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Izdavač
Institut društvenih nauka – Centar za demografska istraživanja
Kraljice Natalije 45, Beograd (Srbija)
www.idn.org.rs; +381 11 3613892
mzelic@idn.org.rs

Suizdavač
Društvo demografa Srbije
Kraljice Natalije 45, Beograd (Srbija), www.dds.org.rs

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EAST-WEST DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDE IN THE EU: A REGIONAL OVERVIEW

Marko GALJAK [*]

The goal was to examine demographic differences between former communist regions and other regions of the EU. Besides providing a regional overview of EU's demographic differences, we question whether the subnational approach offers any new insights into the East-West divide. This cross-sectional study was conducted on 1,155 EU's NUTS3 regions from 2014. These regions are grouped in two groups: regions that were part of a communist country, and other regions. Mortality, fertility and age structure indicators were tested between the two groups of regions. GDP/c was used to control for differences in economic development by segmenting the regions into tree brackets: low, medium, and high. The differences were then tested for each indicator. Regional variation within countries for each indicator was also assessed. The gaps exist at regional level and are the widest with mortality and fertility schedule, regardless of GDP/c. Former communist regions on average tend to be slightly younger. Analysis of regional variation showed that subnational approach was warranted when studying East-West demographic disparities, especially when it comes to fertility schedule.

Keywords: *former communist countries, mortality, fertility, ageing, Europe, NUTS 3*

Introduction

Much research in the field of demography confirms that countries which used to have the communist political system, have distinct demographic characteristics (Billingsley, 2010; Mesle, Vallin, 2002; Minagawa, 2013; Sobotka, 2003). Different economic systems, different levels of personal and political freedoms, isolation and many other factors, all contributed to this distinctiveness that many demographic and socioeconomic indicators reflect. Among those are differences in mortality, fertility and the resulting age structure.

Europe's East-West mortality gap was the focus of numerous studies since the fall of the Berlin Wall (Caselli et al., 2002; Grigoriev et al., 2014; Meslé, 2004; Mesle, Vallin, 2002; Vallin, Meslé, 2004). They all conclude

[*] Demographic Research Center, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia); email: galjak@gmail.com

that countries in Eastern Europe have higher mortality rates than their counterparts in the Western Europe. Though this gap is closing, the momentum varies across many facets. One facet is geographical; some countries are converging quickly, others less so. There are also other facets of this gap; one is age specific; another is cause-specific (of death). When it comes to mortality, this study will focus on geographical and age facets of the mortality gap.

Fertility gap in Europe does not share the same borders with the mortality gap, namely, besides Eastern and Central Europe lowest low fertility was endemic across South Europe since 1990 (Kohler et al., 2002). While contrasting Western and Northern European countries, especially France and Sweden, achieved relatively high fertility rates, former communist countries of Eastern and Central Europe went through (socioeconomically) turbulent 1990s. During this period low fertility in those countries appeared largely as an effect of the delay of childbearing (Sobotka, 2003). Both economic and cultural factors to varying degree affected the timing of childbearing (Mynarska, 2010). Only after the end of fertility age of a given cohort we can know for certain whether the fertility is truly going up or down and at which rate. While the East's cohort fertility rates are yet to begin recuperating, the recuperation in the West has already started with the 1956-1960 cohort (Castro, 2015). According to current trends cohort fertility is not likely to increase in the foreseeable future in Central and Eastern European countries, decline or stagnation are more likely scenarios (Frejka, Gietel-Basten, 2016). Although not included in this study, Serbia and Croatia are former communist countries, characterized by contraction of the fertile age group, coupled with low fertility rates of their most fertile, 20-24 age group (Magdalenić, Vojković, 2015), confirming that they are more similar to countries like Poland and Romania.

The historical gap in mean age at childbearing between East and West does seem to be closing quickly, at least in some countries (Burkimsher, 2015). With this nearing convergence, it is not surprising that diminishing effect of the childbearing delay is primarily responsible for recent upturns in period fertility across Europe (Bongaarts, Sobotka, 2012). Spéder and Kapitány (2014) pointed out that there is a failure to realize fertility intentions in certain Eastern European countries, and suggested that social anomy, characteristic for post-communist countries, may be the at the root of their low fertility problem.

Current age structure is the direct consequence of fertility and mortality patterns. Population ageing is the problem facing all European countries to varying degree (Keenan et al., 2016). It is, therefore, important to examine the etiology of any instance of population ageing, since both low levels of mortality and fertility can be the causes. On the one hand, there

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is ageing from the top, caused by lowering mortality rates, present in most of the developed countries, i.e. the ones with highest life expectancy. On the other, there is ageing from the bottom, caused by low fertility rates. This ageing from the bottom is reality facing all of the former communist countries. Ageing from the top, caused by rising number of the very old, is a phenomenon affecting mainly European countries that did not belong to the Eastern bloc.

The regional approach

The bulk of research on East-West demographic differentiation in Europe compares countries which used to have communist regimes to those that did not. One problem with this approach is that there is a sharp difference in the economic development of former communist countries and the rest of Europe. Almost all former communist countries have lower gross domestic product per capita (GDP/c) than rest of the countries of the EU (except Slovenia). The huge disparity in economic development can obfuscate many of the demographic and sociological phenomena that we study. The wealthy countries can have underdeveloped regions, and former communist countries that are poor can have regions which are more developed. This problem of economic development disparity can be, at least partially, circumvented by comparing regions of similar economic development. Although it is not a perfect (apples–to–apples) comparison, this approach offers insights that can be lost in the usual national approach.

Uneven economic regional development in the EU has been studied extensively (Ballas et al., 2017; Boldrin, Canova, 2001; Bouvet, 2010; Rodríguez-Pose, Tselios, 2009) and has been a hot topic in terms of EU's policy. Regional demographic differences, on the other hand, have been studied mainly in the national context, rather than on EU level. There is a good reason for that. Many demographic phenomena are country specific. On the policy side, measures to effect demography are by definition problematic, and not to mention more difficult. Ageing, as the final product of demographic processes, and particularly its effects on economy are increasingly popular subject for regional research (Álvarez, Morollón, 2016; Crespo Cuaresma et al., 2016; Van Der Gaag, de Beer, 2015).

Another problem with comparing country to country is that today's national borders do not completely follow the pre-1989 divide. If we were to view Germany as a whole, the characteristics of the former communist East would not be as pronounced. The subnational approach is being used increasingly (Bryant, Graham, 2013; Johnson et al., 2015; Klüsener et al., 2013) with ever growing data availability.

Nevertheless, there are important caveats with the research of regional demographics of Europe. Even though Communism probably left its marks, the East-West demographic differentiation was present well before its establishment. We know that infant mortality had started falling in Western Europe at the end of 19th century (Corsini, Viazzo, 1993), and the demographic transition, and with it mortality transition, started earlier in the West than in East Europe, resulting in differing population structures. Historically, there were even differences between Eastern and Western German principalities, which now correspond to the federal states of Germany (Klüsener, Goldstein, 2016). Hence, already existing disparities were accentuated by the changes to come in the 20th century. Although former communist countries of Europe had differing experiences, many of which were beneficial (such as rapid industrialization of mainly agrarian societies), the net effect of the communist social experiment on countries' demographic characteristics is widely perceived to be negative. Even though the communist experience had in itself affected the demography, so did the period of economic and political transition, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, which was turbulent and marked by recession and poverty.

Demographic, regional studies are often intranational, focusing on all or specific regions within one country. In this study, we explore demographic characteristics at regional level transnationally to examine how regions of the former communist countries compare to the other regions of the EU, while controlling for economic development. That is, to offer a glimpse of EU's regions' demographic characteristics and examine the differentiation. We explore regional variations of demographic indicators within the two blocs and within each country. Furthermore, the regional approach to studying demographic phenomena can offer new insights needed to encourage interdisciplinary research and help policy makers.

Data and methodology

Data

The lowest regional level with available demographic data for the comparison is NUTS 3 level. NUTS stands for the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics, and level 3 is a region with population size anywhere between 150 000 and 800 000 people. All data, including vital statistics and population age and sex structure data, is provided by Eurostat (2017a). The most recent year of the data that is available for a significant portion of NUTS 3 regions is 2014. The Eurostat database contains data on 1632 NUTS 3 regions. However, the data is not complete, i.e. the data are missing for some countries and regions. Further, the mentioned num-

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ber of regions includes overseas territories, as well as all the NUTS 3 regions of Turkey, which are outside the scope of this study. The reasoning behind this exclusion is the absence of former communist counterpart regions with traditionally higher fertility rates from the dataset (e.g. Albania, Kosovo). The final number of regions included in the analysis is 1,155 from 26 different countries, out of which 268 regions are from 8 former communist countries. All 1,155 regions belong to the European Union member states.

R package "eurostat" was used (Lahti et al., 2017) for data acquisition. One instance of erroneous viral statistics data was found in the case of single German region (Altenburger Land), so the data from German national statistics was used instead (German Federal Statistical Office, 2017). Geographic information system (GIS) data used for maps was provided by Eurostat/GISCO (2017b; 2017c).

Indicators

Since the goal of this study is to discern the difference between populations of European regions, a wide variety of mortality, fertility and age structure indicators was used (21 in total). The limiting factor being the data availability.

Mortality indicators include crude death rate (CDR), standardized mortality rate (SMR), life expectancy at birth (LE0) and the age of 65 (LE65). While Eurostat directly provided crude death rate, the rest of the mortality indicators were computed. Revised standard European population (Pace et al., 2013) as used to calculate standardized mortality rates. Life expectancy indicators were computed using abridged life tables, constructed from vital statistics and age structure estimates provided by Eurostat.

Fertility indicators include crude birth rate (CBR), total fertility rate (TFR – average number of children per woman), general fertility rate (GFR – number of children per 1000 fertile age women), age specific fertility rates (ASFR) and mean age at childbearing (MAC). Like CDR, CBR was directly provided by Eurostat, while other fertility indicators were computed. TFR includes ASFR for 10–14 and 50–54 age groups, while GFR is calculated per 1000 women aged 15-49. ASFRs are given for five-year age groups, beginning with the 10–14 and ending with the 50–54 age group. MAC was calculated using the same data.

For general indicators of age structure mean age and median age were chosen along with ageing index (AI), as a proportion of people older than 65 and those younger than 15. However, there is also a need to examine the age structure in the context of fertility, so fertility ratio (FR) was also chosen. Fertility ratio was calculated as a percentage of females aged 14-49 in the total population.

There were too few regions with available data for calculating GDP/c for 2014, so the data from 2013 was used. This approach was preferable to the imputation of the many missing values for 2014. Furthermore, the discrepancies between data are tolerable given that we do not use it as a continuous variable but as binning criteria (see below for details).

Statistical analysis

The entire dataset (N=1,155) was split into two groups: former communist (n=314) regions and other regions (n=841). The groups were then compared for each indicator using t-test. Although data violates the parametric assumption of normality, sheer sample size makes t-test appropriate. Due to unequal sample sizes between the groups, Welch's t-test was used. Another advantage of Welch's t-test is its robustness to heteroscedasticity (Welch, 1947), which was present with nearly all of the indicators between the two groups.

The problem of economic development disparity and its possible effects on demographic phenomena was addressed by separating regions into three groups depending on their GDP/c: low, medium and high. Since there are fewer former communist regions, they were used to determine grouping criteria. Their GDP/c ranged from €2846 (in Bulgarian Silistra Province) to €36762 (in Eastern German city Potsdam). This range was split three-way using Jenks natural breaks classification method, and then other regions were assigned to GDP/c bracket they belong to:

- low (GDP/c < €13983), with 212 former communist regions and 51 other regions
- medium (GDP/c €13983–€25821) with 78 former communist regions and 291 other regions
- high (GDP/c > €25821) with 24 former communist regions and 499 other regions

This approach was preferable to using GDP/c as a continuous variable in an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) or multiple regression models which would violate the assumptions with many of the indicators used. Robustness of Welch's t-test to unequal sample sizes (Fagerland, Sandvik, 2009), makes it a more suitable alternative. Furthermore, the results obtained using the selected approach are easier to interpret and understand, than the results obtained using the alternatives in the form of general linear models.

Regional variation was examined in two ways: internationally, by comparing the two groups of regions while ignoring national borders and intranationally, by considering regional variations within each country. We use the coefficient of variation (CV), calculated as a ratio of the standard deviation and the mean for each demographic indicator. Krishnamoorthy &

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Lee's (2014) modified signed-likelihood ratio test (M-SLRT) for equality of CVs was used to determine whether the differences in relative variance are significant internationally between the two groups. To test whether the regional variation in former communist countries differs from other countries of the EU we use Mann–Whitney–Wilcoxon U test on CVs computed for each country.

Results

Means comparison

Results of the Welch's t-test between the two groups in Table 1 show significant differences across many of the demographic indicators tested.

Table 1.
Mean comparison of demographic indicators between the former communist and other regions

	μ			*t*		
Indicators	Former communist n=314	Other n=841	*t*	Low GDP/c n=262	Medium GDP/c n=369	High GDP/c n=523
CDR	12.26	10.24	-12.84***	-3.42***	-6.76***	–4.72***
LE0	77.26	81.59	29.71***	23.76***	11.52***	5.48***
LE65	17.68	20.17	29.64***	18.28***	12.37***	4.14***
SMR	9.59	6.94	-27.31***	-21.97***	-11.61***	–5.51***
CBR	9.22	9.02	-2.08*	-10.58***	1.16	0.35
TFR	1.5	1.54	3.2**	-9.84***	-1.92	4.29***
GFR	42.07	41.36	-2.16*	-10.15***	-4.32***	–1.97
ASFR 10–14	0.47	0.08	-7.1***	-2.76**	-1.3	–1.97
ASFR 15–19	19.87	6.93	-16.16***	-11.24***	-8.14***	–7.88***
ASFR 20–24	58.04	38.64	-15.91***	-15.25***	-7.03***	–0.91
ASFR 25–29	96.42	92.58	-3.05**	-11.52***	-4.77***	3.37**
ASFR 30–34	81.16	104.31	22.07***	3.81***	4.2***	5.42***
ASFR 35–39	36.22	53.83	26.12***	9.35***	9.94***	1.77
ASFR 40–44	6.57	10.56	22.68***	5.38***	12.71***	2.82**
ASFR 45–49	0.29	0.6	15.28***	6.7***	9.97***	2.55*
ASFR 50–54	0.01	0.05	10.18***	3.15**	6.66***	4.04***
MAC	29.22	31.05	23.39***	17.44***	10.81***	3.74***
FR	0.28	0.28	2.44*	-3.23**	6.91***	2.54*
AI	1.39	1.45	2.01*	7.24***	-5.59***	–5.77***
Mean age	42.91	43.41	2.72**	7.45***	-5.83***	–4.75***
Median age	43.26	44.19	3.61***	6.52***	-5.42***	–2.91**

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001
μ – mean for each of the two groups
t – statistic for Welch's t test

The difference in mortality indicators is the starkest, which was expected since the same difference is well known at the national level (Mesle, Vallin, 2002). This differentiation follows the economic development gap, which is not surprising given the relationship between economic development and mortality indicators (Preston, 1975). Mean LE0 is 4.33 years shorter in regions of former communist countries. The differences in LE0 are significant regardless of the GDP/c bracket. That is to say when we compare mortality indicators of regions with similar GDP/c, the regions that used to be communist still stand out significantly. Mortality gap exists regardless of economic development; though the higher GDP/c is, the narrower the mortality gap becomes. Such results may partially be due to the logarithmic nature of the relationship between GDP/c and LE0, first described by Preston (1975). Namely, the differences in the GDP/c within the low bracket account for greater gains in LE0, than the same differences in the high GDP/c bracket.

Fertility gap between the two groups of regions is not as wide. TFR is higher in other regions. When the regions are compared within three GDP/c brackets, the results show that these differences in fertility are not uniform and that they depend on the particular GDP/c context. Among the poorest regions, the ones from former communist countries tend to have higher TFR – in the medium bracket, there are no significant differences in TFR – in the highest GDP/c bracket, other regions tend to have higher TFR.

The aspect of fertility that differs the most between the two groups is fertility schedule, best reflected by 1.83 years lower MAC in former communist regions. Mothers in Western and particularly Southern Europe are delaying motherhood more than mothers in former communist countries. The ASFRs reflect the same fertility schedule difference. Former communist regions have higher fertility rates between the ages of 10–29, while the other regions have higher rates for older ages (30–54). However, lower MAC does not mean higher fertility and vice versa, there are regions with similar MAC and markedly different levels of TFR, like some of the regions of Poland and France or Ireland and Spain (Figure 1).

As it was the case with fertility indicators, differences in age structure between the two groups of regions are much less pronounced than the differences in mortality. There is no significant difference in AI, but mean and median age are lower in former communist regions, 0.5 and 0.93 years respectively. When GDP/c is taken into account the differences in ageing become even more evident. Namely, when we look only at lower GDP/c regions, the ones that used to be communist tend to be younger,

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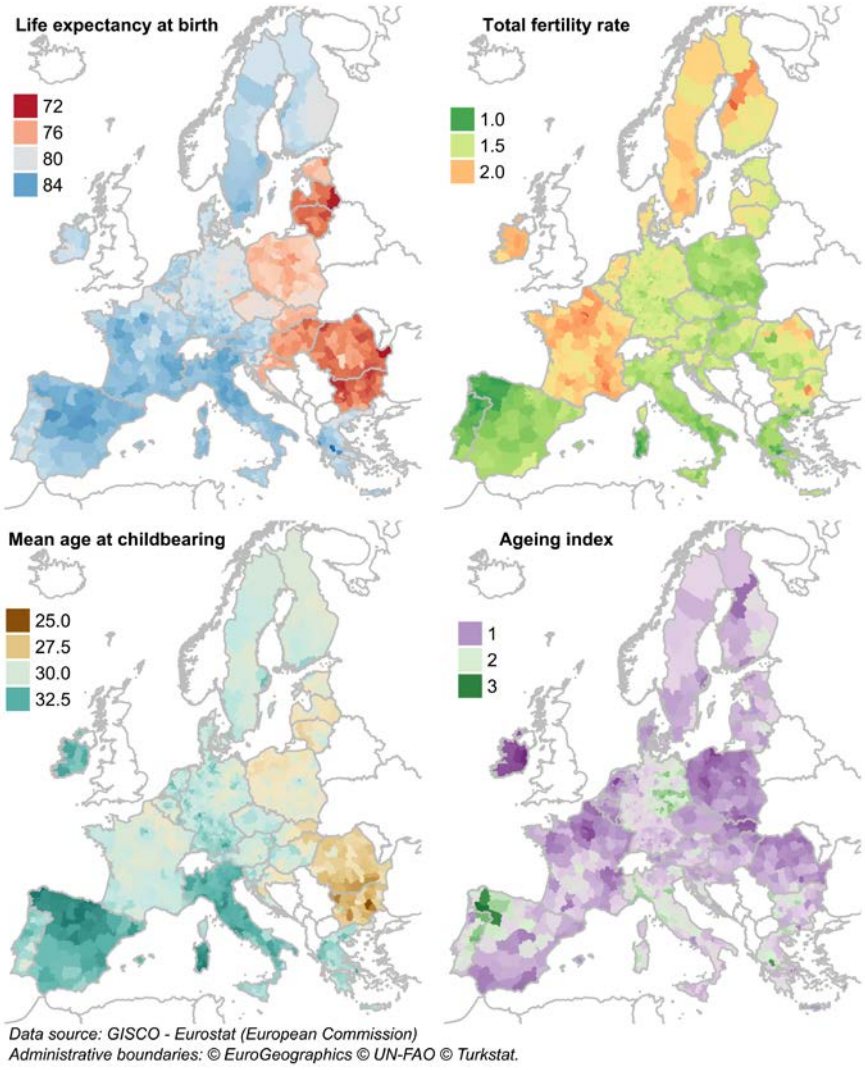
Figure 1.
Selected demographic indicators in the EU at NUTS 3 level



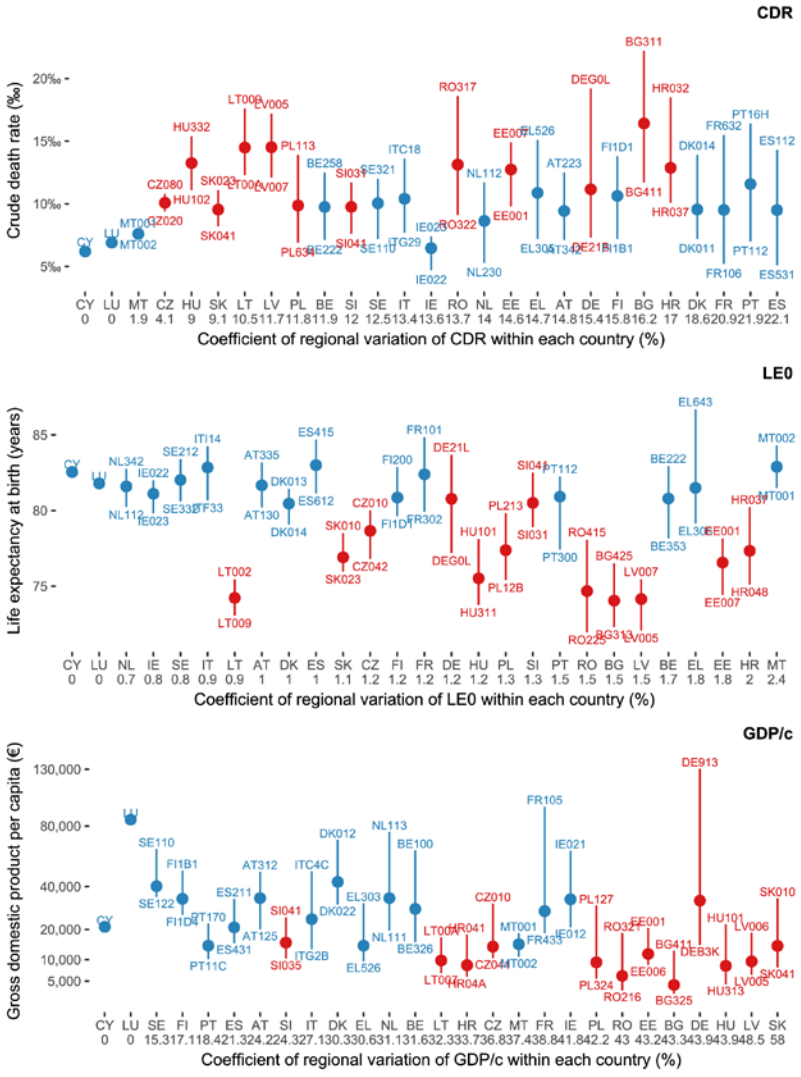
measured by all of the ageing indicators used. In medium and high GDP/c brackets, the other regions tend to be younger.

Regional variation

CVs within each of the two groups of regions show greater variation among former communist regions with mortality, ageing and fertility schedule indicators, but not with the indicators of fertility levels, which

vary more in other regions (Table 2). Greater variation of fertility levels among other regions is due to big differences between regions from Southern European countries and the rest of the EU's non-communist regions. Test for equality of CVs (M-SLRT) showed that these differences were significant with almost all indicators (except some of the ASFRs). GDP/c also varies more among former communist regions.

Figure 2.
Regional variation of CDR LE0 and GDP/c in former communist and other countries of the EU



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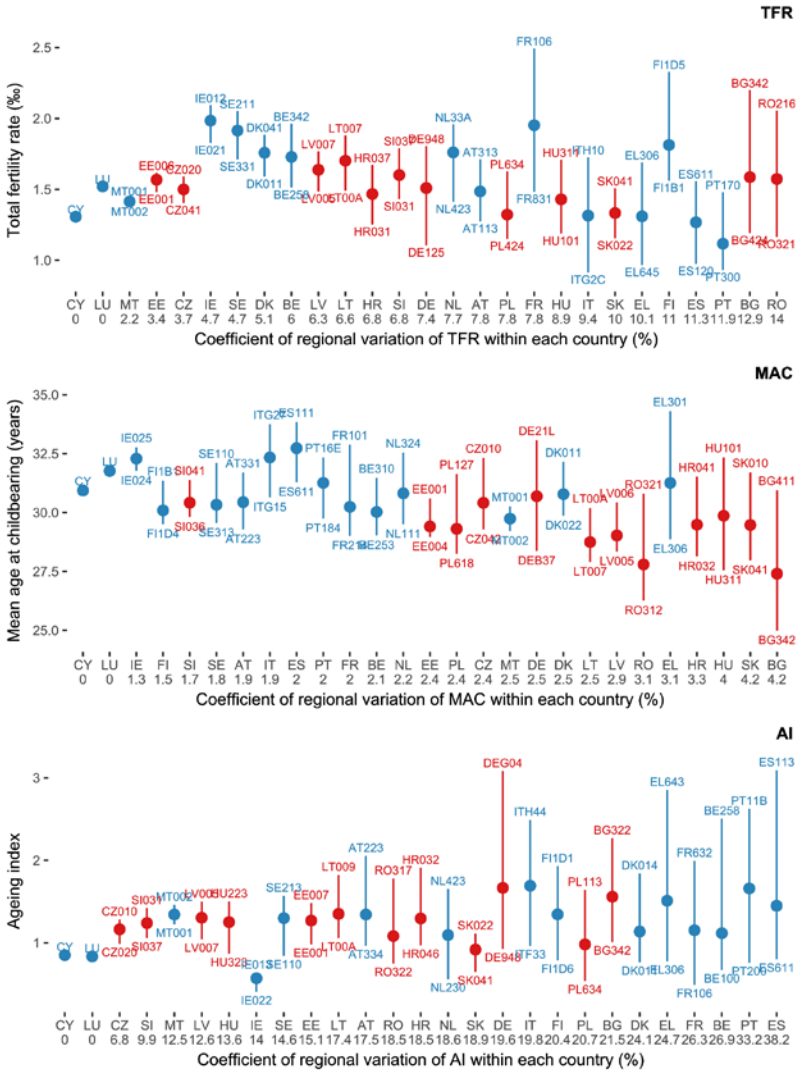
Besides calculating CVs for the two groups of regions, CVs for each country were calculated as well, in order to ascertain the level of intranational regional variation of demographic indicators (Table 2). Regional income inequality (measured by GDP/c) is greater in former communist countries. In comparison, no demographic indicator shows such a big difference between former communist and countries in terms of regional inequality.

Figure 3.

Regional variation of TFR, MAC and AI in former communist and other countries of the EU



MAC, which is a correlate of GDP/c, comes close, being the demographic indicator that also varies more in former communist countries. Another strong correlate of GDP/c, namely LE0, shows significant differences in regional inequality between the two groups of countries (Table 2).

Table 2.
Regional variation of demographic indicators, at transnational and intranational level

	CV			Median CV		
Indicators	Former communist regions	Other regions	M-SLRT	Former communist countries	Other countries	U
CDR	0.21	0.17	15.7***	0.12	0.14	111
LE0	0.03	0.02	277.25***	0.01	0.01	48*
LE65	0.08	0.05	139.4***	0.03	0.03	61
SMR	0.17	0.11	119.22***	0.07	0.07	77
CBR	0.14	0.19	30.31***	0.11	0.13	109
TFR	0.12	0.17	51.86***	0.07	0.08	79
GFR	0.09	0.17	125.84***	0.08	0.09	93
ASFR 10–14	2.07	3.28	6.55*	1.19	1.6	95
ASFR 15–19	0.71	0.52	24.12***	0.43	0.31	69
ASFR 20–24	0.34	0.37	2.8	0.25	0.21	75
ASFR 25–29	0.15	0.3	158.48***	0.1	0.15	134*
ASFR 30–34	0.19	0.17	6.08*	0.11	0.09	51
ASFR 35–39	0.27	0.2	38.97***	0.16	0.13	76
ASFR 40–44	0.32	0.35	2.84	0.23	0.23	81
ASFR 45–49	0.8	0.74	0.99	0.72	0.58	65
ASFR 50–54	4.62	2.21	12.22***	2.32	1.57	71
MAC	0.04	0.03	27.12***	0.03	0.02	25***
FR	0.08	0.06	40***	0.03	0.05	119
AI	0.35	0.26	34.11***	0.18	0.2	116
Mean age	0.07	0.05	40.13***	0.03	0.04	122
Median age	0.1	0.07	72.7***	0.04	0.06	126
GDP/c	0.65	0.45	42.07***	0.43	0.27	17***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001
CV – coefficient of variation
M-SLRT – modified signed-likelihood ratio test statistic
U – Mann–Whitney–Wilcoxon U test statistic

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Discussion

Findings

The relationship between mortality and economic development is likely behind the high regional variation of mortality indicators in former communist regions, which exhibit higher variation in GDP/c as well. However, high regional variation within countries in LE0 isn't endemic to former communist countries. The country which exhibited highest regional variation in LE0 is Belgium, due to the differences between Flanders and Wallonia, that reflect differences in GDP/c. Mortality divide in Germany does not run only on East-West axis but on North–South axis as well, i.e. life expectancy is longer in southern Germany (Figure 1), matching the regional variation of economic conditions (Kibele et al., 2015).

Not only do former communist countries have younger mothers, but the variation of MAC within former communist countries is significantly higher. This is due to bigger discrepancies between urban and rural MAC in the former communist countries. Namely, there is a tendency for big urban centres to have higher MAC than the peripheral, rural regions. The urban–rural MAC discrepancies exist in the rest of the EU as well (e.g. Parisian and Stockholm regions stand out from other French and Swedish regions), but this discrepancy is more pronounced in the East (e.g. MAC in Bulgarian Sofia region is almost 31 years, while in the Sliven province it is nearly 25 years).

The relationship between economic development and fertility exists at the global scale, as there are many poor countries with high fertility, which are yet to transition to low fertility. Given that all of the EU's countries completed the fertility transition decades ago, the same relationship cannot be observed in this geographic context. Furthermore, the emergence of lowest–low fertility in the 90's in Europe is not a phenomenon that follows the economic development fault lines, as the relatively well off Southern European countries are affected by it as well as Eastern European countries (Kohler et al., 2002). The comparison of TFR between the two groups of regions showed that fertility is only just lower in former communist countries. That result tells us little on the actual differences in fertility. Namely, the "other" regions of the EU are split between regions of countries that have low fertility (Italy, Spain, Germany) and those that have near replacement level fertility that have gone through the second demographic transition like France, Ireland and Sweden (Lesthaeghe, 2014). Partitioning the data-set into three groups based on GDP/c helped little to address this problem. The low GDP/c bracket consists of poorer regions of countries that are predominantly affected by low fertility: Italy, Spain, and Portugal. When compared to those regions, former communist

regions in the same GDP/c bracket showed higher TFR. There was no significant difference in the medium bracket. In the high GDP/c bracket, other regions tend to have higher TFR. This bracket includes many Northern European countries' regions, which contribute to that result.

While former communist Europe is far from a monolith block regarding fertility, the rest of the EU is split. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is more variation in fertility levels in the latter group. This applies to all fertility indicators (except for MAC, whose variation is higher in the former communist group). The urban–rural discrepancies that exist in fertility schedule, are not as pronounced in TFR. Though, the highest fertility regions of France are clustered around Paris (Île de France), the same is not true for other countries. Regional variation of TFR within countries is highest in low fertility countries, leading with Romania, Bulgaria, and Portugal, and regional TFR differences there have little to do with rural–urban divide (Figure 1).

Given the way they are calculated, indicators like CDR, CBR and GFR depend on age structure. Discrepancies between the results obtained when comparing means of regional GFR, CBR, and TFR, come down mostly to differences in age structure. For instance, due to unbalanced age structure (high AI, low FR), fertile age females make up a smaller percentage of total population in East Germany. Those females have lately achieved comparatively higher TFR than their counterparts in the West (Goldstein, Kreyenfeld, 2011). In that case, TFR is high, but in regard to the total population those gains would be registered as meager, and result in lower CBR. This trend of declining CBR and TFR has been observed in France at the national level in 2014 (Mazuy et al., 2015). Similarly, an imbalance in the age structure of fertile age women accounts for differences between TFR and GFR.

When we directly compared the two groups of regions, results showed former communist regions tended to be slightly younger than other regions, measured by mean and median age. Results of the comparisons of AI between the groups revealed no significant differences. This discrepancy between the two measures of ageing exists since AI ignores the middle segment of the population (15–65). Higher fertility in the West for the past decades made the 0–15 population segment bigger than in their Eastern counterparts, but at the same time, lower mortality rates in the West also made older than the 65 segment of the population larger. That is why the ratio of the two age groups does not significantly differ between the two groups. The discrepancy between AI and mean and median age, tells us that the real difference lies in the 15–65 segment of the population. Reher (2015) distinguishes between two types of countries: the ones where the baby boom was strong, and the baby bust was relatively weak

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(Type A), and where the baby boom was weak, and the bust appears to have been strong (Type B). He points out that ageing will be much harder for the Type B countries. Former communist regions studied here belong to Type B countries.

When examined by GDP/c brackets, mean and median age show that among the lower GDP/c regions former communist regions are younger. This is the result of the stark mortality difference in the lower GDP/c bracket, which was found to be the biggest demographic difference between the regions. In that group, poorest former communist regions are compared to poorest regions of other countries that tend to be regions of the Mediterranean countries, famous for their traditionally lower old age mortality rates and longer life expectancies (Mesle, Vallin, 2002). The product of high mortality in the poorest former communist regions is a lot smaller older population, which results in the younger population. One important point regarding mortality, and its effect on age structure is that the differences between sexes are much higher in former communist countries (Botev, 2012). Among regions with medium and high GDP/c, where mortality differences are not as great, other regions tend to be younger.

Migration has a major role in shaping the age structure, especially on regional level. Although not included in this study, its effects are evident in regional variation of ageing indicators, particularly of AI. Where mean and median age give us a more thorough picture of age structure, AI helps us identify regions with unbalanced age structure. Variation of AI showed that former communist regions as a whole are much more varied in this regard. However, regional variation within each country revealed that countries with highest regional variation of AI are Spain and Portugal, countries with well-known regional income inequalities (Martínez-Galarraga et al., 2015; Santana, 2000). The regional variation of AI doesn't significantly differ between the former communist and other countries of the EU.

Limitations and future research

This paper offers a rough overview of the regional differences. The main limitation being its transversal nature, i.e. being a single year snapshot of the demographic situation. Future research should add time as another dimension which could provide us with the trends as far as possible into the past. Viewing the changes at regional level from the 1989 on the EU level would help us learn how did the demographic indicators changed during the turbulent period at regional level. Another limitation of this paper is regarding the aspect of migration which is absent from this research but plays a major role with many of the demographic phenomena,

especially when it comes to age structure. Future research should include migration component, which would be a big challenge considering the lack of reliable data, especially at lower administrative levels. Adding more socioeconomic variables beside GDP/c would do a lot to help explain the differences between the two groups examined in this paper.

Conclusion

Demographic distinctiveness of former communist countries, apparent at the national level, is present at the regional scale as well. Former communist countries and their regions are demographically distinct in almost every aspect. Their differentiation is pronounced the most with mortality indicators, i.e. mortality conditions are worse in the East. When compared with other regions of similar GDP/c, former communist regions still exhibit significantly lower life expectancy. Albeit, fertility on average tends to be a bit lower in former communist regions; it is the contrast in fertility schedule that truly divides the two groups. Mothers from former communist regions are on average much younger, and that holds true regardless of GDP/c. The former communist regions do tend to be slightly younger. However, the higher mortality rates in the East played a big part in shaping that younger age structure in the East. This is especially the case with economically less developed former communist regions. Former communist regions are a more heterogeneous group when it comes to mortality and age structure, while other regions showed greater heterogeneity of fertility. Even though it's important to examine regional variation transnationally, it is also important to consider regional variation nationally. These two different contexts offer answers to different questions, especially policy-wise. In the national context, life expectancy and fertility schedule vary more within former communist countries. Surprisingly, the measure of young/old balance (AI) does not vary the most in former communist countries, but in countries of Southern Europe.

Is the subnational approach warranted in studying East-West demographic differences in the EU? In case of Germany, it certainly is due to its unique history, but is it preferable in general EU context? The short, but not complete, answer is yes. It depends on the demographic phenomena being studied. The case can be made that there is little to be gained when studying the differences in mortality subnationally since the differences between East and West are as obvious at regional as they are obvious at the national level. Still, there are important regional differences in mortality, in some of the countries that need to be acknowledged. When it comes to fertility levels, considering the national context is paramount, which makes subnational approach less warranted. However, fertility schedule is

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the aspect of fertility where subnational approach should be preferable, given the differences in regional variation.

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Marko Galjak *

Demografski jaz između istoka i zapada Evropske unije: Regionalni pregled

R e z i m e

Cilj ovog rada je da istraži razlike u demografskim pokazateljima između regiona Evropske unije u odnosu na to da li su pripadali bivšim komunističkim državama ili nisu. U radu je problem demografskog jaza između istočne i zapadne Evrope sagledan na regionalnom nivou. Osim tog pregleda, u radu se postavlja pitanje da li je važno ispitivati razlike u pojedinim demografskim pokazateljima između bivših komunističkih država i ostalih država EU na administrativnom nivou nižem od državnog? Ova transverzalna studija je sprovedena koristeći podatke 1.155 NUTS 3 regiona Evropske unije iz 2014. godine. NUTS 3 regioni su podeljeni u dve grupe u zavisnosti od toga da li su pripadali Istočnom bloku ili ne. Ispitan je 21 demografski pokazatelj među kojima su pokazatelji mortaliteta, fertiliteta i starosne strukture. Dodatno, očigledne razlike u ekonomskoj razvijenosti regiona kontrolisane su pomoću bruto domaćeg proizvoda po stanovniku (BDP/c). Na bazi BDP/c, regioni su podeljeni u tri grupe: nizak, srednji, visok. Prema toj podeli, testirana je razlika između dve grupe regiona za svaki pokazatelj. Tako je ispitana regionalna varijacija na nivou cele EU. Dodatno, ispitana je i varijacija unutar pojedinačnih država za svaki pokazatelj. Rezultati pokazuju da je kod mortaliteta najveći jaz između dve grupe regiona. Mortalitetni uslovi su mnogo lošiji na istoku EU. Ova razlika postoji bez obzira na BDP/c, tj. ekonomski najrazvijeniji regioni bivših komunističkih zemalja imaju u proseku viši mortalitet od ostalih regiona sličnog BDP/c. Iako je fertilitet u proseku niži kod bivših regiona komunističkih zemalja, velika razlika je detektovana samo kada je starosni model fertiliteta u pitanju. Prosečna starost majki pri rođenju je značajno veća u ostalim regionima i to bez obzira na BDP/c. Kada je u pitanju starosna struktura, bivši komunistički regioni su u proseku nešto mlađi, ne kao rezultat viših stopa fertiliteta, već viših stopa mortaliteta. Kada je u pitanju regionalna varijacija unutar zemalja EU, mortalitet i starost majki pri rađanju variraju više kod bivših komunističkih država, dok su varijacije u odnosu starih i mladih veće kod država koje nisu pripadale Istočnom bloku. Analiza regionalne varijacije je pokazala da je regionalni pristup veoma relevantan kada se ispituju demografske razlike između „Istoka“ i „Zapada“ u EU. Regionalni pristup je naročito opravdan kada je u pitanju analiza starosnog modela rađanja.

Ključne reči: *bivše komunističke države, mortalitet, fertilitet, starenje, Evropa, NUTS 3*

* Centar za demografska istraživanja, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd (Srbija);
e-mail: galjak@gmail.com

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SPATIAL ASPECTS OF DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES IN SERBIA

Nikola KRUNIĆ [*], *Aleksandra GAJIĆ* [*], *Danijela SRNIĆ* [*], *Dragutin TOŠIĆ* [**]

Changes in the trends, distribution and structures of the population identified through censuses (such as the changes in total population, gender, educational, age and other structures) are crucial for understanding spatial phenomena and processes like urbanization. Numerous urban geography studies researching the development of systems of settlements in former Yugoslavia, which carried on in Serbia, were the foundation for a singular theoretical and methodological framework for researching spatial phenomena and processes focused precisely on the understanding of dynamic changes in the structures of the population and their territorial manifestation. Other than in scientific research, this approach found direct application in spatial and urban planning, when defining the measures directing demographic development, arrangement of urban functions, formation of a system of settlements, planning infrastructure development, etc. More recently, this theoretical and methodological framework was enhanced using GIS technologies, which allow for the integration of spatial and statistical data and provide for a powerful analytical tool. Data integration has spurred new research on the correlation between demographic and spatial phenomena and the mutual relationships and influences between spatial and demographic development. This paper presents an overview of existing research on the mutual influence between population development trends and spatial changes manifest through the fluctuations in the intensity of built-up areas, population density, infrastructure development, etc. A model of population distribution was created by using selected census statistical data and correlating them with phenomena in actual geospace. Emphasis is placed on the significance of using this and similar models in further research on the population's impact on the environment, directing economic development, protection in emergency situations, and numerous other areas.

Keywords: *population, spatial data, regression analysis, GIS, Serbia*

Introduction

Understanding the rules of population distribution and the related population trends, seen in the changes in total population, population density, demographic and socioeconomic structures and characteristics of a given popula-

[*] Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia;
email: nikola@iaus.ac.rs

[**] Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade

tion, etc., is constantly the focus of researchers' interest. More recently, with the growing use of GIS technologies and tools in research, development of statistical methods and models, rising accessibility to open data, in particular spatial data, the number of studies primarily focused on the spatial manifestation of demographic processes has been on the rise. This paper has that focus as well – its main hypothesis is that the direction of demographic development may be predicted by following spatial and geographic changes and processes. The aim of the paper is to identify the minimum number of basic spatial indicators that can explain the phenomenon of population distribution in a specific territory in an optimal way.

The research is based on facts, thoroughly explained both in theory and using methods of urban geography and regional sciences, which are based on the fact that the (economic) activity and mobility of the population of an area creates spatial and functional relations and links, determining the level of development of the overall infrastructure, manner of land use and arrangement of a territory and its overall organisation.

These activities, along with cause-and-effect changes in total population (and population density) form centres in actual geospace, and zones of (high) concentration of functions, capital *and information* around them, whereas depressions with poorly developed functions that do not ensure a satisfactory quality of life to their scarce populations form outside them. This kind of polarised development is based on certain principles that have been scientifically explained in Yugoslav and Serbian schools of urban and regional geography (Vresk, 1990; Tošić, 2012). At the core lies the imbalance between centre and periphery that spurs economic development, with the polarisation at the same time being its consequence and function. Development in geographic space is uneven, and the mutual interactions of economic units lead to the formation of a hierarchical structure of that space. The imbalance is ubiquitous due to the circulation of innovation, internal and external economic effects, decision-making processes, etc.

Concentration zones are connected with infrastructure systems that are geographically/topographically predisposed, and these links, known as development axes, are secondary concentration zones. They contribute to the agglomeration of multiple centres and zones of concentration into a metropolis.

All seemingly new and modern phenomena occurring in cities and their systems of settlements (urban sprawl, gentrification, smart/green concept development, etc.) resulted from the above mentioned processes, which differ only in terms of the location and manner of their manifestation. The key to understanding them lies in the examination of cause-and-effect links between spatial and demographic development, in the broadest sense. Mutual cause-and-effect links manifest most prominently in the relation between cities and their surroundings, and Tošić and Nevenić (2007: 297) underline the complexity of

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their influence: "… through their activities, cities affect regional integration and the differentiation of a naturally and environmentally, socio-economically, settlement-wise and demographically, physiognomically and functionally heterogeneous space, creating specific spatial systems…"

Numerous studies were conducted in Serbia on the link between demographic and spatial development. The research presented in this paper was influenced the most by the following studies: a) link between demographic development and changes in the manner of land use (Krunić, et al., 2014; Krunić, Gajić, 2016); b) applications of GIS tools and geostatistical models in the prediction of population distribution in Serbia and its regions (Bajat et al., 2009; Bajat et al., 2011a; 2011b; 2011c); c) dasymetric mapping (Bajat et al., 2011d; Bajat et al., 2011e; Krunić et al., 2011; Krunić et al., 2015a); d) modelling population density in urban areas (Bajat et al., 2013); e) spatial and functional relationships and links in urban regions and settlement networks (Krunić, 2012; Krunić et al., 2013); f) spatial manifestation of daily urban systems (Tošić et al., 2009a, 2009b), etc.

Method

The most frequent problem in the research of the mutual relationship between space and population is identifying population distribution in real geospace based on available statistical and spatial data, given that the population is in no way settled homogeneously. An additional problem stems from the scope of administrative/territorial/statistical units, which, besides the actually built-up space belonging to the settlement, also contain other uninhabited spaces. This leads to wrong assessments of population distribution, density and intensity, and an inability to establish the directions of population movements, functional links between settlements, etc.

The development of methods aimed at more accurate mapping of population distribution has a long history (Bajat et al., 2011d). These procedures are today known as dasymetric mapping. The dasymetric procedure uses various approaches in disaggregating statistical data, along with predictors, and relies both on simple statistical methods and on advanced geostatistical models, machine learning techniques, etc.

Most dasymetric models exhibit deficiencies when modelling extreme population density values, since they overestimate low-population-density areas and underestimate high-population-density areas. To overcome this problem, Cockx and Canters (2015) used the Flanders–Brussels region to propose a model based on spatial non-stationarity by comparing global (OLS), regional (rule-based) and local (geographically weighted) regression and included as predictors the information on address type (residen-

tial, mixed or commercial zone), household size and demographic and residential characteristics. It was found that the regional model that incorporates address type and household size information is the best solution for improving dasymetric mapping.

Mennis (2015) uses dasymetric mapping in an assessment of the population living in proximity to hazardous air pollutant releases (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) in small urban areas. Use of the dasymetric model was justified by comparing census tract-level and dasymetric data, which include additional predictors (through a combination of demographic data and urban plan data).

By introducing new sets of data that do not relate merely to the manner of using land and the land cover (as had been the case in most approaches until then), Stevens et al. (2015) defined a semi-automated method, which creates maps that are not only more accurate than most other methods, but also represent variability in population density as it relates to multiple biophysical and social features across the landscape. Their model uses the "Random Forest" (RF) method, which yields a flexible weighting algorithm, thus improving the accuracy of the model in every grid cell.

Tenerelli et al. (2015) emphasise the significance of using fine scale population distribution information in the context of providing support to risk management and emergency response. They disaggregated the residential population from a local level census at the level of single building blocks, based on a dasymetric approach using an urban land use map as ancillary information. Similar studies were carried out in Serbia to determine the vulnerability of the population to floods (Bajat et al., 2012; Bajat et al., 2015; Krunić et al., 2015b).

The study by Jia and Gaughan (2016) confirms the hypothesis that the integration of land cover data, information on cadastral parcels and some demographic indicators increases the accuracy of grid cells in population distribution models. They improve the existing high-resolution gridded population surface (HGPS) by including data on numerous types of land use, ownership, household characteristics and types of residence.

Li et al. (2015) disaggregated population census data at the level of a small spatial unit (1x1 km grid) for Hungary. A dasymetric approach was used to predict the spatial distribution of population in different age groups by distinguishing residential preferences (in relation to accessible social, economic and green amenities) and land use data.

Wei et al. (2017) used a dasymetric modelling approach to establish the extent of urban sprawl and detect the related demographic changes based on a macro-regional analysis of 28 cities. In addition to census data, they

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used a series of Landsat satellite imagery to establish the manner of land use.

An interesting approach to population distribution modelling was taken in the study by Liu et al. (2018), who compared data on the population recorded by mobile phone base stations and land use data. The key methodological challenge here was the fact that mobile base stations have no stable boundaries of service area, and their spatial distribution is uneven. This was resolved using a model where the phenomenon's intensity drops as the distance increases (distance-decay function). They also shed a light on the strong relationship between the number of mobile phone users and the type of nearby land use. This method is useful for identifying urban centrality, employment subcentres and population fluctuation over space and time, etc.

Zoraghein and Leyk (2018) used a dasymetric method to overcome problems when comparing high-detail census data at lower levels in cases when census boundaries change. In addition to census data, also used were data on residential parcels, housing types, road/street network and land cover classes.

Aiming to contribute to further research on the links between space and population, this paper explores the influence of certain spatial components on population distribution in Serbia. Research results should help define appropriate models that would, based on a small set of easily available geodata, integrated with statistical population data, be used to assess the total population in a given territory, and to assume its number and distribution in the future.

This study covers the territory of the Republic of Serbia. According to the 2011 Census of population, without data available for the territory of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, Serbia had 7,186,862 inhabitants, with the average population density of 92 per km^2. The research was conducted at the level of 4,721 statistical settlements (Map 1). The analysis is based on official statistical census data and on open geospatial data.

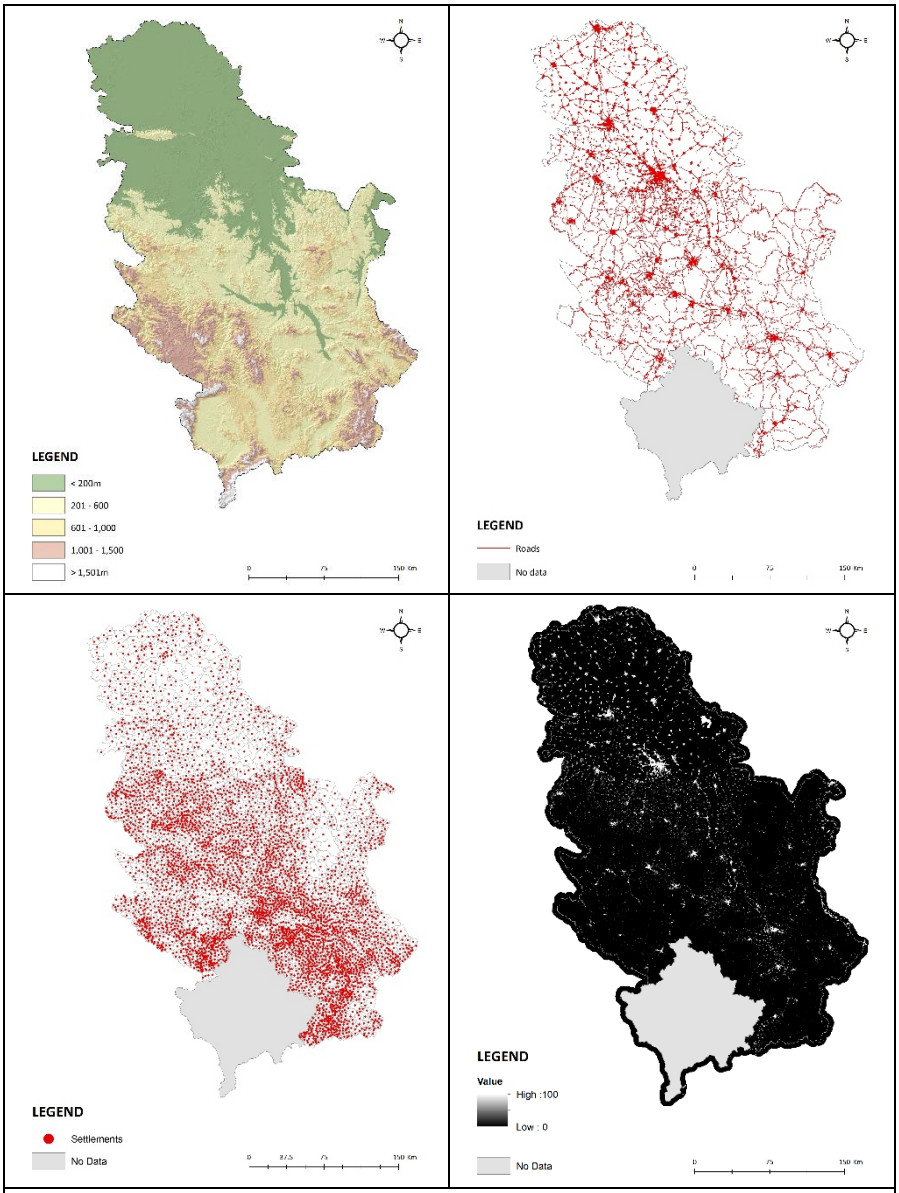
Data on total population according to the 2011 census relate to the level of settlements. In addition to absolute population numbers, the following data were used: age (population aged 15 to 64) and educational structure (population with high education), changes in total population from 1961 to 2011, active employed population and the share of the total number of daily migrants in active employed population (SORS 2013a; 2013b; 2018).

Data relating to the territory of statistical settlements were taken from the Register of Spatial Units of the Republic Geodetic Authority in vector format (*shp) in the form of polygons. To prepare the statistical data layer,

centroids of settlements were defined, and were assigned appropriate spatial and statistical attributes.

Map 1.

Overview of spatial data: Relief (top left), Road network (top right), Statistical settlements and their centroids (bottom left) and Intensity of built-up areas (bottom right)



Source: Authors' interpretation of the used geodata (EEA 2012: 2016, Geofabrik 2018).

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Transport accessibility is considered one of the key components of spatial and demographic development. For the purposes of this paper, accessibility to a settlement was expressed as the density of the road network in a 5 km radius from the centroid of every statistical settlement. Open spatial data from the OpenStreetMap base in the vector format (*shp) were used (Geofrabik, 2018). Based on the attributes of geospatial data that relate to the category of roads, significant roads were selected – state and local roads, and uncategorised roads, pedestrian and bicycle paths were eliminated.

Numerous studies linked altitude to population distribution (Krunić et al., 2015; Gajić, Krunić, 2015). To establish the average altitude of settlements, the EU-DEM (European Digital Elevation Model) terrain model was used, which was developed by the EEA (European Environment Agency) as part of the Copernicus program, and is available in GeoTIFF format in the spatial resolution of 25 m (EEA, 2016).

Finally, to accurately determine the position of actually built-up parts in the scope of a statistical settlement, and the intensity of built-up areas, raster data on land that became impervious to water for anthropogenic reasons (Burghardt, 2006) for 2012 in 100 m resolution was used.

To establish the relationship between total population on the one hand, and other demographic, statistical and spatial data on the other, the multiple linear regression (MLR) method was used. This approach is well-known and frequently used, both to determine the relationships and links between a dependent variable and multiple independent variables, and to identify significant indicators influencing the independent variable (Rawlings et al., 1998). It is also used to predict and assess the variation of phenomena based on other phenomena (Kleinbaum et al., 1988). In this research, the method was used with a view to accurately determine the relationships between total population and determined predictors.

Table 1.
Descriptive statistics for chosen independent variables

Variables	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**
Total population	1,522.32	8,516.06
Population change index	65.38	85.25
Average altitude (m a. s. l.)	470.21	330.12
Intensity of built-up areas (Sum of SSD* pixel values)	3,082.24	9,970.10
Road density network (km per km^2)	0.59	0.73
Share of population aged 15-64 in total population (%)	58.42	14.65
Share of population with high education (%)	2.27	2.71
Share of daily migrants in total employed population (%)	48.40	224.20
Source: Authors' calculation. *SSD - Soil sealing degree		

The first step constituted the selection of indicators (variables) considered to have a potential impact on the overall population (Table 1). Particular attention was paid to indicators reflecting changes in Serbia's geospace. Initially, there were 7 spatial statistical indicators, but after the correlation analysis and the establishment of every variable's significance in the set model, it was found that three spatial variables (intensity of built-up areas, average altitude, road network density) were the most significant in the regression analysis. The relationship between these variables was further considered in the regression model. Values of spatial variables were obtained using GIS tools. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for the processing, analysis and modelling of statistical data.

Results

The obtained results confirm the hypothesis on the interdependence between spatial and demographic indicators. Multiple correlation coefficient R equals 0.921, pointing to a linear correlation between the original values of the dependent variable (Total population) and the model of the predicted value of the dependent variable. The coefficient of determination (R^2) shows that 85% of the variability of the dependent variable may be explained by the regression model. The value of the adjusted determination coefficient (0.849) shows a favourable relation between the dependent variable and independent variables. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) has a significant value – 0.000, indicating that the regression model is statistically reliable. Standardised values of β coefficients suggest that the greatest share in the regression model is held by the intensity of built-up areas, followed by road network density and average altitude. Based on the value of the t-statistic and the accompanying significance values (Sig. <0.05), it may be concluded that the observed variables have a significant statistical contribution to the prediction of the dependent variable (Table 2).

Table 2.
Coefficients

Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	-3198.079	103.386		-30.933	0.000
Avg. altitude	2.992	0.153	0.116	19.551	0.000
SSD* SUM	0.725	0.006	0.849	123.430	0.000
Road_density	1824.471	80.819	0.157	22.575	0.000
Source: Authors' calculation. *SSD - Soil sealing degree					

Map 2 shows residual standard deviation. Under-predicted values (where the actual population exceeds the population estimated by the model) are

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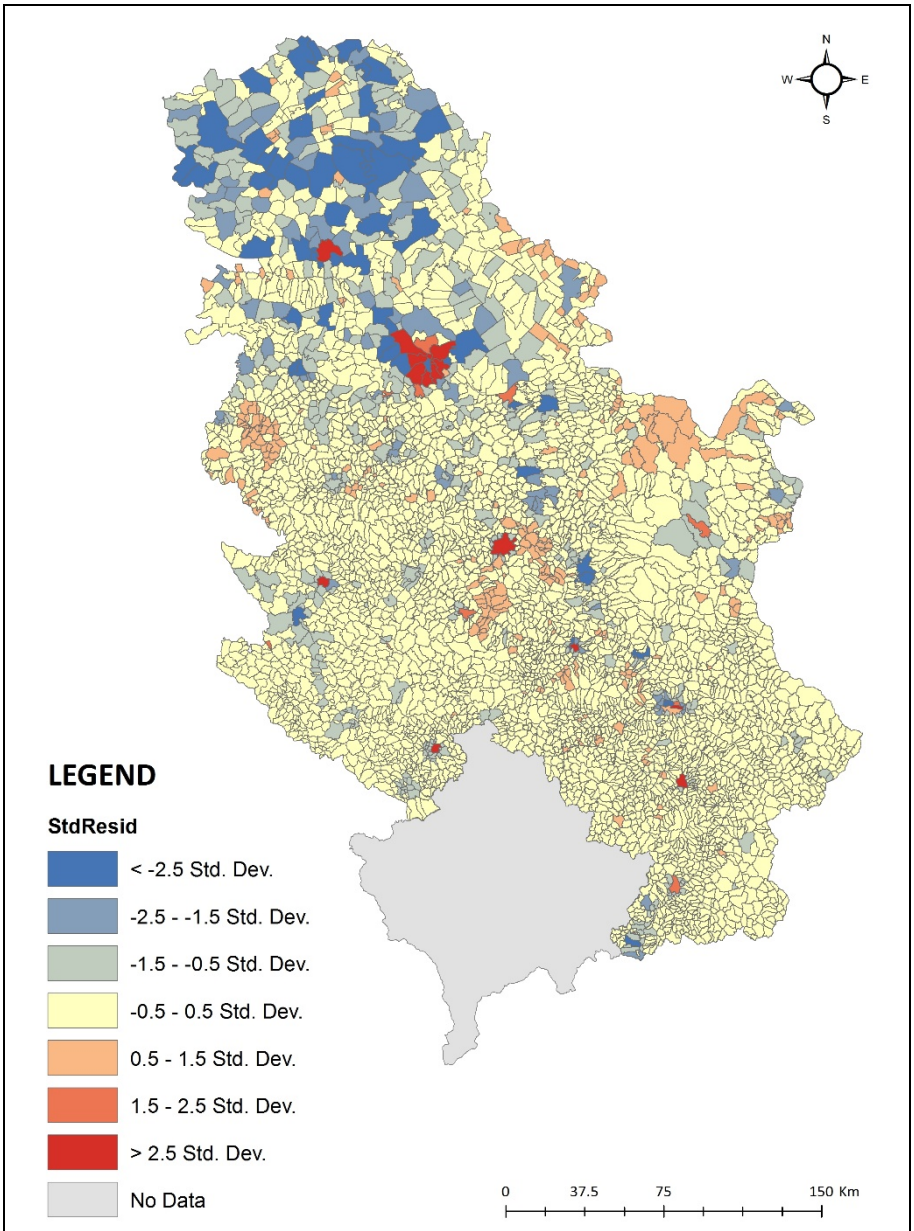
marked in white, while over-predicted values are marked in black. The total number of settlements with residual standard deviation above the tolerance band is 103, or 2.8% of the total number of observed settlements.

Map 2.
Total population in the function of spatial phenomena (residuals)



Source: Authors' calculation based on the 2011 census data (SORS 2013a).

Discussion

The research used the multiple linear regression method to identify links between spatial and demographic indicators and their influence on the overall population of Serbia. Several regression models were developed during the research. They had included more variables (population change index, share of population aged 15-64 in total population, share of daily migrants in total employed population, and share of population with high education), but after establishing the influence of each variable, only three were selected. The selected variables largely recognise the complexity of spatial and demographic relations that influence the overall population.

Similar conclusions were found in a study by Gajić et al. (2018) that explored the possibilities for the delimitation of rural and urban areas in Serbia using multivariate analysis. Principal component analysis (PCA) was used to identify the links between physical geography indicators and socioeconomic indicators, and 4 components were identified that influence the delimitation of rural and urban areas in Serbia. Spatial indicators were defined (e.g. average altitude, land use) and their relations to demographic indicators were established, while proving that these indicators have a significant impact in the explanation of the overall variance of the proposed model. Factor analysis and cluster analysis were further used to confirm the results obtained with the PCA method, leading to the identification of five types of land that may be constitute a basis for the delimitation of rural and urban areas in Serbia.

On the other hand, the greatest deficiencies of the multiple linear regression method used here are seen precisely in the areas where the complexity of spatial and demographic processes is the most pronounced (e.g. areas with high population density). Still, this is consistent with previous studies that used built-up areas to map population distribution (Krunić et al, 2015a). The influence of road network density and average altitude is considerably lower, which may in particular be seen in plains, where the use of the model encounters the greatest errors. A very high coefficient of determination of the applied model is a solid foundation for further research, modelling and prediction of demographic processes. However, spatial stationarity should not be neglected, as it is one of the main preconditions for using multiple linear regression, where parameters are calculated as average values at all locations (Mou et al., 2017). The focus of further studies will move in the direction of using models that are more locally sensitive, such as those that are obtained using geographically weighted regression (GWR). A preliminary analysis shows that this method explains around 92% of the dependent variable's value.

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Conclusion

In recent decades, spatial and demographic analyses have been a prevalent topic in numerous studies and publications, mainly owing to the wide array of possibilities provided by GIS tools and various statistical software packages combined with the ever more available and high quality geospatial data (Chi, Zhu, 2008).

The results obtained by this paper additionally explain the mutual links between demographic and spatial phenomena and may substantially help other researchers in the definition of more reliable models for the assessment of total population and population distribution in Serbia. The main hypothesis of the paper was confirmed, suggesting that demographic phenomena and processes may only be understood with a good understanding of their geographic context. On the other hand, it is clear that all spatial and structural changes in settlements are the result of the activities of the population and its overall development.

Regression analysis in this paper ensures positive initial results in the identification of the main directions of movement of the population in Serbia and the relations between spatial and demographic variables. In addition to the above, the obtained results have a wide practical application, and may be significant for analyses and projections in spatial and urban planning, environmental protection, socioeconomic disciplines, etc., wherever population is a factor of spatial changes.

On the other hand, new questions are opened, which need to be considered to improve the existing model. Future research should explore other models for disaggregation of statistical data and test additional variables, etc. However, it is certain that in the near future, there will be a greater need for spatial information that, besides geographic location, contains the characteristics of the population living in those areas.

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Nikola Krunić*, Aleksandra Gajić*, Danijela Srnić*, Dragutin Tošić*

Prostorni aspekti demografskih procesa u Srbiji

R e z i m e

Promene u strukturama stanovništva koje se prate popisom (kao što su npr. promene u broju stanovnika, polna, obrazovna, starosna i dr. struktura) su od ključnog značaja za razumevanje prostornih pojava i procesa poput urbanizacije. Polazeći od brojnih urbano-geografskih studija razvoja sistema naselja ostvarenih u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji, a nastavljenih potom u Srbiji, formiran je jedinstven teorijsko-metodološki okvir istraživanja prostornih pojava i procesa koje u fokusu imaju upravo razumevanje dinamičnih promena u strukturama stanovništva i njihovo teritorijalno manifestovanje. Ovakav pristup je, pored naučnoistraživačkog polja, našao direktnu primenu i u prostornom i urbanističkom planiranju pri definisanju mera usmeravanja demografskog razvoja, razmeštaja gradskih funkcija, formiranja sistema naselja, planiranja razvoja infrastrukture i dr. U novije vreme, ovaj teorijsko-metodološki okvir je unapređen primenom GIS tehnologije koja omogućuje integraciju prostornih i statističkih podataka i obezbeđuje moćan analitički alat. Integracija podataka podstakla je nova istraživanja korelacija demografskih i prostornih pojava, odnosno uzajamnih veza i uticaja prostornog i demografskog razvoja. U ovom radu se daje pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja međusobnog uticaja dinamike razvoja stanovništva i promena u prostoru vidljivih kroz promene u intenzitetu izgrađenosti naselja, gustini naseljenosti, infrastrukturnoj opremljenosti i dr. Korišćenjem odabranih statističkih podataka popisa, i dovođenjem njih u vezu sa pojavama u konkretnom geoprostoru, dat je model prostorne distribucije stanovništva. Naglašava se značaj primene ovog i sličnih modela u daljim istraživanjima uticaja stanovništva na životnu sredinu, usmeravanja ekonomskog razvoja, zaštite u vanrednim situacijama i brojnim drugim oblastima.

Ključne reči: *stanovništvo, prostorni podaci, regresiona analiza, GIS, Srbija*

* Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije; email: nikola@iaus.ac.rs.
** Geografski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

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DOSELJAVANJE IZ BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE U HRVATSKU: MIGRACIJSKI OBRASCI DOSELJENIKA U ZAGREBU

Sanja KLEMPIĆ BOGADI,[*] Margareta GREGUROVIĆ,[*] Sonja PODGORELEC [*]

Prema popisima stanovništva od 1948. među stanovnicima Hrvatske rođenima u inozemstvu najviše je doseljenih iz Bosne i Hercegovine (BiH). U radu se analiziraju migracijski tokovi između Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske u posljednjih šezdeset godina te demografski podaci o doseljenicima u Republiku Hrvatsku iz Bosne i Hercegovine, što se dodatno podupire rezultatima istraživanja „Utjecaj doseljavanja iz Bosne i Hercegovine na socio-demografski razvoj hrvatskih urbanih regija". Anketno istraživanje provedeno je 2014. u Sesvetama, „doseljeničkoj" gradskoj četvrti Zagreba, na prosudbenom uzorku stanovnika Hrvatske starijih od 18 godina rođenih u Bosni i Hercegovini. U radu se donose rezultati vezani uz njihovu migracijsku povijest (vrijeme i motivi iseljavanja, mjesto odakle su se doselili i ranije migracijsko iskustvo te namjera o trajnom ostanku u Hrvatskoj) te odabrane transnacionalne aktivnosti. Provedene analize ukupnog iseljavanja iz Bosne i Hercegovine upućuju na postojanje dvaju osnovnih motiva doseljavanja u Hrvatsku: do kraja 1980-ih migracije su prvenstveno bile potaknute ekonomskom nerazvijenošću zemlje podrijetla, dok se 1990-ih mijenja migracijski obrazac te umjesto radnih dominiraju prisilne migracije uzrokovane ratom u BiH. Ispitanici u istraživanju u najvećoj su se proporciji u Hrvatsku doselili u 1990-ima te su u najvećem udjelu etnički Hrvati, a gotovo svi imaju hrvatsko državljanstvo. Gotovo dvije trećine ispitanika (63,1%) do konačnog preseljenja u Hrvatsku nije imalo nikakvo migracijsko iskustvo, a preko 90% namjerava trajno ostati živjeti u Hrvatskoj. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju aktivne transnacionalne veze doseljenika koje pripadaju društvenoj i kulturnoj kategoriji aktivnosti.

Ključne riječi: *doseljenici iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatska, Zagreb, migracije, transnacionalne veze*

Uvod

Migracije su posljednjih stotinjak godina bile važan čimbenik u kretanju ukupnog broja stanovnika Hrvatske, ali i u prostornom razmještaju stanovništva. Razvoj sekundarnih i tercijarnih djelatnosti u razdoblju nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata potaknuo je koncentraciju stanovništva u gradovima i

[*] Znanstveni odsjek za migracijska i demografska istraživanja, Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Zagreb (Hrvatska); email: sanja.klempic@imin.hr

njihov razvoj. Migracije stanovništva iz sela u grad 1960-ih i 1970-ih imale su razmjere ruralnog egzodusa. U isto vrijeme stanovnici Republike Hrvatske među prvima su se u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Republici Jugoslaviji (SFRJ) uključili u tzv. odlazak na privremeni rad u inozemstvo, što se negativno odrazilo na ukupna demografska kretanja. Naime privremenost je ubrzo uglavnom prerasla u trajno iseljavanje. Usporedno s brojnim iseljavanjem svojeg stanovništva Hrvatska je bila i atraktivno migracijsko odredište za doseljenike iz drugih tadašnjih republika, posebice iz Bosne i Hercegovine (BiH). U razdobljima nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata do početka 1990-ih migracija iz BiH u Hrvatsku bila je uglavnom potaknuta ekonomskom (ne)razvijenošću i usmjerena najvećim dijelom u tadašnja gospodarska, točnije industrijska središta,[1] gdje se tražila brojna radna snaga.

Prema podacima popisa 2011., u Hrvatskoj je živjelo ukupno 4.290.612 stanovnika, od čega je 584.947 ili 13,7% osoba rođenih u inozemstvu. Od toga broja većina njih (70% ili 409.357) rođena je u Bosni i Hercegovini, dok znatno manjim udjelom participiraju doseljenici rođeni u Srbiji (9%), Njemačkoj (5,8%), Kosovu (3,5%), Sloveniji (3,4%), Makedoniji (1,7%) te u ostalim zemljama (DZS, 2013). Veliki broj stanovnika Republike Hrvatske rođenih u BiH posljedica je radnih migracija tijekom socijalističkog razdoblja i useljavanja uzrokovanih ratom na prostoru BiH tijekom prve polovine 1990-ih (Klempić Bogadi, Lajić, 2014). Promatra li se prostorni raspored doseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine (rođeni u BiH) u Hrvatskoj, njihova je najveća koncentracija u Gradu Zagrebu (98.579), Splitsko-dalmatinskoj županiji (36.864), Zagrebačkoj županiji (35.427), Brodsko-posavskoj (29.537) i Osječko-baranjskoj županiji (28.051) (DZS, 2013). Možemo reći da su to „ulazne" županije, najbliže pograničnim područjima BiH, iz kojih je iseljavanje prema Hrvatskoj bilo najintenzivnije (Klempić Bogadi, Lajić, 2014).

Prema podacima UN-a i Eurostata za 2015., ukupni broj emigranata rođenih u Bosni i Hercegovini, bez obzira na sadašnji državljanski status, u 51 zemlji svijeta iznosi 1.727.173, od čega ih u zemljama EU-28 živi oko 60%, odnosno 1.039.236. Podaci Svjetske banke procjenjuju da se u emigraciji nalazi otprilike 44,5% stanovništva porijeklom iz BiH, što je po stopi emigracije u odnosu na broj stanovnika u zemlji (3.531.159) smješta na visoko 16. mjesto od ukupno 214 zemalja (MSB, 2017: 63-64) i značajno je viša od stopa zemalja koje ju okružuju, primjerice Hrvatske (20,9%) i Srbije (18%).

[1] Prema podacima o općinama u Hrvatskoj s najvećim udjelom radnika iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Zagreb je već 1976. bio „dominantni prijemni centar" s 41,6% svih radnika iz BiH na radu u Hrvatskoj, a slijedile su ga Rijeka te pogranična općina većeg urbanog centra Slavonskog Broda. Potom su po broju registriranih radnika bili Sisak, Dubrovnik i Split (Oliveira-Roca, 1981: 47).

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S obzirom na to da se podaci Svjetske banke odnose samo na prvu generaciju emigranata, razlikuju se od podataka agencija za statistiku zemalja primitka i diplomatsko-konzularnih predstavništava Bosne i Hercegovine, prema kojima je procjena ukupnog broja osoba koje žive u iseljeništvu, a po porijeklu su iz Bosne i Hercegovine, najmanje dva milijuna ili čak 56,6% ukupnog stanovništva u zemlji (MSB, 2017: 63-64).

Hrvatska je do 2015. s 404.874 doseljenika, uz Srbiju (335.992), Njemačku (199.837) i Austriju (157.844), bila najčešća destinacija za doseljavanje bosanskohercegovačkog stanovništva. Od 2016. bilježi se trend brojnijeg iseljavanja u Njemačku i Austriju, dok se broj iseljenih u Hrvatsku i Srbiju smanjuje (MSB, 2018).[2]

Nakon pregleda migracijskih tokova između Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske u posljednjih šezdeset godina, u radu će biti analizirani demografski podaci o doseljenicima u Republiku Hrvatsku iz Bosne i Hercegovine, bez obzira na etničku pripadnost, poduprijeti dijelom rezultata istraživanja „Utjecaj doseljavanja iz Bosne i Hercegovine na socio-demografski razvoj hrvatskih urbanih regija“. Istraživanje je provedeno 2014. u Sesvetama, „doseljeničkoj“ gradskoj četvrti Zagreba. Zagreb je izabran upravo stoga što je u njemu, kao što je već navedeno, najveća koncentracija te skupine doseljenika. Cilj istraživanja bio je metodom ankete ispitati čimbenike vezane uz doseljavanje, iskustva u novoj sredini te određene dimenzije kvalitete života stanovnika Hrvatske starijih od 18 godina, rođenih u Bosni i Hercegovini, a doseljenih u Republiku Hrvatsku. Za potrebe ovoga rada, nakon demografske analize, bit će prezentirani podaci o migracijskoj povijesti ispitanika i nekim njihovim transnacionalnim aktivnostima. Treba naglasiti da je to prvo istraživanje koje se bavi doseljenicima iz Bosne i Hercegovine kao najbrojnijom doseljeničkom skupinom u Hrvatskoj, pa nema izvora s kojima se dobiveni rezultati mogu uspoređivati.

Doseljavanja iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Hrvatsku od 1940-ih do danas

Analiza podataka o međurepubličkoj migraciji iz popisa stanovništva SFRJ od 1948. do 1981. pokazuje da je najveći broj doseljenih unutar SFRJ išao prema Srbiji i Hrvatskoj, a najviše je iseljenih išlo preko granica BiH i Hrvatske (Petrović, 1987). Tijekom tog razdoblja uočljiv je kontinuirani porast broja emigranata iz BiH, što upućuje, u prvom redu, na nepovoljne ekonomske procese na ovom području. U vrijeme SFRJ migracije

[2] Na pitanje stanovnicima BiH „Ako razmišljaju o životu i radu u nekoj drugoj zemlji Jugoistočne Europe, koja bi to zemlja bila?“ odgovori potvrđuju da je sve manji interes za iseljavanje u Hrvatsku (2015. 17%, a 2017. i 2018. nitko) i Srbiju (2015. 10%, 2017. 13%, a 2018. nitko) (MSB, 2018).

stanovništva odvijale su se iz smjera slabije gospodarski razvijenih republika prema razvijenima. Temeljna vrsta međurepubličkih migracija bile su radne migracije potaknute ekonomskim razlozima, i to, prije svega, nemogućnošću zapošljavanja u slabije razvijenim republikama. Nezaposlenost odnosno veliki broj tražitelja posla, visoki prirodni prirast i visoki udio poljoprivrednog stanovništva u ukupnom stanovništvu, koje je u to vrijeme predstavljalo važnu rezervu radne snage, glavni su razlozi iseljavanja iz BiH, a onda i doseljavanja u Hrvatsku.

Tako je međurepublička poslijeratna migracija (od 1948. do 1981.) iz Bosne i Hercegovine bila usmjerena uglavnom prema Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, a tek u posljednjemu promatranom desetljeću nešto je značajnija promjena u smjeru Slovenije (Milojević, 1986). A. Milojević analizira da se struktura osnovnog smjera odlazaka stanovnika BiH prema Hrvatskoj i Srbiji mijenja, pri čemu se relativni udio Srbije kao destinacije smanjuje (1948. 68,5% ukupnih odlazaka prema Srbiji, a 1981. 48,6%), dok smjer prema Hrvatskoj dosta brzo i neprekidno raste (s 27,6% 1948. na 42,5% 1981.) (1986: 13-14).

Područje Bosne i Hercegovine od 1948. do 1961. bilježilo je negativni migracijski saldo s tadašnjim republikama SFRJ, a iseljavanja su bila usmjerena prema Vojvodini, Hrvatskoj i užem području Srbije (IDN, 1968). Od 1948. do 1952. prosječno se godišnje iz BiH u Hrvatsku selilo 3.066 stanovnika, od 1953. do 1957. 6191, a između 1958. i 1961. 12.015 stanovnika (IDN, 1968: 46). Najjače migracijske struje bile su s područja Bosanske krajine, Bosanske Posavine, Srednje Bosne i Hercegovine (IDN, 1971: 108). Znatno je manje bio intenzivan suprotni smjer seljenja, iz Hrvatske u Bosnu i Hercegovinu – prosječno godišnje od 1948. do 1952. 1.014 stanovnika, od 1953. do 1957. 1.990, a između 1958. i 1961. 3.860 stanovnika (IDN, 1968: 46). U tadašnjim imigracijskim tokovima u Hrvatsku se iz BiH doseljavalo stanovništvo različitih nacionalnosti, ali su oduvijek prevladavali etnički Hrvati, što se nastavilo i do danas. Podaci o broju stanovnika pojedine nacionalnosti odseljenih iz BiH i odredištu iseljavanja potvrđuju etničku povezanost, pri čemu su se etnički Srbi uglavnom selili u Srbiju, a etnički Hrvati u Hrvatsku. Dakle, osim ekonomske privlačnosti destinacije, na međurepubličke migracije stanovništva u cijelome promatranom razdoblju značajno je utjecala i etnička pripadnost migranata.

Etnički aspekt međurepubličkih migracija potvrđuju i naredni podaci popisa stanovništva, pa je tako među doseljenicima u Hrvatsku bilo najviše Hrvata: 1961. od ukupno 235.219 doseljenih iz drugih republika 132.326 su bili Hrvati; 1971. od ukupno 331.070 doseljenih 171.026 su Hrvati, a 1981. od 368.765 ukupno doseljenih Hrvata je 164.654. Sljedeći najbrojniji bili su Srbi pa Slovenci (Petrović, 1987).

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U razdoblju između popisa 1948. i 1961. Hrvatska je bilježila ukupni negativni migracijski saldo s drugim tadašnjim republikama, i to zbog većeg iseljavanja stanovnika u Srbiju i Sloveniju, dok je s ostalim republikama migracijski saldo bio pozitivan (Petrović, 1987).

Tablica 1.
Međurepubličke migracije između Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske, 1948. – 1981.

		Doseljeni	Odseljeni	Razlika
1948.	Bosna i Hercegovina	53.792	210.904	−157.112
	Hrvatska	149.508	224.355	−74.847
1953.	Bosna i Hercegovina	80.515	246.290	−165.775
	Hrvatska	181.792	249.418	−67.626
1961.	Bosna i Hercegovina	103.235	330.015	−226.780
	Hrvatska	235.219	265.626	−30.407
1971.	Bosna i Hercegovina	123.429	469.021	−336.601
	Hrvatska	331.070	284.907	46.163
1981.	Bosna i Hercegovina	144.330	583.602	−442.272
	Hrvatska	368.765	291.907	76.858

Izvor: Petrović (1987: 62).

Prema popisu stanovništva 1961., u Hrvatskoj je živjelo 247.254 stanovnika doseljenih iz drugih republika SFRJ, među kojima je bilo najviše iz Bosne i Hercegovine, 117.161, a zatim iz Srbije, 76.290 (IDN, 1971: 108). Isti popis zabilježio je da u Hrvatskoj žive 132.042 osobe rođene u BiH, što je značajno povećanje u odnosu na popis 1948. kada ih je bilo svega 27.393 (SZS, 1955). Nešto više od polovine rođenih u Bosni i Hercegovini (73.309) živjelo je na području Slavonije, najviše u jugoistočnoj Slavoniji (35.994), manje u Posavskoj (17.841) i Sjeveroistočnoj Slavoniji (15.016), a najmanje u Podravskoj (4452), te na području Zagreba (21.366) (SZS, 1967). U međupopisnim razdobljima 1961. – 1971. i 1971. – 1981. migracijski saldo Hrvatske s drugim republikama bivše države pozitivan je, s tim da se razlika između broja emigranata i imigranata povećavala u apsolutnom broju (Petrović, 1987). Iseljavanje iz Bosne i Hercegovine i dalje ide uglavnom u dva smjera – prema Hrvatskoj i Srbiji.

Nerazmjer između broja odseljenih i doseljenih najočitiji je kod Hrvata, kojih se od 1971. do 1981. iz Bosne i Hercegovine odselilo 47.491, a doselilo svega 7842, što rezultira negativnim migracijskim saldom −39.649 (Petrović, 1987). Kontinuirano iseljavanje bosanskohercegovačkih Hrvata u

Hrvatsku, ali i u zemlje Zapadne Europe dovelo je do smanjenja udjela etničkih Hrvata u ukupnom stanovništvu BiH.[3]

Analiza ukupnog iseljavanja iz Bosne i Hercegovine potvrđuje da je više od polovine ukupne negativne bilance međurepubličke migracije BiH ostvarivala s Hrvatskom. Do 1991. u Bosnu i Hercegovinu najviše su se doseljavali Srbi, uglavnom iz Srbije, te dvostruko manje Bošnjaci/Muslimani i Hrvati (Markotić, 2000: 215).

Popis stanovništva Republike Hrvatske 1991. utvrdio je da su 508.674 osobe, ili 10,6%, rođene u nekoj stranoj državi (DZS, 1996), od čega je većina (317.923) rođenih u Bosni i Hercegovini. Njihova je najveća koncentracija bila na području Grada Zagreba (24,6%) te Vukovarsko-srijemske (12,5%) i Osječko-baranjske županije (10,1%) (Pepeonik, 2000: 203). U nacionalnoj strukturi doseljenih iz BiH prevladavali su etnički Hrvati (193.349 ili 60,8%), a slijede ih etnički Srbi (67.644), Muslimani (26.312) i kategorija „ostalih i nepoznatih" (30.618) (Pepeonik, 2000: 204). Z. Pepeonik (2000: 207) izdvaja sjeverni dio od Bihaća do Brčkog i jugozapadni od Livna do Ljubuškog kao dva područja Bosne i Hercegovine s većom emigracijom u Hrvatsku. Prema etničkoj pripadnosti doseljenika, najveći broj Hrvata doselio se iz zapadne Hercegovine i sjeverne Bosne, Srbi uglavnom iz sjeverne Bosne, a Muslimani najčešće iz sjeverozapadne Bosne (Pepeonik, 2000: 208).

Ratna zbivanja na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije 1990-ih pokrenula su masovna migracijska kretanja, pa su tako prisilne migracije – prognanici i izbjeglice – značajno utjecale na demografske trendove općenito, ali i na redistribuciju stanovništva unutar Hrvatske. Istovremeno su se odvijali preseljavanje unutar Hrvatske, iseljavanje iz Hrvatske prema državama bivše SFRJ (uglavnom BiH i Srbiji) i inozemstvu, ali i useljavanje uglavnom etničkih Hrvata iz Bosne i Hercegovine i Srbije.

U travnju 1992. počinje rat u Bosni i Hercegovini i ubrzo brojne izbjeglice iz Bosne i Hercegovine dolaze u Hrvatsku. U prosincu 1992. registrirano je ukupno 402.768 izbjeglica iz susjedne države, a preko Hrvatske je u treće zemlje otišlo više od 500.000 izbjeglica (Vlada RH, 1995). Ovisno o intenzitetu ratnih sukoba u BiH mijenjao se i broj izbjeglica u Hrvatskoj. Broj

[3] Prema popisima stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1961. 21,7%, 1971. 20,6%, 1981. 18,4%, 1991. 17,4%, a 2013. 15,4% građana izjasnilo se kao etnički Hrvati (BHAS, 2016; 2018). Sve do 1970-ih prirodni prirast nadoknađivao je iseljavanje, pa je broj Hrvata u BiH rastao sporije u usporedbi s druga dva naroda, međutim od 1970-ih smanjuju se natalitet i prirodni prirast te se intenzivira njihovo iseljavanje, što rezultira ukupnim smanjenjem broja Hrvata (Markotić, 1996: 227). Od 1971. do 1991. Hrvati u BiH imaju prirodni prirast od 149.425 i negativni migracijski saldo (−165.905) (Markotić, 1996: 225). Istovremeno se smanjuje i udio Srba uslijed negativnoga migracijskog salda (−238.857) iako je prirodno kretanje pozitivno (211.147), a raste udio Muslimana jer je prirodni prirast (487.566) znatno veći od negativnoga migracijskog salda (−64.342) (Markotić, 1996: 225).

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registriranih izbjeglica iz BiH (Vlada RH, 1998) tijekom trajanja rata, ali i nekoliko godina poslije, pokazuje razmjere izbjeglištva i prihvata bosanskohercegovačkih građana u Republiku Hrvatsku: 1992. 402.768, 1993. 270.000, 1995. 185.428, 1998. 139.400. U svibnju 1996. u Hrvatskoj je bilo registrirano 177.835 izbjeglica iz Bosne i Hercegovine, i to najviše iz općina Banja Luka (16.870), Derventa (13.422), Orašje (11.966) i Bosanski Brod (9319) (Vlada RH, 1996). Dio izbjeglica vratio se u BiH, dio odlazi u treće zemlje, a veliki broj etničkih Hrvata trajno se nastanio u Hrvatskoj.

Popis stanovništva 2001. zabilježio je 600.122 stanovnika Hrvatske rođena u inozemstvu, od čega je čak 95,9% rođenih u nekoj od republika bivše SFRJ, a svega 3,2% u drugim europskim zemljama (DZS, 2004). Najviše stanovnika Hrvatske rođenih u inozemstvu podrijetlom je iz BiH, njih čak 456.580, a od toga su broja 84,2% etnički Hrvati.

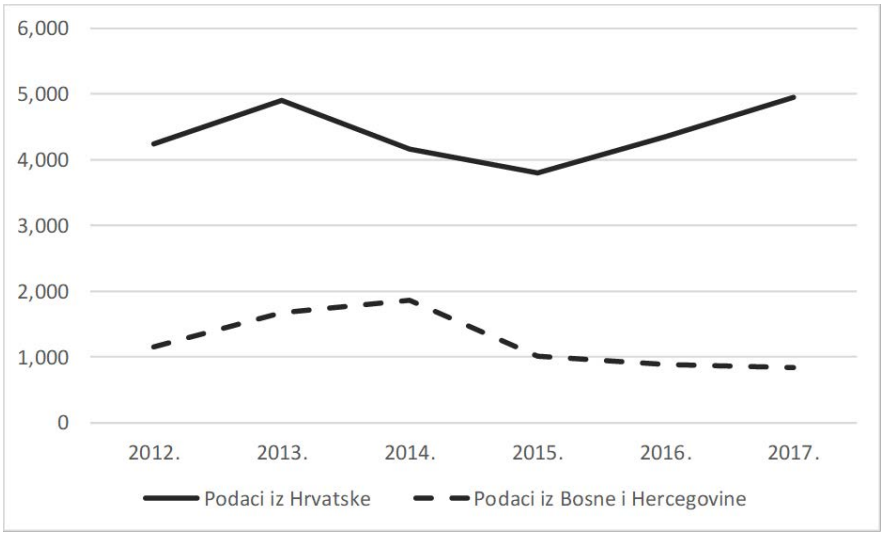
U Hrvatskoj je, prema popisu stanovništva 2011., zabilježen značajno veći broj rođenih u BiH (409.357) od ukupnog broja doseljenih iz BiH (271.211), što znači da je dio njih prije doseljenja u Hrvatsku živio u nekoj drugoj državi. Poznato je da se dio stanovništva rodom iz BiH koji je bio u izbjeglištvu tijekom 1990-ih, primjerice u Njemačkoj, nije vraćao u BiH, nego se uselio u Hrvatsku (Klempić Bogadi, Lajić, 2014).

Osim popisa stanovništva podaci o migracijama dostupni su i iz godišnjih izvještaja DZS-a o migracijama, nastalim na temelju podataka koje dobivaju od Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova o promjeni prebivališta. No, zbog određenih nepravilnosti i nedosljednosti u njihovu prikupljanju,[4] pri analizi dostupnih podataka potrebno je biti svjestan njihove nepreciznosti i ograničenja. Prema tim podacima, u Hrvatsku se iz Bosne i Hercegovine doselilo: 2012. 4242, 2013. 4902, 2014. 4165, 2015. 3804, 2016. 4348, 2017. 4949 (DZS, 2013–2018).

Slično kao i u Hrvatskoj, podaci o iseljavanju na godišnjoj razini nastaju temeljem odjave prebivališta u BiH radi preseljenja u drugu državu, a podatke vodi Agencija za identifikacijske dokumente, evidenciju i razmjenu podataka (IDDEEA). Prema tim podacima, u Hrvatsku se odselilo: 2012. 1155, 2013. 1675, 2014. 1868, 2015. 1014, 2016. 888, a 2017. 843 osobe (MSB, 2018). Već usporedba migracijskih podataka dviju zemalja (grafikon 1) upućuje na velike razlike u obuhvatu migranata, zbog čega te podatke ne možemo smatrati relevantnima da bismo mogli istražiti obujam migracijskih kretanja između BiH i Hrvatske.

[4] U migracijskoj statistici posebni je problem statističko praćenje odseljenih iz Hrvatske u inozemstvo s obzirom na to da oni uglavnom ne odjavljuje prebivalište. „Osim toga devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj su prijavljivali prebivalište brojni pretežno izbjegli etnički Hrvati iz BiH radi dobivanja hrvatskih dokumenata, iako u njoj nikada nisu zaista živjeli. To im je omogućilo odseljenje u treće zemlje“ (Klempić Bogadi, Lajić, 2014: 445).

Grafikon 1.
Broj doseljenih iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Hrvatsku prema zvaničnim izvorima dvije države



Izvori: DZS (2013-2018); MSB (2018).

O istraživanju

Istraživanje je provedeno krajem 2014. metodom ankete licem u lice (CAPI) u gradskoj četvrti Sesvete, Grad Zagreb, na prosudbenom uzorku od 301 ispitanika (tablica 2). Upitnik je sadržavao ukupno 69 pitanja, od kojih je većina bila zatvorenog tipa. Podijeljen je u osam cjelina: rad i financije, migracija, identitet, integracija, stanovanje i standard života, kvaliteta života i zdravlje.

Cilj istraživanja bio je ispitati čimbenike vezane uz doseljavanje, odabrane dimenzije integracije i kvalitete života stanovnika Hrvatske starijih od 18 godina rođenih u Bosni i Hercegovini, nastanjenih u gradskoj četvrti s visokim udjelom doseljenika rođenih u Bosni i Hercegovini.[5] Za potrebe ovoga rada bit će analizirani podaci o migracijskoj povijesti ispitanika (vrijeme i motivi iseljavanja, njihovo podrijetlo, /ne/postojanje ranijeg migracijskog iskustva i namjera o trajnom ostanku u Hrvatskoj) i nekim njihovim transnacionalnim aktivnostima. Iako se s temom migracijskih obrazaca mogu povezati i podaci prikupljeni vezano uz druge tematske cjeline poput integracije i diskriminacije, u ovome radu naglasak nije na njima jer se one

[5] Prema Popisu stanovništva 2011., u Gradu Zagrebu od ukupno 790.017 stanovnika, 138.553 rođena su u inozemstvu, najviše u BiH (98.579). Među sedamnaest gradskih četvrti, najveća je koncentracija doseljenika iz BiH u gradskoj četvrti Sesvete (14.201), gdje oni čine 20,3% ukupnog stanovništva.

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definiraju u drugačijemu teorijskom okviru, pri čemu se mijenjaju perspektiva i pristup analizi podataka.

Ograničenje studije proizlazi iz upotrijebljene metode uzorkovanja. Naime prosudbeno (ekspertno, namjerno) uzorkovanje kao neprobabilistička metoda temeljilo se na prosudbi znanstvenika uključenih u provedbu istraživanja. Budući da je odabrana gradska četvrt u kojoj je prema Popisu stanovništva iz 2011. zabilježena najveća koncentracija doseljenika iz BiH, dobiveni uzorak ne omogućuje zaključivanje na razini Grada Zagreba ni šire, no svakako donosi nove spoznaje o migracijskim obrascima odabrane skupine doseljenika. To je posebice važno zbog toga što na toj populaciji do sada u Hrvatskoj, kao što je navedeno i u uvodnom poglavlju, nije provedeno nijedno istraživanje.

Tablica 2.
Sociodemografska struktura uzorka

Varijabla	**Kategorije**	**N**	**%**
Spol	Muški	151	50,2
	Ženski	150	49,8
Dob	18 – 29	39	13,0
	30 – 39	58	19,3
	40 – 49	61	20,3
	50 – 59	64	21,3
	60 – 69	46	15,3
	70+	33	11,0
Obrazovanje	OŠ ili niže	56	18,6
	SŠ	205	68,1
	Viša škola ili više	40	13,3
Radni status	Zaposleni	141	46,8
	Nezaposleni	44	14,6
	Domaćice	20	6,6
	Umirovljeni	88	29,2
	Studenti	8	2,7

Izvor: proračuni autora.

Imajući u vidu da je naglasak u ovome radu prvenstveno na opisu migracijskih obrazaca, u radu se u značajnoj proporciji primjenjuju deskriptivne analize, no također se i analize inferencijalne statistike kojima se u odnos dovode odabrane karakteristike ispitanika s odabranim indikatorima migracijskih iskustava.

Svi ispitanici rođeni su u Bosni i Hercegovini i svi su u trenutku provedbe ankete živjeli u Zagrebu, u gradskoj četvrti Sesvete. Specifičnost uzorka

svakako je u činjenici da su s obzirom na etničku pripadnost veliku većinu (93,4%) činili etnički Hrvati, dok je Srba bilo svega 3,7%, Bošnjaka 2,3% i 0,7% ostalih. Prema posebno obrađenim podacima Popisa stanovništva 2011., 85,2% rođenih u BiH koji žive u Hrvatskoj izjasnilo se kao Hrvati, 6,3% Srbi, 6% Bošnjaci, 1,2% izjasnilo se u smislu vjerske pripadnosti, a 1,3% čine ostali, neizjašnjeni i nepoznato.

Rezultati i rasprava

Migracijski obrasci

Svi popisi stanovništva od 1948. do danas pokazuju da je među stanovnicima Hrvatske rođenima u inozemstvu najviše onih iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Među ispitanicima u ovome istraživanju najviše je osoba rođeno na području današnje Republike Srpske (50,5%), dok je 6,3% rođeno u Distriktu Brčko i 43,2% na području Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine (tablica 3). S područja Federacije nešto je veći broj doseljenika rođenih u naseljima Srednjobosanskoga, Zeničko-dobojskoga, Hercegovačko-neretvanskoga kantona i Zapadno-hercegovačkoga. U ukupnom uzorku najviše je doseljenika podrijetlom iz općina na području Republike Srpske, Derventa (62), Doboj (31) i Banja Luka (22).

Tablica 3.

Distribucija doseljenika prema kantonu i regiji BiH u kojima su rođeni

	N	%
Unsko-sanski kanton	7	2,3
Posavski kanton	5	1,7
Tuzlanski kanton	6	2,0
Zeničko-dobojski kanton	23	7,6
Srednjobosanski	29	9,6
Hercegovačko-neretvanski kanton	22	7,3
Zapadnohercegovački kanton	20	6,7
Sarajevo	2	0,7
Kanton 10	16	5,3
Federacija Bosna i Hercegovina	130	43,2
Republika Srpska	152	50,5
Brčko distrikt BiH	19	6,3
Ukupno	301	100,0
Izvor: proračuni autora.		

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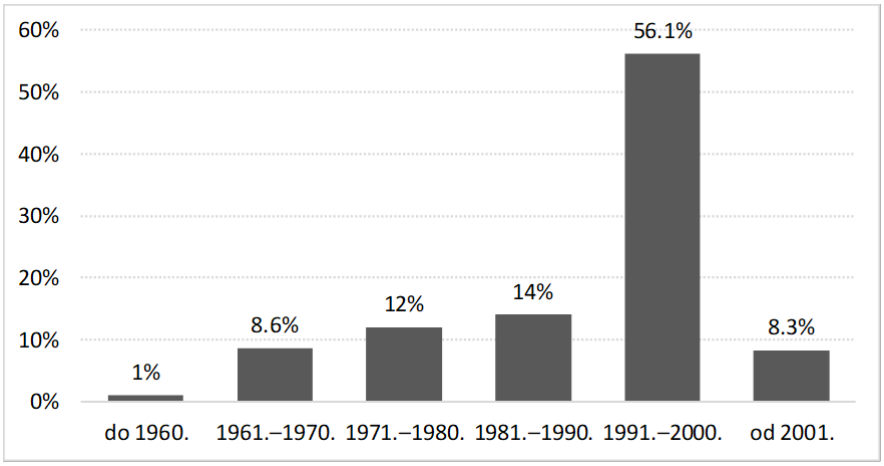
Analiza razdoblja doseljavanja pokazuje da se nešto više od polovine osoba obuhvaćenih ovom anketom (56,1%) doselilo 1990-ih, i to uglavnom u prvoj polovini, za trajanja rata na području Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske (grafikon 2). Tako se od 1991. do 1994. u Hrvatsku doselilo 120 ispitanika. Za vrijeme rata u BiH Srbi koji su napuštali zemlju odlazili su u Srbiju, a Muslimani i Hrvati u Hrvatsku (Cvitković, 2017: 19). Od ukupnog broja izbjeglica iz BiH, 1996. najviše je bilo Hrvata – 133.778 (75,2%), a potom 40.712 Muslimana (22,9%), 1522 Srba (0,865%) i 1823 ostalih (1%) (Vlada RH, 1996). Izbjegli Muslimani uglavnom su otišli u treće zemlje ili se vratili u BiH, dok je veliki dio Hrvata trajno ostao živjeti u Hrvatskoj. Nakon 2000. značajno se smanjio priljev doseljenika iz susjedne države, pa se u tom razdoblju u Hrvatsku doselilo 8,3% naših ispitanika. Promatramo li prijeratno razdoblje, u uzorku se 14% ispitanika doselilo u 1980-ima, 12% u 1970-ima, 8,6% u 1960-ima, a svega 1% ranije.

Očito je da su 1990-e razdoblje najvećeg priljeva migranata iz Bosne i Hercegovine, što potvrđuje i Popis stanovništva 2011., prema kojemu je 271.211 osoba prije dolaska u Hrvatsku imalo zadnje prebivalište u BiH. Od toga ih se više od trećine (100.385 ili 37%) doselilo između 1991. i 2000. U svim ostalim promatranim razdobljima doseljavanje je bilo znatno slabijeg intenziteta.[6]

Grafikon 2.
Distribucija ispitanika prema razdoblju doseljenja u Hrvatsku



Izvor: proračuni autora.

[6] Iz BiH se doselilo 271.211 stanovnika, od čega: 758 prije 1940., 20.302 u razdoblju 1941.–1960., 35.271 1961.–1970., 38.901 1971.–1980., 33.364 1981.–1990., 100.385 1991.–2000., 37.792 2001.–2011. i 4.438 u nepoznatom razdoblju (DZS, 2013).

Između područja podrijetla i razdoblja doseljavanja dobivena je statistički značajna razlika ($\chi^2 = 30{,}648$, df = 4, p = 0,000), pa su se tako osobe rodom s područja današnje Republike Srpske u znatno većem postotku doselile u Hrvatsku 1990-ih, u usporedbi s osobama rođenim u naseljima današnje Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine.

U Bosni i Hercegovini nakon potpisivanja Dejtonskog sporazuma nije u cjelini ostvarena politika povratka stanovništva u prijeratna mjesta stanovanja, te je uslijed toga došlo do radikalne promjene predratne etničke strukture, pa tako većina općina u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine, kao i u Republici Srpskoj ima jednonacionalnu strukturu u rasponu od 80 do 98% (Pejanović, 2017: 90). Stoga možemo pretpostaviti da je dio naših ispitanika ostao u Hrvatskoj jer se nije želio vratiti na područja koja se etnički homogeniziraju, u zajednice koje postaju sve zatvorenije, te je većina prodala svoju imovinu u BiH ili je mijenjala za Hrvatsku. Nakon višegodišnjeg boravka u izbjeglištvu u Hrvatskoj, dio stanovnika prilagodio se novoj sredini i započeo novi život, te nije spreman na povratak. Osim toga neki od njih zbog psiholoških i emocionalnih razloga više ne žele živjeti u starome kraju.

I. Cvitković (2017: 28) navodi tri važna događaja koja su posredno utjecala na „iseljavanje" Hrvata: osamostaljenje Hrvatske, rat u Bosni i Hercegovini i primitak Hrvatske u Europsku uniju. Posljednji događaj olakšao je Hrvatima iz BiH koji imaju hrvatsko državljanstvo osim iseljavanja u Hrvatsku i iseljavanje u druge zemlje Europske unije.

U istraživanju je postavljeno pitanje o glavnom razlogu doseljavanja u Hrvatsku. Među odgovorima najviše ispitanika (41,5%) navelo je ratna razaranja kao razlog što su napustili BiH i došli u Hrvatsku (tablica 4). Sljedeći su odgovor po učestalosti ekonomski razlozi (zaposlenje i bolji životni uvjeti u Hrvatskoj, ekonomska nesigurnost i siromaštvo u Bosni i Hercegovini), koje navodi trećina ispitanika (100 ispitanika ili 33,2%). Zbog obiteljskih razloga došlo je 39 ispitanika (13%) – u to se ubrajaju ispitanici koji su naveli doseljenje s roditeljima, doseljenje zbog udaje/ženidbe i spajanje obitelji. Udio od 8% ispitanika doselio se u Hrvatsku zbog obrazovnih razloga, dok ih je trinaest navelo neke druge razloge.

Usporedba razloga migracije i razdoblja migracije pokazuje povezanost vremena i razloga. Doseljavanje iz Bosne i Hercegovine prema glavnom razlogu dolaska možemo podijeliti u tri razdoblja. Prvo razdoblje počinje nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata i traje do početka 1990-ih, kada su razlozi imigracije većinom bili ekonomske prirode, tj. riječ je o radnoj migraciji. Drugo razdoblje traje tijekom 1990-ih, u vrijeme ratnih sukoba u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini, kada su migracijski tokovi uglavnom prisilni te veliki broj stanovnika iz BiH privremeno bježi u Hrvatsku. Neki od njih iz Hrvatske će otići u treće zemlje, neki će se vratiti u BiH, ali veliki dio ovoga izbjegličkoga kontingenta trajno će se naseliti u Hrvatsku. To se posebno

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odnosilo na etničke Hrvate koji su imali mogućnost dobiti hrvatsko državljanstvo i tako regulirati svoj pravni status. Kao rezultat velikog pritiska imigranata i njihovih stambenih potreba, u prigradskim područjima velikih gradova, prvenstveno Zagreba i Splita, nastaju potpuno nova naselja obiteljskih kuća, od kojih su brojne i bespravne izgradnje. Treće razdoblje počinje 2000., kada se intenzitet migracija smanjuje te se mijenjaju i razlozi, koji su opet uglavnom ekonomski.

Tablica 4.
Glavni razlog doseljavanja u Hrvatsku

Razlog doseljenja	**Godina doseljenja**						**Ukupno**
	Do 1960.	1961.–1970.	1971.–1980.	1981.–1990.	1991.–2000.	Od 2001.	
Obiteljski razlozi	1	6	3	6	16	7	39
Ekonomski razlozi		13	30	27	20	10	100
Obrazovanje	2	7	3	4	4	4	24
Ratna razaranja				3	120	2	125
Ostali razlozi				2	9	2	13
Ukupno	3	26	36	42	169	25	301
Izvor: proračuni autora.							

U istraživanju je ustanovljena statistički značajna razlika između područja podrijetla i razloga doseljavanja (χ^2 = 34,122, df = 8, p = 0,000). Među ispitanicima koji su naveli ratna razaranja kao razlog migracije značajno je veći broj onih koji su rođeni na području današnje Republike Srpske. Edukaciju i obiteljske razloge navelo je više ispitanika podrijetlom iz naselja s područja Federacije BiH.

U Hrvatskoj prema popisu 2011. žive 6733 osobe koje imaju samo bosanskohercegovačko državljanstvo, što znači da nemaju ni hrvatsko ni dvojno državljanstvo. Hrvatska s BiH ima Sporazum o dvojnom državljanstvu (Narodne novine 2018b). Podaci o dvojnom državljanstvu nisu dostupni, ali je jasno da je velika većina rođenih u BiH u posjedu hrvatskog državljanstva ili kao jedinoga ili kao dvojnoga. To potvrđuje i usporedba rođenih iz BiH i vrsta državljanstva, koja pokazuje da ih 2011. 98,2% (402.159) ima hrvatsko državljanstvo, 1,4% (5932) bosanskohercegovačko, 247 ih ima srpsko, 337 neko drugo, 222 su bez državljanstva i za 460 osoba nepoznato je kojeg su državljanstva (DZS – posebna obrada, 2018). Očito je da su doseljenici iz BiH uglavnom svoj pravni status riješili kroz stjecanje hrvatskog državljanstva. Kako je većina rođenih u BiH hrvatske nacionalnosti, način

stjecanja državljanstva vrlo je jednostavan: stječe se porijeklom, a ne naturalizacijom.[7]

Gotovo svi ispitanici (99%) u istraživanju imaju hrvatsko državljanstvo, od čega trećina ima dvojno državljanstvo, hrvatsko i bosansko-hercegovačko (32,6%). Premda stjecanjem hrvatskog državljanstva doseljenici ostvaruju ista prava kao i svi ostali građani Republike Hrvatske, neka su istraživanja (Mesić, 2002) potvrdila da dobivanje državljanstva ne poništava migracijsko porijeklo i iskustvo, odnosno da migranti na različite načine doživljavaju određene pretpostavke koje se tiču ostvarenja pojedinih prava i statusna pitanja.

U istraživanju nije ustanovljena statistički značajna razlika između vrste državljanstva s obzirom na dob, obrazovanje i razlog migracije, ali je ustanovljena s obzirom na spol ($\chi^2 = 4{,}292$, df = 1, p = 0,026), pri čemu muškarci u usporedbi sa ženama u većem broju imaju i hrvatsko i bosanskohercegovačko državljanstvo. I razdoblja doseljavanja pokazala su se značajnima ($\chi^2 = 19{,}068$, df = 2, p = 0,000), pa je tako među doseljenima do 1990. znatno manji broj onih koji imaju dvojno državljanstvo, tek svaki peti ispitanik. Među ispitanicima doseljenim 1990-ih nešto više od trećine ima dvojno državljanstvo, dok su među onima doseljenima poslije 2000. u većoj mjeri zastupljene osobe s dvojnim državljanstvom nego one samo s hrvatskim.

Zanimalo nas je i prijašnje migracijsko iskustvo ispitanika te smo ih pitali jesu li prije konačnoga preseljenja u Hrvatsku živjeli najmanje godinu dana ili dulje u Hrvatskoj ili u nekoj drugoj državi. Gotovo dvije trećine ispitanika (63,1%) do konačnog preseljenja u Hrvatsku nisu imale nikakvo migracijsko iskustvo. Petina ispitanika (20,6%) već je u nekom razdoblju života živjela u Hrvatskoj, a 15,9% (48 ispitanika) u nekoj drugoj europskoj zemlji – najviše njih u Njemačkoj (34 ispitanika), u Austriji (8) i Sloveniji (3), a jedna je osoba živjela izvan Europe. Ustanovljena je i razlika u duljini vremena provedenog u trećim zemljama. Od 48 ispitanika na koje se ovo pitanje odnosilo 27 ih je živjelo u nekoj trećoj zemlji do pet godina, 12 između šest i deset godina, 3 između jedanaest i dvadeset godina, a 6 više od dvadeset godina. S obzirom na razloge, 34 osobe živjele su u inozemstvu jer su izbjegle zbog rata, 13 zbog ekonomskih razloga i jedna je osoba navela obiteljske razloge. Analizom je utvrđeno da postoje značajne razlike s obzirom na dob ispitanika ($\chi^2 = 8{,}688$, df = 3, p = 0,034) i razdoblje doseljavanja u RH ($\chi^2 = 6{,}877$, df = 2, p = 0,032), pri čemu mlađi ispitanici kao

[7] „Pripadnik hrvatskog naroda koji nema prebivalište u Republici Hrvatskoj može steći hrvatsko državljanstvo ako udovolji pretpostavku iz članka 8. stavka 1. točke 5 (…) Zakona o hrvatskom državljanstvu. Pripadnost hrvatskom narodu utvrđuje se ranije definiranjem te pripadnosti u pravnom prometu, navođenjem te pripadnosti u pojedinim javnim ispravama, zaštitom prava i promicanjem hrvatskog naroda i aktivnim sudjelovanjem u hrvatskim kulturnim znanstvenim i sportskim udrugama u inozemstvu“, čl. 16. Zakona o hrvatskom državljanstvu (Narodne novine 2018a).

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i oni koji su se doselili u Hrvatsku u 1990-ima rjeđe prijavljuju dugotrajnije migracijsko iskustvo.

Na pitanje *Namjeravate li trajno ostati živjeti u Hrvatskoj?* 93,7% ispitanika odgovorilo je potvrdno. Samo 4,3% (13) ispitanika ne namjerava ostati trajno živjeti u Hrvatskoj, od čega se sedmero planira vratiti u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, dok šestero planira otići u neku treću zemlju. Šestero ispitanika neodlučno je i nije znalo odgovoriti na ovo pitanje. Zabilježena je statistički značajna razlika vezano uz namjeru ostanka/odlaska s obzirom na samoprocjenu kvalitete života ($F = 3,227$, $p = ,041$) pri čemu oni koji planiraju ostati u Hrvatskoj procjenjuju kvalitetu života boljom od onih koji je planiraju napustiti i migrirati u BiH ili neku treću zemlju. U ukupnom uzorku velika većina ispitanika pozitivno je ocijenila osobnu kvalitetu života u Hrvatskoj – 46,2% ispitanika smatra je dobrom, 43,2% vrlo dobrom, a 7% izvrsnom.

Razlozi doseljavanja tako velikog broja etničkih Hrvata jesu zajednička ili vrlo slična sociokulturna obilježja (jezik, kultura i tradicija), ali i postojanje stabilnih socijalnih mreža u migracijskoj populaciji koje olakšavaju društvenu integraciju doseljenih. Istraživanja su pokazala (usp. Kuti, Božić, 2016) da imanje rođaka, prijatelja i poznanika u zemlji doseljenja olakšava snalaženje imigranata posebice u prvim mjesecima, kada traže posao, rješavaju stambeno pitanje, obavljaju administrativne poslove, upisuju djecu u vrtić ili školu i sl. Postojanje socijalne mreže imigrantu će olakšati prilagodbu u novom okruženju. Gotovo trećina osoba anketiranih u ovom istraživanju (27,2%) prilikom dolaska u Hrvatsku prvo je vrijeme živjela kod rođaka, a 6,6% kod prijatelja. Mogućnost privremenog boravka kod osoba koje su im bliske svakako je olakšala prilagodbu. Većina ispitanika (49,2%) u početku nije imala vlastitu nekretninu u Hrvatskoj te je živjela kao podstanari. Samo je 6,6% odmah po preseljenju u Hrvatsku živjelo u vlastitom stanu/kući, dok je 4% živjelo u negdje drugdje, najčešće u đačkom ili studentskom domu.

Transnacionalne aktivnosti

Prekogranične aktivnosti doseljenika vezane uz razna područja života i vrste angažmana u zemlji iseljenja mogu se praktično kategorizirati na političke aktivnosti, društvene aktivnosti, svakodnevne ekonomske i profesionalne aktivnosti (Snell i dr. 2006. prema Kostić, 2013: 38). Premda su istraživanjem bile šire zahvaćene razne transnacionalne prakse, za potrebe ovoga rada pozornost je usmjerena na dio koji ubrajamo u društvene i kulturne aktivnosti: učestalost posjeta zemlji podrijetla, učestalost i način održavanja kontakata s rodbinom i prijateljima u Bosni i Hercegovini te učestalost slanja novca kao pomoć roditeljima, rodbini ili prijateljima u BiH, što predstavlja dio „ekonomske sfere“ transnacionalnih aktivnosti (usp. Kuti i Božić, 2016).

Ispitanici u znatnom broju (dvije trećine uzorka) i relativno često odlaze u Bosnu i Hercegovinu.[8] Tako 40,4% (122) odlazi jednom do dva puta godišnje, 25,9% (78) nekoliko puta godišnje, šestero odlazi jednom mjesečno, a jedan ispitanik više puta mjesečno. Rjeđe od jednom godišnje Bosnu i Hercegovinu posjećuje 26,2% (79 ispitanika) i svega 15 nikada. Uspoređujući ove rezultate s istraživanjem doseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Švedsku (Kostić, 2013: 39), zamjećujemo da doseljeni u Hrvatsku u znatno većem broju posjećuju Bosnu i Hercegovinu naspram doseljenika u Švedsku (svega 10% posjećuje dva puta godišnje rodbinu i prijatelje). Jedan od razloga što je to tako sigurno je neposredno susjedstvo Hrvatske i BiH, što značajno utječe na trajanje i niže troškove putovanja.

Najčešći razlog putovanja ispitanika u zagrebačkom uzorku jesu posjet rodbini (153 ili 50,8%) i posjet ili briga o roditeljima koji su ostali živjeti u Bosni i Hercegovini (43 ili 14,3%), drugim riječima „transnacionalna mobilnost" (Kuti, Božić, 2016: 173). Sljedeći su razlozi posjet groblju i/ili održavanje grobova (39 ili 13%), održavanje nekretnine ili poljoprivrednog posjeda (29 ili 9,6) i ostali razlozi (37 ili 13,2%). Usporede li se ti podaci s već spomenutim istraživanjem razloga posjeta Bosni i Hercegovini doseljenika u Švedskoj, zamjetno je da „švedski" doseljenici u značajnom udjelu putuju u BiH zbog poslova (24%), odnosno ulaganja u posao i trgovanja s bosanskohercegovačkim tvrtkama (Kostić, 2013: 39).[9]

Analiza razlika prema odabranim sociodemografskim karakteristikama ispitanika pokazala je da se njihovi razlozi odlaska u BiH razlikuju s obzirom na dob ($\chi^2 = 49{,}230$, df = 12, p = 0,000) i razdoblje doseljavanja u Hrvatsku ($\chi^2 = 39{,}836$, df = 8, p = 0,000). Iako je svim ispitanicima najučestaliji razlog posjet rodbini, razlike su vidljive u tome da ispitanici od 31 do 45 godina nešto češće odlaze zbog roditelja, dok je starijima od 46 godina učestaliji odlazak zbog posjeta groblju. Održavanje nekretnine također u nešto većem udjelu ističu ispitanici između 46 i 60 godina. Razlike vezane uz razdoblje dolaska pokazuju da oni koji su se doselili do 2000. učestalije odlaze zbog posjeta groblju, dok oni koji su došli nakon 2000. to uopće ne navode – njihov je najučestaliji povod posjet i briga o roditeljima.

Način i učestalost kontakata s prijateljima u Bosni i Hercegovini potvrđuju nastojanja doseljenika u očuvanju socijalnih mreža u zemlji podrijetla. Kombinirajući način i učestalost kontakata ispitanika s roditeljima, rodbinom i prijateljima u zemlji odseljenja, kreirani su rangovi kojima je utvrđena visoka razina njihove angažiranosti.

[8] Do sličnih zaključaka dolaze Kuti i Božić (2016) kroz kvalitativnu analizu transnacionalnih aktivnosti Bošnjaka doseljenih u Hrvatsku.
[9] U ovom je istraživanju ekonomska dimenzija transnacionalnih veza iskazana kroz analizu podataka o slanju novčanih doznaka u BiH, o čemu će više riječi biti dalje u tekstu.

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Ispitanici čiji roditelji žive u Bosni i Hercegovini (25,1% uzorka) kontakte najčešće održavaju posjetima, i to podjednak broj (40 ispitanika) tri do četiri puta godišnje i jednom godišnje (40 ispitanika) (tablica 5). Osim posjeta, u najvećem broju s roditeljima razgovaraju telefonski (nekoliko puta mjesečno i tri do četiri puta godišnje), a zatim slijede kontakti putem društvenih mreža te elektroničkom poštom i fizičkim pismima.

Tablica 5.
Način i učestalost kontakata u Bosni i Hercegovini

	Učestalost	Posjeti	Telefon	E-mail pisma	Društvene mreže
S roditeljima (ako žive u BiH)	Svaki dan		1		2
	Nekoliko puta tjedno		15	6	13
	Nekoliko puta mjesečno	2	39	15	20
	3-4 puta godišnje	40	22	5	3
	Jednom godišnje	40	5	3	1
	Rjeđe od jednom godišnje	17	9	9	9
	Nikada	33	41	81	72
	Nije primj. / Bez odgovora	169	169	182	181
S ostalom rodbinom osim roditelja (ako žive u BiH)	Svaki dan				9
	Nekoliko puta tjedno	3	10	13	14
	Nekoliko puta mjesečno	96	95	16	38
	3-4 puta godišnje	85	76	17	14
	Jednom godišnje	51	14	2	1
	Rjeđe od jednom godišnje	31	21	13	15
	Nikada	31	47	137	110
	Nije primj. / Bez odgovora	35	38	103	100
S prijateljima (ako žive u BiH)	Svaki dan		1		7
	Nekoliko puta tjedno			8	24
	Nekoliko puta mjesečno	3	47	28	24
	3-4 puta godišnje	73	89	13	18
	Jednom godišnje	91	22	16	1
	Rjeđe od jednom godišnje	50	27		15
	Nikada	44	72	148	127
	Nije primj. / Bez odgovora	40	43	88	185

Izvori: proračuni autora.

Prema rezultatima istraživanja, prvi rang kada je riječ i o vrsti i o učestalosti kontakata ispitanika s rodbinom (u koju se ne ubrajaju roditelji) pripada posjetima. Najveći broj odlazi u posjet nekoliko puta mjesečno (96 ispitanika), zatim tri do četiri puta godišnje (85 ispitanika), a potom jednom godišnje (51 ispitanik). Drugi rang, sa sličnom učestalošću, pripada telefonskim razgovorima. Tako ispitanici uglavnom razgovaraju s rodbinom nekoliko puta mjesečno (95 ispitanika) ili tri do četiri puta godišnje (76 ispitanika), a svega deset ispitanika i nekoliko puta tjedno. Treći rang pripada kontaktima putem društvenih mreža (38 ispitanika nekoliko puta mjesečno,

a po14 nekoliko puta tjedno i tri do četiri puta godišnje), a na četvrtom su kontakti elektroničkom poštom i fizičkim pismima.

U odnosu na roditelje i druge članove obitelji posjet prijateljima nešto je rjeđi motiv odlaska u Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Prijatelje najveći broj ispitanika uglavnom posjećuju rjeđe od jednom godišnje (91 ispitanik); slijede relativno veliki broj posjeta tri do četiri puta godišnje (73) i jednom godišnje (50). Telefonski se prijatelji s obiju strana granice čuju u najvećem broju tri do četiri puta godišnje (89 ispitanika) ili nekoliko puta mjesečno (47), dok ih 27 razgovara jednom godišnje i 22 rjeđe od jednom godišnje. Treći rang i u kontaktima s prijateljima zauzimaju društvene mreže (79 ispitanika), a potom elektronička pošta i fizička pisma.

Usporede li se navedeni podaci o kontaktima s rodbinom i prijateljima telefonom i elektroničkom poštom (uključene i društvene mreže) s podacima o kontaktima bosanskohercegovačkih doseljenika u Švedsku, ne zamjećuju se veće razlike (80% je u mjesečnom kontaktu s rodbinom) (Kostić, 2013).

Podaci o novčanim doznakama iseljenih stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine u inozemstvu predstavljaju stabilan izvor prihoda za tu državu. Tako su, prema procjeni Svjetske banke, novčane doznake u 2016. godini činile 12,5% BDP-a Bosne i Hercegovine (MSB, 2018: 73).

Prema podacima Centralne banke Bosne i Hercegovine, procjene novčanih doznaka (preciznije, osobnih transfera) iz inozemstva u 2017. iznosile su 2.568,3 milijuna KM ili 1300 milijuna eura (MSB, 2018: 71).[10] Svjetska banka procijenila je da je u 2017. u Bosnu i Hercegovinu novčanim doznakama uplaćeno 2997 milijuna KM ili 1517 milijuna eura. Razlika u procjeni dvaju izvora postoji zbog toga što Centralna banka BiH računa samo osobne transfere, a Svjetska banka i tzv. kompenzacije zaposlenih (MSB, 2018: 71) .

Pritom su glavni izvor novčanih doznaka doseljenici iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Hrvatskoj. Tijekom 2015. i 2016. oni su uplatili preko 50%[11] ukupne svote doznaka za te dvije godine. Preciznije, 2016. iz Hrvatske je uplaćeno čak 808 milijuna KM ili 28,9% svih novčanih doznaka. Slijede uplate doseljenika iz BiH u Srbiji (454 milijuna KM ili 16,3%) i Njemačkoj (303 milijuna ili 10,9%).

U uzorku provedenog istraživanja tek 35 ispitanika (11,6%) izjavilo je da šalje novčanu pomoć tj. novčane doznake članovima obitelji ili rodbini u Bosni i Hercegovini. Većina, njih 29, to ne čini redovito, petero redovito svaki mjesec, a svega jedan ispitanik redovito svakog tjedno šalje novac

[10] Ako se tome dodaju i podaci inozemnih mirovina (1234,3 milijuna KM), procjena ukupnih transfera iznosi 3802,6 milijuna KM (MSB, 2018: 69).
[11] Procjene uplata novčanih doznaka po državama za 2015. i 2016., Svjetska banka (MSB, 2018: 70).

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dijelu obitelji koji je ostao živjeti u Bosni i Hercegovini. Što se tiče visine poslanih iznosa, 23 ispitanika obično šalje doznaku u vrijednosti do 500 HRK (66 eura), desetero u vrijednosti između 500 i 1000 HRK (66 i 132 eura), a svega jedan šalje između 1000 i 2000 HRK (132 i 264 eura) redovito svaki tjedan. Na pitanje *Koliko je to na godišnjoj razini?* 27 ispitanika odgovorilo je da šalje do 5000 HRK (660 eura), četiri između 5000 i 10.000 HRK (660 i 1320 eura), a svega jedan više od 20.000 HRK (2640 eura). Za usporedbu, čak 78% bosanskohercegovačkih doseljenika u Švedsku (Kostić, 2013: 39) šalje doznake najmanje jednom godišnje, 10% ih daje novac za projekte u zajednici, a 2% i novac političkim strankama.

Zaključak

Suvremeni demografski procesi u Hrvatskoj u prva dva desetljeća 21. stoljeća pokazuju nastavak negativnih procesa ranijeg razdoblja: depopulacije i starenja stanovništva uz, posljednjih godina, snažno iseljavanje građana uglavnom prema ekonomski razvijenijim zemljama Europske unije ostavljaju posljedice na cjelokupni društveni razvoj, s posebnim naglaskom na gospodarstvu. Promatraju li se posljedice demografskih procesa na kvalitetu i obujam radne snage, sve se češće pojavljuje problem nedostatka radne snage u pojedinim sektorima. U isto vrijeme, Bosna i Hercegovina oduvijek je bila tradicionalno ishodište doseljenika u Hrvatsku i izvor radne snage, posebice u određenim zanimanjima sekundarnog sektora.

Povijesna događanja (prije svega rat), a onda i ekonomski razvoj nakon promjene društveno-političkog sustava na prostoru Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine, nakon raspada bivše zajedničke države, utjecali su na brojnost, ali i motiv odnosno odluku o seljenju stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine prema Hrvatskoj. Podaci sekundarnih izvora i rezultati provedenog istraživanja potvrđuju promjenu dominantnih migracijskih obrazaca tijekom triju razdoblja: 1. ekonomske migracije, odnosno nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata pa do početka 1990-ih migracija iz BiH u Hrvatsku bila je potaknuta uglavnom ekonomskom nerazvijenošću zemlje podrijetla i usmjerena najvećim dijelom u tadašnja hrvatska gospodarska, točnije industrijska središta, 2. prisilne migracije, odnosno od 1990-ih brojno iseljavanje uzrokovano ratnim djelovanjima, nakon kojih se dio stanovnika iz BiH doseljava u Hrvatsku i u njoj trajno ostaje, dok dio onih koji su privremeno (kao radni migranti ili kao izbjeglice) živjeli u inozemstvu ne odlučuje se za povratak u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, već se, po umirovljenju ili nakon gubitka izbjegličkog statusa, trajno odlučuje doseliti u Hrvatsku i 3. ponovno razdoblje dominantno ekonomskih migracija, a zbog uznapredovalih nepovoljnih demografskih procesa u BiH, ali i sve brojnijeg iseljavanja njezinih građana u zemlje sa snažnijim ekonomijama od hrvatske (u prvom redu Njemačku i Austriju), pri čemu se značajno smanjuje i kontingent potencijalnih

bosanskohercegovačkih doseljenika u Hrvatsku. Jedan od razloga pada broja ukupnog broja doseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Hrvatsku jest i činjenica da su najveći broj doseljenika desetljećima činili etnički Hrvati koji jednostavno dobivaju hrvatsko državljanstvo, čime im je znatno olakšano iseljavanje (i zapošljavanje) u njima sve interesantnije zemlje Europske unije.

Premda su glavni uzroci iseljavanja u dva promatrana razdoblja – prije rata 1990-ih i u poslijeratnom razdoblju nakon 1995. – uglavnom ekonomske prirode, novija istraživanja o razvoju Bosne i Hercegovine pokazuju nezadovoljstvo ukupnom kvalitetom života u državi, pri čemu se čak polovina ispitanika izjašnjava da želi napustiti zemlju i zaposliti se izvan nje (DEP, 2016).

Pri analizi navedenih migracijskih obrazaca, potvrđenih i rezultatima istraživanja na uzorku doseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine u zagrebačku četvrt Sesvete, treba naglasiti ograničenja zaključivanja na doseljeničku populaciju iz BiH zbog specifičnosti uzorkovanja, ali također i ograničenje usporedbe s doseljenicima iz drugih država s obzirom na činjenicu da doseljenike u Republiku Hrvatsku rođene u BiH (a od kojih su većina Hrvati) ne možemo smatrati „tipičnim imigrantima“. Naime, općenito gledano, doseljenici iz Bosne i Hercegovine u velikoj mjeri dijele jezik, kulturu i tradiciju s društvom primitka, što im uvelike olakšava sve aspekte integracije: pravno-političke, socioekonomske i sociokulturne. Navedeno zapravo upućuje na to da se promatrajući doseljavanje stanovništva iz Bosne i Hercegovine, bez obzira na motive, može u velikom dijelu govoriti o mehanizmu (dobrovoljne) asimilacije (Hieronymi, 2005, usp. Bauböck, 1996), koja pretpostavlja uključivanje doseljenika u novu okolinu putem jednostranog procesa prilagodbe, pri čemu je ta prilagodba zbog dijeljenih (simboličkih) karakteristika uvelike olakšana.

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Sanja Klempić Bogadi, [*] ***Margareta Gregurović,*** [*] ***Sonja Podgorelec*** [*]

Migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia: Migration patterns of immigrants in Zagreb

S u m m a r y

The 2011 population census recorded 4,290,612 residents of Croatia among which 584,947 or 13.7% were born abroad. Even though the most of them were born in Bosnia and Herzegovina (70% or 409,357) no research was conducted about this significant group of immigrants. This paper analyses the migration flows between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia during the last 60 years, especially focusing on demographic data available from diverse secondary sources and data on migration history and transnational activities obtained through empirical study "The Effects of Immigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Sociodemographic Development of Croatian Urban Areas". The survey was conducted in 2014 in Sesvete, district of City of Zagreb on a judgemental/purposive sample of 301 adult Croatian residents born in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Historical events (especially war) and economic developments had the influence on the number of immigrants as well as their motivation and decision to move from Bosnia and Hercegovina to Croatia. The data obtained through secondary sources and the results of conducted survey confirmed the shift in dominant migration patterns during three periods. First period, after the WWII until beginning of 1990s, indicated mostly labour migration where the migrations from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia were mostly driven by economic underdevelopment of the country of origin and directed towards Croatian commercial and industrial centres. In the first half of 1990s the change of socio-political system (breakup of the former federal state) and the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina induced significant forced migrations directed towards Croatia. After the end of the war and due to the consequences of armed conflict effecting the contemporary socioeconomic and political development of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a part of its citizens who were temporary settled in Croatia (as labour migrants or refugees) or elsewhere abroad, decided not to move back to Bosnia and Herzegovina but permanently stay in or move to Croatia. This was followed by the new period of migration driven (again) mostly by economic reasons complemented by general social situation and advanced unfavourable demographic processes in Bosnia and Hercegovina. These conditions stimulated the citizens of Bosnia and Hercegovina to migrate more frequently to other, economically more developed countries (Germany, Austria) effecting significantly the number of immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Croatia.

The respondents included in empirical research are mostly Croats by ethnic affiliation (93.4%) and 99% of them have Croatian citizenship. In the highest proportion they migrated to Croatia during the 1990s. The results showed statistically significant correlation between the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina from where they moved to Croatia and the period of migration (the most numerous migrations were recorded from the area of the contemporary Republika Srpska). Three most

[*] Department for Migration and Demographic Research, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies; email: sanja.klempic@imin.hr

frequent reasons of migration were war destruction (41.5%), economic reasons (33.2%) and family reasons (13%). Almost two thirds of respondents (63.1%) had no prior migration experience and more than 90% plan to stay permanently in Croatia. The study also confirmed significant social and transnational activities of immigrants. However, these respondents cannot be considered as the "typical migrants" since they largely share language, culture and tradition of receiving society which presents a favourable environment for their legal/political, socioeconomic and sociocultural integration.

Key words: *immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Zagreb, migration, transnational social ties*

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THE PROBLEM OF RURAL YOUTH OUTFLOW IN BELGOROD REGION (RUSSIA)

Larisa NIKOLAEVNA SHMIGIRILOVA[*]

In this article, the author is exposing the problem of outflow of rural youth, analyzing the results of a sociological survey conducted in one of Russia's regions. The article focuses on the fact that it is necessary to make the rural areas attractive not only in terms of appearance, but also to develop their infrastructure. In order to make the village an attractive place to live in, it is necessary to fulfill at least three tasks: to raise the material standard of living in rural areas, to improve cultural and living conditions of villagers and to educate them about modern ways of working in the field of agriculture. None of these problems could be solved without the significant support of the state, so it is necessary to focus on the search for additional mechanisms to support the rural youth while taking into account the integrated development of municipalities. A comfortable, modern way of life in the village and good communications could attract young specialists and encourage graduates who got a professional education to return to their native villages.

Keywords: *rural youth, migration, rural areas, Belgorod region, Russia*

Introduction

The problems and perspectives of socio-economic development of villages and reproduction of rural communities are closely linked to the question of reducing the mass outflow of young people and the changes in the village social structure, which are both mostly determined by living conditions of young villagers. Researching the problematic issue of young people leaving their rural settlements and relocating to cities and other regions as well as moving abroad, (which is typical for all agricultural regions of modern Russia), is especially relevant for the Belgorod Oblast, due to the largely agrarian character of its economy.

[*] Institute of Economy and Management, Belgorod State National Research University, Belgorod (Russia); email: shmigirilova@bsu.edu.ru

This is a problem that requires an in-depth analysis since it brings into question the prosperous future of the Russian village. It demands an immediate response, an integrated approach to its solution and the development of effective measures of the state's economic and social policy.

In terms of the level of socio-economic development, rural areas are traditionally less developed then urban ones and are characterized by a lower quality of housing stock, less developed social sphere and lower incomes.

Limited possibilities of employment, limited access to good quality education, medical care, housing, and other problems are the reasons behind young villager's dissatisfaction with their social status, which resulted in mass migration from the countryside, a process that is harmful to any potential socio-economic development of rural areas.

According to the data of the local branch of the Federal statistic service, the population of Belgorod region[1] (as of June 2017) consisted of 32.7% of rural inhabitants and 67.3% of urban inhabitants. From 2001 to 2017, more than 14,500 young villagers have migrated from their rural homes (Белгородская область в цифрах, 2017).

Since the beginning of the 2000s, a number of federal and regional programs have been implemented with the aim of solving some socio-economic problems of rural youth in many regions of Russia including the Belgorod region (Правительство Российской Федерации, 2018; Кодекс, 2018; Губернатор белгородской области, 2018). Such programs included measures for boosting birth rates, supporting the foundation of small businesses, improving the probability of employment, providing housing and others. However, those measures have neither significantly changed the unfavorable position of all rural areas of the region in terms of improving the upward social mobility of young villagers, nor have they substantially reduced their outflow to cities and larger settlements in the region and beyond.

The problem presented in this research is by its nature interdisciplinary. It concerns areas of scientific analysis such as social-labor relations, economic relations, social policy and the social security system, all of which are subjects of research of many different social sciences.

[1] Belgorod region, named after its capital city, Belgorod, is a federal district of Russia located in the south-western part of the country near the border with Ukraine. Formed in 1954, this industrialized region with developed agriculture and just above 1,5 million inhabitants holds almost one third of the country's mining resources and is also a leading livestock producer in Russia (Federation Council, 2018).

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Defining the strategic priorities of the modernization of social policy is one of the main factors that determine the dynamics of rural youth's social status and its improvement in the village.

This definition, however, is hampered by the lack of adequate theoretical and empirical studies of contemporary processes that determine the dynamics of the social status of the mentioned territorial – demographic groups.

For the purposes of this study I will be using the definition of O. A Ivanova, who identifies village youth as a socio-demographic group of population of those between the ages of 14 and 30 who permanently reside in rural areas and are characterized by both general traits common to all young people, as well as those specific characteristics of the social status defined by the influence of certain spatial limitations of the local rural environment, the specificities of the rural way of life and the direct connection that most of them have with agrarian labor (Иванова, 2011). The given definition offers the most exact and precise characterization of the object of scientific research in this work since it focuses on both its typical and special features.

It is noteworthy that opting for the scientific term *outflow* is of key importance, since, being a determinant of the social situation, it allows us to understand the full depth of the stated problem in Russia's agrarian territories.

The interpretation of the definition of *outflow* is in complete interdependency with the concept of migrations. However, if the concept of population migration is understood as any population movement related to the change of place of residence (a change of the state, region or settlement in which a person, a family or other, more extensive group of population live), than the term *outflow* couldn't be considered as synonymous to migration. It is, first of all, a qualitative indicator of migrations, which considerably affects the demographic processes, and in particular, the dynamics of the population of certain territories.

The outflow of young population from rural areas is closely linked to their social status. Hence, the classic of the theory of social stratification, P.A. Sorokin, arguing about the existence of fundamental difference between geometrical and social spaces, believed that, to determine the social status of a person or of any social phenomenon in the social sphere, means to determine his (or their) relations with other people, groups or a set of groups taken as reference points (Сорокин, 1992). According to his opinion, in order to determine a person's social status, it is necessary to know not only their marital status, citizenship, nationality, religious beliefs, profession, political affiliation, economic status, origin and so on, but also the position of the person within each of the main population groups.

Having noticed the connection between the phenomenon of rural youth outflow and young people's social status, it is clear that satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's social status can affect the intensity of migrations from villages to other, more *comfortable* areas. In the process of research of rural youth's social status, special attention should be given to dysfunctional strategies of their real and potential territorial activity (including migratory activity) and the crucial attributes of social status that are of key importance to the formation of those strategies. This is necessary especially for the purposes of developing measures of social policy (including those of preventive nature) aimed specifically at reducing the negative impact on the socio-economic development of the relevant rural communities (including their outflow to cities and other regions) by enhancing the characteristics of the social status of village youth and the extent to which their territorial interests are met.

Data and methods

The importance of the research topic lies in the actual and potential demographic problems or rural areas that directly affect the social and economic security of the territory.

In the period from June 1 to July 1, 2016, the Institute of regional personnel policy of the city of Belgorod has conducted a sociological survey named *Studying the causes of youth outflow from rural areas*. Questionnaires were used as the main research tool in this survey.

The results obtained during the sociological survey formed the basis for the analytical part of this work as an analysis of secondary information.

Young people between the ages of 14 and 35 living in the countryside were targeted as the primary object of the research (2 towns and 5 villages were covered in this survey).

The main goal of the study was to identify the causes behind the outflow of rural youth and to determine the factors that regulate this process. The objectives of the study were:

- to examine the causes of migration of rural youth to the cities;
- to analyze the reasons behind the return of young people to their native towns and villages.
- to assess the effectiveness of measures aimed at securing the position of young people in rural areas.

During the survey, 1,200 people were interviewed. The conducted survey included 2 categories of youth:

- students at schools, professional educational organizations and universities aged from 14 to 24;
- working youth between the ages of 18 and 35.

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Among those from the first group, 42.4% fall into the category of school-children, 26.2% are students from professional educational organizations and 31.4% are university students.

Results

During the course of the study, it was found that one of the motives that affect young people's decisions to relocate from rural areas to cities is the desire to pursue education. Among young people still in education, 79.4% of the respondents have stated that they wish to obtain a higher education degree, while 19.8% wish to complete middle-level professional education[2] (Table 1).

Table 1.
Distribution of answers to the question "What kind of education do you plan to get?" (%)

Middle-level professional education	19.8
Higher education	68.8
I plan to continue my education to magistracy and postgraduate level	10.6
I will not continue further education after school	0.8

Thus, higher education is still a priority issue for young people. As practice has shown, a majority of young people, having received an education, try to gain a foothold in the city or go to megacities. Also, this is indicated by the results of studies conducted by the Higher School of Economics (HSE), which had been researching migrations for several years (Правда, 2016).

In their previous research, HSE scientists have concluded that the Russian periphery is depopulated. Namely, from 2003 to 2007, 70% of young people left their small and medium-sized hometowns right after graduation. They resettled in large cities with a population of millions and no longer intend to return to their birthplaces.

It should be noted that the actual level of education of working youth is somewhat lower than what the students have stated as their expectations.

[2] In Russia's educational system, middle level professional education („среднее професиональное образование", СПО) refers to of career-specific, non-university higher education provided mostly by "technical institutions" and "colleges" with the purpose of enabling students to join the labor market as middle-level specialists (nurses, clerks, accountants, etc.), immediately after graduation. Although it is somewhat difficult to categorize, middle level professional education is defined by Russian authorities as a Level 5B according to "International Standard Classification of Education" (NORRIC, 2005).

Hence, only 53.6% of respondents have higher and incomplete higher education (Table 2).

Table 2.
Distribution of answers to the question: "What is your level of education?"(%)

Higher or incomplete higher	53.6
Middle level professional	35.8
Secondary general, incomplete secondary general	10.5
Other	0.1

As it can be seen from the Table 2, obtaining higher education remains an important issue. The possibility of employment is, in the authors opinion, the main reason for that. At the same time, it isn't just about getting a highly paid or prestigious job. As a rule, it is difficult to find a job in the labor market without experience and knowledge, and any competitive advantage will be of significant relevance for finding a vacancy. Clearly, the majority of highly demanded special skills can be obtained only in higher educational institutions.

The next reason would be a decent standard of living, a stable material situation and the possibility to adequately provide for oneself and one's family. Undoubtedly, the reality of modern conditions is such that, getting the skills and specialties that could be obtained at a university is necessary, but far from sufficient for the achievement of the aforementioned goals.

Another important reason for getting a higher education is career growth, which is directly related to the availability of appropriate education. This applies to both public services and organizations, and private commercial companies. Obtaining higher education for the purpose of self-realization is the goal for those graduates who have already defined their interests and preferences and are confident in choosing a specialty. However, making such a firm life decision is in most cases rather complicated, and is done by only a few right after school.

In addition to these reasons for admission to universities, graduates have also noted prestige, the need to please parents and the possibility to avoid military service. Many are attracted to student life as such: to expand the circle of acquaintances, to be able to have a good time, but also to possibly find a suitable marital partner.

According to the results of the conducted study, among the reasons behind young people's decision to choose to continue their education, two motives were identified above all: "I want to become a good specialist (49.9%)" and "education will enable me to make a career (46%)".

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The opportunity to get a high-paying job (36.2%) and the opportunity to have a stable income and to support a family (35.1%) can also be pointed out as significant motives (Table 3).

Table 3.
Distribution of answers to the question: "Why do you wish to get this education?" (%)

It is prestigious and fashionable	11.8
Education will allow me to make a career	46.0
I wish to become a good specialist	49.9
This is what my parents want	10.1
This will enable me to get a high-paying job	36.2
This will enable me to have a stable income and support a family	35.1

However, an important problem here comes to attention – the agricultural education. This kind of education was deprived of meaning in many cases due to the conditions of the administrative-command economy, as it focused the children on a narrow range of agricultural specialties. Also, it was not balanced by sex and didn't provide the opportunity to develop self-sufficiency and creative initiative, which are both very important for the nurture of genuinely farmer qualities.

To a large extent, activities of student labor associations have not only repeated the same production relations as those seen in collective and state farms with all their inherent shortcomings but have also intensified them in terms of a powerless and uncomplaining position of students.

This had a strong influence on many students' persistent rejection of agricultural labor and their negative attitude towards choosing one of the mass professions. This is evidenced by the fact that only about a third of graduates (who also happen to be those less successful at school) have stayed at their rural households.

Getting a career, getting a high-paying job and ensuring a stable income – namely, such objectives of young villagers can, for the most part, be satisfied either in a fairly developed rural territory or in a city.

It can be assumed that a modest number of rural young people who are seeking other, less "prestigious" workplace options, will become a marginal element of the rural population, or, at best, leave in search for more comfortable living conditions.

Adult members of the family, for whom the social transformations have resulted in the loss or decline in socio-professional and financial status, often tend to orient their children towards life strategies and values that are, from their perspective, seen as more reliable. Children are strongly

advised not to “follow the footsteps of their parents”, or “not to repeat the mistakes in choosing a profession”. Consequently, there is a growing reluctance of young people to enter the sphere of material production, especially in the field of agriculture.

In my opinion, modern youth chooses a different style of work. I agree with the opinion of E. N. Sharova, that under the influence of transformational processes that cover practically all elements of vital activities in modern Russian society, the attitude towards work among various groups of population, including youth, is changing (Шарова, 2009).

In comparing the two social systems, the Soviet and the modern Russian one, it is possible to say that the ideology of the Soviet society was essentially labor-centric in nature, with labor as a category that had an almost sacred meaning.

Today, we can notice a process of desacralization of labor as such and its transformation from a fundamental value to an instrumental one, i.e. the work carried out is considered merely as a means of satisfying the needs that lie beyond the sphere of labor. This is, from the author’s point of view, a global trend.

In the value-motivational structure of young people, labor is increasingly losing its independent significance and becoming an instrument of achieving material prosperity and a high level of consumption.

Professional orientation of young people, having been determined by a predominantly financial component, is considered primarily through the prism of achieving a highly competitive position on the job market, which is also associated with higher wages and a higher level of consumer needs (Шарова, 2009).

The instrumental perception of labor, based solely on materialistic values, generates an indifferent attitude to the nature and meaning of labor. The implementation of such a strategy in the labor market blurs a young person’s professional identity and adds to the inconsistency of their orientations and attitudes. This especially refers to graduates from higher education institutions, a category most affected by the problem of employment in the modern labor market. University graduates of a rural background are no exception to this (Шарова, 2009).

The high value that young people attribute to education is also confirmed by the fact that, among the conditions needed for achieving success in life, they highlight “a specialty that is highly valued” (39.8%), and “high qualifications and knowledge” (37.1%). A high rating is also given to “discipline, efficiency, responsibility” (35.2%) (Table 4).

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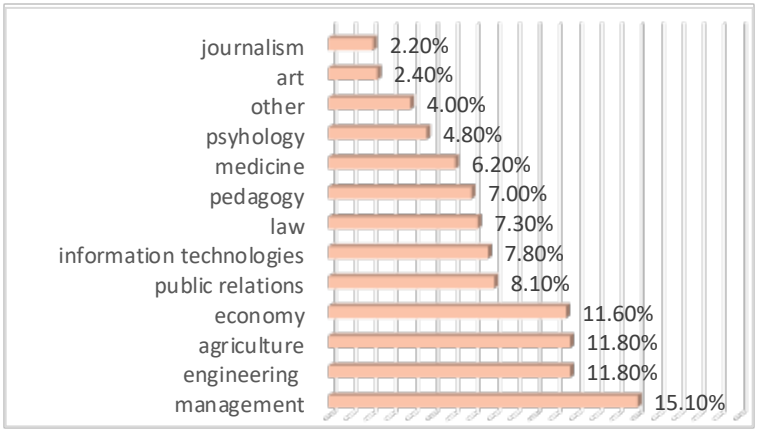
Table 4.
Distribution of answers to the question: "What is, in your opinion, necessary for achieving success in life?" (%)

Connections and acquaintances	32.0
A highly valued specialty	39.8
Discipline, efficiency, responsibility	35.2
The ability to get along with authorities	15.3
A sense of initiative, entrepreneurship	28.0
Willingness to work with full dedication	31.2
High qualifications and knowledge	37.1
Other	0.8

As dominant spheres of professional interest, representatives of young people see the following (diagram 1):

- management (15.1%);
- engineering professions (11.8%);
- agriculture (11.8%);
- economy (11.6%).

Figure 1.
The choice of spheres of professional interest



Choosing a profession from the sphere of agriculture is usually made by young people whose plan is to work in their birthplaces which are rural settlements. In the majority of cases, however, this choice is narrowed down by the desire to occupy managerial positions from the list of agricultural professions.

It is obvious that the pragmatism and rationality in young people's strategies regarding higher education have a pretty one-sided character. Neither the youth themselves nor the higher education institutions include in those strategies the solutions for problems such as the formation of responsibility, high professionalism and civic consciousness, spirituality and morality, gratitude, conscience, and patriotism (Никитина, 2015).

Labeling the individualism, pragmatism, and rationalism of contemporary youth as infantile could hardly be considered an exaggeration, at least if it refers to those among young people who are not ready to engage in regular work while at the same time want to have everything "here, now and in large quantities".

According to the N. E. Tikhonova, young people are not in a hurry to return to their villages after graduation (Тихонова, 2011). There are many reasons for this: low wages, shortages of comfortable housing, an unpopular character of agricultural labor. And yet, the most actual issue for young people lies in another question: is there an opportunity for them to usefully and interestingly spend their leisure time in the village? (Тихонова, 2011: 29).

A correlation of two measured values is presented in the text below – the choice of the professional sphere of labor and the preferable place of residence.

The sphere of agriculture attracts primarily those young people who plan to remain in the villages after completing education (43.8%). In the group of those who would prefer to live in a small urban settlement, a prevalence of interest in engineering professions (14.3%) and economics (12.1%) is noticeable. As for those respondents whose plan is to live in a city, they would predominantly like to work in the field of management (20.4%) (Table 5).

To the question: "where would you like to live in 5 years", respondents answered as follows: 21.5% would like to live in a village, 24.5% in a small town-type settlement, and 54% – in a city.

Considering that only about 21.5% of the respondents would like to live in a village in 5-10 years, it is fair to say that most young people are oriented toward moving to a city.

That practically makes more than a half of all respondents. This is a "warning light" which indicates that roughly the same proportion of young people as in the abovementioned figures are planning to leave the rural areas of Belgorod region upon graduation.

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Table 5.
Distribution of answers to the question: "In which sphere of labor would you like to work?" Expected place of residence (%)

Where would you like to live in 5-10 years?	In which field would you like to work?												
	Management	Economy	Public relations	Psychology	Information technologies	Engineering	Law	Agriculture	Journalism	Medicine	Pedagogy	Art	Other
In a village	7.5	7.5	7.5	2.5	0.0	11.3	3.8	43.8	0.0	7.5	7.5	0	1.3
In a small urban settlement	9.9	12.1	9.9	5.5	7.7	14.3	6.6	6.6	2.2	9.9	8.8	4.4	2.2
In a city	20.4	12.9	7.5	5.5	10.9	10.9	9.0	1.5	3.0	4.0	6.0	2.5	6.0

At the same time it should be noted that, when it comes to areas of labor in which the respondents are currently employed,[3] agriculture comes first (Table 6).

Table 6.
Distribution of answers to the question: "In which sphere of labor are you employed?"(%)

Agriculture	21.4
Economics	11.0
Management	10.0
Pedagogy	9.6
Engineering	7.7
Medicine	5.3
Other	5.3
I am a housewife	5.2
I am unemployed	5.0
Art	4.3
Public relations	4.0
Information technologies	4.0
Law	3.0
Psychology	1.0
Journalism	1.0

[3] The data from a survey of employed youth are presented here.

As a rule, this is a category of employed rural young people who are "deeply rooted" in the village and have no plans on making changes to their lifestyle, work, family or average income.

It should also be pointed out that, within the population of young people who are employed, there is a significantly fewer number of those who would like to move to a city (45.0%), but at the same time, this percentage is significant when it comes to young specialists who would like to migrate from the villages. In general, 55% of respondents do not intend to move to a different settlement.

However, it is noteworthy that the reasons behind migration are the same for both employed young people and for those who are still in education. That is mainly the belief that city life offers better chances of employment and career building, as well as a better quality of life (Table 7).

Table 7.
Distribution of answers to the question: "Why do you want to move to a city/town?"(%)

	Youth in education	**Youth in employment**
More employment possibilities	**63.6**	**66.4**
More possibilities for developing a career	**39.2**	**40.3**
Better quality of life	**31.6**	**46.2**
More conditions for self-improvement	29.9	34.7
Better conditions for further education and self-development	29.9	28.5
Better and more diverse free time opportunities	29.2	37.6
Comfortable life	13.7	21.2
More possibilities for business	11.0	17.2
Difficult to answer	1.4	0.0
Other	1.0	2.2

Thus, young people living in the countryside are mainly focused on getting an education that can allow them to become qualified and highly demanded specialists, get a job and develop a career. However, according to young people's opinion, realizing those goals in rural areas is difficult. Reasons behind that were discussed earlier in this paper.

What encourages young people to stay in rural areas is primarily the availability of their own housing, which is a factor that bears greater importance for young people in employment that for those who are still in education. In the first mentioned group 66.6% are homeowners, compared to 57.7% in the latter.

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Having the opportunity to participate in programs of rural youth support does not seem to be an incentive that encourages them to stay in the countryside. It is possible that the reason for this lies primarily in the fact that they are often insufficiently informed about the existence of such measures. For example, 31% of young people in employment do not know about programs of state support to rural youth. The percentage of respondents who are participating in the mentioned programs is 27.7%. Secondly, these measures are unattractive to young people – possibly because of their inefficiency or due to overcomplicated application procedures – 46.2% of the respondents are aware of their existence, but do not take part in them.

In the development of rural youth support strategies, it should be taken into account that key determinants in defining young people's quality of life are the following: a stable income (53.7%), having a house or an apartment of one's own (40.1%) and long-term employment (32.7%).

The diversity of leisure time opportunities does not seem to be a contributing factor to the allure of city-life. The reason for this is that young people tend to spend their leisure time mostly in communicating with friends (58.3%), spending time in nature or in tourist activities (43.3%).

Perhaps rural areas need to be made attractive not only in terms of their appearance (although it shouldn't be considered unimportant), but also to develop their infrastructure. From my viewpoint, for villages to become more attractive places to live, a minimum of three tasks should be solved: to raise the material standard of living in such areas, to improve cultural and living conditions of village residents and to educate them about modern ways of working in the field of agriculture.

None of those problems can be solved without the strong support of the state – this is confirmed in practice and by the existing domestic and foreign experiences.

It is believed that economic benefits can attract investments to the village and that only material interest can keep in agricultural production those who would otherwise migrate to cities.

A comfortable, modern way of life and good communications could "lure" young specialists to the village and make graduates who have received a professional education more eager to return to villages where they were born.

But regardless of how well the first two tasks are solved (although their rapid realization is, truth be told, very questionable) introducing modern ways of successful life in the village without the adequate training of villagers isn't very likely to radically change the situation in the countryside.

Practice shows that success is achieved only by those village residents who actively study, master various activities and achieve mastery in their field of expertise, even under most unfavorable economic and social conditions.

A successful life in the village largely depends on the level of rural education of its inhabitants, which is expressed through various agricultural skills and knowledge, mastering advanced technologies for growing plants and animals, improving the skill set necessary in agricultural life, (such as logging, building and maintaining homestead buildings), etc. Therefore, the key problem in the development of rural areas is the revival of true farmer values of dedication and hard work among the people who work on the land.

In reality, however, to make such a skilled village dweller is very difficult. Modestly sized land plots, the absence of modern agricultural equipment along with the impossibility of its rational use under such conditions all lead to a low culture of management in village farming. Unprofitable enterprises go bankrupt while the good farms are, unfortunately, few and far in between (Андрейко, 2004).

Another problem is that modern urbanized village families pay little attention to the agricultural education of their children. As practice shows, modern rural parents are inconsistent in teaching their children the skills necessary for managing a village household, plant growing or operating agricultural and other machinery. Many parents do not consider necessary for their children to acquire agricultural and economic education, believing that it would not contribute to the improvement of their well-being in any way (Андрейко, 2004).

In this regard, much work remains to be done on the agricultural and pedagogical education of the family in order to drastically change its role in guiding the children towards a rural way of life. Nevertheless, just laying the groundwork is insufficient for the achievement of this goal and a much more complex set of government measures is necessary.

Experiences of many countries with thriving agricultural sector have confirmed that the most important place in the curriculum of rural schools should be given to agricultural education. For example, a majority of rural schools in the USA have a school farm of roughly the same size as an average farm in the local community. School farms copy the structure of real farms, allowing training to be organized and fully contributing to the local agricultural production.

For many students, working in such school laboratories offers a first-handed demonstration of the entire cycle of agricultural work, as well as the possibility to conduct various experiments with practical results to the

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local agrarian economy, like supplying the school cafeteria and buffet with food.

In pre-revolutionary Russia, educational apiaries, farms, and orchards within schools were a common sight; hardworking and revered villagers were included in the school board of trustees; the Church also exerted a strong influence on the development of spiritual values of rural residents.

Describing the living conditions in villages in general, half of the respondents (50.0%) stated that the life in the village has improved in the past 5 years, while the other 34,8% adhere to the opinion that it practically remained the same.

The majority of young people seem to be satisfied with the availability and quality of provided services. Truth be told, the level of satisfaction with the quality of healthcare is slightly lower, but this isn't typical for rural areas only.

Table 8.

Satisfaction with availability and quality of services in different spheres (%)

	Completely satisfied	More satisfied than dissatisfied	**Generally satisfied**	More dissatisfied than satisfied	Completely dissatisfied	**Generally dissatisfied**	Hard to answer
Health care	20.2	40.5	**60.7**	22.0	13.0	**35.0**	4.3
Education	28.8	46.8	**75.6**	14.3	6.1	**20.4**	4.0
Social services	26.0	44.0	**70.0**	17.5	5.5	**23.0**	7.0
Leisure activities	25.6	41.5	**67.1**	17.8	10.2	**28.0**	4.9
Conditions for physical education and sport	31.5	33.7	**65.2**	18.8	10.8	**29.6**	5.0
Trade	29.2	40.7	**69.9**	16.6	8.3	**24.9**	5.2

Attention should also be given to the quality and availability of provision of leisure services, as well as to the improvement of conditions for physical education and sports (Table 8).

Conclusions

Summarizing the above-mentioned, it can be concluded that the necessity to develop social and economic policies for the development of rural areas should be defined as a sphere of mutual responsibility of the state, business, science and civil society with the goal of ensuring a decent quality of life for the people. The quality of life at the same time, should be taken as a criterion for the assessment of management effectiveness.

One of the most important factors that determine the success of solving problems of integrated and sustainable development of rural areas, is to ensure that young people actively participate in processes of social and economic transformation in the countryside.

It is quite obvious that the future of the Russian village will largely be determined by the involvement of young people in the process of integrated development of rural areas. An integral part of the contemporary state agrarian policy is to increase the efficiency of agricultural production. This is possible only through innovative development that involves a large-scale implementation of best resource-saving and cost-effective technologies. To effectively make the most of the achievements of science and advanced experience, modern production technologies require highly-qualified specialists. Therefore, the main task of today's agrarian education should be to improve the quality of personnel in the agroindustry complex.

One of the main problems that require urgent solutions at the state, regional and municipal level is the aging of the economically active rural population and securing the future of young professionals in villages. The priority direction of sustainable development of rural areas should be the stimulation of economic activity and social protection of rural youth and rural residents in general. The historically determined backwardness of villages in terms of quality of life, along with the impossibility to create the conditions needed for meeting social needs (educational, cultural, medical centers, the choice of profession or the sphere of labor) that would be comparable to those in the cities, determine the need for social compensation of negative features of rural life and measures to stimulate youth to stay and live in rural areas.

Therefore, in analyzing the problem of the outflow of youth in rural areas, the following conclusions can be formulated:

1. The discussed problem is typical for all agrarian regions of modern Russia, with Belgorod region being no exception to this due to the agrarian character of its economy. This problem calls for an in-depth analysis since it puts to the question the future of the Russian village which is, under current conditions, on the verge of extinction. This issue thus requires an immediate response with an integrated approach to its solution and the development of effective measures of state social policy that would take into account the attractiveness of rural labor. In this case, we can distinguish two different components of prestige: social acceptability (approbation) of agricultural professions and the availability of decent material compensation. The social acceptance of rural labor can be achieved only if a positive image of the rural worker is developed in the public consciousness.

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2. The main problems that rural settlements face are difficult working conditions in agriculture, a deficit of rural budgets, a weak social sphere, poverty, weak rural management, unemployment, and, as a consequence, marginalization of rural youth and a low social and entrepreneurial activity. This and a number of other issues are causing negative migration (outflow) or rural youth, which leads to the problem of the unfavorable age structure of the economically active rural population and the difficulties of keeping young cadres in villages. The reasons why young people would like to move to the city are the same for both students and working youth. This is primarily the belief that city life offers better possibilities for employment, career-building and a better standard of living. Young people living in the village are mostly focused on getting an education that will allow them to become qualified and demanded specialists, find a job and make a career. In the countryside, however, achieving these goals is, in young people's opinion, much more difficult.

3. With the modern changes of the preferable labor style in mind, it is clear that today's view on labor profoundly differs from the way it was perceived in the Soviet Union, as it has been transformed from an essential, sacred value to a more practical, instrumental value. Having labor deprived of its sacred meaning and brought down to the sphere of the material, modern youth's approach to labor is far more unconcerned about its meaning and nature.

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Larisa Nikolajevna Šmigirilova*

Problem odseljavanja mladih sa sela – primer Belgorodske oblasti (Rusija)

R e z i m e

Ruralne oblasti imaju snažan prirodni, demografski, ekonomski, kulturni i istorijski potencijal, koji bi, ukoliko se njegovoj realizaciji pristupi na sveobuhvatniji, racionalniji i efikasniji način, mogao da obezbedi održivi multi-sektorski razvoj, punu zaposlenost i visok kvalitet života za sve stanovnike ruralnih oblasti, uključujući i mlade.

Unapređenje državne politike za poboljšanje statusa omladine na selu zahteva diferencirani pristup procenama promena u ovoj oblasti, odnosno pristup koji bi uzimao u obzir specifične karakteristike socioekonomskog razvoja ruralnih oblasti.

Jedan od najperspektivnijih pristupa unapređenju politika u ovoj oblasti jeste intenziviranje vertikalne socijalne mobilnosti mladih na selu. Kao prvo, unapređenje vertikalne mobilnosti može doprineti smanjenju socijalne distance između mladih sa sela i drugih demografskih grupa, u prvom redu mladih urbanog porekla. Kao drugo, može pozitivno uticati na privlačnost sela kao mesta stalnog boravka i doprineti umanjenju intenziteta odseljavanja ruralne omladine.

Pored teoretskog materijala, sveobuhvatna analiza socioloških, statističkih i pravnih podataka, pruža, po mišljenju autora, najkompletnije i najpouzdanije saznanje o promenama socijalnog statusa mladih u selima Belgorodske oblasti i razlozima njihovog odlaska.

S jedne strane, jedan od glavnih faktora koji podstiču rešenost mladih da migriraju jeste njihovo nezadovoljstvo svojim socijalnim položajem, prouzrokovano ograničenim mogućnostima zaposlenja, ograničenim pristupom kvalitetnom obrazovanju, medicinskoj nezi, lošim stambenim uslovima i drugim problemima.

S druge strane, ono što dodatno doprinosi migracijama je promena preferencija u pogledu vrste rada i činjenica da za rusku omladinu (i stanovništvo uopšte), rad *per se* više nema „sveto“ značenje, već se doživljava čisto kao sredstvo za ispunjenje potreba bez postojanja neke posebne unutrašnje vrednosti po sebi.

Analiziranje obrazaca migracije ruralne omladine dozvoljava nam da donesemo nekoliko zaključaka. Kao prvo, važno je primetiti da je rešenost mladih da migriraju sa sela neupitna. Ova tendencija je nešto viša među mladima koji se još uvek obrazuju nego među onima koji su već zaposleni. Nastojanje mladih ljudi starosti između 18 i 24 godine da se odsele rezultat je uglavnom želje za daljim obrazovanjem. Kad je u pitanju obrazovanje, kao najpoželjnije profesionalne oblasti označeni su menadžment, inženjerske profesije, poljoprivreda i ekonomija. Istovremeno, sa stanovišta stvarne zaposlenosti poljoprivreda dominira nad ostalim oblastima. Nesklad koji postoji između prioriteta stvarnog zaposlenja i preferira-

* Belgorodski nacionalni istraživački univerzitet, Belgorod (Rusija);
e-mail: shmigirilova@bsu.edu.ru

nih oblasti znači da samo mali broj mladih namerava da se po završetku obrazovanja vrati na selo.

Glavni razlog zbog kojeg mladi biraju gradove kao svoja stalna prebivališta jeste ubeđenje da će na taj način imati bolje uslove za edukaciju i razvoj karijere, kao i bolji životni standard. Ovo se u podjednakoj meri odnosi i na zaposlene mlade i na one koji se još uvek obrazuju.

Seoska omladina je generalno, usmerena na dobijanje obrazovanja koje će im omogućiti da postanu kvalifikovani i traženi stručnjaci, kako bi po diplomiranju mogli da pronađu dobar posao i razvijaju karijeru. Po njihovom mišljenju, taj cilj nije moguće realizovati bez preseljenja u grad.

Ono što pak, podstiče mlade da ostanu na selu jeste dostupnost (sopstvenog) stambenog prostora. Mnogi među njima međutim, nisu upoznati sa postojanjem programa podrške ruralnoj omladini, dok istovremeno, najveći broj onih koji su o takvim programima informisani u njima retko učestvuje.

Pokazalo se da su mladi ljudi generalno zadovoljni organizacijom i raznolikošću aktivnosti u slobodno vreme, kao i dostupnošću i kvalitetom pruženih javnih usluga.

Ispitanici su definisali visok standard života uglavnom kroz parametre kao što su stabilan dohodak, vlasništvo nad kućom ili stanom i trajno zaposlenje.

Imajući ovo u vidu, kao primarni razlozi za odseljavanje mladih sa sela mogu se identifikovati: 1) opredeljenost mladih za profesije koje nisu povezane sa poljoprivredom i nisu tražene u ruralnim oblastima; 2) nedostatak efikasnih mehanizama materijalne podrške mladim stručnjacima, poput obezbeđivanja stambenog prostora, *startap* kapitala i sl.; 3) nedostatak mogućnosti zaposlenja i razvijanja karijere.

Pored podsticanja mladih da učestvuju u implementaciji socijalno značajnih aktivnosti za razvoj ruralnih područja u Belgorodskoj oblasti, ovaj projekat ima za cilj da identifikuje i promoviše najsvrsishodnije socijalne, kulturne, obrazovne i menadžerske tehnologije za ruralnu omladinu kako bi se mlađe generacije podstakle da ostanu na selu.

Ključne reči: *mladi na selu, migracije, ruralne oblasti, Belgorodska oblast, Rusija*

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PRIKAZI

XXIX KONFERENCIJA NORDIJSKE SOCIOLOŠKE ASOCIJACIJE

Alborg, Danska,
08 – 10. avgust 2018.

Konferencija Nordijske Sociološke Asocijacije se održava svake druge godine u nekoj od nordijskih zemalja, u koje spadaju Norveška, Švedska, Finska, Danska i Island. Ove godine naziv konferencije je bio: „Globalni Sever – Politike blagostanja, mobilnost, jednakost i socijalna kretanja".

Glavna tema konferencije je bila odnos između nordijskih država i globalnih procesa. Kako, sa jedne strane, nordijske države utiču na globalne procese i kako globalni procesi, sa druge strane, utiču na nordijske zemlje. Poseban osvrt je bio na migracije, promene porodičnih obrazaca, različite društvene stratifikacije, probleme životne sredine i diskurse za moderno upravljanje. Detaljnije, konferencija se bavila pitanjima vezanim za siromaštvo, nejednakosti, skoriji razvoj tržišta rada i države blagostanja. Fokus je takođe bio na odgovorima civilnog društva, institucionalnom razvoju, organizacionim reformama, upravljanju, uspostavljanju i održavanju države blagostanja.

Na konferenciji su učestvovali istraživači iz sledećih naučnoistraživačkih oblasti: sociologije, demografije, socijalne politike, socijalnog rada, psihologije, politikologije itd. Tematski, konferencija je bila podeljena na 23 sesije:

1. Nordijske države blagostanja i imigracija
2. Institucionalna etnografija institucija socijalne zaštite
3. Građanske inicijative za globalnu solidarnost
4. Mladi na margini države blagostanja 1: Marginalizacija dece i mladih
5. Mladi na margini države blagostanja 2: Preuzimanje rizika i svakodnevni život
6. Mladi na margini države blagostanja 3: Metodologije
7. Nordijske ekonomske elite i država blagostanja
8. Sociologija hroničnih bolesti
9. Društvena stratifikacija

10. Vreme, moć i otpor
11. Može biti dugotrajno – longitudinalni pristup za razumevanje nezaposlenih osoba koje se "teško uklapaju" i njihove interakcije sa servisima države blagostanja
12. Zdravlje: dobro duhovno i fizičko stanje i mobilnost
13. Sociologija i značenje mesta
14. Rod i intersekcionalnost
15. Studije kulturnih različitosti i društvene diferencijacije
16. Društvene nejednakosti u domenu zdravlja iz ugla ubrzane modernizacije
17. Civilno društvo u nordijskim državama
18. Sport i globalizacija: Izazov i kondicija
19. Životna sredina, održivost i održivi razvoj
20. Porodica i srodstvo
21. Izazovi u socijalnom radu i zdravstvenoj nezi
22. Moralni izazovi modernog društva
23. Socijalna uključenost i subjektivno zadovoljstvo u nordijskoj državi blagostanja

Centralna tema na otvaranju konferencije je pripala profesoru Majku Sevidžu, direktoru Instituta za međunarodne nejednakosti Londonske škole ekonomije i akademskog direktora programa *Atlantic Fellows*, najvećeg globalnog programa na svetu posvećenog izazovima nejednakosti u društvu. Profesor Sevidž se dugo bavi analizom društvene stratifikacije i nejednakosti i jedan je od najuticajnijih istraživača u oživljavanju sociologije društvenih klasa u proteklim decenijama u Evropi. U poslednjih nekoliko godina, bio je vodeća figura u raspravama o metodama korišćenja velikih baza podataka u sociologiji. Otvorio je konferenciju svojom prezentacijom „Eskalacija nejednakosti i geopolitika".

Centralna tema drugog dana konferencije je pripala profesoru Gaju Stendingu sa SOAS (*School of Oriental and African Studies*) univerziteta u Londonu, koji je suosnivač BIEN (*Basic Income Earth Network*), tj. globalne mreže koja se bavi pitanjima u vezi sa osnovnim ličnim prihodima, urednik i pisac knjiga o savremenim politikama tržišta rada, nezaposlenosti, fleksibilnosti tržišta rada, politici strukturalnog prilagođavanja i politici socijalne zaštite i dr. On je održao prezentaciju na temu „Odgovor na rentijerski kapitalizam: Prekarijatska povelja".

Trećeg dana, centralnu temu je otvorila profesorka Prerna Sing, sa Odseka za politiku i međunarodne studije Mahatma Gandi Univerziteta i Votson instituta za međunarodne i javne poslove na Braun univerzitetu u SAD. Ona se bavi istraživanjem solidarnosti kao ključnim elementom za dobrobit društva, a njeno predavanje je bilo na temu „Nacionalizam i blagostanje".

Plenarni sastanak je održan drugi dan konferencije na temu: Vrednosti, inkluzivnost i pitanja poverenja – država blagostanja kao moralni i institucionalni projekat. Panelisti su bili Morten Frederiksen, vanredni profesor na Odseku za sociologiju i socijalni rad Alborg Univerziteta, Tea Torbenfeld Bengtson, viši istraživač na VIVE – danskom centru za društvena istraživanja i Mikael Holmkvist, profesor Poslovne škole na Univerzitetu u Stokholmu. Funkciju moderatora je obavljao Lars Bo Kaspersen, profesor Poslovne škole u Kopenhagenu.

Poslednjeg dana konferencije, posebno vreme je odvojeno za diskusiju pod nazivom „Nacionalizam i blagostanje iz nordijske perspektive". Diskutanti su bili: Vanesa Barker, docent i vanredni profesor na Univerzitetu u Stokholmu i Kristijan Albrekt Larsen, profesor Alborg univerziteta. Napomene je izneo Lars Tragord, profesor na Ersta Skondal Brake univerzitetskom koledžu u Stokholmu. Moderator je bio Lars Skov Henriksen, profesor Alborg univerziteta.

Izdvojila bih neke od radova koji su privukli najviše pažnje na ovoj konferenciji:

Mika Helander, sa Obo Akademi univerziteta u Finskoj, predstavio je rad na temu „Privremena radna migracija u Finskoj – upoznavanje sa sistemom 'gostujućeg radnika' u Finskoj". On se bavi analizom usluga i benefita države blagostanja, ali i njihove dostupnosti u praksi za privremene radne migrante u Finskoj. Specifične mere u finskoj državi blagostanja i sistemu socijalne zaštite, bazirane na zavisnosti od prirode ugovora o radu i dužine boravka, u praksi, kao posledicu ovog mešovitog modela, doprinose da je trenutni radni migrant prinuđen da plaća nesrazmerno veliku proporciju poreza i neretko biva isključen iz sistema socijalne zaštite. To neke od privremenih radnika primarno stavlja u funkciju nadoknade radnih resursa, što doprinosi problematičnom balansu resursa u eri monetarne unije, slično kontinentalnim migracijama u evropskim zemljama 1970-ih, zaključak je Mike Helandera.

Profesorka Kvist, sa Odseka političkih nauka Alborg univerziteta, predstavila je rad „Objašnjenje društvenog gradijenta u ranom penzionisanju: uloga subjektivno ocenjenog zdravstvenog stanja, nekontinuirane zaposlenosti, nedostatka kontrole rada i ekonomskih podsticaja". Ona naglašava da Danska, kao i druge evropske zemlje, veliku pažnju posvećuje podizanju starosne granice za odlazak u penziju i finansijskom podsticanju dužeg radnog veka. Ipak, sve više literature u ovoj oblasti ukazuje na to da postoje značajne društvene varijacije u pogledu starosne granice i dobrovoljnosti za penzionisanje, što ukazuje na to da neki radnici možda nisu sposobni da odgovore na podsticaje za produženje radnog veka. Kroz korišćenje longitudinalnog anketiranja starijih radnika danskog porekla, kombinovanog sa visokokvalitetnim registarskim podacima, rezultati su

pokazali da je nizak socioekonomski status povezan sa povećanim rizikom od prevremenog penzionisanja, a rezultati se odnose na ulazak u invalidsku penziju ili socijalnu sigurnost. Profesorka Kvist naglašava da su druge mogućnosti za penzionisanje, poput privatne penzije, povezane sa visokim socioekonomskim statusom. Za upis u invalidsku penziju ili socijalnu sigurnost, rezultati sugerišu da je uticaj socioekonomskog statusa delimično objašnjen indirektnim efektima putem subjektivno-ocenjenog zdravstvenog stanja, stepena nestalnosti u istoriji zapošljavanja i nedostatka kontrole rada.

Simon Skovgard Jensen, Kristian Torp-Pedersen i Klaus D. Hansen, sa Odseka za sociologiju i socijalni rad Alborg univerziteta, govorili su na temu: „Medikalizacija stresa? Uporedna analiza poseta lekaru i korišćenja antidepresiva među osobama sa visoko-stresnim simptomima na severu Danske između 2004. i 2010. godine“. Autori ovog rada su uporedili posete lekaru i korišćenje antidepresiva među osobama sa visoko-stresnim simptomima. Oni naglašavaju da se sve više vrši primena medikalizacije tj. pretvaranje ovog pitanja samo u medicinski problem koji se rešava farmaceutskim putem. Hipoteza je da će visok nivo stresa kod pojedinca dovesti do većeg broja poseta lekarima i još veće upotrebe medikamenata za rešavanje problema tokom vremena. Cox regresiona analiza korišćena je za izračunavanje stepena opasnosti za propisane antidepresive i posete lekarima u trajanju od jedne godine, nakon odgovora na upitnike. Wald testom je poređeno da li se rezultati između različitih kalendarskih godina razlikuju. Autori su zaključili da postoji tendencija povećanja potrebe za medikalizacijom, ne zbog povećanog nivoa poseta lekaru osoba sa visokim nivoom stresom, već zbog porasta potreba onih koji već koriste antidepresive za tretiranje problema ponovnom upotrebom antidepresiva. Zaključak autora ovog rada je i da se proces povećanja medikalizacije u terapijske svrhe dešava u ordinacijama lekara.

Asdís Arnalds i Sabina Belop Nguema, sa Islandskog univerziteta, predstavile su rad na temu: „Roditeljsko odsustvo i rodne uloge u Islandu i Španiji“. Kroz komparaciju jedne nordijske i jedne mediteranske zemlje, autorke naglašavaju dugu nordijsku praksu socijalne politike koja majkama i očevima pruža podjednaku priliku za rad i odsustvo prilikom rođenja deteta. Ostale evropske zemlje tokom vremena polako uvode istu ili sličnu praksu u cilju ravnomerne podele odgovornosti oba roditelja prilikom rođenja deteta. Iako je Španija 2007. godine prihvatila ovaj obrazac, čini se da je i dalje slabije korišćeno pravo na očinsko odsustvo. Uzorak korišćen u ovom istraživanju obuhvatio je 709 parova sa Islanda i 593 para iz Španije, pri čemu je analiziran način korišćenja roditeljskog odsustva u kombinaciji sa faktorima rada. U analizu je ušlo i radno vreme nakon povratka sa roditeljskog odsustva, a cilj istraživanja je bio da se upo-

redi uključenost očeva u podizanju dece u odnosu na uključenost majki i sličnosti i razlike između ove dve države. Analiza je pokazala da je uključenost očeva u brizi o deci, direktno ili indirektno, kroz redukciju radnih sati prisutna u obe države, ali ipak je i dalje vise izražena kod očeva sa Islanda. Očevi sa Islanda više koriste roditeljsko odsustvo pri rođenju deteta nego očevi iz Španije.

Sehar Ezdi, Jani Erola, Elina Kilpi-Jakonen i Heta Pojlio, sa Odseka za socijalna istraživanja Turku univerziteta u Finskoj, predstavili su rad: „Porodični resursi i podizanje dece pod različitim shemama socijalne politike“. Autori navode da su globalne promene u obrascima formiranja porodice zajedno sa eskaliranom ekonomskom neizvesnošću, visokom nezaposlenošću mladih i produženim školovanjem doveli do većeg diverziteta između tipova porodica u pogledu uslova odrastanja dece. Sa jedne strane, deca u porodicama sa oba roditelja često odrastaju u relativno dobrim ekonomskim uslovima, dok sa druge strane, porodice u kojima deca odrastaju sa jednim roditeljom često odlikuje slabije ekonomsko stanje. Dobro postavljene mere socijalne politike mogu značajno uticati na promenu ovakvog stanja i povećati blagostanje dece. To bi moglo promeniti reproduktivno ponašanje i autori očekuju da bi tada parovi sa niskim socioekonomskim statusom odložili rađanje drugog deteta do momenta akumulacije sredstava koja bi garantovala adekvatne mogućnosti za njihovu decu. Autori su proučavali uticaj roditeljskih resursa i kompenzacione mehanizme na fertilitet analizom verovatnoće i vremenskog rasporeda rođenja deteta, koristeći tri vrste baza podataka: finski populacioni registar, nemačke i britanske panel podatke iz longitudinalnog istraživanja domaćinstava – SOEP (*German Socio-Economic Panel*) i BHPS (*British Household Panel Survey*). Koristili su više različitih makro pokazatelja: vrste roditeljskog odsustva, predškolsko obrazovanje, transfere poreskih olakšica na porodicu sa oba roditelja i porodični dodatak.

Čoi Kan Suen, sa Odseka za geonauke Upsala univerziteta, je izneo analizu na temu: „Da li su stanovnici koji žive u ekološkim okruzima ekološki svesni? Studija slučaja o ekološkim stavovima stanovnika koji žive u zelenoj evropskoj prestonici – Stokholmu“. Autor je govorio o brzom razvoju globalizacije, klimatskim promenama i porastu stanovništva kao tri glavna faktora umanjenja ekološki održivih oblasti. On istražuje da li su stanovnici koji žive u veoma dobro eko-dizajniranom gradu ekološki svesni. Ističe da grad jeste ekološki, prema njegovim tehnologijama i infrastrukturi, ali ne i prema obrascima ponašanja stanovnika i da se kao uzrok klimatskih promena u svetu navode upravo ljudi. On stoga predlaže da kada kreatori eko-politike podižu eko-grad morali bi uzeti u razmatranje i ponašanje njegovih stanovnika. Autor je, takođe, istakao da stanovnici eko-delova Stokholma uglavnom kao razlog da žive u tim delovima grada

navode druge razloge. Cilj ovog istraživanja je sprovođenje takve politike koja bi povećala svesnost stanovništva i značaj 'ekološkog' ponašanja.

Ana Vrbnik

ŠESTI MEĐUNARODNI SIMPOZIJUM „AKADEMIK BERISLAV BETA BERIĆ“

Novi Sad, 13 – 14. novembar 2018.

Simpozijum „Akademik Berislav Beta Berić“, dvodnevni demografski skup koji se od 1997. održava svake četvrte godine, održan je i ovog novembra u Novom Sadu. Simpozijum su organizovali Departman za geografiju, turizam i hotelijerstvo Prirodno-matematičkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, Matica Srpska, Odbor za proučavanje stanovništva Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti i Pokrajinski sekretarijat za socijalnu politiku, demografiju i ravnopravnost polova. Simpozijum se ove godine održavao na dve lokacije: u Skupštini AP Vojvodine (prvi dan) i Matici srpskoj (drugi dan).

Ovogodišnji skup je bio posvećen *primerima dobre prakse u populacionoj politici i planiranju porodice*. Tematika je stoga vrlo relevantna i zanimljiva ne samo za nauku već i za donosioce odluka koji su takođe prisustvovali skupu. Simpozijum je već u prvom pozivu bio podeljen na tematske celine koje su uključivale iskustva i primere populacione politike prema fertilitetu, starenju, mortalitetu i migracijama, ali i jednu opštiju demografsku celinu koja se odnosila na regionalni i demografski razvoj zemalja Zapadnog Balkana.

Sama činjenica da se pažnja, koja je tradicionalno posvećivana pronatalitetnim politikama, ovim skupom okreće i na politike prema drugim demografskim fenomenima, na koje se itekako može uticati adekvatnim politikama, je odličan signal istraživačima i otvara nove teme u javnom i, naročito, naučnom diskursu. Skup je, u skladu sa pozivom za prijavu radova, organizovan kroz slične tematske celine, te je njegov program pratio isti redosled.

Prvi dan ovog dvodnevnog simpozijuma bio je podeljen na tri tematske celine: Iskustva i primeri populacione politike prema fertilitetu (na kojoj je bilo predstavljeno deset radova), Iskustva i primeri populacione politike prema mortalitetu i starenju (devet radova) i Regionalni i demografski razvoj zemalja Zapadnog Balkana (devet radova). Drugi dan je bio posve-

ćen jednoj tematskoj celini: Iskustva i primeri populacione politike prema migracijama (šest radova). Ovakav koncept skupa se pokazao dobrim s obzirom na to da su tematske celine bile smislene i da su predstavljeni radovi bili tematski povezani. Ipak, zbog forme programa, prema kom je diskusija sledila nakon svih izlaganja u jednoj sesiji, nije bilo mnogo direktne interakcije na kraju svakog izlaganja iako je u par slučajeva forma „probijena", pa je spontano i dolazilo do pitanja i direktne interakcije sa par izlagača neposredno nakon izlaganja.

Simpozijum je okupio ne samo domaće istraživače, već i istraživače iz drugih država regiona, ali i, još značajnije, istraživače iz različitih disciplina, a ne samo demografe. Naime, jedno od izlaganja koje je privuklo najviše interesovanja i pitanja je bilo pravne prirode i odnosilo se na razlike u regulativi asistiranih reproduktivnih tehnologija u zemljama regiona. Multidisciplinarnost simpozijuma je njegova vrlo dobra strana, jer predstavlja jedinstvenu priliku da istraživači iz različitih oblasti dođu do saznanja iz drugih, za njih stranih, oblasti do kojih na drugi način ne bi došli.

Svi pozitivno recenzirani radovi, koji su predstavljeni na simpozijumu, objavljuju se u prestižnom *Zborniku Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, što privlači kvalitetne radove iz različitih disciplina. Sa te strane ovaj simpozijum ima potencijal da i u budućnosti nastavi tradiciju i potencijalno poveća multidisciplinarnost učesnika. Radovi predstavljeni na ovogodišnjem simpozijumu mogu se pronaći u 167. broju ovog Zbornika.

Sa druge strane, treba napomenuti da relativno visoka kotizacija za učešće na simpozijumu predstavlja značajnu prepreku za mlade istraživače. Stoga je utisak da bi uvođenje povlašćene cene kotizacije za ovu kategoriju učesnika sigurno povećalo interesovanje za skup kod mladih istraživača iz Srbije i regiona i dovelo do još većeg broja prijavljenih radova, što je svakako u interesu i organizatora, ali i daljeg razvoja demografske nauke kod nas.

Na kraju, simpozijum „Akademik Berislav Beta Berić" se ponovo pokazao kao najveći i najvažniji demografski skup koji se održava u Srbiji, a njegova tema ove godine je bila relevantnija nego ikad.

Marko Galjak

BELEŠKE O AUTORIMA

GAJIĆ, msr Aleksandra	Istraživač-saradnik. Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije. Beograd (Srbija), Bul. kralja Aleksandra 73/2. aleksandra@iaus.ac.rs
GALJAK, msr Marko	Istraživač-saradnik. Centar za demografska istraživanja, Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd (Srbija), Kraljice Natalije 45. galjak@gmail.com
GREGUROVIĆ, Dr. sc. Margareta	Znanstvena savjetnica. Znanstveni odsjek za migracijska i demografska istraživanja, Institut za migracije i narodnosti. Zagreb (Hrvatska), Trg Stjepana Radića 3. margareta.gregurovic@imin.hr
KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, Dr. sc. Sanja	Znanstvena savjetnica. Pročelnica Znanstvenog odsjeka za migracijska i demografska istraživanja, Institut za migracije i narodnosti. Zagreb (Hrvatska), Stjepana Radića 3. sanja.klempic@imin.hr
KRUNIĆ, dr Nikola	Naučni saradnik. Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije. Beograd (Srbija), Bul. kralja Aleksandra 73/2. nikola@iaus.ac.rs
PODGORELEC, Dr. sc. Sonja	Znanstvena savjetnica. Znanstveni odsjek za migracijska i demografska istraživanja, Institut za migracije i narodnosti. Zagreb (Hrvatska), Trg Stjepana Radića 3. sonja.podgorelec@imin.hr

SRNIĆ, msr Danijela — Istraživač. Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije. Beograd (Srbija), Bul. kralja Aleksandra 73/2. danijela.srnic@gmail.com

SHMIGIRILOVA, dr Larisa — Vanredni profesor. Zamenik direktora za međunarodne aktivnosti. Institut za privredu i upravljanje, Belgorodski nacionalni istraživački univerzitet. Belgorod (Rusija), Pobedi 85. shmigirilova@bsu.edu.ru

TOŠIĆ, dr Dragutin — Redovni profesor. Geografski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu. Beograd (Srbija), Studentski trg 3. tosic@gef.bg.ac.rs

VRBNIK, msr Ana — Doktorand. Odeljenje za socijalnu politiku, Fakultet za obrazovne i studije socijalne sigurnosti, Obo akademi univerzitet. Vaasa (Finska), Strandgatan 2. anavrbnik@gmail.com

NOTES ON AUTHORS

GAJIĆ, MSc Aleksandra	Research Assistant. Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia. Belgrade (Serbia), Bul. kralja Aleksandra 73/2. aleksandra@iaus.ac.rs
GALJAK, MSc Marko	Research Assistant. Demographic Research Centre, Institute of Social Sciences. Belgrade (Serbia), Kraljice Natalije 45. galjak@gmail.com
GREGUROVIĆ, Dr. sc. Margareta	Principal Research Fellow. Department for Migration and Demographic Research, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies. Zagreb (Croatia), Trg Stjepana Radića 3. margareta.gregurovic@imin.hr
KLEMPIĆ BOGADI, Dr. sc. Sanja	Principal Research Fellow. Head of the Department for Migration and Demographic Research, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies. Zagreb (Croatia), Stjepana Radića 3. sanja.klempic@imin.hr
KRUNIĆ, PhD Nikola	Research Associate. Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia. Belgrade (Serbia), Bul. kralja Aleksandra 73/2. nikola@iaus.ac.rs
PODGORELEC, Dr. sc. Sonja	Principal Research Fellow. Department for Migration and Demographic Research, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies. Zagreb (Croatia), Trg Stjepana Radića 3. sonja.podgorelec@imin.hr

SRNIĆ, MSc Danijela — Research Scholar. Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia. Belgrade (Serbia), Bul. kralja Aleksandra 73/2. danijela.srnic@gmail.com

SHMIGIRILOVA, PhD Larisa — Associate professor. Deputy Director of international activity. Institute of Economy and Management, Belgorod State National Research University. Belgorod (Russia), Pobedi 85. shmigirilova@bsu.edu.ru

TOŠIĆ, PhD Dragutin — Full Professor. Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade. Belgrade (Serbia), Studentski trg 3. tosic@gef.bg.ac.rs

VRBNIK, MSc Ana — PhD student. Social Policy Unit, Faculty of Education and Welfare Studies, Åbo Academi University. Vaasa (Finland), Strandgatan 2. anavrbnik@gmail.com

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Sažetak daje kratak i jasan rezime članka (od 150 do 250 reči; *kurziv*, 9pt), odražavajući osnovnu strukturu rada (predmet i cilj, metodi, rezultati i zaključak), uz upotrebu termina koji se često koriste za indeksiranje i pretragu u referentnim periodičnim publikacijama i bazama podataka. U apstraktu ne treba navoditi reference. Sažetak treba da bude napisan na istom jeziku na kojem je napisan tekst članka.

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Tekst članka bi trebalo da ima sledeću strukturu odeljaka: *uvod, metodi, rezultati, diskusija i zaključak* (ne nužno pod ovim nazivima). U zavisnosti od sadržaja i kategorije članka, moguće je izostaviti neke od odeljaka. Na primer, kod preglednog članka, moguće je izostaviti odeljke o metodima i rezultatima, dok naučna kritika ili polemika može uključiti samo odeljke o motivima rada, konkretnim istraživačkim problemima i diskusiju.

- ***Uvod*** opisuje istraživački problem, sumira relevantna prethodna istraživanja u logičkom i kritičkom maniru, vodi čitaoca ka glavnom istraživačkom pitanju članka; jasno formuliše predmet i cilj istraživanja, kao i postojeće nalaze i teorije koje prikazano istraživanje testira ili pokušava da nadogradi.
- Odeljak o ***metodu (metodima)*** treba da pokaže kojim postupcima se postiže cilj naveden u članku; jasno opisuje empirijski plan istraživanja, uzorački postupak, korišćene podatke, mere, instrumente i postupke (novi metodi bi trebalo da budu opisani detaljnije); može početi hipotezom; može biti podeljen u odgovarajuće pod-odeljke.
- ***Rezultati:*** Obrada podataka i statistička analiza treba da budu jasno izložene (naročito u slučaju novih ili retko korišćenih postupaka); odeljak, takođe, može biti podeljen u prikladne pod-odeljke. Rezultate treba prikazati u logičkom nizu; pored numeričkog prikaza statističke analize, autori treba da uključe i narativno objašnjenje nalaza, dok interpretaciju treba ostaviti za diskusiju.
- ***Diskusija*** sadrži interpretaciju dobijenih rezultata, koja treba da bude u kontekstu modela, teorija i nalaza prikazanih u uvodu; ovaj odeljak, opciono, može biti podeljen u pod-odeljke sa konciznim podnaslovima. Treba jasno specifikovati koja su od ranijih istraživanja podržana, osporena ili unapređena nalazima prikazanim u radu, a zatim, ako je moguće, ponuditi nove modele ili okvire za ostvarene nalaze; dati samo logičke tvrdnje na osnovu prikazanih nalaza. Treba izbegavati pretrpavanje ovog odeljka preteranim citiranjem i dugačkim reinterpretacijama literature, već se fokusi-rati na svoje nalaze. Treba izbegavati zaključke za koje nije obezbeđeno dovoljno istraživačkih podataka. Izuzetno, odeljci o rezultatima i diskusiji mogu se kombinovati u jednom zajedničkom pod nazivom *Rezultati i diskusija*.

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Zahvalnica se nalazi u posebnom odeljku na kraju članka, a ispred spiska referenci.

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  - *Radovi sa konferencija ili poster prezentacije:*

  RAŠEVIĆ, M. (2006). *Abortion problem in Serbia*. Paper presented to EPC 2006 "Population Challenges in Ageing Societies", Liverpool, UK, June 21-24, 2006. link

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Tabele ne treba da prelaze dimenzije jedne stranice i ne treba da budu preopterećene pomoćnim linijama; slova i brojevi unutar tabela treba da budu veličine 9pt. Tabele treba da imaju jasne, samoobjašnjavajuće naslove. Treba da budu obeležene arapskim brojevima po redosledu kojim se pojavljuju u tekstu. Uredništvo treba da ima potpunu kontrolu nad tabelama, odnosno da može klikom unutar tabele da uređuje fontove reči napisanih u tabelama kako bi se zadovoljio stil časopisa i ispravile pravopisne greške. *Sve tabele treba da budu uključene u sam tekst rukopisa*.

Grafikoni, kartogrami, slike, crteži i druge ilustracije treba da budu dostavljeni i kao posebne datoteke dobrog kvaliteta (format JPEG ili TIFF, 300dpi). Autori bi trebalo da dostave svoje grafikone/kartograme/ilustracije u boji za elektronsku verziju članka. Ipak, treba imati u vidu da je štampano izdanje časopisa crno-belo. Sve ilustracije treba da budu označene kao *Grafikon* i numerisane arapskim brojevima po redosledu kojim se pojavljuju u tekstu.

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Naslovi tabela i grafičkih priloga (veličina slova je 10pt) stoje iznad njih i centrirani su. **Ukoliko je članak na srpskom, obavezno ispod naslova tabela i grafičkih priloga na srpskom navesti i englesku verziju istih**. Legende tabela i grafičkih priloga se nalaze ispod njih, i treba da sadrže izvore podataka, a eventualne napomene u novom redu ispod izvora (veličina slova 8pt, levo ravnanje). Upućivanje na tabele i grafičke priloge u samom tekstu mora biti u skladu sa numeracijom (npr. u tabeli 1), a ne sa pozicijom priloga u tekstu (npr. u gore navedenoj tabeli). Konačna pozicija tabela i grafičkih priloga u tekstu može biti drugačija od izvorne zbog postizanja što boljeg preloma članka. Uredništvo neće objaviti sve priloge ako proceni da ih ima previše, kao ni one lošeg kvaliteta.

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