483	438	800
County of Vukovar-Sirmium	590	424	614	580	854	598	763	500	429	804
County of Split-Dalmatia	2,289	246	2,103	425	1,693	510	1,756	466	1,140	541
County of Istria	996	148	961	185	1,023	237	1,088	174	474	213
County of Dubrovnik-Neretva	741	102	901	224	910	245	939	166	682	186
County of Međimurje	123	60	123	112	142	85	106	66	93	57
City of Zagreb	2,311	1,044	2,630	1,135	2,438	1,134	2,265	912	1,737	907

Source: CBS – Central Bureau of Statistics. *Migration of Population of RH in 2009*. First release. Zagreb, 26 May 2010. Vol. XLVII, No 7.1.2.,

<http://www.dzs.hr>

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**Table 2.4: International migration of population from Croatia by age and sex, 2010**

Age	Immigrants			Emigrants		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
<i>Total</i>	4 985	2 630 52.76%	2 355 47.24%	9 860	4 838 49.07%	5 022 50.93%
0 – 4	185	86	99	234	120	114
5 – 9	211	99	112	363	195	168
10 – 14	238	112	126	333	171	162
15 – 19	500	293	207	579	297	282
20 – 24	660	300	360	807	413	394
25 – 29	613	319	294	946	443	503
30 – 34	414	259	155	816	384	432
35 – 39	356	209	147	807	382	425
40 – 44	309	189	120	809	425	384
45 – 49	305	170	135	646	356	290
50 – 54	259	146	113	612	329	283
55 – 59	244	129	115	638	289	349
60 – 64	227	106	121	649	276	373
65 – 69	204	110	94	519	257	262
70 – 74	123	55	68	518	261	257
<i>75 and over</i>	137	48	89	584	240	344

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics. *Migration of Population of RH in 2010*, First release. Vol. XLVIII, No 7.1.2., 15 June 2011,

[http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02\\_01\\_2011.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02_01_2011.htm)

**Table 2.5: International migration, by country of previous residence and citizenship  
(2009: selected data)**

Country of previous residence/destination	Immigrants		Emigrants	
	Total	Croatian citizens	Total	Croatian Citizens
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,468</b>	<b>7,621</b>	<b>9,940</b>	<b>8,637</b>
<i>EU</i>	1,739	1,534	982	978
Austria	220	199	292	289
Germany	733	677	459	458
Slovenia	356	307	110	110
<i>Former Yu*</i>	5,756	5,308	6,199	6,021
BiH	4,874	4,561	1,666	1,659
Serbia	755	671	4,458	4,293
Others	127	76	75	69
Switzerland	244	240	35	34

\*Without Slovenia

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics. *Migration of Population of RH in 2009*, First Release, Vol. XLVII, No 7.1.2. 26 May 2010, [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2010/07-01-02\\_01\\_2010.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2010/07-01-02_01_2010.htm)

**Table 2.6: International migration, by country of previous residence and citizenship  
(2010; selected data)**

Country of previous residence/destination	Immigrants		Emigrants	
	Total	Croatian citizens	Total	Croatian Citizens
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,985</b>	<b>4,176</b>	<b>9,860</b>	<b>9,623</b>
<i>EU</i>	997	842	1,697	1,689
Austria	115	106	410	410
Germany	456	414	775	773
Slovenia	356	307	110	110
<i>Former Yu*</i>	3,035	2,506	6,690	6,582
BiH	2,589	2,161	3,549	3,542
Serbia	371	308	3,044	2,949
Others	75	37	97	91
Switzerland	159	156	140	140

\*Without Slovenia

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics. *Migration of Population of RH in 2010*, First Release, Vol. XLVIII, No 7.1.2. 15 June 2011,

[http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02\\_01\\_2011.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02_01_2011.htm)

**Table 2.7: Foreigners - Croatian citizens in Germany –in 2009**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
Croatian citizens in Germany by 31.12.2009 (according to central foreigners register)	221,222	107,464	113,758
Came in 2009 (all year, according to local population registers)	9,129	6,717	2,412
First entrance (according to central foreigners register)	2,811	1,858	953

Source: *Statistisches Bundesamt: Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit, Ausländische Bevölkerung, Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters. Fachserie 1, Reihe 2, 04. März 2010, Wiesbaden; 106 (henceforth SB)*

Source: *Statistisches Bundesamt: Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit, Wanderungen. Fachserie 1, Reihe 1.2, 04. März 2010, Wiesbaden*

**Table 2.8: Foreign population from Croatia in Germany, 2002-2009**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>% of Women</b>
2002.	230,987	117,222	49.3
2003.	236,570	118,783	49.8
2004.	229,172	113,433	50.5
2005.	228,926	112,616	50.8
2006.	227,510	111,826	50.8
2007.	225,309	110,387	51.0
2008.	223,056	108,798	51.2
2009.	221,222	107,464	51.4

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2009;. 26-31.



**Table 2.9 Foreign population from Croatia in Germany in 2009, by age (in %)**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
Age			
>10	1.4	1.0	1.7
10-15	3.7	3.9	3.4
15-20	3.3	3.5	3.2
20-25	4.7	5.0	4.6
25-35	18.7	18.6	18.8
35-45	18.1	18.2	18.1
45-55	11.3	9.6	13.0
55-65	<b>24.4</b>	<b>23.6</b>	<b>25.3</b>
65-75	<b>11.0</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>9.4</b>
75 – more	2.4	2.2	2.6
N	221,222	107,464	113,758

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2009; 36-37

**Table 2.10: Immigration from Croatia to Germany in 2009 – by age\***

	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>%</b>
under 10	295	5.9	151	4.1	144	10.6
10-20	169	3.4	95	2.6	74	5.4
20-25	708	14.2	499	13.7	209	15.4
25-35	1,589	31.2	1,200	33.0	389	28.7
35-45	1,018	20.4	770	33.0	248	18.3
45-55	844	16.9	689	19.0	155	11.5
55 and more	362	7.2	229	6.3	133	9.8
Total	4,985	100.0	3,633	100.0	1,352	100.0
Average age	<b>34.4</b>		<b>35.1</b>		<b>32.5</b>	

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2009; 106-107

\* Data include also natural population change in Croatian population in Germany

**Table 2.11: Emigration from Germany to Croatia in 2009 – by age**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>%</b>
under 10	90	1.1	49	0.9	41	1.9
10-20	140	1.8	85	1.5	55	2.5
20-25	537	6.8	441	7.8	96	4.4
25-35	1,615	20.5	1,317	23.2	298	13.7
35-45	1,269	16.2	999	17.6	270	12.4
45-55	1,215	15.5	973	17.2	242	11.1
55-65	1,279	16.3	777	13.7	502	23.1
65-75	1,229	15.6	784	13.8	445	20.5
75-85	424	5.4	228	4.0	196	9.0
85 and more	47	0.6	18	0.3	29	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,845</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5,671</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,174</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average age upon returning</b>	<b>47.7</b>		<b>45.9</b>		<b>52.6</b>	

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2009; 118-119

**Table 2.12: Emigrants from Germany to Croatia 2009 – by duration of staying in Germany**

	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
< 1 year	821	11.8
1-4	1,504	21.6
4-6	306	4.4
6-8	304	4.3
8-10	320	4.6
10-15	32	0.5
15-20	621	8.9
20-25	256	3.7
25-30	195	2.3
30-35	183	2.6
35-40	1,039	14.9
40>	1,370	19.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,951</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average (duration of stay in Germany)</b>	<b>19.7 years</b>	

Source: SB 2009; 128-129; Statistisches Bundesamt: *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit, Ausländische Bevölkerung*, Fachserie 1, Reihe 2, 04. März 2010, Wiesbaden

**Table 2.13: Foreign population from Croatia in Germany 2009, by some indicators**

	In total population	Men	Women
Age (average)	45.2	45.3	45.1
Years of staying (average)	27.7	28.2	27.3
Born in Germany (in %)	<b>22.2</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>21.2</b>
Married (%)	51.0	45.7	56.0
Single (%)	31.1	38.4	24.2

Source: SB 2009; 47-57, 63

**Table 2.14: Foreign population from Croatia in Germany in 2009 (by regulation of status)**

Type of regulation	Total
<b>Status regulated according to law before 1990</b>	<b>116,787</b>
- no limitations	113,051
- limitations	3,736
<b>Status regulated according to law 2004</b>	<b>98,165</b>
- limitations	24,338
- education	526
- international laws, humanitarian, political grounds	3,547
- family grounds	17,518
- prolongation	72,606

N.B.: By 2004 law, 74% of citizens in Germany have permanent permission for staying there.

Source: SB 2009; 78-79

**Table 2.15: Foreign population from Croatia in Germany in 2009 – by states (Länder)**

State	N	%
<i>Baden-Württemberg</i>	72,986	33.0
<i>Baavaria</i>	50,594	22.8
<i>Hesse</i>	29,806	13.7
<i>North Rhine-Westphalia</i>	36,324	16.4
Berlin	9,131	4.1
Rhineland-Palatinate	7,045	3.2
Lowert Saxony	6,153	2.7
Hamburg	4,823	2.1
Others	4,360	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>221,222</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2009; 66-75

### For Chapter 3:

**Table 3.1 Geographical distribution of Croatian scientists from different fields in 2004**

Country	Number of scientists, professors
USA	466
Germany	143
Canada	84
Switzerland	75
France	50
UK	39
Austria	37
Australia	34
Argentina	16
Italy	16
Sweden	15
The Netherlands	12
Other	46
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,033</b>

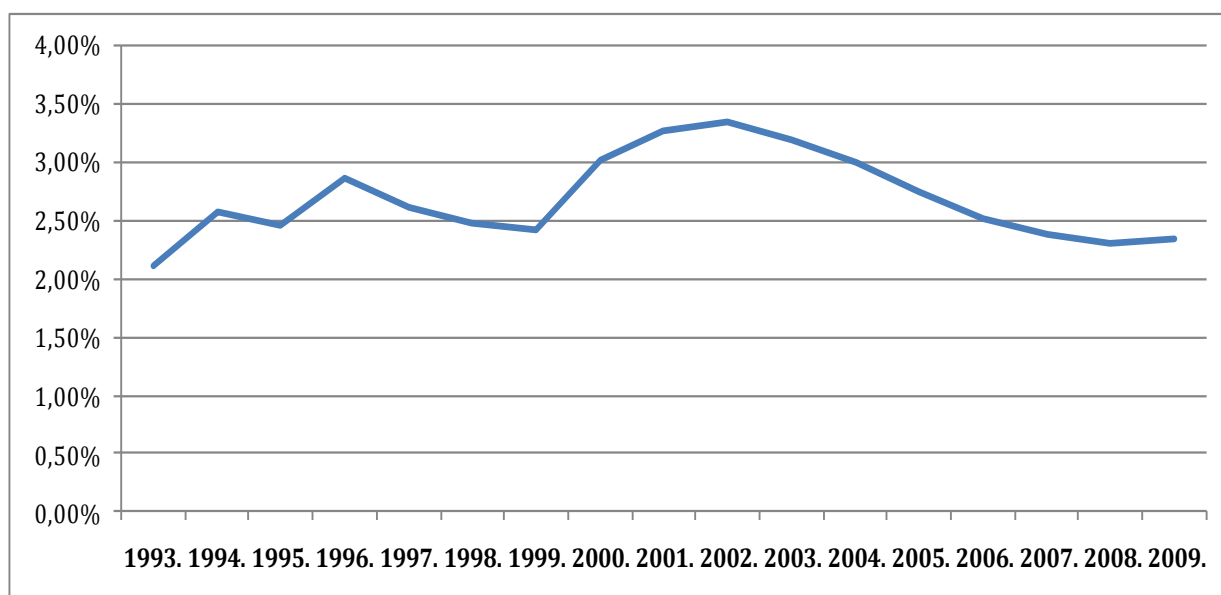
Source: Pifat-Mrzljak, G. et al., 2004

**Table 3.2 Brain Drain of Croatian scientists by discipline and titles, 1990-2000**

Field	No	%			
Natural Sciences	244	28,7	<b>PhDs</b>	346	40,7%
Technical Sciences	249	29,3	<b>MSc</b>	319	37,6%
Biomedicine	139	16,3	<b>Young</b>	184	21,2%
Others	217	25,5			
<b>Total</b>	<b>849</b>	<b>100</b>			

Source: Pifat-Mrzljak et al. (2004); 37

**Table 3.3 Remittances as % of GDP**



Source: World Bank Remittances Handbook, 2011

**Table 3.4 Pensions Paid Abroad, 2010**

Type	Number of beneficiaries	Average Payment
<b>General Pension</b>		
In countries of former SFRY	85,944	1,166.72 HRK €157.88
Other countries	23,718	653.92 HRK €88.49
<b>Pensions of Police and Army Administration (VO, MUP)</b>		
In countries of former SFRY	32	5,114.49 HRK €692.08
Other countries	3	4,645.52 HRK €628.62
<b>Veterans' Pensions</b>		
In countries of former SFRY	2,839	7,126.34 HRK €964.32
Other countries	14	6,227.05 HRK €842.63
<b>Bosnian Croat Army Pensions</b>		
In countries of former SFRY	4,431	2,585.68 HRK €349.89
Other countries	3	1,501.38 HRK €203.16

Source: Rismondo (2011) December 2010 €1=7.39 HRK

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**Table 3.5 Beneficiaries of Pensions Abroad, without ex-Yugoslavia**

Country	Number	% of Total
Austria	1,680	6.9%
Czech Republic	203	0.8%
France	657	4.6%
Germany	12,216	50.1%
Italy	1,243	5.1%
Netherlands	258	1.1%
Sweden	439	1.8%
Switzerland	290	1.2%
Other Europe	332	1.4%
Australia	5,332	21.8%
Canada	1,440	5.9%
USA	288	1.2%
Other Countries	26	0.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>24,404</b>	

Source: Rismondo (2011)

**Table 3.6 Beneficiaries in receipt of pensions from abroad (2009)**

Country	No. of beneficiaries by type				Total
	Old age	Disability	Family	Other	
Austria	5,856	2,838	5,222	-	13,916
Germany	49,932	3,264	27,280	539	81,015
Switzerland	2,118	1,003	499	-	3,620
Bosnia and Herzegovina	75,575	33,135	44,170	-	152,880
Macedonia	260	95	93	-	448
Slovenia	9,299	3,875	5,843	-	19,017
Serbia and Montenegro	2,737	1,170	1,566	102	5,575

Source: Croatian Pension and Insurance Institute (2011)

## For chapter 4:

**Table 4.1 Population in the Croatian islands, 1961-2001**

Date	Population	Index
1961.	139,798	100
1971.	127,598	91.3
1981.	114,803	82.1
1991.	126,447	90.4
2001.	122,228	87.4

Source: Ministry of Regional Development, 1997; 15 and Lajić and Mišetić, 2006; 37

**TABLE 4.2 Net Migration Loss Counties and Croatia as a whole 2001**

County	Coefficient of youth	Coefficient of ageing	Ageing index
Sisačko-moslovačka	22.6	24.8	109.8
Karlovačka	20.7	26.7	128.8
Ličko-senska	20.8	30.4	145.7
Šibensko-kninska	23.2	26.2	113.1
<b>Croatia</b>	<b>23.7</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>90.7</b>

Source: Živić and Pokos (2005); 210.

**Table 4.3 Net Migration Loss Counties Activity Rates, 2001**

County	Overall Activity Rate	Male	Female
Sisačko-moslovačka	41.0	49.8	32.8
Karlovačka	43.9	51.2	37.2
Ličko-senska	38.3	47.2	29.6
Šibensko-kninska	39.8	46.4	33.5
<b>Croatia</b>	<b>44.0</b>	<b>50.8</b>	<b>37.7</b>

Source: Živić and Pokos (2005); 215-6.

**Table 4.4 Registered Unemployment by County 2007-2010**

<b>County</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>
City of Zagreb	6.5	5.4	5.8	7.5
Zagrebačka	13.9	11.4	12.9	17.0
Krapinsko-zagorska	12.0	9.9	12.0	16.0
Varaždinska	11.2	9.3	10.6	13.1
Koprivničko-križevačka	14.6	12.6	13.0	16.1
Međimurska	13.0	10.8	11.9	14.9
Karlovačka	24.6 (5)	22.0 (5)	23.0 (6)	24.8 (7)
Bjelovarsko-bilogorska	23.3	21.7	23.4	26.5
Virovitičko-podravska	27.0	24.1	25.1	29.1
Požeško-slavonska	19.6	18.2	20.4	23.0
Brodsko-posavska	26.4	23.4	25.0	29.8
Sisačko-Moslavačka	26.2 (4)	24.8 (2)	26.8 (2)	29.9 (1)
Osječko-baranjska	22.9	20.9	22.3	26.4
Vukovarsko-srijemska	28.4	26.2	27.0	29.6
Primorsko-Goransko	10.9	9.4	10.3	12.9
Ličko-senjska	20.1 (9)	17.3 (10)	17.4 (10)	18.9 (11)
Zadarska	18.1 (12)	15.9 (12)	16.2 (12)	17.8 (12)
Šibensko-kninska	21.0 (8)	17.7 (9)	18.4 (9)	20.7 (9)
Splitsko-dalmatinska	19.3	17.1	17.4	19.9
Istarska	6.4	5.5	6.6	8.3
Dubrovačko-neretvanska	14.9	12.6	12.8	14.6

Source: HZZ (Croatian Employment Service) (2010); 5.



**Table 4.5 Regional GDP per capita €PPP, rank and % change in 4 net migration loss counties**

	2001	2007	% change
<b>CROATIA</b>	<b>8701</b>	<b>9656</b>	<b>11.0%</b>
City of Zagreb	15,343 (1)	16766 (1)	
Zagrebačka	5918 (18)	7360 (14)	
Krapinsko-zagorska	6864 (12)	7144 (16)	
Varaždinska	8267 (5)	8223 (6)	
Koprivničko-križevačka	8991 (4)	9142 (5)	
Međimurska	7231 (9)	7581 (13)	
Karlovačka	<b>7375 (8)</b>	<b>7825 (11)</b>	<b>6.1%</b>
Bjelovarsko-bilogorska	6818 (13)	6691 (18)	
Virovitičko-podravska	6947 (11)	6923 (17)	
Požeško-slavonska	6427 (16)	6505 (19)	
Brodsko-posavska	5309 (20)	5345 (21)	
Sisačko-Moslavačka	<b>7541 (7)</b>	<b>7200 (15)</b>	<b>-4.5%</b>
Osječko-baranjska	6746 (14)	7875 (10)	
Vukovarsko-srijemska	5047 (21)	5756 (20)	
Primorsko-Goransko	10224 (3)	11177 (3)	
Ličko-senjska	<b>6974 (10)</b>	<b>8039 (7)</b>	<b>15.3%</b>
Zadarska	6289 (17)	7980 (9)	
Šibensko-kninska	<b>5549 (19)</b>	<b>7799 (12)</b>	<b>40.5%</b>
Splitsko-dalmatinska	6609 (15)	8003 (8)	
Istarska	11712 (2)	12463 (2)	
Dubrovačko-neretvanska	7858 (6)	10042 (4)	

Sources: Lovrinčević et al. (2004) and CBS (2008)

**Table 4.6 Access to Health Care – proportion saying they experienced ‘great difficulties’ by county and rank**

County	Distance from dr	Waiting for appointment	Waiting in clinic	Cost of travel to dr	TOTAL (rank)
Sisačko-moslovačka	23%	37%	33%	39%	132 (1)
Karlovačka	20%	33%	27%	30%	110 (3)
Ličko-senska	26%	20%	15%	26%	87 (7)
Šibensko-kninska	18%	21%	17%	30%	86 (8)
<b>Croatia</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>79</b>

Source: UNDP, 2007; 83.

**Table 4.7 Pupil:teacher ratios, Primary Schools, by county, School year 2009/10**

	Pupils	Full-time Equivalent teachers	Pupil:teacher ratio
CROATIA	358,574	27,825.17	12.89
City of Zagreb	58,384	4,370.78	13.36
Zagrebačka	27,772	1,937.32	14.36
Krapinsko-zagorska	11,373	926.18	12.28
Varaždinska	15,255	1,160.99	13.14
Koprivničko-križevačka	10,189	762.48	13.36
Međimurska	10,478	857.99	12.21
Karlovačka	9,509	838.73	11.34
Bjelovarsko-bilogorska	10,556	846.53	12.47
Virovitičko-podravska	7851	583.43	13.46
Požeško-slavonska	7,855	548.59	14.32
Brodsko-posavska	15,957	1090.27	14.64
Sisačko-Moslovačka	14,495	1097.03	13.21
Osječko-baranjska	27,082	2,097.08	12.91
Vukovarsko-srijemska	17,479	1362.96	12.82
Primorsko-Goransko	20,106	1729.67	11.62
Ličko-senjska	4114	418.66	9.83
Zadarska	14,918	1190.51	12.53
Šibensko-kninska	9,045	731.79	12.36
Splitsko-dalmatinska	40,861	3032.32	13.48
Istarska	14,815	1346.46	11.00
Dubrovačko-neretvanska	10,480	895.40	11.70

Source: [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2011/SI-1442.pdf](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2011/SI-1442.pdf)

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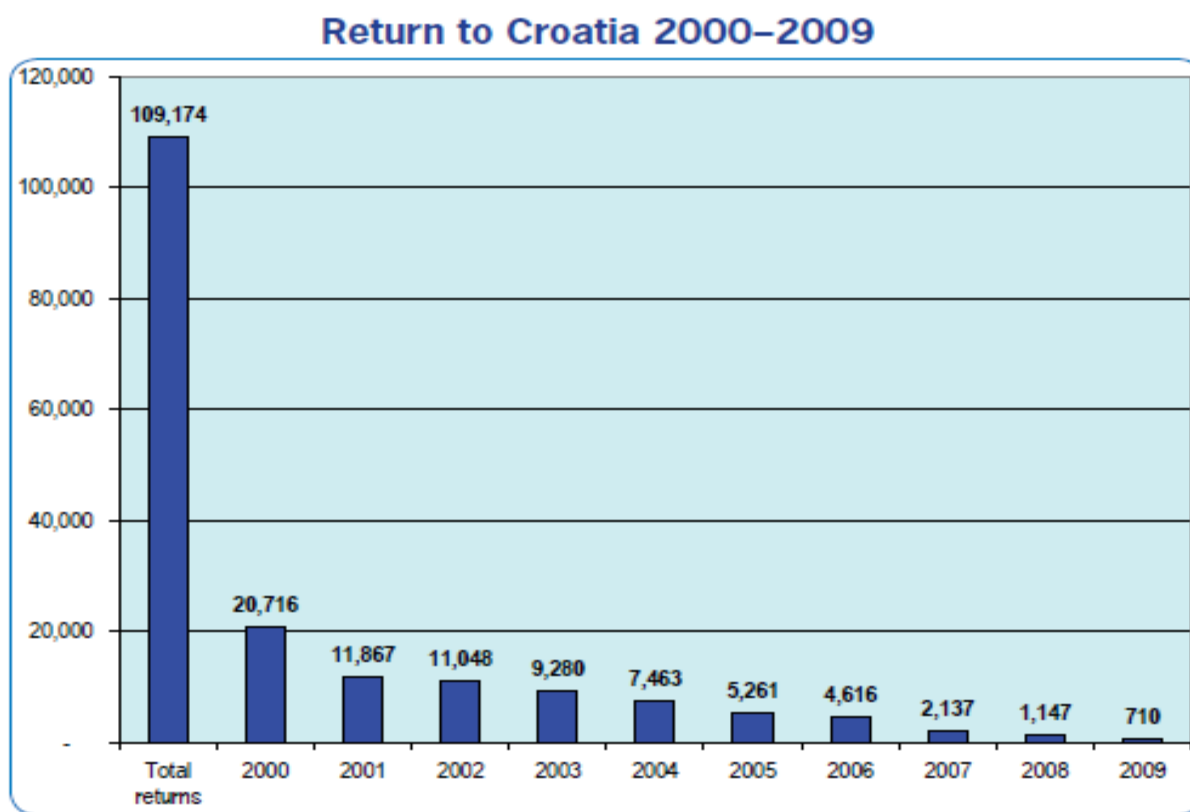
**Table 4.8 Health practitioners and general population**

	Pop 2001	Health workers 2009	Pop:health worker ratio	Doctors 2009	Pop:Dr ratio	Private general practice	Gpractice: Pop
CROATIA	4,437,460	52956	83.80	11847	374.56	1881	2359.10
City of Zagreb	779,145	16625	46.87	4039	192.91	341	2284.88
Zagrebačka	309,696	1136	272.62	197	1572.06	121	2559.47
Krapinsko-zagorska	142,432	1548	92.01	302	471.63	54	2637.63
Varaždinska	184,769	2161	85.50	406	455.10	73	2531.08
Koprivničko-križevačka	124,487	1021	121.93	214	581.7	47	2648.66
Međimurska	118,426	958	123.62	216	548.27	53	2234.45
Karlovačka	141,787	1496	94.78	321	441.70	60	2363.12
Bjelovarsko-bilogorska	133,084	1185	112.31	230	578.63	52	2559.31
Virovitičko-podravska	93,389	794	117.62	154	606.42	32	2918.41
Požeško-slavonska	85,831	976	87.94	205	418.69	32	2682.22
Brodsko-posavska	176,765	1676	105.47	377	468.87	56	3156.52
Sisačko-Moslavačka	185,387	1750	105.94	358	517.84	60	3089.78
Osječko-baranjska	330,506	3386	97.61	757	318.10	132	2503.83
Vukovarsko-srijemska	204,768	1537	133.23	353	580.08	56	3656.57
Primorsko-Goransko	305,505	4956	61.64	1039	294.04	154	1983.80
Ličko-senjska	53,677	348	154.24	85	631.49	16	3354.81
Zadarska	162,045	178	94.32	388	417.64	83	1952.35
Šibensko-kninska	112,891	1147	98.42	270	418.11	46	2454.15
Splitsko-dalmatinska	463,676	5099	90.93	1149	403.55	244	1900.31
Istarska	206,344	2117	97.47	487	423.70	117	1763.62
Dubrovačko-neretvanska	122,870	1322	92.94	300	409.57	46	2671.09

Source: Croatian Institute of Public Health, Yearbook; 79 et seq  
[http://www.hzjz.hr/publikacije/hzs\\_ljetopis/index.htm](http://www.hzjz.hr/publikacije/hzs_ljetopis/index.htm)

For Chapter 5:

Figure 5.1



Source: UNHCR – Croatia Fact Sheet, January 2010, [www.unhcr.hr](http://www.unhcr.hr)

**Table 5.2 UNHCR persons of concern, January 2010**

Refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia/Kosovo*	1,133
Recognized refugees and persons under subsidiary protection	20
Asylum seekers (new applications during 2009)	147
Returnees	710
Internally displaced persons	2,285
Stateless (estimated) *	237
Others of concern **	23,583
<b>Total</b>	<b>28,115</b>

\*Includes 17 *de jure* stateless persons and 60 persons registered as unknown citizenship as reported by the Government and 160 persons, minority returnees, non-Croatian citizens who are at risk of statelessness. In addition, it is estimated that approx. 1,000 Roma are at risk of statelessness.

\*\*Returnees, potential beneficiaries of Housing Care, Reconstruction and other legal or technical return assistance programmes who have not yet received final eligibility decision.

Source: UNHCR – Croatia Fact Sheet, January 2010, [www.unhcr.hr](http://www.unhcr.hr)

**Table 5.3 Return of refugees by country of asylum, 2000-2009**

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Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total returns
Serbia/ Montenegro	18,597	10,597	8,069	7,327	6,611	4,450	3,423	1,541	672	94	93,779
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2,119	1,270	2,979	1,953	852	811	1,193	596	475	616	15,395
<b>Total</b>	<b>20,716</b>	<b>11,867</b>	<b>11,048</b>	<b>9,280</b>	<b>7,463</b>	<b>5,261</b>	<b>4,616</b>	<b>2,137</b>	<b>1,147</b>	<b>710</b>	<b>109,174</b>

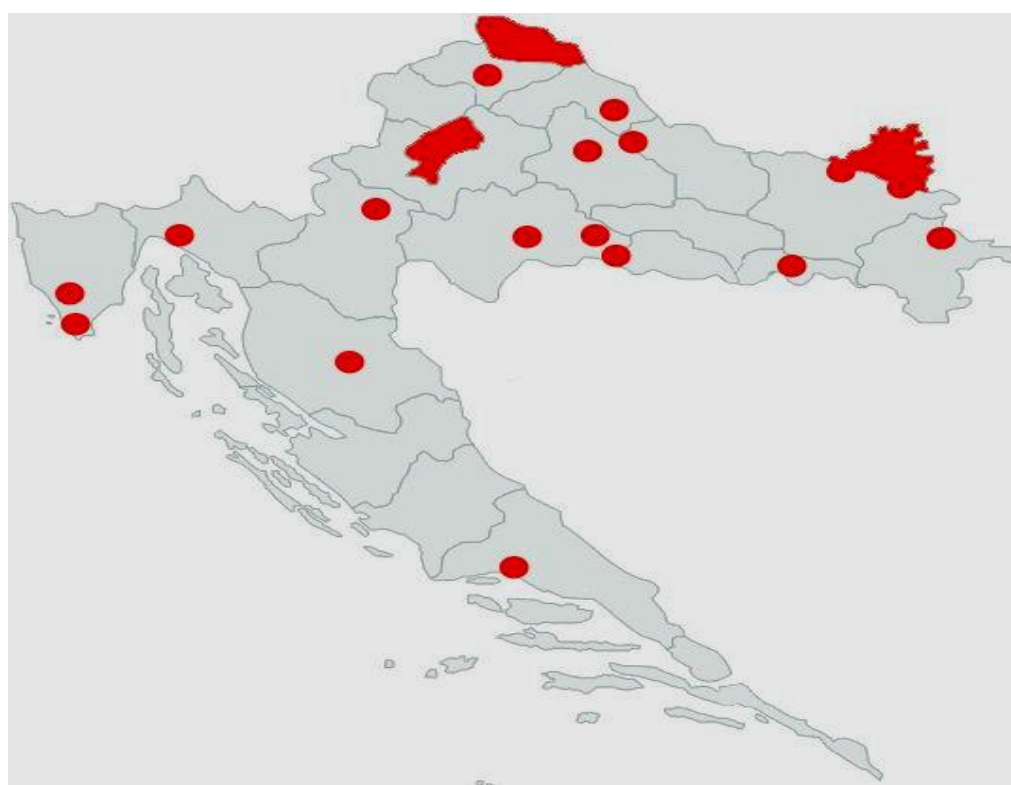
Source: UNHCR – Croatia Fact Sheet, January 2010, [www.unhcr.hr](http://www.unhcr.hr)

**Table 5.4 Refugees from Croatia in neighbouring countries**

Country	Total
Serbia	61,996
Bosnia and Herzegovina	6,941
Montenegro	2,148
<b>Total</b>	<b>71,121</b>

Source: UNHCR – Croatia Fact Sheet, January 2010, [www.unhcr.hr](http://www.unhcr.hr)

**Figure 5.5 Map Showing Major Roma Settlements in Croatia**

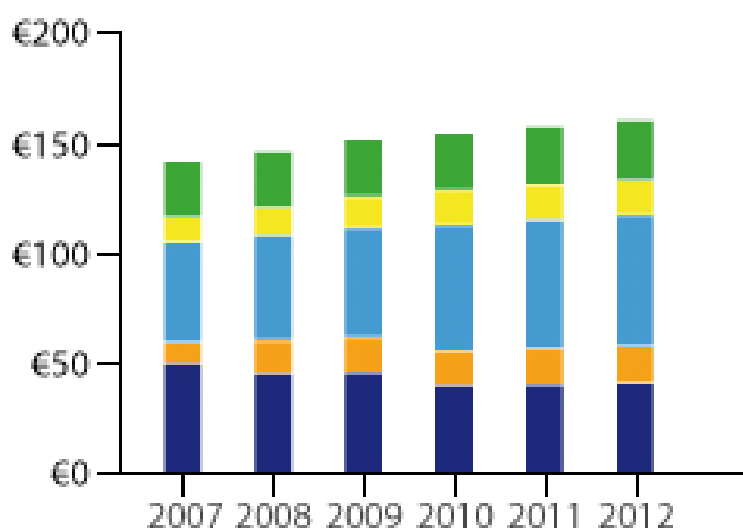


Source: Novak et al. (2011); 3.

**For Chapter 6**

**Table and figure 6:1 IPA Assistance to Croatia 2007-2012.**

<b>Component</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>
■ Transition Assistance and Institution Building	49,611,775	45,374,274	45,601,430	39,483,458	39,959,128	40,872,310
■ Cross-border Co-operation	9,688,225	14,725,726	15,898,570	15,601,136	15,869,158	16,142,542
■ Regional Development	45,050,000	47,600,000	49,700,000	56,800,000	58,200,000	59,348,000
■ Human Resources Development	11,377,000	12,700,000	14,200,000	15,700,000	16,000,000	16,040,000
■ Rural Development	25,500,000	25,600,000	25,800,000	26,000,000	26,500,000	27,268,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>141,227,000</b>	<b>146,000,000</b>	<b>151,200,000</b>	<b>153,584,594</b>	<b>156,528,286</b>	<b>159,670,852</b>



Source: [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/croatia/financial-assistance/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/croatia/financial-assistance/index_en.htm)