

Challenges of international
MIGRATION *and*
INTEGRATION OF
IMMIGRANTS *in*
EUROPE *and* **SLOVAKIA**

EUROPEAN LIBERAL FORUM 2012

**CHALLENGES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS
IN EUROPE AND SLOVAKIA**

VLADIMÍR BALÁŽ
MARTINA LUBYOVÁ

EDITOR
VIERA GAJOVÁ
LIBERAL SOCIETY FOUNDATION



BRATISLAVA, SLOVAKIA, 2012

Published by the European Liberal forum asbl, with the support of the Liberal Society Foundation, the Centre for Liberal Studies and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. Funded by the European Parliament.

The European Parliament is not responsible for the content of the publication. The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors alone. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Liberal Forum asbl.

Copyright © 2012 European Liberal Forum asbl, Brussels, Belgium

This publication may only be reproduced stored or transmitted in any form or by any means, with the prior permission in writing of the European Liberal Forum asbl.

CONTENTS

REPORT 1	
MIGRATION TRENDS IN SLOVAKIA	5
REPORT 2	
LONG-TERM ECONOMIC CHALLENGES AND BENEFITS POSED BY IMMIGRATION AND NON-IMMIGRATION	26
REPORT 3	
MIGRATION POLICIES IN SLOVAKIA AND WESTERN EUROPE	43
REPORT 4	
IMMIGRATION ISSUES AND IMMIGRATION POLICIES IN SLOVAKIA (SURVEY OF OPINIONS BY SLOVAK INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL ELITES)	75

REPORT 1

MIGRATION TRENDS IN SLOVAKIA

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	6
1 FOREIGN POPULATION IN SLOVAKIA	6
2 MIGRATION DYNAMICS - INFLOWS AND OUTFLOWS	9
3 SITUATION AT THE STATE BORDER AND ILLEGAL MIGRATION	11
4 HUMANITARIAN MIGRATION – REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS	15
5 LABOUR MIGRATION	17
6 INTERNAL MOBILITY	21
CONCLUSIONS	22
BIBLIOGRAPHY	24
ANNEX: SELECTED FACTS.....	25

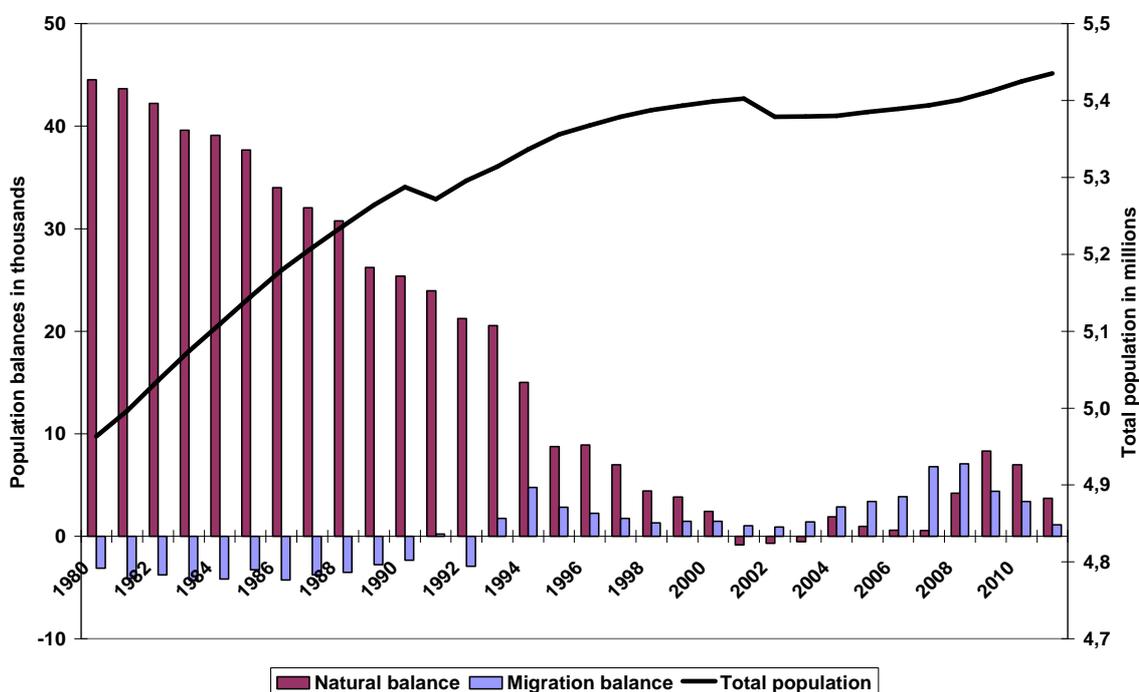
INTRODUCTION

In this report we summarize the migration trends on Slovakia over a longer time horizon with the aim to provide background for discussing the current migration phenomena and their potential future development. There are two major milestones that constitute regime breaks which need to be taken into account before proceeding to any further analysis: (a) Since 1990 Slovakia became the so-called transition economy after the breakdown of the socialist regime towards the end of 1989, (b) Slovak Republic was constituted on 1 January 1993 after the partition of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. Therefore, in the case of selected main indicators we provide overview of the migration trends over a longer period (since 1970-s or 1980-s) in order to be able to make conclusions about the effect of the transition. In order to capture in greater detail the current picture of the migration situation, we focus on the past decade, which has been characterized by two other key regime changes – accession of Slovakia to the European Union as of 1 May 2004 and joining the Schengen area as of 21 December 2007. Other remarkable milestones in the Slovak economic history were acceding to the NATO and OECD (in 2000) and joining the EURO zone by Slovakia as of 1 January 2009. This account shows that Slovakia underwent a substantial degree of opening an international integration over the past two decades, which paved the way to increasing flows of migrants both to and out of the country. We draw on the data from the Slovak national agencies, notably the Statistical Office, agencies under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, as well as on the information from the Slovak annual SOPEMI reports, OECD and EUROSTAT publications and databases.

1 FOREIGN POPULATION IN SLOVAKIA

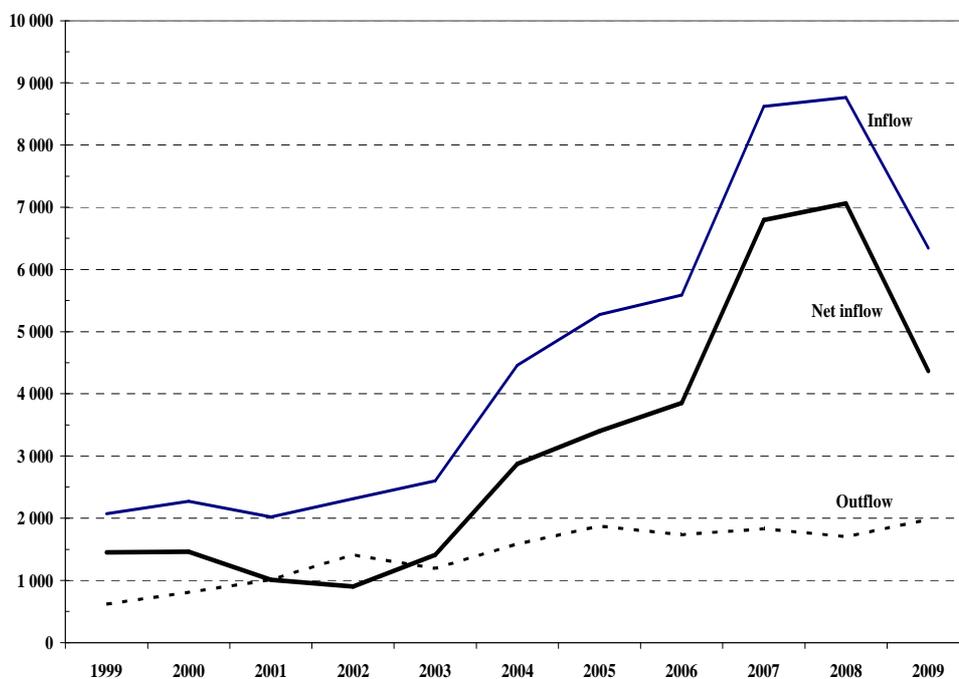
Population development of the last three decades shows that the total population of Slovakia has been increasing, albeit recently at a decreasing pace. The effect of strong generations born in 1970-s has gradually faded out and the economic transition witnessed sharp decline in fertility rates. Thus natural increase of population (as a balance of births and deaths) that was above 40 thousand persons annually in 1980 dropped to zero by 2000 and reached even negative values afterwards. The natural balance slightly picked up only recently, reaching a few thousand persons annually (Figure 1). On the contrary, migration balance (the difference between immigration and emigration) was negative during 1980-ties and turned into positive numbers afterwards. Following the year 2000 until very recently the migration balance even surpassed the natural one, thus during this period the population increase was due to migration rather than natural reproduction. Decomposition of migration balance (gross flow) into net flows (inflow and outflow) at Figure 2 shows a relatively stable outflow and highly variable inflows. Thus the dynamics of migration balance was driven mainly by changes in inflows.

Figure 1: Total population and components of population change



Source: Based on Statistical Office of SR

Figure 2: Gross and net migration flows

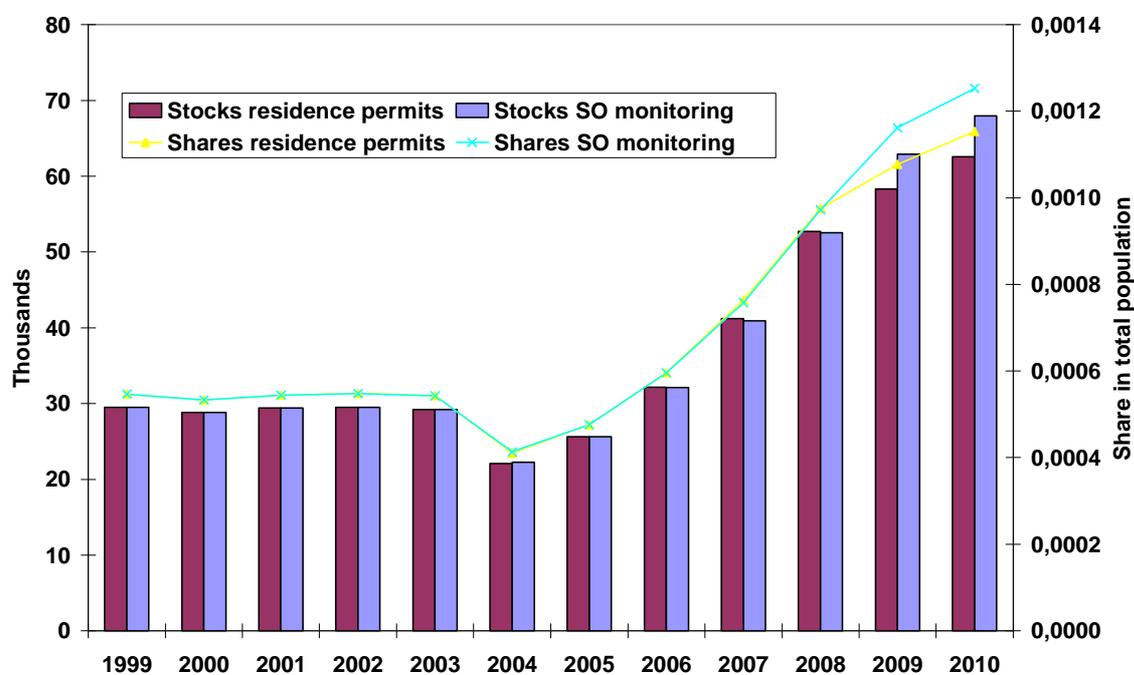


Source: Based on Statistical Office of SR

There are two official sources of data about foreign population in Slovakia, both of which are used in this section: monitoring by the State Statistical Office and the register of Alien Police of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The former is based on the Census data, surveys of population and reporting of changes of permanent address. The latter is based on the register of residence permits issued to foreigners in Slovakia. Both sources of data confirm that total number of foreign population measured by the numbers of residence permit holders in Slovakia has a long-term increasing tendency. As can be seen from Figure 3, during the first half of the current decade the stocks were stabilized around 30 thousand persons annually. However, following the EU-accession year 2004, the annual stocks of residence permits have been constantly on the rise (Figure 3). Total number of foreigners with residence permits in Slovakia increased from about 20 thousand in 2004 to almost 63 thousand in 2010. This dynamics was quite remarkable, however, the share of foreign residents in total population still remains at the low level of about 1,2 per cent.

It is noteworthy that about two thirds of foreign residents in Slovakia are EEA nationals, Among these, traditionally leading countries of origin are the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Austria, United Kingdom, Italy and Greece. Third-country nationals residing in Slovakia on the basis of residence permits represent about one third of foreign residents. In 2010 and 2009 among the top 10 nationalities were Ukraine, Serbia and Montenegro, Korea, Vietnam, Russia, China, United States, Macedonia and Croatia. Finally, we have to note that regional distribution of foreign population in Slovakia is rather uneven with very high concentration in the Bratislava region.

Figure 3: Foreign population in Slovakia and its share in total population



Notes: Foreign population stocks at the left axis, based on residence permits data by Alien Police, Ministry of Internal Affairs and monitoring of permanent residence data by Statistical Office (SO). Shares in total population at the right axis.

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Statistical Office

2 MIGRATION DYNAMICS – INFLOWS AND OUTFLOWS

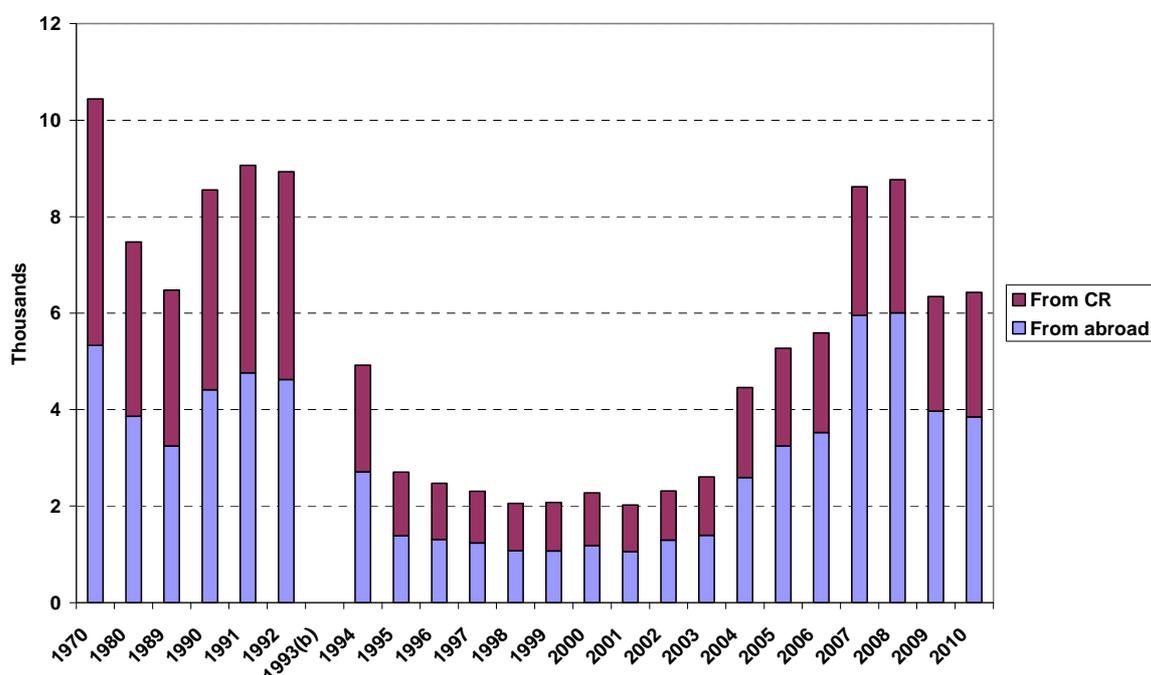
Dynamics of migration can be described by the magnitude of migration inflows, i.e. the gross flows of migrants coming into the country. As documented at Figure 4 the immigration dynamics in Slovakia has been rather volatile since 1970-ties. Gross annual inflows of migrants reached more than 10 thousand persons in 1970 and declined to about 2 thousand persons in 2000, later peaked at about 9 thousand again in 2008 and declined afterwards to about 6 thousand in 2010.

Two major regime breaks in the series are represented by the year 1989 – the fall of socialism, and the year 2003 when accession to the EU was confirmed by the national referendum. Both changes brought about intensification of immigration, which faded away after several years. After 1989 the increased flows were attributable to adjustment to new realities of life, such as the breakdown of the Czecho-Slovak Federation. Following 2003 when accession to the EU was confirmed, the immigration intensified again until it reached the above-mentioned maximum in 2008. It indeed seems that during the first three years after the EU accession there was a temporary hype in the migration inflows that is gradually fading out.

How can we understand the high volatility of immigration during the discussed period? The figures have to be interpreted with caution because of the varying accuracy of monitoring and measurement. Notably, the dramatic decline of recorded inflows throughout the second half of 1990-ties could have been to an extent caused by the declining degree of monitoring of migrants. This was due to the fact that international migration regime was liberalized, visa requirements were dropped for many countries and the monitoring systems were also undergoing changes along with the migration rules and legislation. Similarly, in relation to joining the EU in 2004 inflows of EU citizens started to go unnoticed by the authorities to an extent, as the EU nationals enjoyed preferential regime and many did not report their stay. Thus we can assume that inflows of migrants during these periods are underestimated by the official data.

Another interesting tendency depicted at Figure 4 is the high share of the Czech nationals in overall inflows to Slovakia” both before and after the split of the Czecho-Slovak state the about half of the inflows were accounted for by the Czech nationals. Their share in overall inflows declined only very recently, mainly following the EU accession and thus the decline may partially reflect the decreasing degree of monitoring, as discussed above. Nevertheless, Czech nationals have been representing a prominent group in the Slovak immigration throughout decades. Shares of other nationalities have been volatile. A snapshot of the inflows structure in 2010 shows that a dominant position is occupied by inflows from the EU countries such as Hungary, Romania, Germany, Poland and Austria. This structure points to another interesting tendency that is discussed in the following section – the dominance of Europeans among the foreign population inflows and stocks. As can be seen from Table 1, Europeans represented more than 90 percent of migration inflow in Slovakia in 2010. This dominance of Europeans (and EU citizens) in immigration makes the Slovak immigration qualitatively different phenomenon from those experienced by many old EU member states.

Figure 4: Inflows of migrants



Notes: (a) Distinction between Czech Republic (CR) and abroad (other than CR) is necessary as until 1 January 1993 the Czech Republic was a part of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks.

(b) In the first year of existence of the Slovak Republic (1993) the Statistical Office did not publish these data.

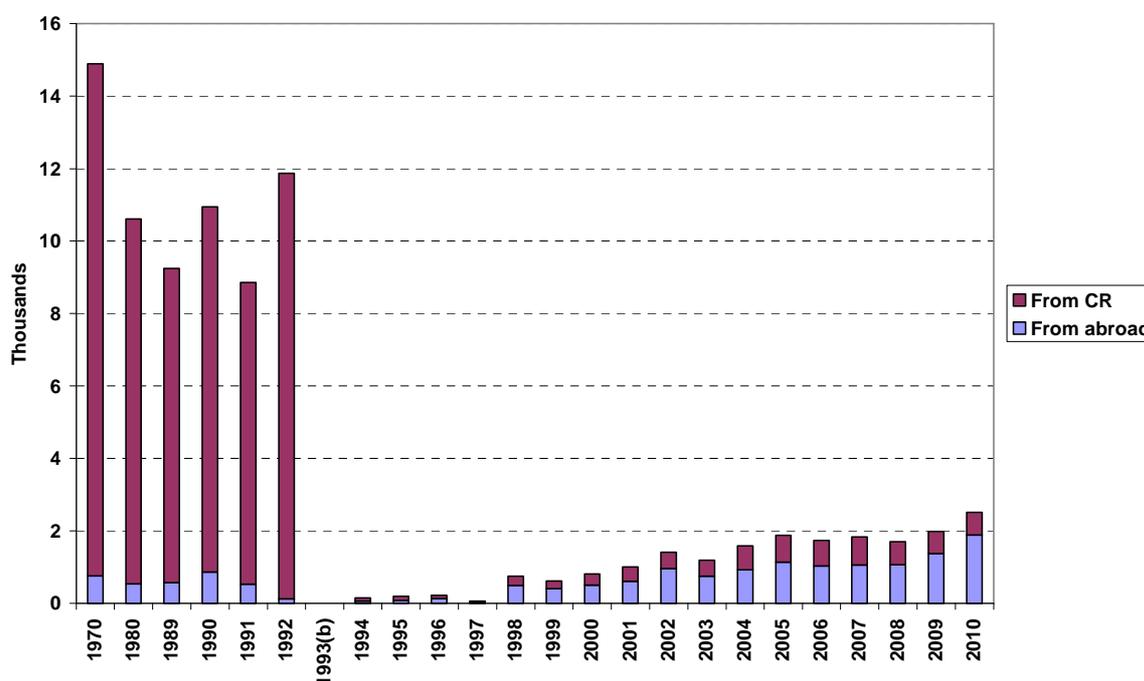
Source: Statistical Office of SR

Table 1: Inflows of migrants by nationality: top 10 countries in 2010

Country of origin				Country of citizenship			
Rank	Country	Inflow	Outflow	Rank	Country	Inflow	Outflow
1	Czech Republic	1160	629	1	Czech Republic	786	54
2	Hungary	708	45	2	Hungary	678	17
3	Romania	416	14	3	Romania	412	14
4	Germany	355	304	4	Poland	280	32
5	Poland	286	44	5	Germany	247	142
6	Austria	275	245	6	Italy	206	12
7	Italy	233	72	7	Austria	160	20
8	United Kingdom	177	118	8	Bulgaria	135	6
9	Bulgaria	136	5	9	United Kingdom	126	9
10	France	133	21	10	France	118	2
				memo	Slovakia	1 111	1 512
	Total	5 272	1 889		Total	5 272	1 889
	Europe	4 756	1 701		Europe	4 966	1 845

Source: Statistical Office of SR

Figure 5: Outflows of migrants



Notes: (a) Distinction between CR and abroad is necessary as until 1992 the Czech Republic was a part of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

(b) In the first year of existence of the Slovak Republic (1993) the Statistical Office did not publish these data.

Source: Statistical Office of SR

Gender composition of migration flows in Slovakia is not balanced. Traditionally, inflows are dominated by males, and outflows by females. This tendency continued also in 2010. The most prominent country in terms of exchange of migrants has been clearly the Czech Republic that in 2010 accounted for about a fifth of inflow and a quarter of outflow.

3 SITUATION AT THE STATE BORDER AND ILLEGAL MIGRATION

A summary overview of the pressure of illegal migrants at the Slovak borders since 1996 is provided in Table 2. This can be compared with the data about legal passages across the Slovak borders provided in Table 3. Figures show that while legal mobility across the borders exhibits a long-term increasing trend, the illegal movements fluctuate and recently show a downward tendency.

Illegal migration in Slovakia is linked mainly to the transit routes East-West and South-North. Before joining the Schengen area, the busiest Slovak border used to be the one with the Czech Republic, followed by the Hungarian and Polish ones. After joining the Schengen area the Ukrainian became the only external border (for the map and length of internal and external Schengen borders please see Annex). Furthermore, following the accession to Schengen area only data about crossing external borders is reported. Vast majority of apprehended illegal

movements come through the Ukrainian border, mainly into Slovakia. Only a few cases were through the Czech border and through airports.

Nationality-wise the illegal migration in Slovakia is traditionally dominated by the nationals of CIS, South-Asia and selected African countries (recently mainly Somalia). Numbers of apprehensions at the border have long term declining trend. In 2010 the number of apprehensions at the border further declined to about 500 persons (as compared to almost 1 thousand in 2008) and number of unauthorised residence cases inside the countries to less than one thousand persons. Top 10 nationalities for border apprehensions in 2010 (as well as during the previous years) were quite stable. Absolute top for border apprehensions in 2010 was held by Moldovans (181 in 2009 and 350 in 2008), followed by Georgians (99 in 2009 and 203 in 2008). More Georgians started to appear in 2008 and 2009. These two nationalities accounted for almost 50 per cent of all border apprehensions. From amongst 500 persons apprehended at the border in 2010 the top three nationalities were Moldova, Afghanistan and Georgia. Among about one thousand persons detected as unauthorised residents in 2010 the top three nationalities, were Ukraine, Somalia and Afghanistan.

It can be also seen that legal cross-border flows are balanced at the Ukrainian border and international airports, i.e. approximately the same amount of migrants enters and leaves the country. The increased pressure of legal passages through the state border in 2008 as compared to 2007 came mainly from increased numbers of passages through road crossings, thus indicating that the external border with Ukraine became even busier. The pressure at the state border recorded a dramatic decline between 2007 and 2008 when only the border with Ukraine became the Schengen external border. Therefore, the trend towards slightly increasing pressure over the past few years cannot be confirmed in 2008. While in 2007 about 112 million persons crossed the border, in 2008 only about 5.6 million were registered (of that over 3 million by road and over 2 million by air). Further decline was registered in 2009 with about 4.3 million passages. The latter decline was caused mainly by a sharp reduction of passages via airports (by about 50 per cent), which reflects the crisis of air industry in general and of the Bratislava International Airport in particular. In 2010 the total number of passages declined as compared to the previous year, more due to the reduction of passages through the airports. While EEA citizens come predominantly through airports, almost third of road entries is due to Ukrainian nationals.

Despite the increasing number of readmission agreements, readmission flows show declining dynamics recently: while more than 1800 illegal migrants were exchanged on the basis of readmission agreements in 2007, in 2008 it was only more than 700 persons, in 2009 less than 500. Further decline was recorded in 2010 when only 317 persons were readmitted out of Slovakia and 28 persons were accepted. Amongst the readmitted persons more than 90 per cent were represented by Ukrainian nationals. Readmissions out of the country heavily prevail over acceptance into the country. The readmissions out are almost exclusively to Ukraine.

Table 2: Summary trends in illegal migration

(in persons)	1996			1997			1998		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	3 329	955	2 374	2 821	733	2 088	8 187	1 921	6 266
Borders: Austria	220	4	216	665	6	659	507	4	178
Czech Republic	1 622	21	1 601	926	8	918	5 162	10	2 253
Hungary	497	433	64	561	476	85	1 272	619	44
Poland	755	272	483	564	144	420	900	136	204
Ukraine	235	225	10	105	99	6	346	98	3
	1999			2000			2001		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	7 957	2 876	5 081	6 062	2 238	3 823	14 577	3 991	10 586
Borders: Austria	1 402	66	1 336	1 234	11	1 223	6 083	68	6 015
Czech Republic	3 485	377	3 108	2 190	128	2 062	4 098	158	3 940
Hungary	606	504	102	428	310	118	1 703	1 486	217
Poland	802	329	473	737	341	395	748	348	400
Ukraine	1 662	1 600	62	1 473	1 448	25	1 945	1 931	14
	2002			2003			2004		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	15 235	4 983	10 252	12 493	6 389	6 104	8 334	3 756	4 578
Borders: Austria	6 293	538	5 755	3 908	348	3 560	2 893	41	2 852
Czech Republic	3 983	9	3 974	2 130	22	2 108	1 671	149	1 522
Hungary	1 799	1747	52	373	304	69	131	68	63
Poland	761	298	463	599	247	352	269	146	123
Ukraine	2 399	2391	8	5 483	5 468	15	3 367	3 352	15
Airports (2004)							3	0	3
	2005			2006			2007		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	5 178	2 939	2 239	4 129	2546	1 583	3 405	1 829	1 576
Borders: Austria	2 012	10	2002	1 310	4	1 306	1 347	1	1 346
Czech Republic	128	15	113	85	2	83	141	15	126
Hungary	90	36	54	144	21	123	1 684	1 674	10
Poland	352	322	30	237	30	207	82	66	16
Ukraine	2 586	2 554	32	2 319	2 308	11	110	68	42
Airports	10	2	8	34	4	30	41	5	36
Unauthorised	2 871			3 491			3 356		
	2008			2009			2010		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	1 034	1 022	12	611	572	39	516	494	22
Borders: Austria	5		5	15		15	4		4
Czech Republic	2	2							
Hungary				2	2		2	2	
Poland	33	33							
Ukraine	978	978		578	563	15	495	486	9
Airports	16	9	7	16	7	9	15	6	9
Unauthorised	1 321			1 174			961		

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Border and Alien Police

Table 3: Summary trends in legal migration – passages through state borders

(in mio. persons)	2009			2010					
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out			
Total	4,303	2,200	2,103	3,477	1,750	1,727			
Border with:									
Ukraine	2,961	1,527	1,434	2,482	1,257	1,225			
Airports	1,342	0,673	0,669	0,995	0,493	0,502			
(in mio. persons)	2006			2007			2008 ^(a)		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	105,96	53,292	52,670	112,23	56,283	55,950	5,677	2,865	2,812
Border with:									
Austria	11,965	6,289	5,676	13,823	7,016	6,807			
Czech Republic	38,694	19,269	19,425	48,016	23,980	24,036			
Hungary	32,360	16,136	16,224	28,583	14,166	14,417			
Poland	18,725	9,520	9,205	17,056	8,719	8,337			
Ukraine	2,498	1,243	1,255	2,540	1,302	1,238	3,375	1,721	1,654
Airports	1,720	835	885	2,215	1,100	1,115	2,302	1,144	1,158
(in mio. persons)	2003			2004			2005		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	84,926	31,910	31,971	92,841	46,483	46,358	102,50	51,148	51,356
Border with:									
Austria	8,297	3,183	3,231	8,719	4,343	4,376	8,743	4,470	4,273
Czech Republic	41,013	14,915	15,154	43,407	21,716	21,691	45,009	22,363	22,646
Hungary	19,511	7,550	7,549	22,217	11,066	11,151	29,419	14,563	14,856
Poland	14,764	5,581	5,364	15,702	7,960	7,742	15,898	8,048	7,850
Ukraine	1,193	433	417	1,662	833	829	1,876	934	942
Airports	645	319	326	1,134	565	569	1,559	770	789
	2000			2001			2002		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	96798	48,443	48,355	90,408	45,001	45,407	86,699	43,344	43,355
Border with:									
Austria	9,696	4,542	5,154	7,306	3,583	3,723	8,382	4,141	4,241
Czech Republic	47,731	24,028	23,703	44,027	22,050	21,977	43,372	21,658	21,714
Hungary	17,305	8,525	8,780	19,831	9,934	9,897	18,732	9,281	9,451
Poland	20,180	10,366	9,814	17,980	9,206	8,774	14,764	7,531	7,233
Ukraine	1,409	738	671	801	403	398	932	473	459
	1997			1998			1999		
	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out	Total	In	Out
Total	110436	55483	54953	111626	56178	55448	104055	52460	51595
Border with:									
Austria	18,682	9,268	9,414	17,236	8,577	8,659	14,978	7,427	7,551
Czech Republic	41,653	20,461	21,192	50,429	25,461	24,968	48,605	24,480	24,126
Hungary	18,234	9,071	9,163	22,672	11,241	11,431	18,382	9,062	9,320
Poland	26,012	12,643	13,369	16,980	8,757	8,223	18,701	9,696	9,005
Ukraine	5,299	2,571	2,728	3,787	1,875	1,912	2,925	1,558	1,367

Note: As of 2008 data refer only to the Schengen external borders (border with Ukraine and 3 international airports).

Source: Presidium of Police Corps

4 HUMANITARIAN MIGRATION - REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS

In terms of humanitarian migration Slovakia has been a transit country of migrant flows that originate from South and East and continuing to the West. Vast majority of applications for refugee status have been terminated on administrative grounds as the applicants would not follow up with their requests and continue their journey outside Slovakia further West.

During the late 1990-ties the numbers of asylum seekers have been persistently increasing: over the period 1993 – 2004 the numbers of applications submitted in Slovakia have increased more than 10-times (from 96 persons to 11.4 thousand persons). Since 2004 (the year of joining the EU) the figures started to decline steadily. In 2005 the numbers of applications fell sharply to only 3.5 thousand persons. More than 90 per cent of applications continue to be terminated on procedural grounds, the share of such terminations continue to increase. The backlog of pending applications was increasing until 2002, at the end of that year it stood at 3.6 thousand applications. However, as of 2004 the backlog started to be reduced; at the end of 2005 constituted about 540 thousand cases and by end 2010 it stood at about 270 cases.

Cumulatively over the period of 1992 - 2010, a total of almost 56 thousand applications were filed to the Slovak authorities, of which 572 persons were granted refugee status (less than 1 per cent), and a total of 207 refugees were granted Slovak nationality. Within the latter category more substantial numbers come from CIS and South-East Asia (notably countries such as Afghanistan, Armenia, Bosnia Herzegovina). The low granting rate is mainly due to the fact that vast majority of applicants continued their journey beyond the Slovak borders.

Table 4: Results ^(a) of granting procedure for refugee status in the Slovak Republic, 1993-mid 2012

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Applications	96	140	359	415	645	506	1 320	1 556	8 151	9 743
Granted refugee status	41	58	80	72	69	53	26	11	18	20
Refused requests	20	32	57	62	84	36	176	123	130	309
Procedure terminated	25	65	190	193	539	224	1 034	1 366	5 247	8 053
Under evaluation	43	31	75	106	63	260	343	400	2 248	3 609
Nationality granted	0	0	0	4	14	22	2	0	11	59
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total 92-2010	2011-mid2012
Applications	10 358	11 395	3 549	2 849	2 642	909	822	541	55 996	391
Granted refugee status	11	15	25	8	14	22	14	15	572	16
Refused requests	531	1 592	827	861	1 177	416	330	180	6 943	144
Procedure terminated	10 656	11 782	2 930	1 940	1 693	455	460	361	48 122	155
Under evaluation	2 769	775	542	604	584	595	254	267	267	287
Nationality granted	42	21	2	5	18	4	1	3	207	0

(a) End of year stocks

Source: Migration Office, Ministry of Interior, revised time series

5 LABOUR MIGRATION

Labour market has been a neuralgic point in Slovakia ever since the onset of the economic transition. During 1991 unemployment rate rocketed from practically zero to about 12 % and unemployment rate has been in double digit figures for most of the time. Slovak labour market exhibited rather positive developments during the pre-crisis period, when the LFS-based unemployment rate declined from 18 % (as of 2004) to 11 % in 2007 and further to 8.7 % at the end of 2008. The year 2008 marked a reversal to the previously positive record and 2009 brought about a substantial worsening of labour market situation in all Slovak regions. Unemployment rates increased in all the regions, as well as for both males and females. Despite the recovery of economic growth in 2010, employment continued to decrease and unemployment further increased to 14.4 %.

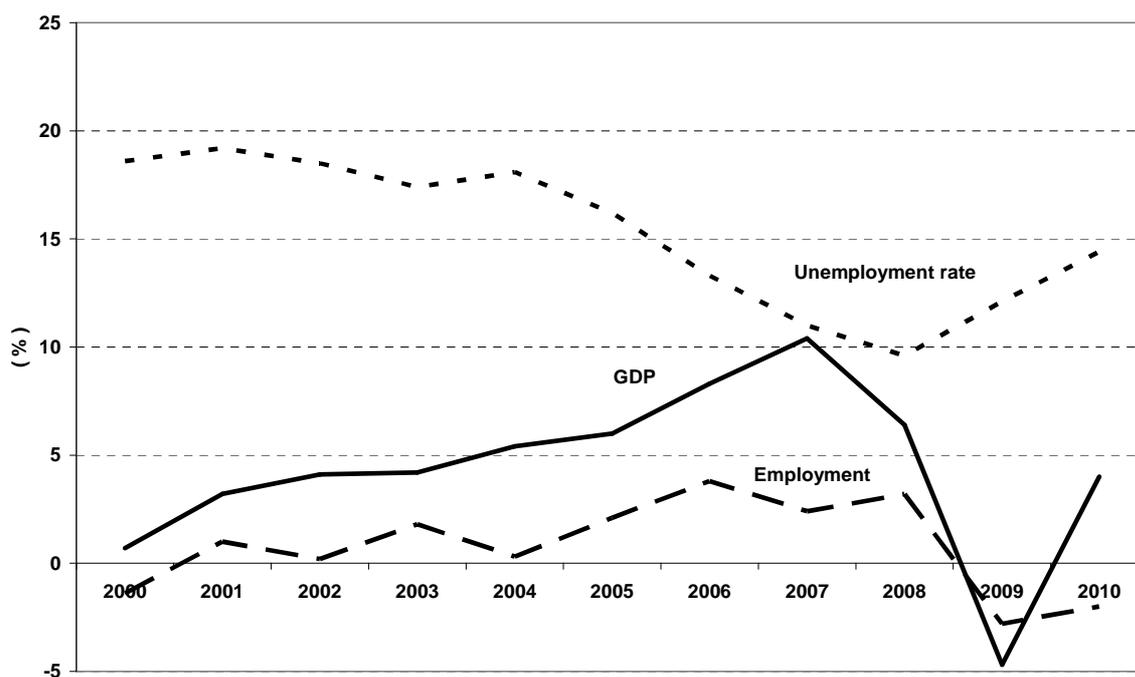
Comparison of regional labour market characteristics shows that there is an inverse relationship between the regional share in total unemployment and the share in total number of foreign workers. Bratislava region has the lowest share in total unemployment and Presov region the highest. The ranking in terms of foreign workers share goes approximately in the opposite direction - Bratislava region has the highest share and Presov region the lowest share of foreign workers. After joining the EU and Schengen area the monitoring and reporting on the numbers of foreign workers went through several changes and more detailed aggregate information about nationality of foreign workers was lost because of the new reporting categories – EU/EEA/Switzerland nationals and the so-called third countries.

Number of foreign workers in Slovakia from EU/EEA/Switzerland reached over 10 thousand persons at the end of 2008 (as compared to 8 thousand a year earlier) and increased further to 11.3 thousand in 2009 and about 13.7 thousand in 2010. Approximately 80 % of these foreign workers are males. The top five nationalities amongst these foreign workers in Slovakia in 2010 were Romania, Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Germany. The increasing tendency in the numbers of foreign workers from the EEA countries between 2008 and 2010 was uniform for all the nationalities. Number of third country nationals with work permits in Slovakia was much lower than that of EU/EEA nationals. In 2010 the former stood at 2.9 thousand persons. Previously the stocks of foreign workers from third countries (i.e. non-EEA nationals) increased between 2007 and 2008 from 1.8 thousand to 3.3 thousand persons. Prevailing characteristics for this group of workers are: male, university degree holder, and age brackets 25 to 34 years. By adding the two categories of workers we obtain the total stock of foreign workers registered in Slovakia around 15 thousand persons, which constitutes a slight increase compared to the previous years, but still represents less than 0,7 per cent of total employment.

As regards labour emigration from Slovakia, the magnitude certainly surpasses that of labour immigration. Although exact figures are not available mainly due to the informal employment of Slovak abroad and the fact that sending country data underestimate the true size of emigration. Labour Force Survey data that provide a measure of short-term labour emigration (residents of Slovakia who have been working abroad for less than one year) show

that during the pre-crisis year 2007 almost 180 thousand Slovaks worked abroad, majority of them in other EU member states, mainly the Czech Republic, UK, Hungary, Austria and Ireland. The crises brought about a sharp contraction of this short-term work abroad. This represented approximately 7,5 % of total Slovak employment. The crises brought about a sharp contraction of this short-term work abroad. By the end of 2011 the number fell to about 115 thousands (corresponding to less than 5 % of the total Slovak employment) with the most dramatic reduction in the two most numerous communities among Slovak workers abroad – in the United Kingdom (by two thirds) and in the Czech Republic and Hungary. Nevertheless, in some countries where the presence of Slovak workers was relatively modest, the absolute numbers even increased during the crises period (in Austria or the Netherlands). Gender decomposition shows that females represent about one third of migrant workers from Slovakia. Age and education characteristics of migrant workers show that the most sizeable group is concentrated amongst the young workers (25 to 34 years old) with secondary education.

Figure 6: Main economic indicators



Source: Statistical Office of SR

Table 5: Employment of EU/EEA citizens and their family members in September 2009, August 2010 and August 2011 by nationality

Country	September 2009			August 2010			August 2011		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Austria	497	446	51	550	498	52	609	549	60
Belgium	99	90	9	121	111	10	127	117	10
Bulgaria	453	398	55	545	465	80	711	623	88
Cyprus	1	1	0	1	1	0	3	1	2
Czech Republic	2 077	1 515	562	2 641	2 010	631	3 276	2 518	758
Denmark	65	58	7	70	64	6	67	61	6
Estonia	9	5	4	8	4	4	12	6	6
Finland	23	17	6	33	23	10	35	23	12
France	658	587	71	703	634	69	806	737	69
Germany	721	627	94	786	687	99	806	683	123
Greece	23	20	3	32	27	5	51	42	9
Hungary	1 258	1 079	179	1 740	1 535	205	2 092	1 840	252
Italy	369	342	27	439	403	36	568	529	39
Ireland	46	34	12	49	34	15	53	38	15
Latvia	16	11	5	28	19	9	34	21	13
Lithuania	14	8	6	57	49	8	34	12	14
Luxembourg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Malta	3	2	1	2	2	0	2	2	0
Netherlands	78	66	12	88	78	10	88	79	9
Poland	1 254	994	260	1 829	1 401	428	2 081	1 587	494
Portugal	42	34	8	51	47	4	67	61	6
Romania	2 473	1 991	482	2 929	2 387	542	4 095	3 255	840
Slovenia	34	28	6	28	20	8	35	25	10
Spain	146	121	25	161	130	31	186	151	35
Sweden	49	38	11	46	34	12	40	30	10
United Kingdom	353	276	77	374	288	86	395	306	89
Iceland	3	3	0	3	3	0	2	2	0
Norway	9	7	2	14	11	3	0	0	0
Switzerland	15	13	2	23	19	4	20	18	2
Total	10 788	8 811	1 977	13 351	10984	2 367	16 301	13328	2 973

Source: Centre of Labour, Social Affairs and Family

Table 6: Slovaks employed abroad during the pre-and post-crisis period

(Thousands)	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
	1.-4.Q	1.-4.Q	1.-4.Q	1.-4.Q	4.Q
Employed	2 357,3	2 433,8	2 365,8	2 347,8	2 351,5
Of that					
Abroad	177,2	167,6	129,0	126,7	114,6
Males	119,3	122,0	92,8	89,5	76,1
Females	57,9	45,6	36,3	37,3	38,5
Destination country					
Czech Republic	72,1	70,2	49,9	52,4	43,3
United Kingdom	29,0	20,2	14,1	10,6	9,0
Hungary	19,5	18,9	14,5	11,6	9,0
Austria	15,1	17,7	19,9	23,9	24,8
Ireland	9,0	8,1	3,1	3,4	1,0
Germany	8,8	9,3	8,5	6,3	7,6
Italy	6,7	8,9	4,7	3,0	4,0
Netherlands	2,7	2,9	4,2	5,0	6,1
France	-	-	1,7	1,0	1,3
Spain	-	-	1,8	1,4	1,7
Switzerland	1,8	1,6	.	.	
Other	12,6	10,0	7,3	8,2	6,8
Age brackets					
15-24	43,2	34,9	20,9	16,9	13,0
25-34	71,3	69,0	47,8	42,5	41,7
35-44	31,2	32,9	31,0	30,3	26,7
45-54	26,4	24,2	22,6	29,0	24,7
55+	5,3	6,5	6,8	8,1	8,5
Education					
Basic	8,1	7,3	4,2	4,8	3,0
Lower secondary	73,0	70,0	57,4	57,1	48,0
Higher secondary	81,1	78,5	59,6	56,2	53,7
University	15,0	11,8	7,8	8,5	9,8

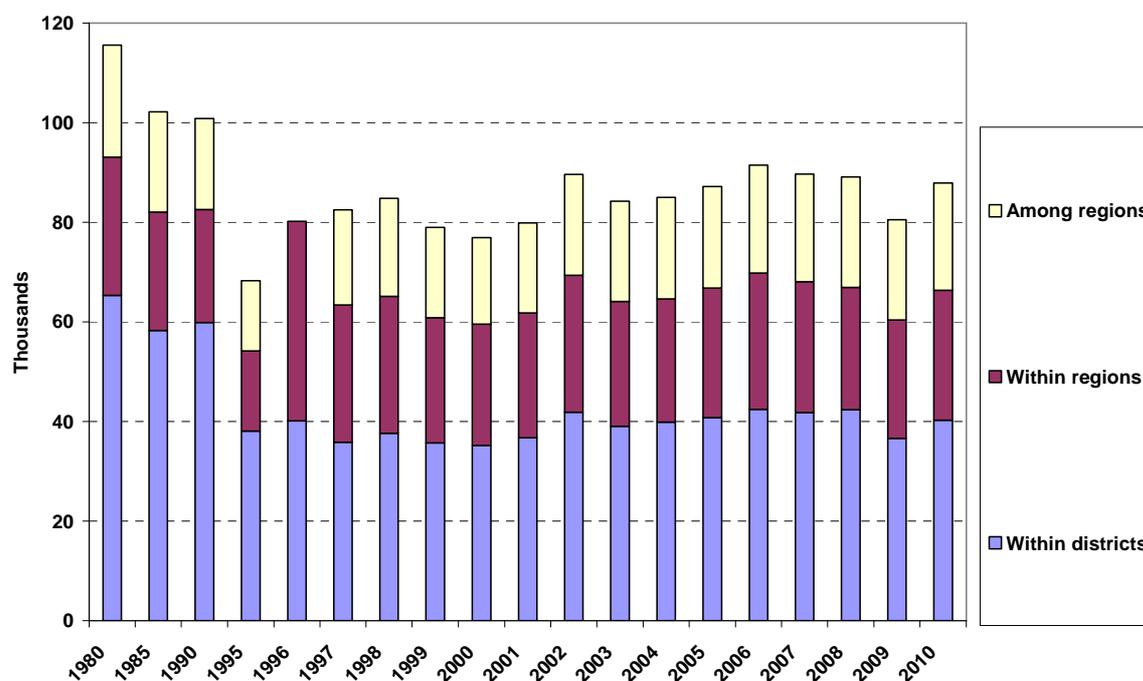
Note: Residents of Slovak households who at the time of the survey have been working abroad for less than one year.

Source: Statistical Office, Labour Force Survey

6 INTERNAL MOBILITY

Following the observation that the inter-regional differentiation of unemployment rates in Slovakia continues to be high, it is natural to examine the extent of internal mobility as one of the possible mechanisms for mitigating the regional disparities. Figure 7 presents the development of internal mobility of population over the past three decades. It can be seen that the extent of internal mobility has been relatively low and it was even decreasing over the first transition decade when regional labour market differences started to grow. One would expect that the internal mobility would increase during the transition, as people would look for jobs in the better-off parts of the country. But paradoxically, absolute numbers of internal migrants were globally decreasing between 1980 and 2000 (with only a small upswing during the second half of the nineties). During the past decade the annual numbers of internal migrants fluctuated around 80 – 90 thousand persons (as compared to for example 115 thousand in 1980), which represents rather negligible share of total population (less than 2 per cent). Furthermore, the share of inter-regional mobility is still low as compared to mobility within regions. The latter represents about 75 per cent of all internal mobility: about 50 per cent of mobility takes place within the same district, and about 25 per cent among districts within the same region. Only about 25 per cent of the total mobility is inter-regional. In terms of numbers of migrants per 1000 inhabitants, the figures for inter-regional mobility, inter-district mobility and within-district mobility in 2008 were 4, 4.5, and 8, respectively. Women are more represented among the internal migrants than men. Among the most frequently quoted reasons for low internal mobility are the housing barriers, transportation costs, and also traditional attitudes of people.

Figure 7: Internal mobility by type



Note: Numbers of migrants in thousands. Migration defined as the change of permanent address.
 “-” data for regions for 1996 are not available (administrative-geographical reform was enacted in 1996).
 Source: Statistical Office of SR

CONCLUSIONS

Population of Slovakia has been showing a long-term increasing trend. The growth has slowed down recently but remains in positive figures due to both positive natural increase and migration balance. Following the year 2000 until 2008 the migration balance even surpassed the natural one. However, the trend shows that this growth path is approaching inflex point and in a few years the population is bound to decline. Slovakia is thus faced with population decline and population ageing.

Foreign population as measured by the number of residence permits has been also on the rise. While during the first half of the current decade the number of foreign residents was stabilized around 30 thousand persons, following the EU-accession year 2004 the annual stocks of residence permits have been constantly on the rise and currently surpassed 60 thousand persons. This remarkable dynamics, however, so far led to relatively low share of foreign residents in total population of about 1,2 %.

It is noteworthy that about two thirds of foreign residents in Slovakia are EEA nationals (traditionally leading countries of origin are the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Austria, United Kingdom, Italy and Greece). Third-country nationals residing in Slovakia on the basis of residence permits represent about one third of foreign residents (recently the leading nationalities have been Ukraine, Serbia and Montenegro, Korea, Vietnam, Russia, China, United States, Macedonia and Croatia). Regional distribution of foreign population in Slovakia is rather uneven with very high concentration in the Bratislava region.

In terms of humanitarian migration Slovakia has been a transit country of migrant flows that originate from South and East and continue to the West. During the late 1990-ties the numbers of asylum seekers have been persistently increasing (over the period 1993 – 2004 the numbers of applications submitted in Slovakia have increased more than 10-times). Since 2004 (the year of joining the EU) the figures started to decline steadily. More than 90 per cent of applications continue to be terminated on procedural grounds. Vast majority of applicants would not follow up with their requests and continue their journey outside Slovakia. Administrative efficiency of processing the applications increases, as the backlog of pending applications has been reduced by a factor of 10 since 2002 and at the end of 2010 it stood at about 250 cases. Results of granting the refugee status are modest in both absolute and relative terms. Between 1992 and 2010 almost 56 thousand applications were filed and about 570 cases were granted, of that about 200 persons gained also Slovak citizenship.

Number of foreign workers in Slovakia from EU/EEA/Switzerland has been growing and recently reached over 13 thousand persons. Approximately 80 % of these foreign workers are males. Top five nationalities amongst these foreign workers in Slovakia are Romanians, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians and Germans. Number of third country nationals with work permits in Slovakia is much lower than that of EU/EEA nationals and currently stands at above 2.9 thousand persons. By adding the two categories of workers we obtain the total stock of foreign

workers registered in Slovakia currently about 15 thousand persons, which represents a tiny share of about 0,7 % of total employment.

As regards labour emigration from Slovakia, the magnitude certainly surpasses that of labour immigration. Although exact figures are not available, the Labour Force Survey data that provide a measure of short-term labour emigration (residents of Slovakia who have been working abroad for less than one year) show that during the pre-crisis year 2007 almost 180 thousand Slovaks worked abroad, majority of them in other EU member states, mainly the Czech Republic, UK, Hungary, Austria and Ireland. This represented approximately 7,5 % of total Slovak employment. The crises brought about a sharp contraction of this short-term work abroad. By the end of 2011 the number fell to about 115 thousands (corresponding to less than 5 % of the total Slovak employment) with the most dramatic reduction in the two most numerous communities among Slovak workers abroad – in the United Kingdom (by two thirds) and in the Czech Republic and Hungary. Gender decomposition shows that females represent about one third of migrant workers from Slovakia. Age and education characteristics of migrant workers show that the most sizeable group is concentrated amongst the young workers (25 to 34 years old) and that overwhelming majority of migrants have secondary educational attainment.

Despite relatively large regional differences in terms of labour market conditions, internal mobility does not seem to play a more substantial role in mitigating these differentials. Monitoring by the Statistical Office shows that the overall share of migrants in total population is low and that internal migration prevails within districts rather than among districts or among regions. It also shows that the prevailing reasons for internal migration (changing the place of permanent residence) are connected to finding a place to live, following a family member, or marriage, rather than looking for a job.

It is also very interesting to note that the Slovak labour market over the past few years started to exhibit shortages of workers for certain professions, notably for skilled workers for industries (such as automotive and electro-technical industry), as well as for lower skilled workers in construction and agriculture. However, against the background of high unemployment, the authorities do not seem to plan undertaking measures aimed at encouraging immigration of foreign workers. Rather, they see potential in reforming of education and training systems and recently also starting a campaign for return of Slovaks working abroad.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balaz, V. (2010), Student Migration in Europe: Contest for Human Capital, *Sociologia* 2010, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 356-382

CEDEFOP (2008), Future Skill Needs. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the EC, ISBN 978-92-896-05000-7

CEDEFOP (2008), Future Skill Supply. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the EC, ISBN 978-92-896-0606-6

CEDEFOP (2010), Future Skill Supply and Demand in Europe. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the EC, ISBN 978-92-896-0536-6

Europe 2020 Strategy documents, European Community

EUROSTAT online database

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database

EUROSTAT (2011), 6.5% of the EU population are foreigners and 9.4% are born abroad, Issue number 34/2011, at

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_details/publication?p_product_code=KS-SF-11-034

IOM LINET, Independent Network of Labour Migration and Integration Experts at www.labourmigration.eu

Kvetan, V. and P. Szovics (2011), New Skills and Jobs on the Slovak Labour Market, *Journal of Economics*, 59, 2011, No. 1, pp. 29-43

Lubyova, M. and E. Sodomova (2012), Future demographic development and its implications for educational and migration policies in the new EU members states with a focus on the V4, In: *Modelowanie i prognozowanie zjawisk społeczno-gospodarczych*, Krakow: Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny, 2012. ISBN 978-83-7252-568-0

Lubyova, M. (2012), "Changing demographic, educational and migration patterns in new EU member countries", in OECD, *Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment: Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union*, OECD Publishing

New Skills for New Jobs. Anticipating and matching labour market and skills needs, Communication from the Commission, COM(2008) 868, 16 December 2008

OECD Annual trends in International Migration and International Migration Database <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx>

Program for new skills and new jobs: European contribution to full employment, COM(2010) 682, 23 November 2010

Stefanik, M. (2010), Changes in the Supply of Workers with Tertiary Educational Attainment at the Labour Market from the Point of View of Knowledge-based Economy in the Slovak Republic, PhD Thesis, Economics University in Bratislava

ANNEX: SELECTED FACTS

Geographic indicators, length of external and internal borders, number of border crossings

Geographic indicators			Length of border				Border crossings (b)	
				[km]	water	land	Total	126
Total area	49 037 sq.km		Total	1 652,8	610,0	1042,8	CR	23 ^(bi)
Population density	110,6 pers./sq.km		CR	251,8	71,1	180,7	Austria	8 ^(int)
Number of regions	8		Austria	107,1	76,8	30,3	Hungary	26 ^(ext)
Number of districts	79		Hungary	654,9	355,0	299,9	Ukraine	5 ^(ext)
Number of towns^(a)	138	54,9 ^(c)	Ukraine	97,9	2,1	95,8	Poland	56 ^(int)
Number of villages	2 753	45,1 ^(c)	Poland	541,1	105,0	436,1	Airports	8

(a) Municipalities with the status of town, declared by the National Council of the Slovak Republic

(b) Border crossings until joining the Schengen area 21 December 2007:

^(ext) External borders mean sections of the state border of the Slovak Republic, which represent the common land border with a non EU Member State, and airports for external routes (extra-Schengen); they include the land border – the state border of SR with the Ukraine, and the air border – Bratislava Airport, Poprad Airport and Košice Airport.

^(int) Internal borders mean sections of the state border of the Slovak Republic, which represent the common land border among the EU Member States of the Schengen area – they include the sections of the state border of SR with Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland and the airports for intra- Schengen flights.

(c) % of total population

Source: Statistical Office of SR, Ministry of Internal Affairs

REPORT 2

**LONG-TERM ECONOMIC CHALLENGES AND BENEFITS POSED
BY IMMIGRATION AND NON-IMMIGRATION**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	27
1 ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS	28
2 DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS	30
3 LABOUR MARKET CONSIDERATIONS	34
CONCLUSIONS	39
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	41
ANNEX: METHODOLOGY OF POPULATION PROJECTIONS BY EUROSTAT (EUROPOP)	42

INTRODUCTION

In this report we examine the long term consequences of the migration and non-migration option for the Slovak Republic - a small open economy with total population of 5,4 million, total labour force of about 2,7 million and an intensive track of European integration. Slovakia has joined the EU as of 1 May 2004, the Schengen area as of 21 December 2007, and the EURO zone as of 1 January 2009. These characteristics show that the country depends on foreign migration developments not only through its own migration policy, but also through indirect channels due to the high degree of its European integration.

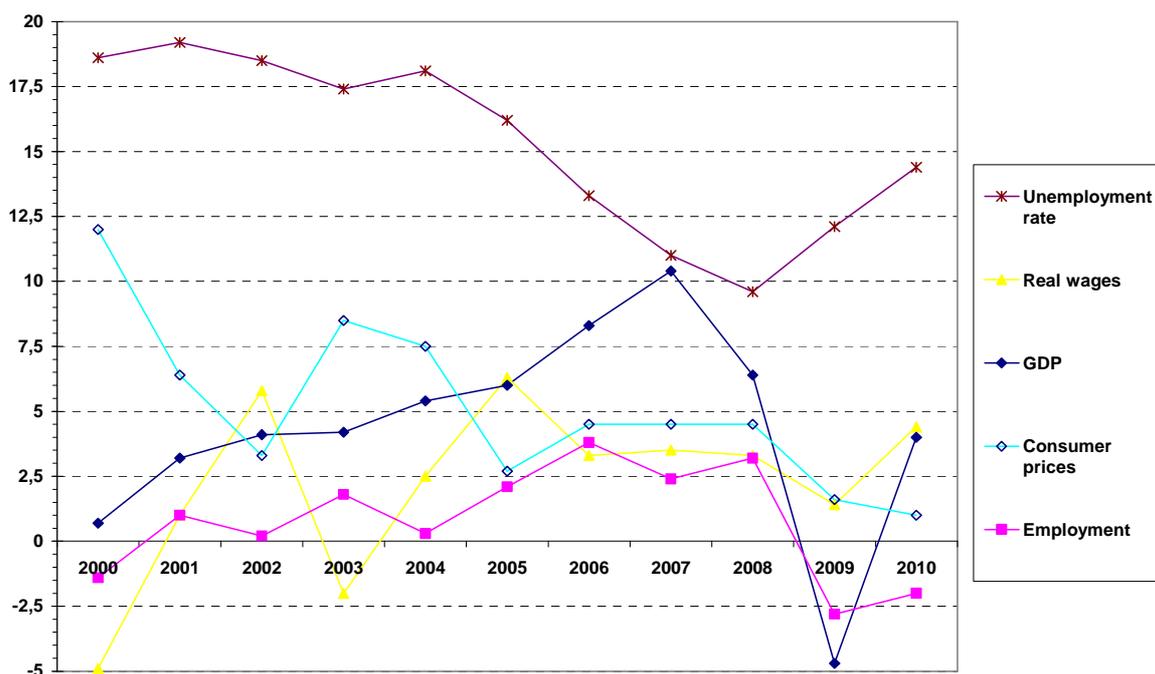
The above-mentioned account shows that Slovakia became a part of broadly integrated economic area, which limits the policy instruments available to the national authorities and increases the competitive pressures on the national economy. The need for migrants can be justified on demographic grounds as the population decline is likely to start within a few years horizon. Another motivation for attracting migrants is linked to the strive for improving the skills structure of the labour force as skilled migrant workers would enhance competitiveness and fill in the labour market gaps. On the other hand, the immigration brings consequences for the social structure of population and the integration of groups with different socio-cultural and language backgrounds. Finally, emigration from Slovakia can also play an important role in both regards.

In the first section of the report we discuss the recent economic and political developments that put the migration process into a broader social context in Slovakia. The second section contains the analysis of migration dependency of the future population growth of Slovakia, as well as the impact on population ageing and long-term old-age dependency. The third section elaborates on the labour market implications of migration by looking at the future employment development through the prism of activity rates and employment rates of population (the latter being among the main targets of the Europe 2020 Strategy). Throughout the analysis we compare the position of Slovakia to that of EU totals and EU averages. In the last section we provide conclusions. We draw on the data from the Slovak national agencies, notably the Statistical Office, agencies under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, as well as on the information from the annual Slovak SOPEMI reports, OECD and EUROSTAT publications and databases.

1 ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Slovakia continues to perform relatively on economic growth, the result that is to a high extent attributable to the strong export performance. However, the overall positive growth figures are not underpinned by employment growth or improvement of social situation. For example, in 2010 when following the crisis dip the economic growth of Slovakia has been restored with as high figure as 4 per cent annually (as compared to -4,7 per cent in 2009), the employment continued to fall (employment fell by 2 per cent in 2010) and unemployment continued to grow and reached 14.4 per cent in 2010. Real wages grew substantially by 4,4 per cent as inflation was very modest at 1 per cent. Thus the overall picture of post-crisis recovery was not complete (Figure 1), as the labour market situation continued to worsen in 2010. Thus continued tensions in the labour and social sphere may eventually contribute to building up anti-immigration moods.

Figure 1: Main economic indicators



Notes: (a) Annual percentage changes, (b) Real GDP in constant prices of 2000; (c) LFS employment rate, annual average change, (d) LFS unemployment rate, annual averages.

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of SR, Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of SR, Statistical Office of SR

In the political sphere the major event of 2011 in Slovakia was the fall of the Government coalition led by PM Iveta Radicova that came to power after the general elections of 2010 and a decision to hold early elections in March 2012. This surprising development was connected to the voting on Eurozone security arrangements by the Slovak Parliament. The Government consisted of a coalition of right-centre parties of the Social Democratic Christian Union (SDKU), Christian Democratic movement (KDH), the new Slovak-Hungarian party "Bridge" (Most-Hid), and the new Freedom and Justice party (SAS). This coalition replaced the former left-centre coalition of the former PM Robert Fico (the largest political party Smer (Direction) led by R. Fico, the Slovak National Party (SNS) and the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). Box 1 describes the recent political situation at a greater detail, notably with regard to the European integration.

Box 1: Recent political developments

However, already in 2011 the Government of I. Radicova has been thrown out through the no-confidence vote by the Parliament that was associated with the vote about the support to continued Eurozone security arrangements. This was because the SAS party that was a member of the Government coalition made it clear that they were not going to support the Euro security arrangements. Therefore, the Prime Minister connected the vote for Eurozone with the confidence vote for the Government, hoping that this would unite the coalition members to vote for the Euro security mechanism. However, this did not prove to be the right strategy, the SAS members and opposition parties voted against the Euro arrangements and the Government was rather unexpectedly thrown out of the power as this voting was joined with the confidence vote.

Following this surprising result, after a few days of negotiations the largest opposition party Smer promised to support the Euro arrangement in Parliament in exchange for early elections to be carried out in March 2012. The Parliament voted again on the Euro arrangement and it has been approved in this second attempt. However, some experts raised concerns whether it was constitutional to repeat Parliamentary voting about such a fundamental international issue. Also, some difficulties were encountered in forming the interim Government that could lead the country towards the upcoming elections as the Constitution did not elaborate in detail on these situations. Essentially, there was a constitutional provision for the President to accept the demise of the Government and to subsequently appoint it as acting government until the early elections could be held. However, there were no such constitutional provisions in the case of no-confidence vote for the Government. At the same time, the opposition parties were not interested in taking part in the acting Government. Thus a political agreement has been reached to amend the Constitutional law in a way to enable the President to appoint the Government thrown out through no-confidence vote as the acting Government one until the elections. Among other interesting aspects, the ease and speed with which the Parliamentary vote over the same issue has been repeated and the Constitution has been changed in the sake of preventing political crisis and saving the Eurozone is noteworthy.

Source: Lubyova (2011)

2 DEMOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

So far the population of Slovakia has been growing and both natural and migration balance has been modest but positive over the past few years. Foreign population as measured by numbers of foreigners with residence permits represents about 1,5 per cent of the total Slovak population.

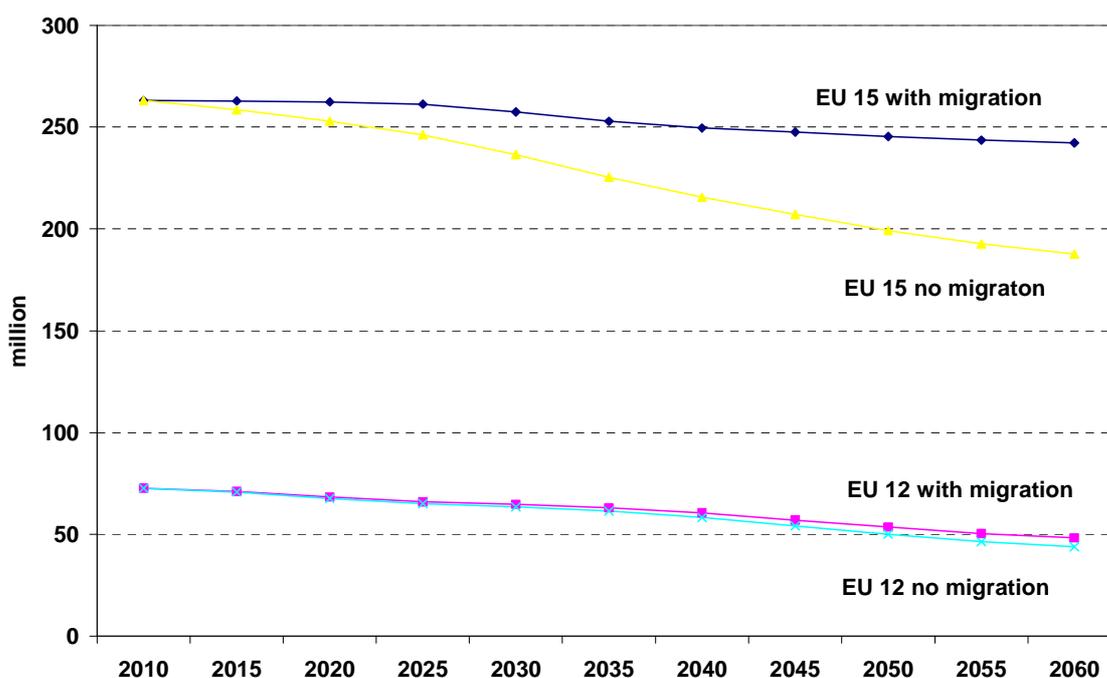
Slovakia faces population ageing and decline albeit to a lower degree than most of other EU member states. Total population of Slovakia has been still modestly increasing and the Slovak dependency ratio of 16,9 per cent is the second lowest in the entire EU (after the 16,8 per cent ratio of Ireland, followed by Polish and Cyprus figures around 18 per cent) as compared to the EU average of 26 per cent and the highest ratios of Germany, Italy, Sweden and Greece (between 31 and 28 per cent). Thus Slovakia has not been so far confronted with a demographic crisis that would require a more massive immigration. However, recently the population increase has been very small (1 to 2 pro mille annually) and the future points towards demographic decline. In order to illustrate the importance of migration for future demographic development of Slovakia, we employ the EUROSTAT population predictions developed for long term-horizon (EUROPOP population predictions till 2060¹) that work with two alternative options: 1. Migration option (taking into consideration the current migration rates and assuming a long-term convergence among the EU countries), and 2. No-migration option (keeping the net migration flows at nil). Figure 2 shows the migration dependency for development of working age population for the old EU Member State (EU15) and the new Member States (EU12). It is immediately obvious that the dependency of the old Member States is much stronger.

Figure 3 illustrates the migration dependency for Slovakia and comparison with the average of EU 27. The chart shows the two options for a long-term development of working age population aged 15 to 64 in Slovakia (left axis) and in the EU 27 (right axis). According to the projections, in 2060 the Slovak working age population would be by 0.4 million (or by 13 per cent) lower without migration than with migration. For the entire EU the difference would be 55 million persons (or 19 per cent). This shows that the migration dependency of Slovakia is much lower than the average EU dependency.

¹ Details about the EUROPOP are contained in Annex 1

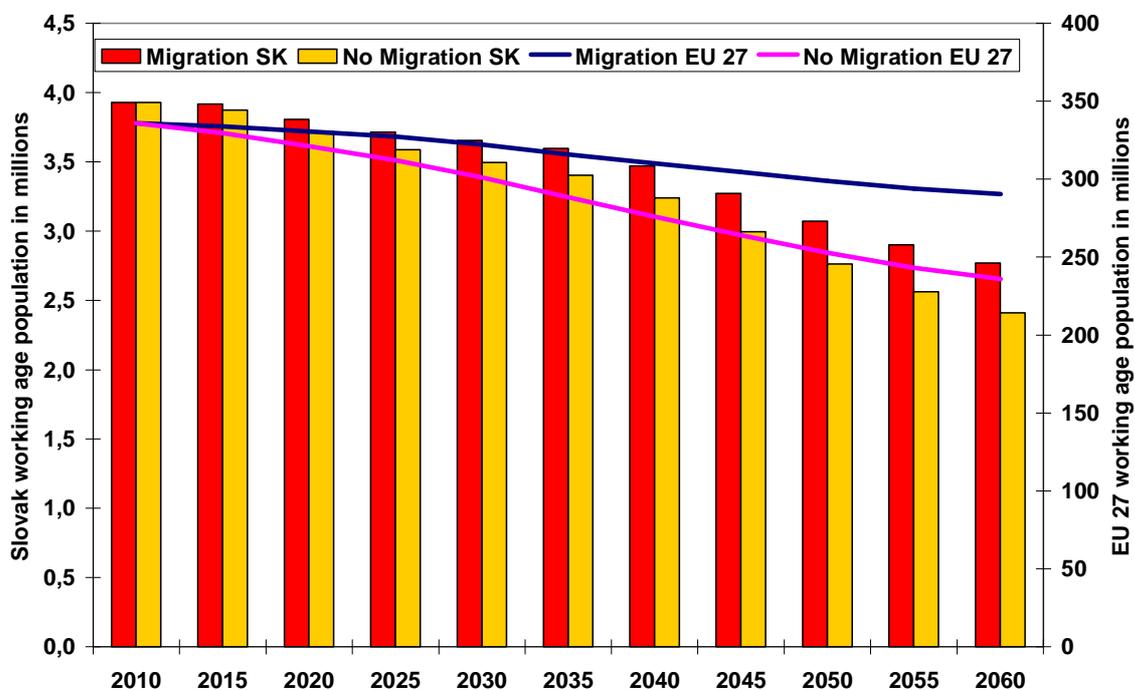
As follows from the above analysis and Figures 2 and 3, the aggregate impact of migration in Slovakia will be relatively small even in the very long run. However, there are also structural considerations which need to be taken into account, notably the population ageing and old age dependency. The old-age-dependency ratio is the ratio of the number of elderly people at an age when they are generally economically inactive (i.e. aged 65 and over), compared to the number of people of working age (i.e. 15-64 years old). At figure 4 we plot the projections of long-term development of dependency ratio in Slovakia and EU with and without migration (based on the EUROPOP population predictions by EUROSTAT). Once again, it can be seen that the impact of migration in Slovakia is much smaller than the EU average. Currently the Slovak dependency ratio is much lower than the EU total: 16,9 per cent as compared to 25,9 per cent. Without migration by 2060 the dependency ratio in Slovakia would be by some 4,7 percentage points higher, while in the EU 27 the difference would be 8,6 per cent.

Figure 2: Migration dependency of population growth – old and new EU Member States



Source: Based on EUROPOP population predictions by EUROSTAT

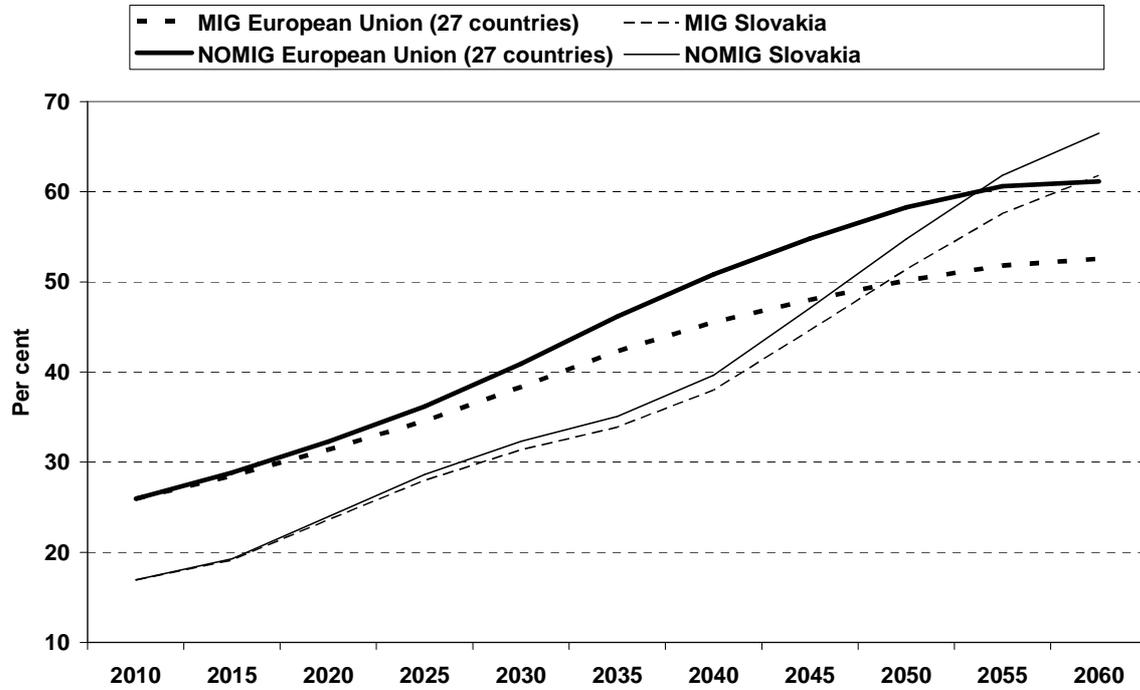
Figure 3: Projection of working age population (15-64) under migration and no-migration options – Slovakia and EU



Source: Based on EUROPOP population predictions by EUROSTAT

This analysis shows that Slovakia is currently facing much lower demographic pressure than most of other EU countries. At the same time, the demographic indicators show that the dynamics of demographic change will be increasing as the major inter-generational shift in demographic structure is still ahead. The ageing process in Slovakia will be intensified in the decades to come, and thus by 2060 the Slovak development ratio could highly surpass that of the EU total (see Figure 4). Although the role of migration in terms of upholding the numbers of total population has been so far negligent and it is assumed to remain modest during the coming years, the long-term migration impact in Slovakia could help to counterbalance the worsening of old-age dependency and prevent the increasing gap between the Slovak and total EU parameters.

Figure 4: Projections of long-term development of dependency ratio with and without migration



Source: Own calculations based on EUROPOP projections by EUROSTAT

3 LABOUR MARKET CONSIDERATIONS

As discussed in the first section of the report, Slovakia exhibits symptoms of the so-called jobless growth, which is characterized by increasing disparity between GDP growth and employment growth. In general, this tendency can be associated with a more intensive use of non-labour resources. Volume of production and GDP in general is supposed depend on the productive resources, notably the labour force, which is derived from the demographic structure of population. Under the conditions of population ageing and decline of both active and total population Slovakia the volume of production could be maintained through either more intensive use of non-labour resources, or higher productivity of the declining labour resources, or increasing the labour resources through migration.

As regards the first option, the so-called jobless growth indicates that even in the conditions of economic growth in Slovakia, less and less people have the chance to obtain productive employment. The failure of GDP indicator to measure the complexity of economic, social and human development has been discussed elsewhere (for influential discussion, see for example, Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi (2007)). The cond option of increasing the labour productivity represents a necessary condition for maintaining the Slovak competitiveness in the future. This area opens up an array of policies that in the filed of education, lifelong learning and improving the matches between labour demand and supply in terms of qualifications and skills.

Finally, the third option implies that competitive labour resources could be boosted through labour immigration (i.e. immigration from the so-called third countries that lie outside EU and EEA). Currently the level of migration penetration of the Slovak labour market is relatively low, in particular if compared to the old EU member states, but also to the Czech Republic or Hungary. Foreign employment based on registered status or work permits is even more modest, recently oscillating around 0,5 per cent of total employment. Short-term labour emigration from Slovakia as measured by the Labour Force Survey as of end 2011 reached about 5 per cent of total Slovak employment. Thus labour emigration seems to surpass the labour immigration by a factor of 10, although the comparison is not reliable because of the existence of informal work and the different nature of the compared data (immigration measured by work permits versus emigration measured by the survey data).

In order to analyse the long-term challenges of migration versus no migration options for the future labour market development in Slovakia, we refer to three labour market scenarios: Stagnation, Europe 2020 target and Full employment 2011 scenario as described in Box 2. The scenarios are based on the assumptions about future development of employment rates (defined as the ratio of employment to working age population).² Employment rate is among the five main targets of the Europe 2020 strategy, whereas it is stipulated that countries should set ambitious national goals in order to achieve an overall EU employment rate of 75 per cent by 2020. Figure 5 illustrates employment rates in Slovakia and EU against the Europe 2020 targets. It is interesting to note that employment rates in 2011 are in general lower than the average values for the previous decade (see the memo item in Table 1). This is an effect of the economic crisis. Figure 5 also shows the activity rates of population (defined as the ratio of labour force to working age population).

Box 2: Labour market scenarios

We formulate three labour market scenarios defined in terms of employment rate. The year 2011 is used as benchmark case, because it is the year with most recently available data, but also the initial year of the decade 2011-2020 - the decade for which Europe 2020 Strategy has been formulated. Given the predicted demographic development, the assumed employment rates determine how many jobs will be needed under the three scenarios. In all the three scenarios we maintain the two alternatives – migration and no migration options to show the limits of the migration dependency. The three scenarios are as follows:

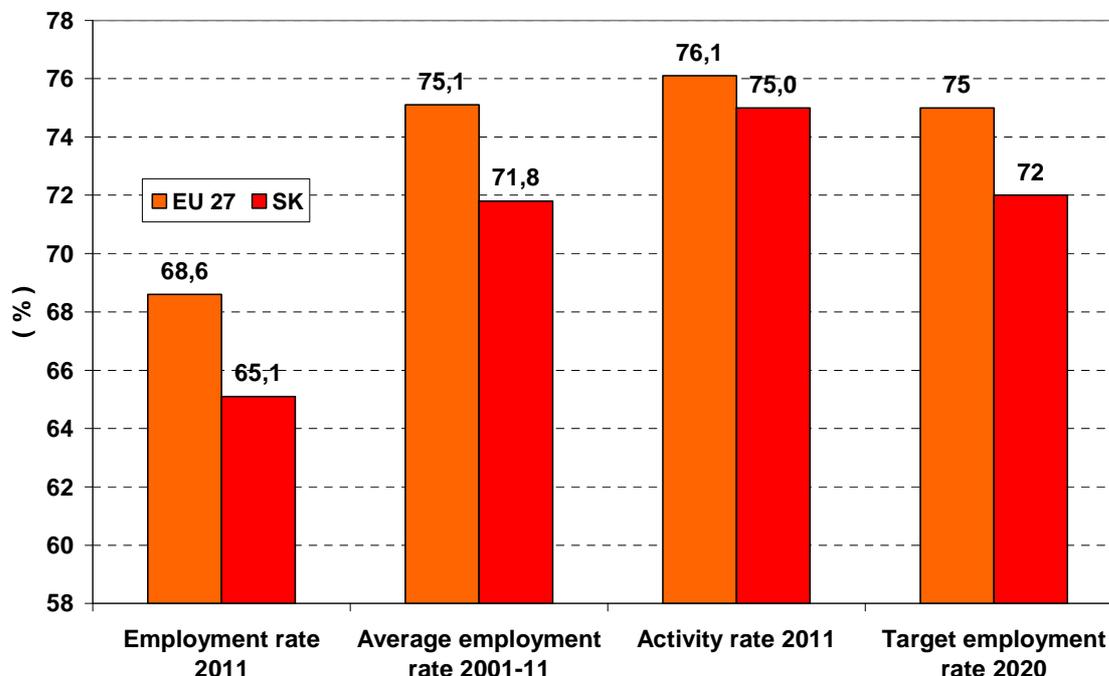
(A) Stagnation scenario – is characterised by keeping the employment rate at its 2011 level. This case can be considered a stagnation scenario in the sense that it keeps for the entire period constant the proportion of active age population that was able to get into employment in 2011.

(B) Europe 2020 target scenario – is characterised by keeping the employment rate at the level of the national target defined by the Europe 2020 Strategy. Thus it is a normative scenario, which in terms of job numbers falls between the scenarios A and C.

(C) Full employment 2011 scenario - is characterised by keeping the employment rate at the level of 2011 activity rate. This case can be considered a full employment scenario as it fixes the employment rate at the level where all the economically active people in 2011 would get into employment and nobody would be unemployed. This scenario is an optimistic one and can be viewed as an upper-bound scenario.

Sources: Lubyova (2012), Lubyova and Sodomova (2012)

² Employment rate is defined as the ratio of employment to working age population. Activity rate is defined as the ratio of labour force (employed and unemployed) to working age population. Thus employment rate can be considered as a double-success indicator – a measure of the proportion of population that is economically active (i.e. in labour force) and able to find employment

Figure 5: Activity rates and employment rates in Slovakia and EU averages

Source: Statistical Office of SR, EUROSTAT, European Commission

The results of modelling the labour market needs (numbers of jobs) under the three employment rate scenarios with migration and no migration options are summarized at Figure 6. The scenarios are denoted by A, B, and C as described above. “MIG” denotes option with migration, “NO MIG” the option without migration. The modelling of migration impact is based on 2011 employment and unemployment figures as measured by Labour Force Surveys.

The definitions of employment and unemployment used by LFS are broader than just registered unemployment or just dependent employment. In general, any person who worked for remuneration (including in-kind) for at least an hour during the previous week is considered to be employed. Similarly, anyone who did not work in this manner, but actively seeks work and is available to start working in the course of the upcoming two weeks is considered to be unemployed. These definitions of labour market states are broader than administrative data. They also carry more economic sense in defining labour market activity. LFS data are limited in their ability to capture incoming migrant workers. This is because the households of migrants may be captured to a lesser extent by the lists of households originating from censuses that serve as sampling frames for the LFS. In this regard our estimates of future labour market needs can be underestimated to the extent that the LFS data may not properly reflect incoming migrant workers. On the other hand labour emigration is better captured by LFS that collects data about all household members including those who are abroad (as long as their absence from the household does not exceed a reference period, typically one year). Thus the estimated

labour market needs (or jobs) presented below refer to the broader definition of employment as defined by the LFS. Essentially they refer to numbers of persons who would be active or employed in the LFS sense, rather than to numbers of jobs in full time equivalents. This is consistent with our view point derived from the demographic side, as we are predicting the numbers of persons who will need to be economically active.

Table 1: Cumulative reduction of employment in short-term (by 2020), mid-term (by 2030) and long-term horizon (by 2060)

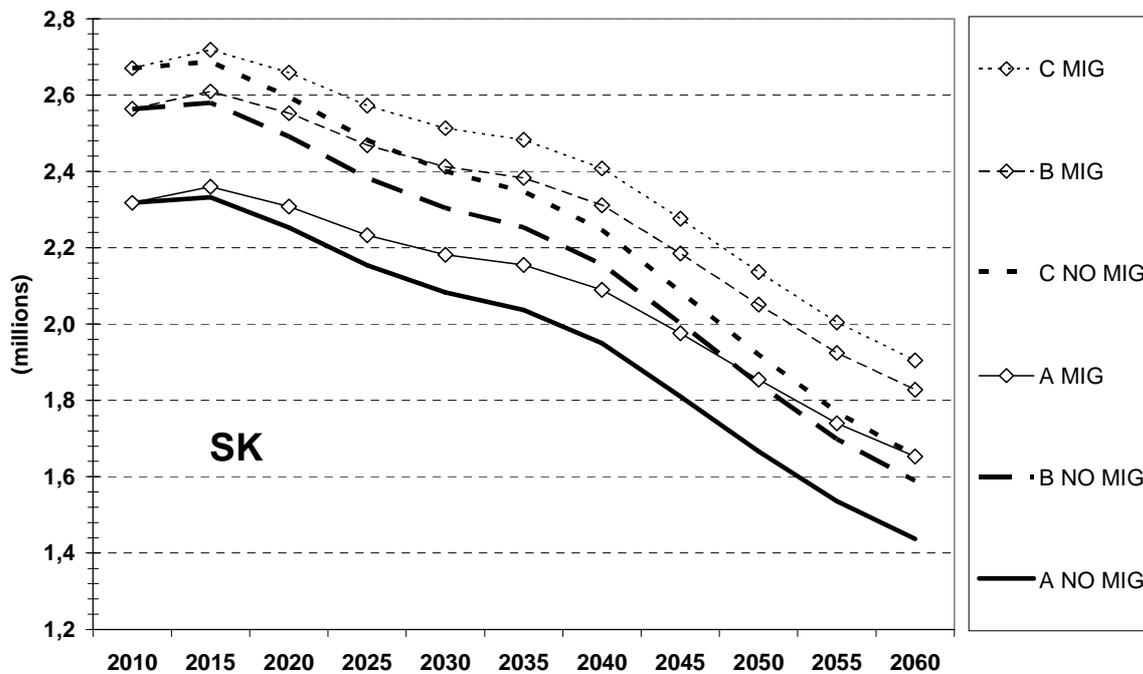
In % By	2020		2030		2060	
	MIG	NO MIG	MIG	NO MIG	MIG	NO MIG
EU 27	-0,85	-3,88	-4,06	-10,74	-13,77	-31,31
SK	-0,43	-2,81	-5,89	-10,11	-28,68	-38,00

Note: Cumulative reduction as per cent of initial value

Source: Lubyova and Sodomova (2012)

The results depicted in Table 1 (for Slovakia and EU 27) and at Figure 6 (for Slovakia) show that the migration dependency of the future development of Slovak employment is in the short run smaller than for the EU 27, but this tendency changes over time and in the long-run the migration impact on the Slovak labour market surpasses than on the EU 27. By 2060 the difference between migration and no migration option is about 31 per cent for the EU 27 and 38 per cent for Slovakia. In other words, under the above mentioned scenarios, without migration the employment in the EU 27 would shrink by about one third, while in Slovakia by almost 40 per cent, with migration the reduction would be about 14 per cent for EU 27 and 29 per cent for Slovakia. This result is essentially a translation of the migration dependency of the demographic development that has been already described in the second section of this paper.

Figure 6: Long-term development of employment in Slovakia under scenarios A, B and C with migration and no-migration option



Source: Lubyova and Sodomova (2012)

CONCLUSIONS

The main results of our analysis show that the current penetration by migration in Slovakia is quite low as compared to the EU averages, but also some EU new member states (in particular the Czech Republic and Hungary). Likewise, the short run impact of the migration and the related challenges are relatively small. However, the long-run implications of migration versus no migration options in Slovakia are more dramatic than in the EU. This is mainly due to the fact that the demographic processes will worsen with increasing intensity in the coming decade and the translated effects will hover on for the mid-to long run horizon.

In the short run Slovakia faces population ageing and decline albeit to a lower degree than most of other EU member states. Total population of Slovakia has been still modestly increasing and the Slovak dependency ratio of 16,9 per cent is the second lowest in the entire EU. However, the long-run respects of Slovakia are worse than those of EU 27 average, should the current migration intensity be conserved.

So far the population of Slovakia has been growing and both natural and migration balance has been modest but positive over the past few years. Foreign population as measured by numbers of foreigners with residence permits represents about 1,5 per cent of the total Slovak population. Although the role of migration in terms of upholding the numbers of total population has been so far negligent and it is assumed to remain modest during the coming years, the long-term migration impact in Slovakia is quite important. In particular, migration could help to counterbalance the worsening of old-age dependency and prevent the increasing gap between the Slovak and total EU parameters.

In terms of recent labour market development Slovakia exhibits symptoms of the so-called jobless growth, which is characterized by increasing disparity between GDP growth and employment growth. In general, this tendency can be associated with a more intensive use of non-labour resources. Under the conditions of population ageing and decline of both active and total population Slovakia the volume of production could be maintained through either more intensive use of non-labour resources, or higher productivity of the declining labour resources, or increasing the labour resources through migration.

Simulations based on the EUROSTAT population forecasts (EUROPOP) show that without migration the employment in the EU 27 would by 2060 shrink by about one third, while in Slovakia by almost 40 per cent, while with migration the reduction would be about 14 per cent for EU 27 and 29 per cent for Slovakia. This result is essentially a translation of the migration dependency of the demographic development that has been described in the second section of this paper.

Martina Lubyová

Long-term economic challenges and benefits posed by immigration and non-immigration

Given the increasing dependency of Slovak demographic and labour market development over time, the crucial aspect of Slovak migration challenges will be the ability of the country to attract and to integrate the foreign population, mainly foreign workers. Integration policies and integration experience has been dealt with in detail in Chapter 3 of this report. Overall, we can state that Slovakia seems to be ill-prepared to deal with a more massive integration of migrants, as there is no historical experience with a more massive immigration and the public awareness as well the priorities of authorities and decision making elites lie elsewhere. On the other hand, the nationality and ethnic structure of immigration to Slovakia has been rather specific so far, as majority of immigrants originate from the EU member states or from other European countries, which makes integration process less challenging due to common social background of migrants and native population.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balaz, V. (2010), Student Migration in Europe: Contest for Human Capital, *Sociologia* 2010, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 356-382

CEDEFOP (2008), Future Skill Needs. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the EC, ISBN 978-92-896-05000-7

CEDEFOP (2008), Future Skill Supply. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the EC, ISBN 978-92-896-0606-6

CEDEFOP (2010), Future Skill Supply and Demand in Europe. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the EC, ISBN 978-92-896-0536-6

Europe 2020 Strategy documents, European Community

EUROSTAT online database

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database

EUROSTAT (2011), 6.5% of the EU population are foreigners and 9.4% are born abroad, Issue number 34/2011, at

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_details/publication?p_product_code=KS-SF-11-034

IOM LINET, Independent Network of Labour Migration and Integration Experts at www.labourmigration.eu

Kvetan, V. and P. Szovics (2011), New Skills and Jobs on the Slovak Labour Market, *Journal of Economics*, 59, 2011, No. 1, pp. 29-43

Lubyova, M. (2011), Annual SOPEMI Report for the Slovak Republic, OECD SOPEMI Annual Reunion of SOPEMI Correspondents, Paris, December 2011

Lubyova, M. and E. Sodomova (2012), Future demographic development and its implications for educational and migration policies in the new EU members states with a focus on the V4, In: *Modelowanie i prognozowanie zjawisk społeczno-gospodarczych*, Krakow: Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny, 2012. ISBN 978-83-7252-568-0

Lubyova, M. (2012), "Changing demographic, educational and migration patterns in new EU member countries", in OECD, *Free Movement of Workers and Labour Market Adjustment: Recent Experiences from OECD Countries and the European Union*, OECD Publishing

New Skills for New Jobs. Anticipating and matching labour market and skills needs, Communication from the Commission, COM(2008) 868, 16 December 2008

OECD Annual trends in International Migration and International Migration Database <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx>

Program for new skills and new jobs: European contribution to full employment, COM(2010) 682, 23 November 2010

Stefanik, M. (2010), Changes in the Supply of Workers with Tertiary Educational Attainment at the Labour Market from the Point of View of Knowledge-based Economy in the Slovak Republic, PhD Thesis, Economics University in Bratislava

ANNEX: METHODOLOGY OF POPULATION PROJECTIONS BY EUROSTAT (EUROPOP)

Source: Eurostat at <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>

The methodology of the Eurostat population projections is based on the main assumption that socio-economic differences between Member States of the European Union and countries of European Free Trade Association will fade out in the very long run. Values of major demographic indicators are thus set such to converge across countries in the very long run. These major demographic indicators are:

- Total fertility rate: the mean number of children that would be born alive by a woman during her lifetime if she were to pass through her childbearing years conforming to the fertility rates by age of a given year.
- Life expectancy at birth: the mean number of years that a newborn child is expected to live if subjected throughout his or her life to the current mortality conditions.
- Net migration: the difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants.

Europop2010 data are purely projections and therefore they should not be intended as population forecasts. They only portray a demographic future which could occur if certain conditions, as expressed by the assumptions on the major demographic indicators, will hold. In particular, Europop2010 is developed upon a long-term vision and it does not aim to exactly predict short-term populations sizes.

Data are classified by:

- Geopolitical entity: European Union Member States, European Free Trade Association countries
- Age class: 5-year age group, open age group 85 max
- Sex: Total, Males, Females

Statistical unit: Persons

Statistical population: 1st January population at national level

Reference area: EU Member States, European Free Trade Association countries

Time coverage: Population: from 1st January 2010 to 1st January 2061

Assumptions: from 2010 to 2060

Base period: 1st January 2010

Unit of measure: Persons for tables on populations and net migration, live births per woman for total fertility rates, years of life for life expectancies at birth.

Institutional mandate: Population projections are produced by Eurostat in the framework of the invitation of the Council (ECOFIN) to the Economic Policy Committee to update its analysis of the economic and budgetary implications of ageing.

Comparability – geographical: Full comparability. Projections are produced by Eurostat for each country based on common methodology.

Comparability - over time: Full comparability within the reference period covered by this projections exercise.

Source data: Data as reported by countries within the demographic and migration data collections.

REPORT 3

MIGRATION POLICIES IN SLOVAKIA AND WESTERN EUROPE

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	44
1 DEVELOPMENT OF MIGRATION POLICY IN SLOVAKIA.....	45
1.1 <i>The 2005 Migration Policy</i>	45
1.2 <i>The 2009 Concept of Integration of Aliens</i>	45
2 CURRENT FRAMEWORK OF MIGRATION POLICIES IN SLOVAKIA	46
2.1 <i>The 2011 Migration Policy</i>	46
2.2 <i>The 404/2011 Law on Residence by Aliens</i>	53
3 MIGRATION POLICIES IN SLOVAKIA AND WESTERN EUROPE	55
3.1 <i>Overview of Migration Flows in Slovakia</i>	55
3.2 <i>The MIPLEX Index</i>	60
4 DRIVERS, BARRIERS AND POLICIES FOR IMMIGRATION BY HIGHLY SKILLED IN SLOVAKIA	62
4.1 <i>Drivers and Barriers of Migration</i>	62
4.2 <i>Policies for Migration by Scientists and PhD Students in Slovakia</i>	63
4.3 <i>Policies for Migration by Highly Skilled in Selected EU Member Countries</i>	65
CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	69
REFERENCES.....	72
ANNEX: SELECTED FIGURES	74

INTRODUCTION

The EU Member Countries face many difficult challenges related to sustainability of their economics and societies. In the long-term, demographic transition, population ageing and maintaining high competitiveness levels are the key challenges for sustaining current living standards. Shrinking young population will have to support increasing numbers of population in the post-productive age. No European country achieved increases in fertility rates sufficient to offset population ageing. Increases in productivity levels and substantial immigration from the non-EU countries are only viable solutions of the demographic crisis³. Each European country is eager to attract young and talented people to increase its competitiveness and cope with looming demographic transition.

European experience with mass immigration has been mixed so far. Some 16 million residence permits are issued and 0.8 million citizenships granted in the EU27 every year (source: Eurostat). Young immigrants help to fill in shortage jobs and contribute to economic prosperity of their host countries. Some migrant communities, however, account for suboptimal integration to their host societies. Tensions between host country populations and immigrants became hot political issue. The Eurobarometer surveys indicate that the immigration issues rank to top concerns by the European citizens⁴.

The Slovak Republic was a less developed EU Member and a transit country for most third-country migrants. Slovakia generated substantial emigration flows and had far less experience with management of immigration flows than developed EU members. The demographic projections point to severe population ageing after 2020 in Slovakia. The Slovak Republic will have to follow example of the more developed EU Members and adopt a range of proactive immigration policies.

This paper analyses history and current state of migration policies in Slovakia. The first chapter summarises major policy initiatives on immigration passed in 1993, 2005 and 2003. The chapter 2 discusses the most important pieces of current migration policy in Slovakia – the 2011 Migration Policy (white paper) and the 404/2011 Law on Residence by Aliens. It examines migration policy priorities, targets and instruments. The chapter 3 analyses major trends in international migration flows in Slovakia and relates them to some specific issues in the Slovak migration policy. This chapter also provides for comparison of the Slovak migration policies with policies adopted by selected EU Member Countries. Selection of countries for comparison reflects (a) importance of particular destinations in total immigration flows in the EU (Germany, France and the UK), or (b) position of some countries to become major Slovakia's competitors in attracting skilled immigrants (Austria, the Czech Republic). Policy comparison is based on the 2007 and 2010 MIPEX indices. The chapter 4 discusses major drivers and barriers for immigration by highly skilled to Slovakia. It also lists best practices in immigration policies by the abovementioned five EU Member Countries. The concluding part of the paper summarises major findings and suggests several recommendations for improving management of migration policies in Slovakia.

³ For discussion of benefits by economic migration see the 2005 EU Green Paper on EU approach to managing economic migration.

⁴ The Eurobarometer no 76 (Autumn 2011), for example, indicated that the EU citizens ranked immigration to the top five major issues facing the EU.

1 DEVELOPMENT OF MIGRATION POLICY IN SLOVAKIA

History of the migration policy is quite short in Slovakia. The very first document on migration policies were the Principles of the Migration Policy passed via the Government Resolution no. 846/1993. The short and vague document listed 10 principles on mobility and residence by foreigners in Slovakia.

1.1 The 2005 Migration Policy

The first Migration Policy Concept (white paper) was passed by the Government Resolution No 11/2005 of 12 January 2005. The preamble of the Concept recognized that Slovakia became the EU Member Country in 2004 and adopted all the EU regulations related to migration. Most laws and regulations passed before 2004 were reactive and reflected obligations of the Slovak Republic resulting from its membership in international organisations and/or international and European agreements. Laws and regulations on migration concentrated on the issues of asylum seeking and refugee status. There were no plans for active management of migration policies, e.g. in field of managed immigration by highly skilled.

The 2005 Migration Policy Concept stated some basic principles of the migration policies in Slovakia, namely principles of sovereignty, lawfulness, regulation of legal migration, active co-operation with the EU, antidiscrimination and flexibility. These principles were adopted also by the later migration policies. Substantial parts of the 2005 Migration Policy Concept related to the issues of illegal immigration, asylum seeking and refugee status and referred to various international and European agreements and regulations. The Concept also indicated need for 'defining national immigration and national policies' under the aegis of the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family (MLSAF), with the help of the Ministries of Finance, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Health Care and Education. The Policy also called for legislative arrangements enabling co-operation with the regional and local governments and non-governmental organisation. It also set a target for establishing Slovak Immigration and Naturalisation Office by 2010. The target was not met by 2011.

The 2005 Migration Policy Concept also contained a short chapter on legal immigration. Legal immigration was not seen as an opportunity to tap pool of the skilled labour. The legal immigration was labelled 'multispectral problem'. Solutions of the 'problem' should respect 'social and economic capacities of the state'. The Concept set that for children of immigrants learning Slovak language is compulsory. Adults must be offered language courses and/or brochures and textbooks for learning Slovak languages and removing obstacles for employment.

The 2005 Migration Policy Concept set no specific targets in immigration, in terms of total numbers of (planned) immigrants, and/or quotas by countries of origin, or skill categories of migrants. It also stated no priorities in legal immigration by skilled and/or highly skilled migrants in terms of particular occupations or sectors. The 2005 Migration Policy Concept also was very vague on resources devoted to implementation of migration policies. It set no specific financial targets and budgets.

1.2 The 2009 Concept of Integration of Aliens

The 2009 Concept of Integration of Aliens in the Slovak Republic (white paper) was approved by the Slovak Government Resolution no. 338/2009 of 6 May 2009. The Concept was prepared by experts from several State authorities, regional and local governments, academic community and representatives of the international organisations and non-governmental

organisations. Unlike the 2005 Migration Policy Concept, the 2009 Concept adopted a more proactive stance and contained several chapters on integration of legal immigrants. It stated that the 'primary interest of the Slovak Republic is the integration of foreigners granted a residence permit in the Slovak Republic for a minimum one year'.

The Concept recognised very low numbers of immigrants in Slovakia. There were some 40 thousands foreigners in Slovakia, some 0.6% of the total population in 2007. Slovakia accounted for the lowest share of the foreign-born population in total population among the 25 EU Member Countries. The Concept suggested a number of indicators of successful integration by foreigners into the Slovak society in field of economic, social, health care, educational, language, cultural, religious, civil, residential and political rights of the immigrants. The Concept suggested division of tasks and competences among various authorities and bodies of central, regional and local governments, but set no specific targets, dates and/or budgets for policy implementation.

2 CURRENT FRAMEWORK OF MIGRATION POLICIES IN SLOVAKIA

The most important documents on migration policies in Slovakia are the 2011 Migration Policy (white paper) and the 404/2011 Law on Residence by Aliens.

2.1 The 2011 Migration Policy

The Slovak Government passed the new version of the Slovak migration policy via the Government Resolution no. 59/2011 of 31 August 2011⁵. The document was prepared by the Slovak Ministry of Interior. The document concerned large number of issues, from legal and illegal immigration and integration of immigrants, via border protection to emigration and development aid.

Migration Policy priorities and targets

The 2011 Migration Policy stated its goal in the preamble of the document:

"The overall goal of the migration policy is securing state interests of the Slovak Republic and contributing to increasing quality of life by the Slovak citizens via

- creating respective conditions for legal migration, subject to priorities, needs and absorption capacity for immigration (including integration of immigrants);
- strengthening efficiency of border controls for controlling human mobility and combating illegal immigration;
- contributing to common European refugee and asylum seeking system;
- participating in creation of global partnership with countries of origin and transit;
- strengthening synergies between migration and development."

Implementation of the migration policy is subject to 'application of principles of active participation in the European Union's tasks in areas of border controls, immigration and asylum granting, following principles of constitution, laws, state sovereignty, human rights and freedoms, flexibility and prohibiting discrimination'.

⁵ This chapter presents abridged version of the 2011 Migration Policy.

Application of the Migration Policy goals is based on co-ordinated activities by the bodies of the central and local state authorities and local self-governing bodies. Participation by the non-governmental and other bodies is also assumed.

The 2011 Migration Policy recognized that the Slovak Republic is a Member Country of the EU. The EU policy and legal framework therefore is the major determinant of the Slovak migration policies. The EU passed several documents important for the formulation of the Slovak migration policies, namely:

- the Treaty on European Union;
- the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum;
- the Stockholm Programme;
- the Global Approach to Migration.

Most of these policies are likely to undergo revisions by 2020 and it is not possible to predict character of revisions. The 2011 Migration Policy stated that 'it is in interests of the Slovak Republic to actively participate on discussions and preparatory works'. The future documents should reflect real demands and priorities of the Slovak Republic. Slovakia is expected to take the EU Presidency in 2016. The migration policy is an important issue in the EU and Slovakia 'has to prepare experts' in this field.

Legal immigration

The chapter on legal immigration recognized that 'managed legal immigration is primarily determined by needs of the Slovak Republic. Slovakia accounts for some negative demographic trends. The labour market and the social security system will by large degree depend on influx of immigrants. The Slovak Republic must opt for active immigration policies and enter the global competition for talent. The highly skilled immigrants, scientists and other qualified immigrants should be major targets of the active immigration policies.

The Slovak Government passed the Minerva 2.0 strategy in 2011. The strategy is aimed at supporting Slovakia's competitiveness via building knowledge-based society. The Minerva 2.0 strategy lists a number of support measures to be implemented since 2012, including support to immigration by foreign experts, scientists and other highly skilled people.

The immigrants are expected to fill in the gaps on the Slovak labour market. The Slovak Government prefers migrants 'who have the qualifications and competencies necessary to satisfy the lasting demand for shortage professions on the national labour market with an emphasis on culturally related countries'. The last statement refers to preferring immigrants with the low integration costs. No specific source countries are explicitly mentioned in the 2011 Migration Policy. Some opinions pronounced by that time government coalition members pointed to Slavonic-speaking European countries.

As a matter of fact, the Slovak Government was unable to identify shortage professions on the Slovak labour market. The 2011 Migration Policy therefore called for collection and processing relevant data.

The 2011 Migration Policy also listed a number of support measures for managing legal migration:

- improving and making up immigration procedures more efficient; the Aliens Police Office must improve use of information and communication technologies; the Office's workers have to improve their language skills;
- creating legislative framework for economic immigration; the Slovak Republic must develop and introduce its 'Blue Card' for the highly skilled immigrants; the immigration rules should be based on the point system;

- elaborating regular analyses and studies regarding needs of the Slovak economy and immigration potential by various classes of immigrants;
- updating legislative framework for economic immigration; the updates should reflect results by the abovementioned analyses and studies, and provide for flexible solutions of the economy's needs;
- updating legislative framework with respect to various segments of labour market and migration forms, such as seasonal work, temporary and circular migration;
- establishing framework for receiving immigrants from the third countries; the highly skilled immigrants and scientists should be preferred to other kind of migrants;
- defining the 'au-pair' migration, which combines work and study purpose of migration;
- defining rights and obligations of the immigrants in some specific areas, in health and social care in particular; the final goal is to 'achieve, as soon as possible, a full-bodied status within the society'.
- preventing detrimental effects of the 'brain waste'; the immigrants' education, qualifications, skills and expertise levels should be recognised and appreciated;
- improving checks of documents submitted by the potential immigrants and detecting forged documents; the Office for Slovaks Living Abroad and consular offices of the Slovak Republic abroad are expected to help with these issues;
- using activities of the Centre for Recognition of Documents on Education at the Ministry of Education, Science, Research, and Sports of the Slovak Republic for recognition of the qualifications and skills;
- elaborating and implementing housing policies for immigrants;
- improving data collection and processing in area of labour market; the data should be made available to experts and broader public; the Slovak Republic also aims at better interconnection of authorities providing residence registration, tax, social and health insurance authorities, and bureaus of the labour, social and family affairs;
- improving checks and controls of immigrants in order to combat their potential illegal activities related to residence, employment and business; the immigrants, on the other hand, must account for equal treatment in areas of work conditions, and wage and social insurance standards;
- taking proactive position in immigration and creating migrant information centres, both in Slovakia and potential source countries; the centres should provide information on entry and residence in Slovakia, and living and work conditions; the Office for Slovaks Living Abroad and consular offices of the Slovak Republic abroad are expected to be involved in these issues.

Integration of immigrants

The chapter on integration recognized that integration is 'a continuous, long-term, and dynamic mutual process that includes both the aliens staying in the receiving country legally and inhabitants and it also means the general set-up of the legal framework of the host society'. In this respect the 2011 Migration Policy referred to the 2005 Migration Policy Concept. Major goal of integration is 'eliminating migrants' marginalization and increasing their individual motivation to become integrated'. Any risks of establishing socially, culturally and economically divided and excluded migrant communities must be avoided. The immigrants should be granted access to the labour market, as well as education, health care and social care services and housing. Immigrants also should participate in the civic and political life of the Slovak Republic. The Slovak Republic recognizes 'specific cultural features' of the immigrants. The immigrants, on the other hand, are expected to learn language of the receiving country.

The chapter on integration of immigrants also set several major principles of integration:

- Integration mainstreaming refers to drafting and implementing policies and regulations by various bodies of the Slovak Government concerning integration of immigrants. Specific aspects of legal status of particular migrant groups (women, seniors, minors, handicapped people, refugees and asylum seekers) are taken into account.
- The Slovak Government emphasises its will to protect human rights, promote tolerance, and fight intolerance and discrimination. It will create a co-ordinated communication strategy. The strategy should include both some current and new activities aimed at increasing public awareness on immigration issues, systematic co-operation with the public mass media, and promoting discussions on benefits and negatives of integration by aliens.
- Procedures related to systemic monitoring of the integration of immigrants will be created. The relevant public institutions will be instructed on collection of relevant data. The data must be readily available, comparable and compatible.
- Integration of immigrants must be promoted also on the regional and local levels, by the regional and local governments in particular. The central government will define options for co-operation with regional and local governments (taking into account division of competences between various layers of the government).
- Various immigrants associations and communities on local and regional levels will be included into the integration process.
- Co-ordination and interconnection by bodies involved in the integration of immigrants must be improved.
- The Slovak Government intends introduction of the information measures aimed at immigrants in their home countries, such as establishing information centres, and preparing brochures, leaflets and websites.
- It is necessary to simplify procedures related to recognition of the professional qualifications required for performance of jobs and academic purposes for the asylum seekers, displaced persons and aliens with granted subsidiary protection.
- Migrants will be provided with opportunities to learn Slovak language and social and cultural norms. An unified methodology for verification of the Slovak language for low-qualified immigrants will be introduced.
- The Slovak Government may re-consider amendments of procedures related to the naturalisation and granting Slovak citizenship, as to speed-up integration process, and made processes of granting residence permit and Slovak citizenship more efficient and transparent.
- The Slovak Government will consider options for new ways and forms of funding integration measures. An emphasis will be given on better use of the European resources and other alternative sources of finance outside the Slovak State Budget.

Emigration

A short chapter on emigration by Slovak citizens acknowledged that 'the Slovak Republic is unprepared to deal with issues of emigration and return migration'. The chapter also recognises needs to draft 'policy concept on the emigration and return migration', 'reintegration programmes' and 'start discussion by the policy makers, experts and broader public on life conditions by Slovak emigrants'. No specific policy targets and/or instruments related to circular migration were specified in this chapter. As a matter of fact, there were no special policies targeting circular migration in Slovakia by 2012. Instead, standard European regulation applied in international labour migration by the Slovak nationals.

The Slovak Republic passed the Council Regulation No 1612/68 and opened its labour market for foreigners and, in turn, Slovak citizens are given access to labour markets of all EU Member Countries. Prior to 2004 Slovakia applied bilateral agreements on mutual employment

services with selected EU Member Countries (Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Poland, Finland and Hungary) and other countries (Switzerland, Russian Federation, Ukraine and Vietnam). By 2012 agreements with Germany, Russia and Switzerland remained in force.

Illegal migration, repatriation and trafficking

The Slovak Republic considered issues of illegal migration inseparable part of the Slovak migration policy. Policies for combating illegal migration include measures aimed at both prevention and repression of illegal migration. The illegal migration has strong international context and Slovak policy measures must be coordinated with measures implemented by other EU Member Countries and also countries of migrant origin and transit.

Most important tasks in field of combating illegal migration included:

- developing co-operation with other EU Member Countries, and also countries of migrant origin and transit;
- passing legislative, organizational and administrative arrangements for preventing illegal migration, such as checks and penalties given in cases of illegal employment of migrants;
- passing arrangements aimed at increasing security of travel and identity documents, and introduction of technical means for detecting forgery and illegal changes in documents;
- doing security checks of aliens (visa applicants) in cases of invitations of aliens by Slovak citizens, and requests for residence permits.

As for the repatriation policies, the Slovak Republic continued in favouring assisted voluntary repatriation over forced extradition. It will co-operate with non-governmental organisations and international organisations, including the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). The Slovak Republic, however, will strictly enforce extraditions based on court and administrative decisions. All extradition procedures must follow regulations set by the Slovak, European and international laws. The EU readmission agreements and bilateral government agreements with countries of migrant origin and transit are most important instruments for regulating international migration. The Slovak Republic planned revising existing and/or signing new readmission agreements and strengthening co-operation with embassies of the third countries, whose citizens are frequently extradited. The Slovak Republic also wanted the third countries to pay costs of extradition.

In February 2011 the Slovak Government passed the National Programme of Fight against Human Trafficking for the years 2011-2014⁶. Activities in this policy area included:

- strengthening control procedures for job agencies offering jobs abroad, and also granting licences for performance of such activities;
- increasing efficiency of international co-operation by the law enforcing bodies via deepening co-operation with other countries and international institutions in fields of information exchange and settlements of rogation letters;
- increasing general awareness on trafficking via information campaigns on illegal work, trafficking, potential risks of work migration, but also on potential for assistance;
- reintegration of victims of trafficking into the society and minimalizing risks of repeated trafficking;

⁶ The Programme was passed via the Government Resolution No. 96/2011 of 16 February 2011.

- identifying children victims of trafficking, in particular potential children victims involved in trafficking during transit.

Protection of borders

The protection of borders follows the Schengen acquis principles in Slovakia and aims at preventing illegal crossing Slovak borders. The protection of borders, however, cannot prevent border crossing by persons seeking access to internationally recognized forms of protection, such as asylum seeking.

The migration policy defined following tasks for the protection of borders:

- defining national plans for controlling Slovak borders;
- introducing and developing technical systems for protection of Slovak borders;
- using advanced technologies, which provide for the interoperability of systems, and efficient integrated control of the external border of the European Union; the emphasis is given on introduction of electronic registration of entry and exit related to the simplified access by the citizens of the EU Member Countries;
- strengthening co-operation with the other member countries of the EU and the FRONTEX agency⁷, including professional training and equipment of the personnel directing migration flows in countries of origin and transit;
- issuing biometrical visa via the visa information system and strengthening co-operation via consular authorities of the EU Member Countries;
- providing professional training for personnel involved in control of the external border in field of rights and obligations of aliens within the framework of the international security;
- passing policy measures designed for introducing and executing control of human mobility on internal borders of the EU Member Countries, according to current developments in migration flows.

International protection, migration and development

The Slovak Republic fully supports all activities leading towards adoption of the common European system of asylum, and wants to use the best practices of the particular EU Member Countries. The Slovak Republic provides international protection of aliens within the framework of the 'Asylum and subsidiary protection'. Moreover, Slovakia also joined activities of the EU related to transfer of aliens, on the base of trilateral agreements between the Slovak Government, IOM and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The Slovak Republic also implements programmes aimed at development aid for extraordinarily affected countries within the framework of reallocating aliens with international protection.

The asylum-related parts of the migration policy included:

- granting protection according to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 New York Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees;
- granting international protection according to the EU laws (the 2004 qualification directive on international protection) for aliens with subsidiary protection;
- granting temporary shelter to the de facto refugees;

⁷ The Mission of the [FRONTEX](#) is "co-ordination of intelligence driven operational cooperation at EU level to strengthen security at external borders". Responsibility for the control of external borders of the Member States of the European Union lies with the Member States. FRONTEX strengthens border security by ensuring the coordination of Member States' actions in the implementation of Community measures relating to the management of the external borders.

- supporting further development of internal mechanism of control and insurance of quality of the asylum-related procedures;
- taking responsibility for implementation of the integration of asylum seekers, and, in the future, aliens with the subsidiary protection, who are granted long-term residence permit;
- active involvement in international processes of sharing migration burden (re-allocation and resettlement activities).

The European migration policies are interconnected to policies of development aid, employment and foreign affairs. The Slovak Republic concluded bilateral agreements aimed at improving economic and social situation of the third countries population. The development aid relates to policies of employment and education. Interconnection between the migration and development, however, should not be limited to the development aid only. The Slovak Republic intended elaborating its migration policies in the following areas:

- increasing coherence between the migration policy and development policy, as defined in the strategic documents on the official development aid by the Slovak Republic and improving integration of migration issues in the development policy, with respect to the priority countries;
- streaming development aid to priority countries, and in some special cases, also to other countries relevant for migration inflows to the Slovak Republic / EU; preparing regular analyses on the abovementioned issues;
- exploiting potential of temporary and circular migration, and return policy for eliminating illegal migration, and emigration by highly skilled and skilled labour force, while contributing to development of the third countries.

Institutional arrangements

The institutional arrangements of the migration policy referred to two levels: international and domestic ones. The international level includes the bodies and organisations of the United Nations and the EU bodies, such as the European Parliament, Council, Committees, the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), FRONTEX, EUROPOL⁸, etc. The domestic level included bodies and institutions with direct contact of migration (the ministries, regional governments, local governments, trade unions and associations, churches, non-governmental bodies, etc). Legislative arrangements for the above mentioned policy areas should be amended as to reflect goals of the migration policy.

The chapter on the institutional arrangements recognized that despite relatively large number of international and domestic bodies implementing migration policy there was no central body with horizontal powers for implementation of the migration policy in Slovakia. The Slovak Government intends creating the Immigration and Naturalisation Office (INO). The INO should provide for complex solution of procedures related to an immigrant, from his/her legal entry via residence permit, international protection, integration to the Slovak society, to potential application for the Slovak citizenship. The INO also should provide for regular evaluation of the Slovak migration policies (including barriers for legal immigration and integration).

⁸ The EUROPOL is the European law enforcement agency.

The INO should co-operate with the Coordinating Committee for Migration and Integration (CCMI)⁹ in following areas:

- creating permanent secretariat of the CCMI and defining needs of the INO with respect to the competences, and organisational, personal, financial and technical arrangements;
- establishing INO as an independent authority within the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic via merging departments participating in implementation of the migration policy;
- transferring relevant competences in migration policy from the other authorities to the Ministry of Interior (including personnel) by 2013.

2.2 The 404/2011 Law on Residence by Aliens

The Ministry of Interior and the Office for the Border and Aliens Police drafted the new Law on Residence by Aliens in 2011. The law aimed at (a) improving procedures related to management of migration and integration of immigrants, (b) guarantying rights and freedoms of the EU nationals, their family members, and the third country nationals during their entry and residence in Slovakia, and (c) unifying issues of border protection and residence permits. The law also incorporated regulations of two Council Directives: the 2009/50/EC Directive of 25 May 2009 ('the Blue Card Directive') and the 2009/52/EC Directive of 18 June 2009 on sanctioning illegal employment by the third country nationals. The 404/2011 Law on Residence by Aliens entered into force on 1st January 2012 and replaced the outdated 48/2002 Law on Residence by Aliens.

The 404/2011 Law distinguished between the EU nationals and their family members, and the third country nationals. The EU nationals are given standard European treatment. They can, for example ask for five year residence permit for work or study purposes. The five year residence permit may easily be converted to the permanent residence permit (indent 67 of the law).

As for the third country nationals, the spirit of the law was rather defensive and re-active. The explanatory report for the law, for example, stated that 'the Slovak Republic remains transit country for legal and illegal migration flows, which head for more economically advanced and attractive Schengen countries'. The law also stipulates 'better protection of the society from increasing migration'. The law, however, also introduces some positive changes in management of migration. Contrary to previous law, the 404/2011 Law set that an applicant had right for granting residence permit, if he/she passed all legal requirements. The law also introduced several provisions simplifying application procedures for work permits by highly skilled.

Indent 21 of the 404/2011 Law recognized nine types of temporary residence and work permits for the third country nationals:

- The *business permit* is designed for individual entrepreneurs and/or representatives of the companies. The applicants have to produce business plan and prove financial resources for doing business in Slovakia; at least 20 times living wages for individual businessmen and 100 times living wages for representatives of companies. The permit is granted for a maximum of three years.

⁹ The Coordinating Committee for Migration and Integration was established with the Ministry of Interior in 2009. The Committee is responsible for the implementation and monitoring of tasks issuing from the above-mentioned government concepts and for the co-ordination of migration policies vis a vis the European Union and other international organizations. The Committee is composed of representatives of relevant ministries and public institutions playing specific roles in the field of migration management and may invite ad hoc members including international and non-governmental organizations. IOM continues to assist the Government in fulfilling its migration management tasks, especially in the fields of migrant integration and assisted voluntary returns.

- The *work permit* is designed for the third country nationals, who either already have the permit, or can produce contract with employer and indicate level of earnings. The work permit is granted for a maximum of two years. The law does not stipulate any skills and/or qualification requirements for work permits. Work permit is not required for first 90 days of stay if a foreign national works in Slovakia within the intra-company transfer, in international mass transport or within collaboration of a foreign company with a Slovak company.
- The *study permit* covers students in secondary and tertiary education, and is granted for period of study, but six years as a maximum.
- The *special purpose permit* is designed for non-profit activities, such as teaching and lecturing, doing arts, sports, voluntary works and journalist activities. The permit is granted for period necessary for execution of declared activity, but as a maximum of two years. The applicant for the special purpose permit has to produce confirmation on contract and financial arrangements by the receiving organisation in Slovakia.
- The *research and development permit* covers research workers and staff in R&D institutions. The permit is given for a maximum of two years, and the applicant has to produce confirmation on contract and financial arrangements by the host institution.
- The *family reunification permit* is given to family members of the third country nationals who already hold temporary or permanent residence permit. The family members also can look for a job and enter the Slovak public health insurance system. The permit is granted for a period of a maximum five years.
- The *permit for civilian members of the foreign armed forces* is granted to civilian personnel of foreign armed forces, whose members are on duty in Slovakia. The permit is granted for a period of a maximum five years.
- The *permit for ethnic Slovaks*, who are third country nationals, is granted for a maximum of three years. The ethnic Slovaks benefit from simplified immigration procedures, and access to the Slovak labour market and public health insurance.
- The *permit for the third country nationals, who already obtained long-term residence permit in another EU Member Country* is granted for a maximum of five years.

The 404/2011 Law introduced some more stringent requirements for applicants asking for Slovak visa. Indent 31 of the law, for example, stipulated that an applicant for residence permits must personally appear on a Slovak embassy for an interview and produce all documents relevant to specific kind of visa at once. The previous law set that the documents could be sent via post. The indent 33 of the 404/2011 Law set that application documents are sent to the Slovak police authorities. The authorities must decide on application within 90 days. The Slovak embassies should make available all relevant information on residence permits on their webpages in English (including examples of application forms).

The Blue Card scheme (indent 37) for the third country nationals is the most significant and positive provision of the 404/2011 Law. The Blue Card is work permit issued for three years for the highly skilled immigrants. Immigrants with the university education or history of five years professional employment are considered highly skilled. The applicants for the Blue Card must produce confirmation on job contract with salary exceeding 1.5 times Slovak average salary, diploma on qualification, confirmation on job vacancy issued by Slovak Central Office for Work, Social Affairs and Family, and health confirmation.

The 404/2011 Law amended some provisions on long-term and permanent residence by third country nationals in Slovakia. The former, complicated system of long-term and permanent residence permits was simplified. It became easier to convert five years residence permit to permanent residence permit.

The 404/2011 Law also accounted for some negative points. Above all, it did not introduce clear rule-based system for granting working visa. Evaluation of applications was largely left to the authorities' discretion.

3 MIGRATION POLICIES IN SLOVAKIA AND WESTERN EUROPE

3.1 Overview of Migration Flows in Slovakia

The Slovak Republic is a country with sizeable migration flows. Unlike developed EU Members, emigration flows dominate, while the immigration flows are of relatively lower importance in Slovakia.

Several major trends in migration flows were distinguished in Slovakia after 1989:

- reversal in the net migration balance; since 1990s Slovakia accounted for net (permanent) migration balance (Figure 3.1);
- shift from permanent to temporary emigration by Slovak citizens;
- emergence of new forms of emigration (au-pairs, students) by Slovak citizens;
- considerable increases in the intra-regional population flows and the labour immigration from Central and Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Russia, Romania) to Slovakia;
- temporary and limited increases in movements by members of national minorities from their home countries to the ethnic countries, including immigration by ethnic Slovaks from Romania, former Yugoslavia and Ukraine;
- change in structure of migrants in terms of country of origin and purpose of migration; in particular emergence of flows by asylum seekers and refugees to Slovakia since early 1990s.

The abovementioned trends were well visible in international migration flows in Slovakia. Substantial increase in volume and diversity of migration flows is the most important feature of the post 1989 development. Several distinctive international migration flows were observed in 1990s and 2000s:

- The former Czechoslovakia was dissolved and the Czech and Slovak Republics were established on 1st January 1993. The 'Velvet Divorce' was accompanied by one-time increases in international migration and referred to exchange of the Czech and Slovak nationals living in the respective republics. It, however, should be noted that only a fraction of Czech and Slovaks opted for move. There were more than 314 thousand ethnic Slovaks in the Czech Republic and some 291 thousands had received Czech citizenship when Czechoslovakia divided.
- The Slovak Republic became the EU Member Country in 2004. Several EU Member Countries have opened their labour markets for Slovak citizens fully (the UK, Ireland) or partially (Germany, Austria) in 2004. Open labour markets attracted large numbers of Slovaks. Shares of Slovak population (legally) working abroad in total Slovak working population rose from 4.8% in 2004 to 7.5% in 2007, but dropped to 5.3% by 2010 (Figure 3.2). There also was a significant number of Slovaks working abroad in undocumented jobs.
- There were considerable outflows by Slovak University students. The OECD data on foreign students indicate that at least 10% of total Slovak tertiary students studied abroad, in the Czech Republic, Austria and UK in particular. Slovakia ranked among countries with the highest rates of student emigration in the EU. Numbers of Slovaks studying abroad increased 8.1 times in period 1998-2007 (Baláž 2010).

The data on international permanent migration account for limited reliability. The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (SOSR), for example, reports some 4447 permanent and long-term emigrations from Slovakia in 2010. The real numbers are likely to be much higher. Slovaks moving permanently abroad (because of family unification and similar reasons) almost never gave up their Slovak citizenship and, therefore, do not appear in official statistics. The same applies to Slovaks living abroad for longer periods than 10 years. They are unlikely to return, but do not report their current place of residence to Slovak authorities. The SOSR reports high positive balance of international migration 9323 persons in 2010. Some experts claim that there actually is no positive balance, but a negative one in international permanent migration. These claims are based on differences in numbers of Slovaks leaving Slovakia, as reported by Slovak authorities, and numbers of Slovaks acquiring permanent residence in foreign countries, as reported by respective foreign authorities.

There were total 13770 immigrants reported by the SOSR in 2010, of which 5969 from the EU Member Countries and 6690 from the third countries. Most important countries of origin included Ukraine (1336), the Czech Republic (1214), Hungary (1082), Romania (915), Serbia (677), Korea (671), Vietnam (529), Russia (505) and Poland (498). The Slavonic speaking countries accounted for one third of the total long-term and permanent immigrants in 2010.

A new phenomenon of overstaying was reported by the Slovak Migration Office since 2009. It related to the third countries citizens staying in Slovakia after end of validity of their residence permit. Citizens of Ukraine, China and Vietnam were most likely to overstay in Slovakia.

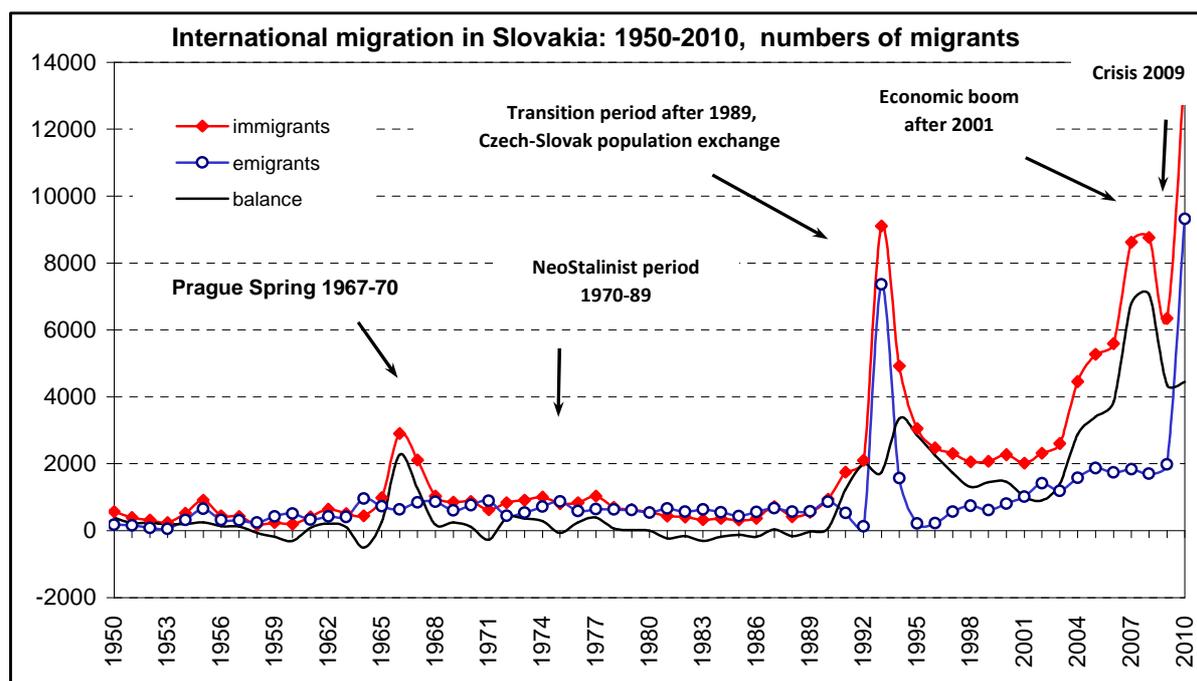


Figure 3.1: Main trends in international migration in Slovakia 1950 -2010. Source: SOSR

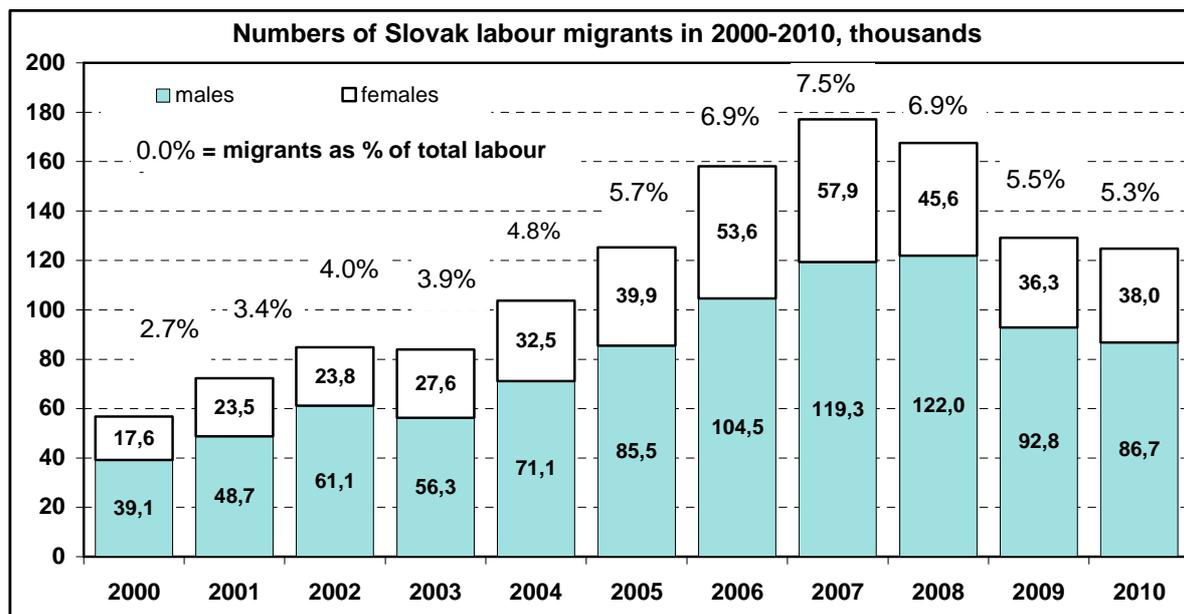


Figure 3.2: Numbers of Slovak labour migrants in 2000-2010. Source: SOSR

Surge in numbers of asylum seekers and refugees was a new phenomenon in Slovak migration flows after 1989¹⁰. The Slovak Republic received over 56 thousands applications for asylum in period 1993-2011 (Table 3.1). Numbers of asylum seekers peaked in 2001 with 11395 applications, but decreased considerably in next years. There were some 541 applicants in 2009 and 491 in 2010 (source: statistics by the Slovak Migration Office). Decrease in asylum seeker numbers was related to ending some war and political conflicts (Iraq, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka) and improvements in security arrangements on external borders of the EU (including Slovak – Ukrainian borders). Vast majority of application failed when the procedure stopped due to applicants' no-show (Figure 3.3). Total numbers of asylums granted (669) were extremely low in period 1992-2011. The Afghanistan (224), Iraq (54), Romania (37), the former Yugoslavia (37) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (36) accounted for majority of asylums granted in the above-mentioned period (source: statistics by the Slovak Migration Office). The Slovak Republic has been a typical country of transit.

The Slovak Republic accounted for very low rates of citizenship acquisition, shares of foreign citizens in total population (Figure 3.4) and numbers of residence permits (Table 3.2) compared to major migration destinations in Europe (De, Fr, UK) and selected neighbour countries (Cz, At). Two major factors were behind low stocks and inflows of foreign-born population:

- generally unattractive work and earnings conditions in Slovakia diverted potential immigrants elsewhere (see chapter 4.1);
- an unfriendly legal framework for immigration (see chapter 3.2) and disinterest by the Slovak authorities and population in immigration issues.

As for the attitudes by domestic population to immigrants, there were relatively few examples of outright hostility/intolerance towards immigrants, but lot of carelessness, insensibility and/or xenophobia in the Slovak population. There for example, were several

¹⁰ The former Czechoslovakia was a communist country, and generated outflows of asylum seekers and political refugees prior to 1989.

thousand Vietnamese immigrants living in Slovakia since 1970s (Baláž and Williams 2007). The Slovak authorities opened first school for Vietnamese children as late as in 2011.

Some 72.6% of Slovaks agreed that 'Slovakia should accept, help and protect those immigrants, who had serious reasons for migration', but some 67.9% agreed with statements on high costs of helping immigrants and 65.8% with statements on crime rates increasing due to immigration (source: 2005 UNHCR Survey).

The 2009 IOM survey indicated that economic aspects of immigration shaped views by Slovak citizens about immigrants. Slovak population, however, was quite divided in its opinions on costs and benefits of immigration. Statement on 'immigrants taking Slovak jobs' generated some 48.8% approval and 47.9% disapproval rates. Positively framed statement on immigrants 'enriching Slovak culture' generated 55.0% approval and 37.0% disapproval rates, while negatively framed statement on 'immigrants being carriers of alien culture and bringing chaos to Slovakia' yielded 32.8% approval and 57.9% disapproval rates (Vasecka 2009: 61). The same survey also indicated that very few Slovaks (3.4%) supported opinion on increasing population numbers via immigration, while majority (59.9%) supported opinion on increasing population numbers via financial support to Slovak families with children. The restrictive opinion on 'prohibiting large-scale immigration to Slovakia', however, won only limited support (12.3%). The Slovak population was aware of low numbers of foreigners living in Slovakia and pointed to 'unattractiveness of Slovakia for immigrants' (51.3%). The 2008-2009 European Social Survey indicated that Slovak population had roughly similar opinions about potential immigrant claims on social benefits and services as population of other EU Member Countries (Annex, Figure A1).

Table 3.1: Applications for asylum in Slovakia

Year	asylum seekers	asylum granted	asylum denied	subsidiary protection granted /not granted	procedure stopped	procedure continued	citizenship granted
1993-2010	55,996	572	6,943	303 / 1188	48,122	267	207
2011	491	12	186	91 / 48	270	185	7
Jan 2012	36	1	30	21 / 8	27	39	0
Total as of 31.01.2012	56,523	585	7,159	415 / 1242	48,419	39	214

Source: The Slovak Migration Office

Table 3.2: Intensity of immigration, valid residence permits as % of total population

Country	First residence permits			All valid permits		
	2008	2009	2010	2008	2009	2010
Slovakia	0.15	0.10	0.08	0.37	0.41	0.44
Czech Republic	0.06	0.26	0.33	2.92	2.91	2.54
Austria	0.26	0.34	0.37	5.47	5.33	5.54
Germany	0.14	0.15	0.14	4.44	4.51	4.57
France	0.29	0.30	0.30	3.59	3.55	3.58
UK	0.99	1.05	1.14	n/a	n/a	n/a

Sources: Eurostat and author's own computations.

Applications for asylum in Slovakia

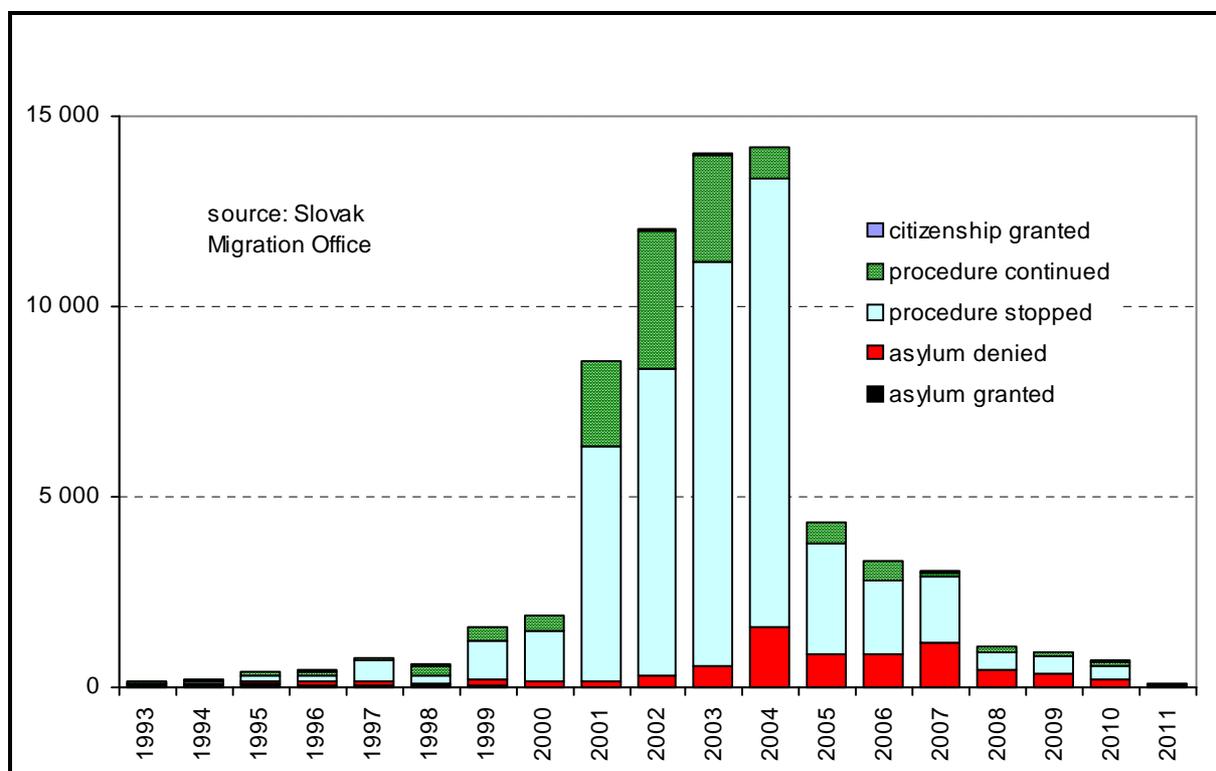


Figure 3.3: Resolving applications for asylum in Slovakia in 1993-2010. Source: The Slovak Migration Office

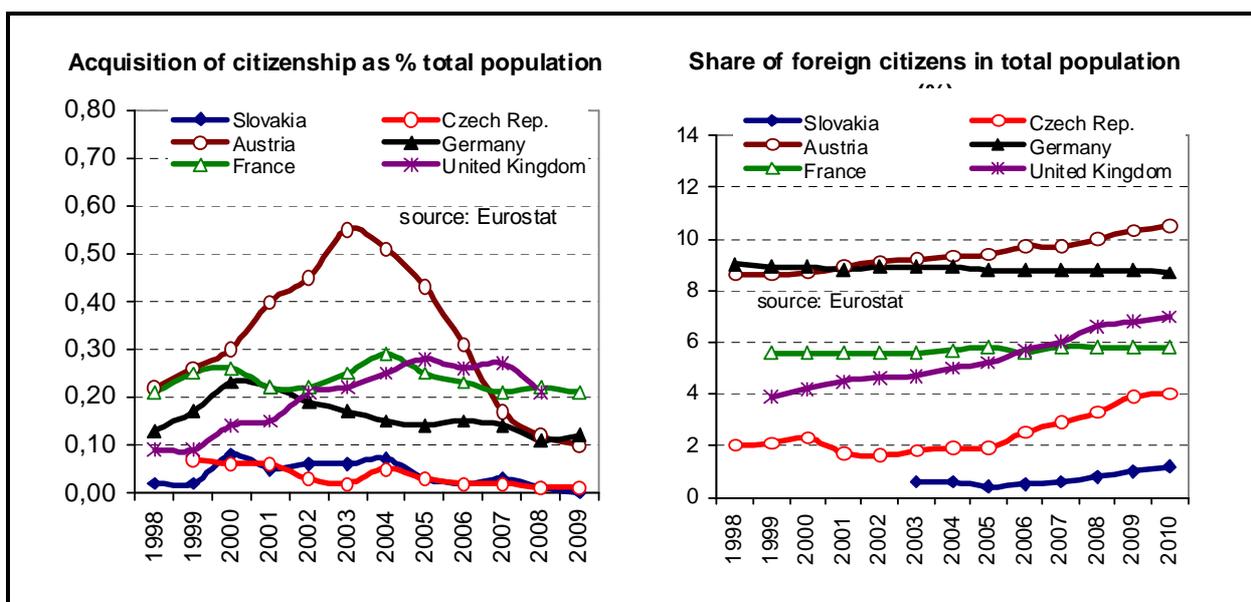


Figure 3.4: Acquisitions of citizenship and shares of foreign citizens in total Slovak population. Sources: Eurostat and author's own computation

3.2 The MIPEx Index

The Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) measures integration policies in 31 countries of Europe and North America. The complex index is based on 148 individual indicators measuring various dimensions of migrant's opportunities to participate on economic, social and political life of the host society. Individual indicators are grouped into seven major categories: (1) labour market mobility; (2) family reunion; (3) education; (4) political participation; (5) long-term residence; (6) access to nationality; and (7) antidiscrimination. Three editions of the MIPEX index were published so far: 2005 (pilot study), 2007 and 2010. The last (third) edition was published in Brussels by the British Council and Migration Policy Group in February 2011. Computation of index is based on an extensive questionnaire by country correspondents.

Slovakia accounted for one of the lowest MIPEX scores among the EU Member Countries both in the 2007 and 2010 surveys. The Slovakia's scores were 38 and 38, while MIPEX 27 countries 54 and 53 in 2007 and 2010 respectively (Table 3.3). The 'labour market mobility', 'political participation', and 'access to nationality' were particularly weak areas in the Slovak integration policies, compared to the MIPEX 27 averages, and major European migration destinations (UK, Fr, De) and Slovakia's potential competitors (At, Cz) (see Table 3.4). Immigrants from the third countries (non-Members of the EU) had very difficult access to jobs in public sector and could not collect unemployment benefits in Slovakia by 2010. Equal access to employment and social benefits was given after 5 years of stay. The third country immigrants also were not allowed membership in political parties and/or becoming candidates in general elections. Chapter on Slovakia in the 2011 MIPEX report notes slow progress in development of migration policies. Slovakia was one of the last EU Member Countries to adopt migrant integration policy concept in 2009. According to the 2011 MIPEX report, the integration of immigrants improved due to 'better work on discrimination', but access to the Slovak nationality deteriorated, because 'the 2007 Citizenship Act made naturalisation less favourable for integration' and immigrants 'must now wait for one of the longest periods in Europe, complete some of the most subjective and restrictive conditions, and become insecure in their status'. Since 2007 applicants for the Slovak citizenship had to wait 3 more years on a permanent residence permit. Applicants were expected to master Slovak language, but no standards were set in this respect. Granting citizenship was subject to undergoing lengthy and expensive procedures with lack of clear rules.

Slovakia made little progress in overall arrangements for integration of immigrants between the 2010 and 2007 (for scores in particular policy areas in 2007 and 2010 see also Tables 3.3 and 3.4).

Table 3.3: The 2007 and 2010 MIPEX indices

	2010		2007		Change 2010-2007	
	MIPEX 27	Slovakia	MIPEX 27	Slovakia	MIPEX 27	Slovakia
Labour market mobility	58	21	56	21	2	0
Family reunion	60	53	61	53	-1	0
Education	42	24	X	x	x	x
Political participation	47	21	48	21	0	0
Long-term residence	59	50	59	50	0	0
Access to nationality	45	27	44	39	1	-12
Antidiscrimination	57	59	55	47	2	12
Overall score ¹⁾	53	38	54	38	x	x
Overall ranking ¹⁾	x	26	X	26	x	x

Source: the 2010 MIPEX report, Notes: 1) score and ranking without education. The education indices were not included into the 2007 MIPEX index

Table 3.4: The 2010 MIPEX scores for particular countries and policy areas

Policy area	labour market	family reunion	education	political participation	long-term residence	access to nationality	anti-discrimination	overall score
Slovakia	21	53	24	21	50	27	59	38
Czech Rep.	55	66	44	13	65	33	44	46
Austria	56	41	44	33	58	22	40	42
Germany	77	60	43	64	50	59	48	60
France	49	52	29	44	46	59	77	54
UK	68	67	55	45	50	61	89	62
MIPEX 27	58	60	42	47	59	45	57	55

Source: the 2010 MIPEX report, Notes: 1) score and ranking without education. The education indices were not included into the 2007 MIPEX index

4 DRIVERS, BARRIERS AND POLICIES FOR IMMIGRATION BY HIGHLY SKILLED IN SLOVAKIA

4.1 Drivers and Barriers of Migration

Jobs, earnings, studies, but also wish to experience life in a foreign country used to be major drivers of international migration (King 1993). A number of studies found the same driving factors for Slovak migrants working in Austria (Williams, Baláž, and Kollár 2001) and the UK (Williams et al 2001 and 2004, Baláž and Williams 2005). The same factors diverted potential foreign migrants from working in Slovakia.

The Slovak Republic accounted for high unemployment rates and low earnings. These two factors made Slovakia an unattractive destination for foreign workers:

- The Slovak Republic accounted for the third highest unemployment rate (13.4%) in the EU27, after Spain (21.6%) and Ireland (14.3%) in 2011. Over one half of the total unemployed were unemployed more than one year.
- High unemployment rates were typical for Slovak economy since 1990. Late 1990s and early 2000s were typical with extreme levels of unemployment. National rate of unemployment was almost 20% and the highest in Europe (Figure 4.1). Several districts (NUTS IV level) in southern and eastern Slovakia reported unemployment rates of over 40%. High unemployment rates were unlikely to disappear in near future in Slovakia.
- The average annual earnings (in purchasing power parities, PPP) in private sector were €15,140 in Slovakia, while €50,475 in Germany and €49,525 in the UK in 2010 (Table 4.1). The earnings growth was higher in Slovakia than in the developed EU Member Countries in period 2008-2010, but the overall level of earnings was 2.6 times lower in Slovakia than in the UK and Germany in late 2000s.
- The highly skilled jobs received above average remuneration in the EU Members. The Slovak Republic accounted for relatively lower shares of workers with tertiary education than the developed EU members. The earnings in the 'professional, scientific and technical activities' were by one third higher than average earnings in business economy in Slovakia, but only by one quarter higher in the UK and Germany. The earning levels, nevertheless, were 2.5 times lower in the 'professional, scientific and technical activities' in Slovakia than those in the UK and Germany.
- Slovakia accounted for relatively high tax wedge. Difference between Slovakia and Germany was 1 : 2.6 in gross wages, but 1 : 2.9 in net wages. Average annual growth in net earnings was two times higher in Slovakia than in Germany in period 2001-2010. Should these disparities in growth rates continue in 2011-2020, the difference between the net annual earnings in Slovakia and Germany could drop to 2.5 by 2020.
- Low wages and high unemployment rates pushed many Slovaks for seeking work abroad. The Labour Force Survey reported some 129.4 thousands Slovaks working abroad in 2010 (some 5.5% of total working population, Figure 3.2). These numbers were unlikely to report undocumented employment. Illegal and/or undocumented work is notoriously difficult to capture, but most estimates (see Bednárík 2010) point to some 15% Slovaks working in shadow and black economy. Tax evasion and jobs unavailable outside the shadow/black economy were main reasons for seeking illegal employment. There also were some 30 thousands Slovak students abroad, most of whom were likely to perform some occasional and/or part time works. The real numbers of Slovaks working abroad may have stayed with 180-200 thousands in 2011.

Table 4.1: Annual average gross earnings, EUR (PPP)

Country	Business economy			Professional, scientific and technical activities		
	2008	2009	2010	2008	2009	2010
Slovakia	13,948	14,342	15,140	19,184	19,288	20,218
Czech Republic	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Austria	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Germany	39,992	38,836	40,687	49,459	48,758	50,475
France	n/a	31,100	n/a	n/a	42,014	n/a
UK	41,465	39,970	39,524	51,757	50,523	49,535

Sources: Eurostat (average annual gross earnings by economic activity - Nace Rev. 2)

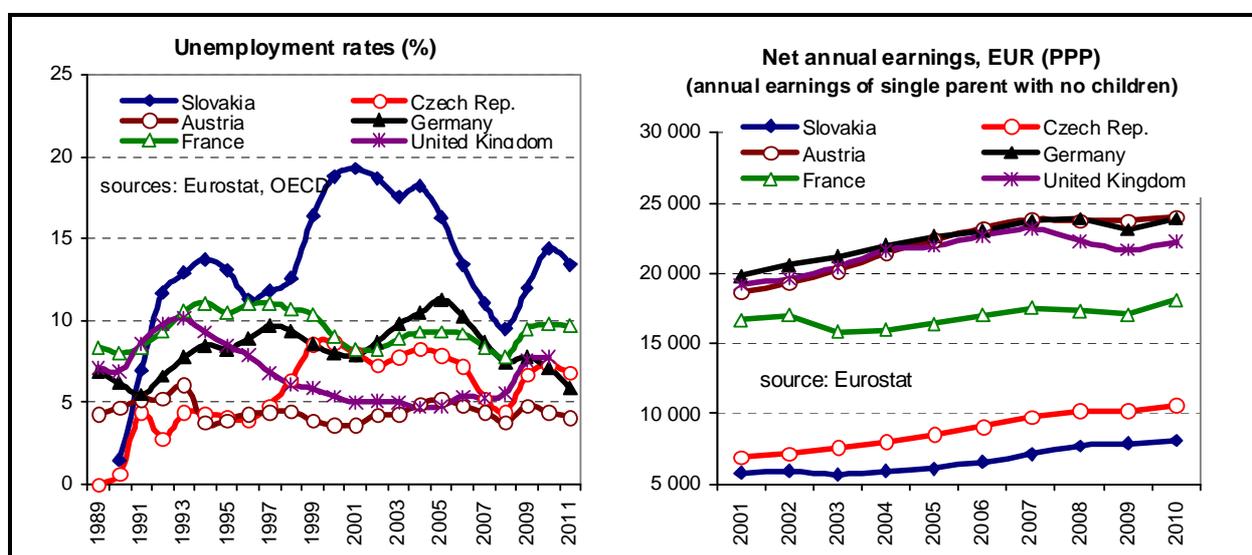


Figure 4.1: Unemployment rates and earnings levels in Slovakia and selected developed EU Member Countries

The earnings levels both in the business economy and highly skilled job posts were too low in Slovakia to attract significant numbers of the highly skilled immigrants. Moreover, disparities in earnings levels in Slovakia and developed EU Member Countries were too high to disappear in the next decade. Long-term problems with low earnings and high unemployment rates were major motives for sizeable work migration by Slovak citizens abroad and cast doubt on intentions by the 2011 Migration Policy to attract highly skilled immigrants in near future to Slovakia.

4.2 Policies for Migration by Scientists and PhD Students in Slovakia

The 2011 Migration Policy and the 2011 Minerva 2.0 strategy considered immigration by the highly skilled (scientists in particular) an important instrument for increasing stock of human capital and competitiveness of the Slovak economy. Current legislative framework, however, is far from to be conducive to this target.

The access to the Slovak national labour market depends on origin of an applicant. On the basis of the Treaty of Accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union and the Decree of the Government of the Slovak Republic No. 391/2004, from 1 May 2004, the Slovak Republic enables access to its labour market to citizens of all the EU member states without any restrictions. According to the Law on Employment Services No 5/2004 a citizen of an EU member state and his/her family members shall have the same legal position in legal relations occurring pursuant to this Act as do citizens of the Slovak Republic. The rights relating to a citizen of an EU Member State and his/her family members also refer to citizens and family members of states within the European Economic Area. Nationals from third countries have the same legal status as Slovak citizens, if they were issued a work permit and a temporary residence permit for the purpose of employment. The employer with a seat in the territory of the Slovak Republic may accept a foreign person in employment only if that person was issued a temporary residence permit for the purpose of employment and a work permit by the competent authority. Temporary work and residence permit effectively preclude researchers from third countries to apply for tenured position.

An EU researcher may, in theory, apply for any research job and/or post in Slovakia. In real life, some managerial posts require fluent Slovak, which few foreign applicants can prove. There were examples (if only a few) of foreigners applying and winning top posts in Slovak University system. A Polish catholic priest and polyglot, for example, is rector of the Catholic University in Ružomberok.

The 172/2005 Law on Organisation of State Support to R&D regulates provision of finance to public sector. Slovakia transposed the Council Regulation on special methods of accepting the citizens of third countries (outside the territory of the EU) into scientific research through the 2008 and 2011 amendments of the 172/2005 Law. The amendments specified the terms and conditions under which R&D organisations can accept researchers from third countries. Bodies established in Slovakia are eligible for support. Individual researchers (including citizens of the EU and third countries) may hold grants and transfer these within Slovakia, but they have to produce a work permit and acceptance documents by Slovak research institutions. Transfer of funds provided by the Slovak state budget to bodies/persons residing outside Slovakia is not allowed.

The PhD students are offered two types of jobs, depending on their choice and availability of funding. Regular employment, usually fixed-term, is the first option, fellowship the second one. PhD students on fellowship pay no social insurance taxes. Net income from regular employment sometimes is lower than that from fellowship. Employers are allowed to renew fixed-term contract in three consecutive years as a maximum. After three years an employee must be offered a tenured job. For employers it is sometimes easier to get funds for fellowships than for regular employees. They also pay no health insurance taxes up to age of 30. Remuneration in regular employment, however, is higher. Foreign PhD students enjoy the same rights and duties as the Slovak nationals. No distinction is made legally between the EU and non-EU researchers and PhD students.

Two types of PhD courses are provided. The 'internal' (full-time) PhD students get fellowships paid by the state, and distributed via higher education institutions (HEIs) and accredited training places. Fellowships are awarded for three years. Internal PhD students are expected to participate in teaching and research. The 'external' (part-time) PhD programmes are designed for people employed outside the research and HEI sectors, and do not involve any direct financial support. External PhD students are expected to defend their theses within five years since commencement of their studies. Internal PhD students pay no fees for their studies within regular period of studies (three years). Typical annual fees for the external PhD students varied from 500 to 1000 euros, depending on field of study in 2012. Foreign PhD students paid about 5000 - 6000 euros in the same year. Some HEIs, however, discriminated between the EU and third countries residents and charged the same fees for the Slovak and the EU residents.

Unattractive pay and working conditions were behind significant brain drain by Slovak scientists going abroad. No data are available on outmigration by Slovak scientists, but brain drain was considered a serious problem. The Long-term Objective of the State S&T Policy up to

2015 contains priorities on supporting return migration by Slovak scientists. As for the immigration by foreign scientists to Slovakia, the Eurostat data on researchers indicated that 97.9% of total Slovak researchers were Slovak nationals and 2.1% nationals of other countries in 2009.

Numbers of the European Foreign Students (ISCED 5) increased from 1560 to 8179 and their shares increased from 1.6% to 4.0% in period 2000-2010 in Slovakia. Respective numbers of the doctoral students increased from 113 to 942, while their shares increased from 4.9% to 7.7% in period 2003-2010. The Czech students accounted for about 50% of all foreign students in Slovakia. Combined shares of Greek, Norwegian and Serbian students were about 15% in 2010. Slovakia ranked among countries with the highest emigration rates. The Eurostat data indicate that some 13.7% ISCED 5 and 13.8% ISCED 6 Slovak tertiary students studied abroad in 2009. Numbers of Slovak PhD students in the EU countries rose from 366 in 2004 to 1548 in 2009. The Czech Republic was destination for some 70% Slovak tertiary students abroad (Annex, Figure A2).

4.3 Policies for Migration by Highly Skilled in Selected EU Member Countries

This chapter summarises migration policies for highly skilled adopted by prime migration destination countries in the EU27 (DE, Fr, UK) and in Slovakia's neighbour countries and potential competitors for the highly skilled immigrants (Cz, At)¹¹. It provides overview of major categories of work and residence permits, and requirements sets for highly skilled applicants.

The Czech Republic

The Czech Republic passed its first strategy on managing labour migration by highly skilled via the Government Resolution No. 48/2011 of 19 January 2011. The strategy (white paper) tackled large number of issues (labour migration, trafficking and economic crimes related to immigration, voluntary repatriation and extradition of aliens). Migration of the highly skilled is covered in the first part of the paper 'New system of economic immigration to the Czech Republic'. The overall goal of the strategy is to 'increase transparency', 'simplifying administrative procedures related to immigration', 'strengthening integration of aliens', and 'improving protection of aliens'. The strategy recognises seven categories of work permits:

- The *circular migration permit* is issued for two years for those applicants, who do not wish settling in the Czech Republic permanently.
- The *standard work migration permit* is considered main category of work permits. It is issued for two years, but can be prolonged and turned to permanent residence permit. Applicants for standard work permit must produce confirmation on work contract, prove good knowledge of the Czech language and enter compulsory 'integration course'.
- The *highly skilled work permit based on the 'Blue Card'* is given for two years and can be further prolonged. The applicants must prove tertiary or higher professional education and produce confirmation on work contract. The expected wage must exceed 1.5 times gross average wage in the Czech Republic. The applicant may ask only for shortage jobs on the Czech labour market. He/she may enter voluntary 'integration course'.
- The *highly skilled work permit* is designed for applicants, who do not qualify for the 'Blue Card'. This category of permits has similar requirements as the 'Blue Card' category, but relaxes limits for expected wage to minimal wage in the Czech Republic.
- The *seasonal work permit* is designed for applicants in selected seasonal jobs for 3 -6 months per year. The applicants must produce contract with their potential employer.

¹¹ Most information in this chapter comes from official webpages by authorities managing immigration in destination countries.

- The *intra-company transfer* permit is designed for transfers by the non-EU firms and is limited to selected posts (managers, internship holders). The permit is given for period of one year and can be prolonged to three years. The applicants are exempted from contribution to the Czech public social insurance system.
- The *permits regulated by international agreements* relate to agreements concluded by the Czech Republic with the New Zealand, Canada, Australia and Korea.

Austria

Austria abandoned the quota-based system and shifted to the criteria-based system following the adoption of the new Immigration Law Package on 1 July 2011. The change was initiated by the Federal Economic Chamber (WKO) and the Federation of Austrian Industry (IV), in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The new system of immigration regulation is based on Australia and Canada models. Instead of setting numerical limits to immigration by certain categories of immigrants, the new system sets that once a potential immigrant meets the specific criteria, he/she is granted access to the Austria's labour market without any additional checks. The system is labelled 'Red-White-Red' card, after the colours of the Austria's national flag and recognises five types of potential immigrants

- 'high potential' or specific highly qualified workers (e.g. managers, researchers, doctors) have to collect at least 70 points out of the total 100;
- skilled workers in professions or trades where there is a labour shortage in Austria (e.g. nurses, roofers, welders) have to collect at least 50 out of total possible 70 points). List of the shortage profession is published by the Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection;
- 'other' key workers may work in other jobs than those with labour shortages, but must prove that they had been offered a job with sufficient pay;
- foreigners who have graduated from an Austrian university may look for job within six months of their graduation and stay in Austria, if the job corresponds with field of their studies;
- self-employed 'key' workers are expected to transfer capital and/or create jobs in Austria.

Germany

Immigration policy in Germany underwent major changes in 2005. The country dropped the Green Card scheme (designed for attracting IT professionals) and created framework for attracting highly skilled immigrants. The new framework made it easier for the third country nationals to obtain job and residence permit. The highly skilled professionals (with the University degree) in demanded professions may be granted permanent residence and start working from the onset, subject to having secured job and permission from the Federal Employment Agency. Special conditions apply to selected professions (scientists, engineers, IT experts, high rank managers, etc.). They may obtain permit without the prior approval by the Federal Employment Agency, if they prove that they are integrated into the German society and make no demands on the public social system. The prove usually is demonstrated via the foreigner's contract with an University or research institution.

The new framework also removed some administrative hassle and potential job applicants may use one-stop application procedure (e.g. German embassy in their country of origin). The family reunion also was made easier, as the family members of the highly skilled professionals are given right to look for employment in Germany. Nationals of the third countries usually can take jobs, where no German and/or European national applies for the post.

Foreign students graduating from German universities also find it easier to find employment. They are allowed to stay in the country for one year after graduation and look for a job.

Self-employed and entrepreneurs may be granted residence in Germany providing they bring capital at least one million euro and create at least ten jobs.

France

The French immigration policy is less liberal than those in Austria, Germany and the UK. France issues two kinds of work and residence permits:

- The 'temporary secondment' is designed for non-French companies serving their French clients in France. The non-French company has to prove that it co-operates with a French client. The foreign national remains employee of the non-French company. Employment under the temporary secondment is permitted up to 18 months and may be extended another nine months.
- The full work permit is designed for the third country nationals working with the French companies. The potential employer applies for the work permit for its foreign employees. Issuance of the permit is subject to applicant's ability to attest (a) education levels; (b) salary levels; and (c) statute of a 'cadre' – job position requiring substantial job experience (usually managerial or high-level professional post). The permit is issued by French authorities, which consider applicant's education, job history, fluency in French and his/her ability to integrate into the French society.

France also issues residence permit for entrepreneurs. These have to prove ability to generate revenue in France.

French labour market remains one of the most protected in the EU. The French authorities, however, made certain allowances for selected classes of highly skilled immigrants. Some professionals immigrating to France can claim tax breaks for bonuses related to immigrant's assignments in France.

United Kingdom

The UK operates a sophisticated rule-based system aimed at attracting migrants with various levels of skills. The system was introduced in 2008 and recognises five classes of potential immigrants. The applicants score on various criteria to assess their eligibility for obtaining work or study visa in the UK:

- The former 'Tier 1 visa for highly skilled migrants' was abolished in 2011 and replaced with the 'Exceptional Talent Visa' category. It is designed for 'internationally recognised leaders in arts and sciences'. The recognition is attested by a 'Designated Competent Body'. There is an annual limit of 1000 visas granted in this category.
- The Tier 2 visa replaced former UK Work Permit Scheme and is designed for the non-EU citizens wishing to find skilled job in the UK. All applicants under this category must produce offer of a job. There are four sub-categories of the Tier 2 visa. (A) The general category is designed for applicants for jobs, where shortages on the UK market cannot be filled in by the UK and EU nationals. Typical jobs on the shortage list include medical and veterinary professionals, scientists, engineers, nurses, care assistants and home carers, and managers. The applicants score on their education, earning history in their country of origin, fluency in English and (young) age. (B) The intra-company transfers category is designed for employees of the UK branches by the multinational companies. (C) The Sports People category covers elite sportsmen and coaches. (D) The Ministers of Religion category is designed for people filling vacancies in religious bodies.
- The Tier 3 visas were designed for unskilled, temporary workers in agriculture, and meat and fish industry. The Tier 3 visa scheme was suspended in 2011.

- The Tier 4 visas are granted to foreign nationals studying in the UK. The students are entitled to find jobs and work up to 20 hours per week during term time and 10 hours per week during vacations.
- The Tier 5 visas cover young people wishing to do non-profit work in the UK for up to two years. The scheme is designed for nationals of third countries, with which the UK has special agreements. It applies to special kinds of voluntary work and study, such as au-pairs, research assistants to Members of Parliament, working holidaymakers, etc.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Migration policy is young and immature in Slovakia. For many years, immigration has been seen either as a humanitarian issue, to be dealt with laws and procedures reflecting Slovakia's membership in the EU and international organisations, or as matter of border protection and criminal offences by aliens. The current legislation reflects recent developments in the EU immigration, migrant integration and border protection policies. It accounts for some positive development. There is a shift from defensive and reactive measures towards more proactive policies with respect to the third country nationals migrating to Slovakia.

The 2011 Migration Policy accounted for some improvements compared to the 2005 Migration Policy.

- The most positive development was a shift from reactive to proactive policies in legal immigration and integration of immigrants. The 2005 Migration Policy Concept was mainly concerned with illegal immigration and/or legal asylum seekers and refugees. The 2011 Migration Policy referred to the 2011 Minerva 2.0 strategy and was first Slovak policy document on pro-active and managed immigration policies. The legal immigration was a 'multispectral problem' for the 2005 Concept, while an opportunity to tap pool of highly skilled labour for the 2011 Migration Policy.
- The most important parts of the 2011 policy with respect to the managed immigration referred to (suggested) policy measures aimed at creating legislative framework for economic immigration, such as creating rule-based system for attracting special classes of immigrants (Blue Card, point system).
- The rule-based system of immigration should rely on regular data collection and analyses concerning actual needs of the Slovak economy.
- The 2011 policy also pointed to opportunity for attracting skilled immigrants from the third countries. While there were no legal barriers for employing citizens of the EU Member Countries, current level of the social and economic development of Slovakia (low wages and high unemployment rates) effectively preclude immigration to Slovakia from majority of the EU Members.

The 2011 Migration Policy, however, also accounted for many weaknesses. Most of these actually are the same as in the 2005 Migration Policy Concept. Most weaknesses came from the overall vagueness and lack of clearly defined policy targets and instruments:

- There were no targets in overall levels of immigration and/or planned or acceptable annual levels of migration flows;
- The 2011 Migration Policy set no targets on composition of migrant's qualifications, skills and/or industry specialisation. It referred to need for elaborating regular analyses on potential needs of Slovak economy, but did not specify, budgets and time horizons for such analyses.
- The 2011 Migration Policy mentioned potential inflows of immigrants from the third countries, but did not indicate any specific countries and/or World regions.
- The 2011 Migration Policy repeatedly called for establishing the Immigration and Naturalisation Office (INO). The 2005 Migration Policy Concept set founding the INO by 2010. The 2011 Migration Policy did not explain failure in establishing the INO in due time period and contained no analysis of potential obstacles for establishing the INO in the future.
- Finally, the 2011 Migration Policy did not indicate any budgets envisaged for implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the abovementioned policy priorities.

The 2011 Migration Policy was a welcome step towards active policies of managed immigration. The policy, however, was too vague to account for operational strategy on implementation of the migration policy support measures. In many aspects the 2011 Migration Policy was rather a wish list of policy goals than useful strategy for managed migration.

Some propositions by the 2011 Migration Policy were transposed into the 404/2011 Law on Residence by Aliens. The most positive parts of the law referred to

- simplifying some administrative procedures related to immigration from the third countries;
- defining priorities in qualification structure of immigrants;
- improving definitions of various types of work and residence permits, the research and development permits, and special purpose permits in particular;
- introducing the Blue Card scheme;
- improving family reunion arrangements for work permit holders and introducing option for family members to look for job in Slovakia.

The 404/2011 Law, however, accounted also for some weaknesses. Most negatives relate to lack of clear rule-based system for immigrants. The law (indent 38), for example, set that the applicants for the Blue Card must produce confirmation on the highly skilled job vacancy by the Slovak Central Office for Labour, Social Affairs and Family (COLSAF). The law set that the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family (MLSAF) should prepare list of 'highly skilled jobs'. These jobs are those where wage is at least 1.5 times higher than Slovak average wage. There is no detailed description of targeted professions. The 2011 Migration Policy suggested elaborating regular analyses on potential needs of Slovak economy. The analyses of needs are not mentioned in the 404/2011 Law.

Slovakia had high unemployment rate (14.0% in January 2012), but there were labour shortages for some specific jobs. The shortages referred to some specific skills, in IT, and health care. The Profesia.sk (top webpage specialised in job offers in Slovakia), registered some 7295 jobs offers in February 2012 in Slovakia, of which 1454 in IT sector, 459 in electrical engineering, 178 in health care sector and 68 in education sector. In selected professions Slovak was not enough attractive for their own population and accounted for significant levels of emigration and brain drain. Some industries and activities were particularly affected by outflows of skilled Slovak labour to the Czech Republic, UK and Austria. Anecdotal evidence points to brain drain by the health professionals. Between May 2004 and April 2007, some 3700 Slovak health professionals applied for equivalence confirmations to work in another EU country. Actual numbers of migrating health professionals may be higher. Nurses, for example, do not necessarily need equivalence documents for employment abroad. Higher wages and generating income for purchase of housing were main motives for migration by the Slovak health professionals in the abovementioned period (Beňušová et al 2011). There also were some 16 thousands Slovak carers in Austria by 2011.

Slovak policy makers may consider following policy recommendations in immigration policies:

- Finding balance between emigration and immigration. In early 2010s Slovakia accounted for massive outflows of skilled people, which were not matched by inflows of skilled immigrants. High numbers of Slovak tertiary students abroad were of particular concern. Many students considered quality of education in Slovakia and opted for the Czech Republic and Austria. The Slovak government should re-think policy of mass support to low-quality higher education and opt for creating one or two high-quality Universities. Higher support to return policies for highly skilled Slovaks also seems a viable option for increasing stock of human capital in Slovakia.

- Defining long-term specialisation of Slovakia on the international markets and profiling set of competitive industries. Part of the skilled labour force for the profile industries may originate in immigration.
- Reformulating immigration policies in terms of better definitions of shortage jobs and industries and qualification skills; given low level of earnings, it was unrealistic to expect large inflows of highly skilled migrants to Slovakia. Potential immigrants from the third countries may consider more attractive destinations within the EU. Slovakia, however, also had some comparative advantages over traditional migration destinations in the EU27 for selected classes of immigrants. Integration and adaptation costs were relatively low for immigrants from the Slavonic speaking countries in Eastern Europe and Balkan, and also for ethnic Slovaks from the third countries¹².
- Learning from foreign experience and introducing point system, similar to that in Austria or the UK.
- Immigration to Slovakia was complicated by difficulties in diploma recognition. The Slovak government may consider reformulating requirements for recognition of qualifications and skills for selected professions, and migration source countries.
- Fluency in Slovak language was required for most jobs in public sector in Slovakia. The government may consider easing the requirement for specific jobs and professions, where fluency in English is essential (e.g. for scientists and engineers).

¹² The Ministry of Health, for example, intended to attract some 300 Ukrainian doctors in 2011.

REFERENCES

- Baláž, V. (2010):** *Migration of students in Europe: the competition for human capital*, Sociológia, 42(4): 356-382.
- Baláž, V. and Williams, A. M. (2007):** *Path Dependency and Path Creation Perspectives on Migration Trajectories: The Economic Experiences of Vietnamese Migrants in Slovakia*, *International Migration*, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 37-67.
- Baláž, V. and Williams, A. M. (2005):** *What Human Capital, which Migrants? Returned Skilled Migrants to Slovakia from the UK*, *International Migration Review*, 39(2): 439-468.
- Bednarik R. (2010):** *Nelegálna práca v kontexte cezhraničnej spolupráce {Illegal Work within the Frame of Cross Border Collaboration}*, in: Rodina a práca (Family and Labour), Issue: 2/2010, pp. 5-38.
- Beňušová, K., Kováčová, M., Nagy, M. and Wismar, M. (2011):** *Chapter 17 Regaining self-sufficiency: Slovakia and the challenges of health professionals leaving the country*, in Wismar, M., Maier, C.B., Glinos, I.A., Dussault, G. and Figueras, J. (eds): *Health Professional Mobility and Health Systems, Evidence from 17 European Countries*; Observatory Studies Series no. 23; World Health Organization 2011, on behalf of the European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies
- British Council (2011):** *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, the 2007 and 2011 editions.
- Czech Government (2001):** *Návrh opatření k řízení ekonomické migrace, ochraně práv osob migrujících za prací a realizaci návratů {Proposed measures for managing economic migration, protecting labour migrants and facilitating return}*, Government Resolution No. 48/2011 of 19 January 2011.
- EC, European Commission (2011):** *Eurobarometer 76, Public Opinion in the European Union*, December 2011, Directorate-General for Communication (DG COMM "Research and Speechwriting" Unit).
- EC, European Commission (2005):** *The Green Paper on an EU Approach to Managing Economic Migration*, Brussels, 11.1.2005, COM(2004) 811 final.
- Eurostat (2012):** *Statistics on migration, unemployment and earnings*.
- King, R. (1993):** *Why do people migrate? The geography of departure*, Chapter 2 in King, R. (ed.): *The New Geography of European Migration*, pp. 17-46, Belhaven Press, UK
- OECD (2012):** *International Students Enrolled*, OECD StatExtracts, OECD: Paris
- Slovak Government (2011):** *Minerva 2.0 Strategy*. Slovak Government Resolution no 544/2011 of 17 August 2011.
- Slovak Government (2011):** *Proposal for the migration policy with perspective to 2020*, Slovak Government Resolution no. 574/2011 of 31 August 2011
- Slovak Government (2005):** *Migration Policy Concept*, Slovak Government Resolution No 11/2005 of 12 January 2005.
- Slovak Government (2009):** *Concept of Integration of Aliens in the Slovak Republic*, Slovak Government Resolution no. 338/2009 of 6 May 2009
- Slovak Migration Office (2012):** *Statistics on Migration*
- Slovak Parliament (2005):** *The 172/2005 Law on Organisation of State Support to Research and Development*.
- Slovak Parliament (2011):** *The 404/2011 Law on Residence by Aliens*.
- SOSR, Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (1994-2012):** *Statistical yearbook of the Slovak Republic for 1993-2011*, SOSR Bratislava
- SOSR, Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2000-2012):** *The Labour Force Survey*, annual and quarterly data, SOSR Bratislava

Vašečka, M. (2009): *Postoje verejnosti k cudzincom a zahraničnej migrácii v Slovenskej republike* {*Attitudes by public towards foreigners and international migration in the Slovak Republic*}, International Organisation for Migration, Bratislava, 2009.

Williams, A.M., Baláž, V. and Wallace, C. (2004): *International labour mobility and uneven regional development in Europe*, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 11(1):27-46.

Williams, A.M., Baláž, V. and Kollár D. (2001): *Coming and going in Slovakia: international labour mobility in the Central European 'buffer zone*, *Environment and Planning A* 2001, 33(6): 101-1123.

ANNEX: SELECTED FIGURES

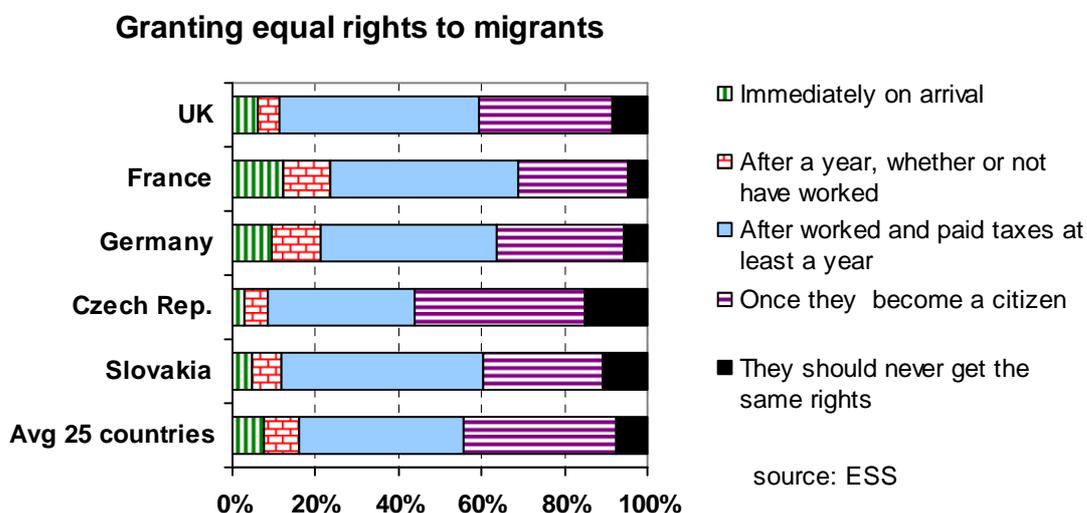


Figure A1: Opinions on immigrants, wording of question: ‘Thinking of people coming to live in [country] from other countries, when do you think they should obtain the same rights to social benefits and services as citizens already living here? Please choose the option on this card that comes closest to your view.’ Source: European Social Survey 2008-2009 (round 4) D38

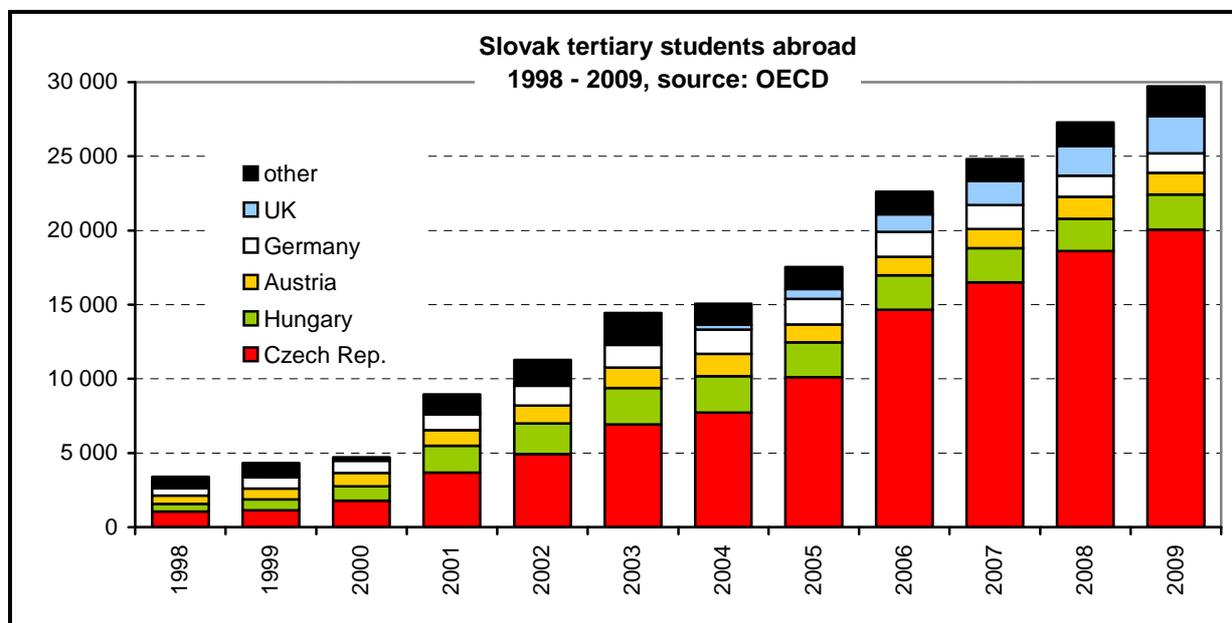


Figure A2: Slovak tertiary students abroad. Source: OECD statistics on education

REPORT 4

**IMMIGRATION ISSUES AND IMMIGRATION POLICIES
IN SLOVAKIA**

SURVEY OF OPINIONS BY SLOVAK INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL ELITES

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SURVEY DESIGN	76
2 SURVEY FINDINGS	77
2.1 <i>Perception of Immigration Challenges</i>	77
2.2 <i>Awareness on Actual and Potential Immigration Flows</i>	79
2.3 <i>Opinions on Shaping Immigration Flows</i>	81
2.4 <i>Opinions on Risks and Benefits of Immigration</i>	83
CONCLUSIONS	85
REFERENCES.....	86
ANNEX 1: INFORMATION ON SURVEY PARTICIPANTS	87
ANNEX 2: THE QUESTIONNAIRE.....	88

1 INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SURVEY DESIGN

Immigration ranks to the most important issues of economic and social life in Europe (EC 2012). Most opinion polls on immigration target either immigrants or population in countries of origin and destination. Relatively few surveys target policy makers and/or individuals with high impact on public opinion.

This paper summarises findings of an opinion survey by selected members of the Slovak intellectual and political elites, who are likely to wield significant influence on citizens' attitudes to immigration. The main aim of the survey was to obtain insights into views shared by influential members of the Slovak society.

Major research questions of the survey include:

- Perception of challenges generated by immigration;
- Awareness on actual and potential immigration flows;
- Opinions on shaping migration flows;
- Opinions on risks and benefits of immigration.

Composition of the survey participants reflects their (a) mode of influence on the Slovak politics and society, (b) diversity of political inclination, and (c) impact on policy making:

- (a) The survey sample consists of (i) politicians – members of the Slovak Parliament; (ii) influential analysts frequently appearing in Slovak media, (iii) experienced journalists, well-known to Slovak readers/listener, and (iv) government officials.
- (b) The survey sample covers all major political parties and schools of political and economic thought in Slovakia: (i) the Smer – Social Democrats (single ruling party), (ii) the Slovak Christian and Democratic Union (centre-right, former government coalition leader), Christian Democrats, and the SAS – Freedom and Solidarity (liberal party). As for the influential analysts, majority inclined to neoliberal school of thought, but conservative and social democracy views also were represented.
- (c) The survey sample included the Parliament Members and representatives of the Slovak Migration Office and the Ministry of Labour, Social and Family Affairs of the Slovak Republic.

List of participants, their occupations and political inclinations are stated in the Annex 1. Some participants considered issues of immigration and immigration policies sensitive and asked not to state their names. Translation of the questionnaire to English is provided in Annex 2.

The survey participants could indicate their answers via choosing one of the proposed alternatives or rank their opinions on the 1-9 point Likert scale. The participants also could express their opinions in a free text or speech. In such cases participants asked not to quote their names. The survey was carried out in May – June 2012 in Bratislava.

Given difficulties related to accessing members of intellectual and political elites and limited project budget, the survey sample of 20 individuals makes no claim on representativeness. It, however, still provides for interesting insights on ways, the elites consider immigration issues.

2 SURVEY FINDINGS

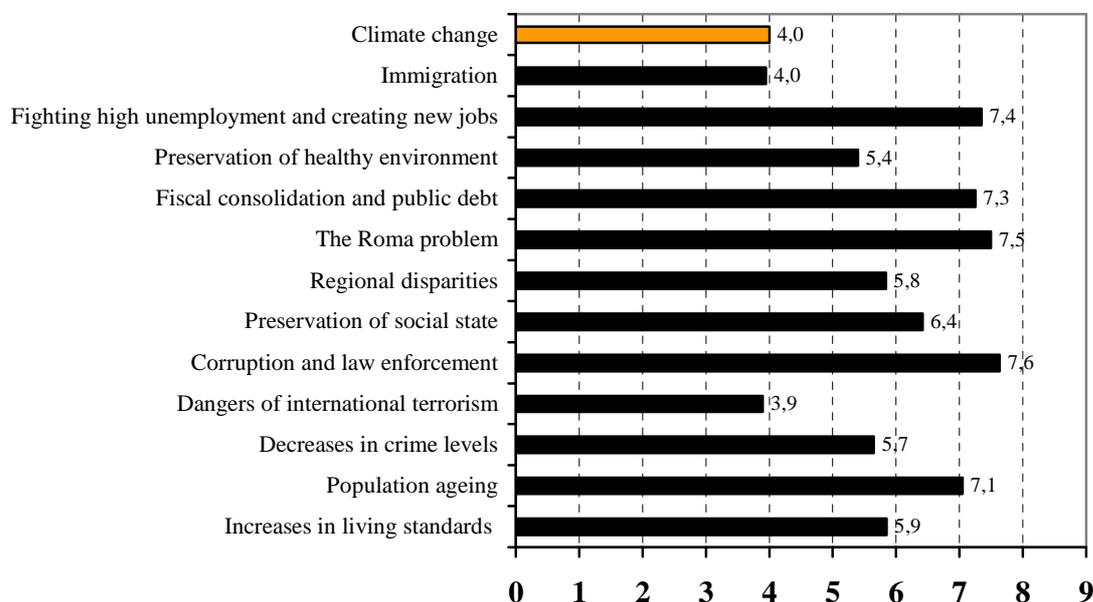
2.1 Perception of Immigration Challenges

The survey participants ranked challenges important for Slovakia in the next 10 years on the 1-9 point Likert scale (see the questionnaire attached). Slovak intellectuals and politicians considered the most important challenges corruption and law enforcement (average 7.6 points), the Roma problem (7.5 points), high unemployment rates and job creation (7.4 points), and fiscal consolidation and debt problems (7.3 points). The immigration challenges were considered among the least important (4.0 points, see Figure 1), alongside with the climate change (4.0 points), and dangers of international terrorism (3.9 points). The opinions on importance by particular challenges diverged little in terms of political inclination of the survey participants. Mean and medians values were very close for all answers.

The survey results were compared with findings by the Standard European Barometer (Autumn 2011 edition). The Eurobarometer survey was done in 27 EU Member States on the sample of 25,000 participants in November 2011. The Eurobarometer for example, identified immigration among the five major concerns by the EU citizens, alongside with the economic situation, unemployment, inflation and public finance. Immigration, however, as major source of concern was identified in traditional immigration destinations (the UK, Germany and France) and selected Baltic countries, Cyprus and Belgium (6-17%). In Slovakia immigration was major concern for only 3% of citizens, alongside with climate change (2%) and protection of environment (3%). Slovak citizens were mainly concerned with their economic situation (64%), public finance (45%), unemployment rate (18%), and inflation (19%).

Low attention paid to challenges of immigrations and high attention to economic issues by the Slovak citizens, and intellectual and political elites probably reflected (i) low numbers of immigrants and limited personal experience with immigrants by Slovaks, (ii) importance of other societal problems (corruption in particular), and (iii) real economic difficulties in Slovakia. Slovakia copes with relatively high rates of corruption. In 2011 Slovakia ranked the 66 place on the list of the [Corruption Perceptions Index](#) (Transparency International 2012). The 2010/2011 [Global Competitiveness Report](#) (WEF 2010, pp. 298-299) identified 'Inefficient government bureaucracy' and 'Corruption' the most problematic factors for doing business. The average unemployment rate was 14.0%, average wage 786 euros and average inflation rate was 3.9% in 2011. Problems with relatively low numbers of immigrants seemed far less urgent to Slovak citizens and elites. Interestingly, the survey participants projected these immediate views also into the future. They accepted that the population ageing may be of significant concern in the next 10 years (7.3 points on 1-9 scale, Figure 1), but expressed only medium-strong opinions on benefits by immigration in ageing society (Figure 5).

Fig. 1: Most important challenges for Slovakia in next 10 years



2.2 Awareness on Actual and Potential Immigration Flows

High-quality migration policies require good quality information and awareness on major trends in immigration levels and flows by policy makers and policy bodies. The survey indicated that Slovak political and intellectual elites had limited knowledge on actual numbers of immigrants living in Slovakia (Figure 2). Slovakia ranked to countries with the lowest numbers of immigrants in the EU27. Share of foreign citizens in total population was 1.2% in Slovakia, but 4.0% in the Czech Republic, 10.5% in Austria, 8.7% in Germany, 5.8% in France and 7.0% in the UK in 2010 (source: Eurostat). Only about one half of the survey participants indicated correct shares for Slovakia (up to 2.0%). A quarter of participants, for example, thought these shares higher than 8%.

Low stocks of the foreign-born population reflected both low attractiveness of Slovakia in terms of social and economic development, and unfriendly immigration policies by the Slovak Government. The Slovak Republic made little efforts to attract foreign nationals to live and work in the Slovak Republic. The 2010 MIPEx Report, for example, indicated that immigrants from the third countries (non-Members of the EU) had very difficult access to jobs in public sector and could not collect unemployment benefits in Slovakia by 2010. The Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEx) measures various dimensions of migrant's opportunities to participate on economic, social and political life of the host society. The index value was 38 for Slovakia, but 46 for the Czech Republic, 60 for Germany and 62 for the UK (Europe's average = 55) in 2010.

Slovak society is relatively young compared to that in developed EU Member States. The demographic projections, however, point to a process of rapid ageing after 2020. Awareness on population ageing is increasing among Slovak citizens, and intellectual and political elites. The ageing agenda has been associated with issues of fiscal stability, and sustainability of the pension and health care systems. Responses to ageing were defensive in Slovakia. Most discussions on ageing revolved about increasing minimal pension age and cutting range of free health care services. There was a limited discussion on pro-active population policies, including role of immigration in alleviating problems of ageing.

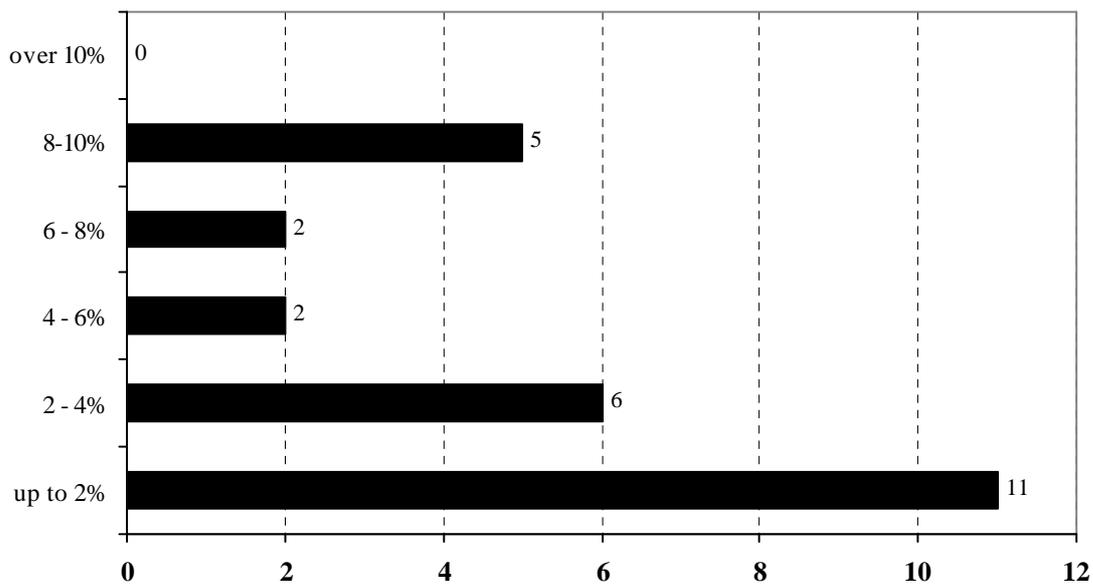
The Slovak Republic had population of 5.3 million, but accounted for some 90,000 births by late 1980s. The population numbers increased to 5.4 million, but birth numbers dropped to some 61,000 by 2011. As to maintain working and not-working population balance in the future, Slovakia needed some 20-30 thousands extra births and/or young immigrants annually.

The survey participants were asked to indicate potential annual numbers of young immigrants needed for maintaining balance between working and not-working people after 2020. The answers indicated low awareness on the issue. One quarter of participants said they

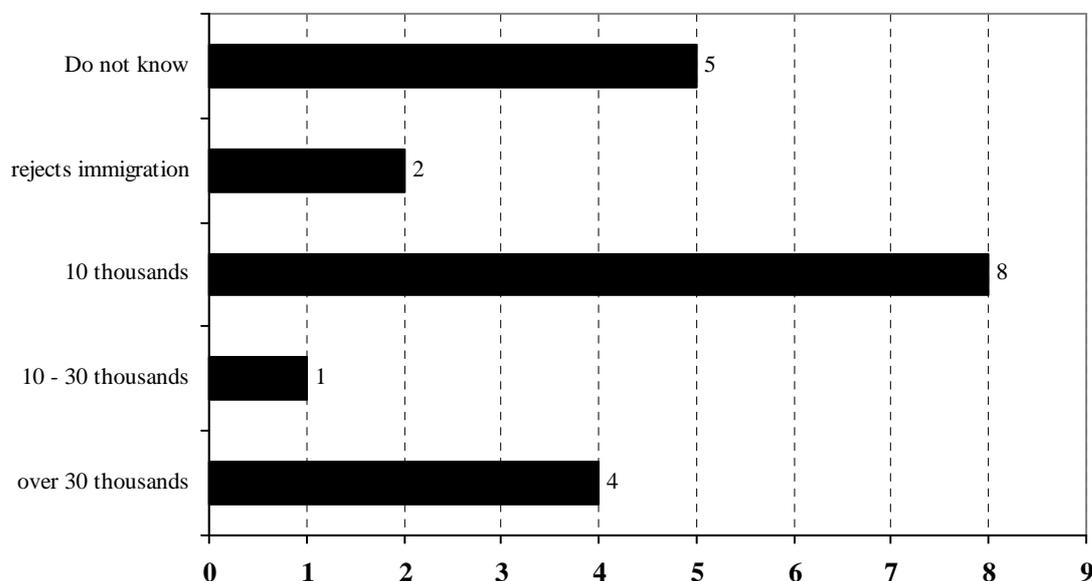
were unable to estimate numbers of immigrants needed to keep balance of working and not-working population in Slovakia (Figure 3). Two participants would reject large-scale immigration at all and opt for promoting higher birth rates in Slovakia. Annual immigration inflows up to 10 thousands immigrants were favoured by 40% of participants. The correct numbers of immigration inflows were identified by 25% of participants. There were no major differences in estimated numbers of potential immigrants by political inclination, but liberals used to indicate higher numbers than centre-left and/or centre right political participants.

Discounting immigration in population policies also may refer to current high unemployment rates. There were some 400,000 unemployed, but only some 15,000 job vacancies in Slovakia as of 31 December 2011. For many people, including members of intellectual and political elites, it made little sense to combine immigration and employment policy.

**Fig. 2: Estimated share of immigrants in Slovak population
(no. of responses)**



**Fig. 3: Annual numbers of immigrants needed in next 10-15 years
(no. of responses)**



2.3 Opinions on Shaping Immigration Flows

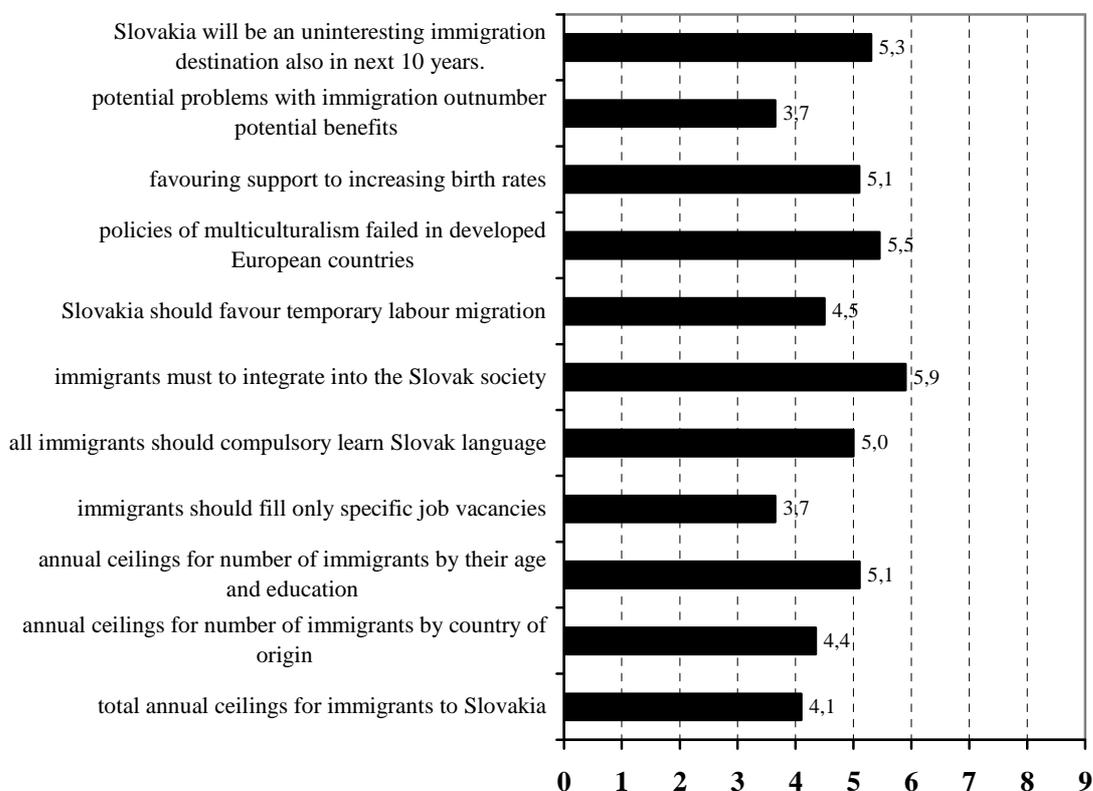
Most survey participants agreed with opinion that the numbers of immigrants would stay low and Slovakia would remain an uninteresting migration destination (average 5.3 points on the Likert scale). The highest support to this opinion was provided both the Christian Democrats and SAS - Liberal Party. This view probably projected current (low) immigration levels into the future and corresponded with widespread opinions in the Slovak society. The 2009 IOM survey (Vašečka 2009, p. 45), for example, investigated opinions by Slovak citizens on increasing numbers of immigrants in Slovakia. Most participants thought that numbers of immigrants would not change compared to the 2009 levels (32.3%), account for slow increase (30.0%) or that Slovakia would remain an uninteresting destination for immigrants in the future (15.5%).

Both liberal and conservative survey participants generally agreed with opinion that 'multicultural policies failed in the developed European countries', but expressed optimistic views about the potential problems with immigrants (3.7 points). Calls for setting total annual ceilings on immigrant numbers found only limited support (4.1 points). The survey participants also generally considered age and education of immigrants more important than their ethnicity, and religious and cultural habits (5.1 versus 4.1 points). Christian democrats used to point to country of origin, language and religion, while liberals identified age and education the most important characteristic of an immigrant's profile.

Slovakia accounted for high unemployment rates (14.0% in 2011). Statements on 'immigrants should be allowed filling only specific vacancies on Slovak labour market' (3.7 points) or preferring circular to temporary immigration (4.5 points) indicated that survey participants generally saw immigration a low threat to the Slovak labour market. Contradiction between high unemployment rates and low fears from labour immigration is explained by (a) limited experience by Slovak elites with immigration, and (b) large community of Slovaks living/working abroad. Some 8% of Slovak workforce worked abroad in 2012 (source: SOSR 2012, Labour Force Survey). High numbers of Slovaks emigrants made Slovak elites more tolerant to immigration flow.

The survey participants generally agreed with statement that 'ability of an immigrant to integrate into the Slovak society is more important than his/her education level' (5.9 points), but opinion that 'all immigrants should compulsory learn Slovak language' obtained lower support (5.0 points), by liberals in particular. Statement that 'Slovakia should favour support to increasing birth rates in Slovak families over support to immigration' generated quite mixed opinions. The average ranking (5.1 points) and median ranking (6.0 points) were rather apart. Support to higher birth rates was more pronounced for the Christian Democrats, the Smer – Social Democracy Parliament Members and most government officials. Liberal analysts and some free-lance journalists used to disagree with this statement. As for the common citizens, the 2009 IOM survey (Vašečka 2009, p. 63) established that some 59.9% citizens asked government to promote higher birth rates via more generous support to families with children.

Fig. 4: Opinions on acceptance of immigrants from the non EU Members



2.4 Opinions on Risks and Benefits of Immigration

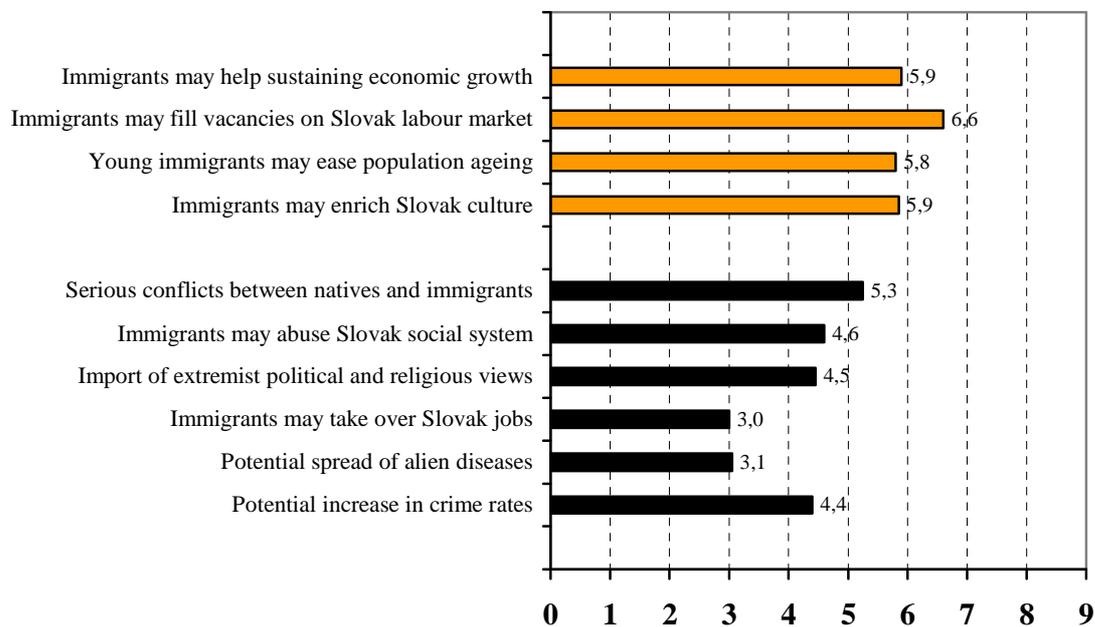
Potential benefits generated higher scores than potential risks of immigration. Most survey participants had favourable views on immigrants filling specific job vacancies in Slovak labour market (6.6 points). Statement on ‘immigrants taking over Slovak jobs’, on the other hand, found quite limited support (3.0 points). Consistent points of view were provided across the range of political inclinations. Slovakia coped with high rates of brain drain. Several thousand Slovak doctors and nurses worked in the Czech Republic, the UK, Germany and Austria (Beňušová et al 2011). Their posts, in some cases, were filled by doctors from the Ukraine and some Middle East countries, but this kind of immigration did not generate negative responses by Slovak population.

Medium-high support also was provided for statements that ‘immigrants can enrich Slovak culture’ (5.9 points), ‘help sustaining economic growth’ (5.9 points) and ‘ease population ageing’ (5.8 points).

Views on benefits of immigration by Slovak elites were similar to those by Slovak citizens. The 2009 IOM survey (Vašečka 2009, p. 67), for example, found that 27.5% citizens agreed with opinion that ‘Everybody who finds a job can work in Slovakia’ and 27.3% agreed with opinion that ‘Every foreigner finding job under the same conditions as a Slovak native can work in Slovakia’. ‘No jobs should be offered to foreigners’ were supported only by 3.4% and ‘jobs for foreigners should be offered only in exceptional cases’ by 7.3% of citizens.

As for the potential risks of immigration ‘serious conflicts with natives’ (5.3 points), ‘potential abuse of Slovak social system’ (4.6 points), and ‘potential increases in crime rates’ (4.4 points) were considered the most important ones. These three risks were indicated by the Christian Democrats and the Smer – Social Democrats in particular. The liberals used to attach lower importance to the abovementioned risks. Statement on ‘immigrants spreading alien diseases’ generated very low support (3.1 points).

Fig. 5 Most important risks and benefits of immigration for Slovakia



CONCLUSIONS

The immigration was no hot issue for Slovak intellectual and political elites in 2012. The survey participants ranked immigration among the least important problems. Corruption and law enforcement, high unemployment rates and fiscal consolidation were considered by far more difficult challenges. The elites attested limited knowledge on actual numbers of immigrants in Slovak. They also indicated lack of awareness on potential numbers of immigrants needed to keep working and not-working population balance in the future.

Optimistic views on immigration flows, and risks and benefits of immigration prevailed over pessimistic ones. Calls for total annual ceilings on immigration, and/or quotas by immigrants' ethnicity and culture found limited support. The survey participants stated education, young age and ability of immigrants to integrate into the Slovak society the most important factors in managing future immigration flows. Slovak elites also generally did mind opening Slovak labour market for the non-EU nationals.

Slovakia accounted for very low numbers of immigrants, but high numbers of emigrants. While relatively few Slovaks had personal experience with immigrants, many of them were immigrants in developed EU Member Countries. Substantial numbers of Slovaks working abroad may have helped to increase tolerance of migration issues by members of Slovak elites and public.

Slovak immigration policies were rather unfriendly towards immigrants from the non-EU Members Countries. Slovakia labour market also offered low wages and limited numbers of vacancies. As a matter of fact the Slovak Republic was an unattractive immigration destination. This opinion was shared by the Slovak public and intellectual and political elites.

REFERENCES

- Beňušová, K., Kováčová, M., Nagy, M. and Wismar, M. (2011): *Chapter 17 Regaining self-sufficiency: Slovakia and the challenges of health professionals leaving the country*, in Wismar, M., Maier, C.B., Glinos, I.A., Dussault, G. and Figueras, J. (eds): *Health Professional Mobility and Health Systems, Evidence from 17 European Countries*; Observatory Studies Series no. 23; World Health Organization 2011, on behalf of the European Observatory on Health Systems and
- EC, European Commission (2012): *Standard Eurobarometer 76 Public Opinion in the European Union*, Conducted by TNS Opinion & Social at the request of the European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication, European Commission.
- Eurostat (2012): *Statistics on migration, unemployment and earnings*.
- MIPEX (2012): The 2010 MIPEX Reports, available at www.mipex.eu.
- SOSR, Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2000-2012): The Labour Force Survey, annual and quarterly data, SOSR Bratislava.
- Transparency international (2012): The 2011 Corruption Perceptions Index, available at <http://cpi.transparency.org>.
- WEF, World Economic Forum (2010): The Global Competitiveness Report 2010-2011, World Economic Forum, Geneva, Switzerland.
- Vašečka, M. (2009): *Postoje verejnosti k cudzincom a zahraničnej migrácii v Slovenskej republike {Attitudes by public towards foreigners and international migration in the Slovak Republic}*, International Organisation for Migration, Bratislava, 2009.

ANNEX 1: INFORMATION ON SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

name	Job	Institution	political inclination
G. Mesežnikov	analyst / think tank	Institute for Public Affairs	centre right
R. Kotian	freelance journalist	None	liberal
K. Rogalska	freelance journalist	None	liberal
J. Hrabko	freelance journalist	None	liberal
R. Ďurana	analyst / think tank	Institute of Economic and Social Studies	liberal
unnamed	political foundation	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Office in SR	centre left
unnamed	political party board	Freedom and Solidarity Party (SAS)	liberal
unnamed	official	Migration Office of SR	none
unnamed	official	Migration Office of SR	none
unnamed	parliament member	Smer Social Democracy party	centre left
unnamed	parliament member	Smer Social Democracy party	centre left
unnamed	political party spokesman	Smer Social Democracy party	centre left
unnamed	Centre for Coordination of Integration of Foreigners	Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family	centre left
unnamed	analyst / think tank	M. R. Stefanik Conservative Institute	centre right / conservative
J. Karpíš	analyst / think tank	Institute of Economic and Social Studies	liberal
J. Oravec	analyst / think tank	F. A. Hayek Foundation	liberal
A. Marcinčin	analyst	Christian Democratic Movement	centre right
J. Figel'	political party chairman	Christian Democratic Movement	centre right / conservative
I. Kiss	Director	Institute for Economic Policy	centre right
unnamed	political party spokesman	Slovak Democratic and Christian Union	centre right

ANNEX 2: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear participant,

We approach you with a survey on immigration. The short survey aims at establishing opinions by the Slovak intellectual and political elites on immigration issues in next 10 years.

Slovakia will have to cope with some important challenges in next 10 years. How would you rate these challenges on scale 1 – 9?

	1 unimportant		9 absolutely important						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Increases in living standards	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Population ageing	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Decreases in crime levels	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Dangers of international terrorism	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Corruption and law enforcement	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Preservation of social state (in field of health care and pensions in particular)	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Regional disparities	<input type="checkbox"/>								
The Roma problem	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Fiscal consolidation and public debt	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Preservation of healthy environment	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Fighting high unemployment and creating new jobs	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Immigration	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Climate change	<input type="checkbox"/>								

What do you think the share of immigrants in total Slovak population is?

up to 2%, 2-4%, 4-6%, 6-8%, 8-10%, over 10%

Slovak population is aging. Today we have a lot of young and unemployed people. In next 10 - 15 years, however, we can cope with shortages of young workers. We'd like to know your opinion, whether Slovakia should accept more young immigrants, including those from the non EU Member States. What do you think, how many immigrants should be accepted to Slovakia, as to maintain balance between working and not-working population after 2020? Please indicate your opinion:

over 30 thousands immigrants per annum

10 - 30 thousands immigrants per annum

do 10 thousands immigrants per annum

I disagree with immigration. Instead of immigration we should promote higher birth rates and higher employment rates by Slovak citizens.

I do not know

Please state your opinion on acceptance by immigrants from the non-EU Member States

	1 unimportant			9 absolutely important					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I support total annual ceilings for number of immigrants to Slovakia	<input type="checkbox"/>								
I support annual ceilings for number of immigrants with respect to their country of origin. I would prefer immigrants from countries whose language and culture is similar to that in Slovakia.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
I support annual ceilings for number of immigrants with respect to their age and education. I would prefer young and educated immigrants, regardless of country of their origin.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Immigrants should fill only those vacancies, which Slovak workers do not fill.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
All immigrants should compulsory learn Slovak language. Immigrants should prove their competence in Slovak before they are approved for permanent residence.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Ability by immigrants to integrate into the Slovak society is more important than their education levels.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Slovakia should favour temporary labour immigration over issuance of permanent residence certificates.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Policies of multiculturalism failed in developed European countries.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Slovakia should favour support to increasing birth rates in Slovak families over support to immigration.	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Potential problems with immigration (e.g. spread of alien diseases, cultural and religious conflicts, crime rates) outnumber potential benefits of immigration (e.g. influx of young labour force, enriching Slovak culture).	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Slovakia will be an uninteresting immigration destination also in next 10 years.	<input type="checkbox"/>								

Please state your opinions on major risks and benefits of immigration to Slovakia

	1 unimportant			9 absolutely important					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Risks									
Potential increase in crime rates	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Potential spread of alien diseases	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Foreigners may take over Slovak jobs	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Import of extremist political and religious views	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Foreigners may abuse Slovak social system	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Serious conflicts between natives and immigrants may arise	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Benefits									
Immigrants may enrich Slovak culture	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Young immigrants may ease population ageing	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Immigrants may fill vacancies on Slovak labour market	<input type="checkbox"/>								
Immigrants may help sustaining economic growth in Slovakia	<input type="checkbox"/>								

Please state any other important opinions on immigration you may have:

ABOUT AUTHORS

Doc. Ing. Vladimír Baláž, PhD., DrSc., is from 1989 a researcher – from 2007 research professor in the Institute for Forecasting of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The Institute acts both as a research body and government think-tank for design of economic and social policies. V. Baláž prepared number of studies commissioned by the Slovak Prime Minister Office and Ministries of Economy and Finance. His areas of interest include: 1. Migration and Regional Development, 2. Innovation and R&D policies, 3. Behavioural Economics and Finance. V. Baláž obtained several research awards and fellowships with Universities in the UK (Exeter, London Metropolitan – ESRC, EPSRC, Leverhulme, British Academy), Germany (Universität zu Köln - Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) and Japan (Sapporo Gakuin University - Japanese Society for Promotion of Science).

Since 2004 V. Baláž has made a number of expertise works and studies on innovation and R&D issues for the European Commission. He is the author of 11 research monographs, 12 chapters in monographs, 53 papers in the SSCI journals, 7 papers in other journals.

JUDr. Mgr. Martina Lubyová, PhD., is Research Fellow at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Lecturer in Social Statistics and Sampling Surveys at the University of Economics in Bratislava and Associated Fellow at CERGE EI in Prague. M. Lubyová holds PhD. in Economics from the University of the State of New York and CERGE-EI in Prague, PhD. in Statistics from the University of Economics in Bratislava, Doctor of Law (JUDr.) and M. Sc. in Biophysics from the Comenius University in Bratislava.

Prior to taking up her current position she worked as Director of ILO Sub-regional Office for Eastern Europe and Central Asia in Moscow, Employment Specialist in ILO Office in Moscow and Employment Development Specialist in ILO Multidisciplinary Team for South Asia in New Delhi. Previously she held several academic and international positions at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Czech Academy of Sciences, OECD Department of Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs in Paris and at the Charles University in Prague.

Research interests of M. Lubyová include mainly institutional economics, labour economics, international migration, social affairs, empirical sampling surveys and forecasting. She has been publishing in the mentioned fields.

European Liberal Forum asbl (ELF, www.liberalforum.eu), founded in the fall of 2007, is the non-profit European political foundation of the liberal family. ELF brings together liberal think tanks, political foundations and institutes from around Europe to observe, analyse and contribute to the debate on European public policy issues and the process of European integration, through education, training, research and the promotion of active citizenship within the European Union.

Liberal Society Foundation (www.libspol.eu) is a member organization of the European Liberal Forum asbl from 2009. The Liberal Society Foundation was established in 1995 as a non-governmental and non-profit think tank. It was founded because of a real need for objective evaluations of social processes and with the aim of promoting liberal values and to create space for social and expert discussion in the transition period. Co-founders are the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, the Forum Foundation, the Foundation Gaudeamus and Ing. Viliam Vaškovič, CSc.

Realization of its mission to promote liberal thinking and develop liberal values includes organization of discussions, seminars and working meetings, research studies and expert opinions, educational activities, editorial and publishing activities (e. g. the first Slovak edition of “The Common Sense of Wealth Creation” by Marc Swanepoel, the first Slovak edition of “Hayek: His Contribution to the Political and Economic Thought of Our Time” by Eamonn Butler, two editions of „Liberalism - an Attempt for Freedom“ by Detmar Doering). From 2008 the Liberal Society Foundation grants the Annual prize for the promotion of liberal values, with the aim to appreciate authors or journalists, whose publishing activity has supported the liberal thinking in the society.